Minerva: Laurier's Undergraduate History Journal

A curated collection of the strongest fourth year seminar papers in the Department of History. v. 3, 2017

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Fourth-year (400-level) courses are seminars and represent the crowning experience of the honours history program. Seminars are a form of learner-centered instruction in which students take responsibility for preparing their weekly readings for class discussion and for researching their primary-research papers, thereby empowering themselves through independent study. They hone their skills of oral and written expression by sharing their ideas and writing with other seminar participants. The instructors guide students in their exploration of historiography and in their research in primary documents. These courses promote discussion of historical literature and research on specific historical periods and themes (the Cold War; Classical Athens; American Political Extremism, for example). All History majors must complete at least one reading/research combination seminar; students in the Research Specialization Option take two reading/research seminars. These classes are relatively small and have an optimal size of about 15 students.

In the **reading seminar** students will engage deeply with the historiography of the chosen subject, reading the equivalent of one book per week, and writing essays varying in length from 12 to 20 pages. Discussions focus on the critical assessment of the analysis, context and methods employed in the secondary literature, and are crucial to a successful seminar.

In the **research seminar** students are guided in the preparation of independent research essay (usually of 25-30 pages in length) based on their own research in the relevant primary sources. Students will also present their work (in written and oral form) to their classmates. They are then required to respond to the feedback they receive, revise their written work, and re-submit. This approach teaches students the importance of effective oral and written communication and it also instructs them in how to respond to criticism. These are skills which will prove extremely useful to students well beyond the classroom setting.

Ben Brenner, "The Awakening: First Nations and the Disillusionment of the Great War"
HI 461: War and Memory
Supervised by Dr. Peter Farrugia

Canada's First Nations people believed that their participation in World War I would be the catalyst for changing their existing relationship with non-Indigenous Canadians. They believed that after fighting side by side with their countrymen in the Great War, that they would be treated as equals.

The experience of the war from the First Nations perspective generated the ideology that fighting alongside non-Indigenous Canadians would galvanize their relationship for future years to come. This was an opportunity for First Nations soldiers to present themselves as equals. Following the war, it was increasingly evident that the experiences that were fostered overseas between the soldiers, were not equivalent to those of their Indigenous counterparts on the homefront. Within Canada, the assimilation of First Nations culture had continued during the war, extinguishing the hope that First Nations would be admirably regarded for their efforts fighting alongside Canadian soldiers.

It was apparent, that many Indigenous soldiers returned from the war with negative views of the war itself and, of the assimilative culture that continued to exist between First Nations and non-Indigenous soldiers. First Nations soldiers returned home to repressive living conditions on the reserves and would continue to fall victim to the oppressive Dominion Government of Canada. The homecoming brought with it a generation of First Nations soldiers who were determined to challenge the pre-existing social position of their race within Canada. Edward Ahenakew of the Sandy Lake Indian Reserve calls this enlightening period "the awakening", arguing that the Indigenous people of Canada developed, from the experience of war, into a collective that was motivated and willing to act as agents of change for their conditions of living[1] . The awakening period of the First Nations saw the establishment of organizations such as the League of Indians to advocate for the return of their land and the power to govern them as they

[1] Ruth Buck, "Edward Ahenakew," *Historica Canada,* Published January 30, 2008.

saw fit. The political actions taken by First Nations following the Great War exemplify the discontent that the war had created over the relationship with non-Indigenous Canadians. This fueled the desire to advocate for just treatment within their land and an improved quality of life. It is in this awakened state that the First Nations brought forth the unbreakable desire to improve the social, political and financial well-being of their people within Canada.

The War and its Impact

The collection of works discussing First Nations and the Great War often focus on enlistment, experiences in the trenches and stories of high achievement among First Nations soldiers. While the experience of war is crucial to understanding its importance, discussing the impact of war on First Nations is often overlooked. Historians have contributed by giving these soldiers adequate recognition for their efforts, but have neglected to convey the political activism throughout Canada that resulted from their service. The literature provides an in-depth look at life during World War I for a very small percentage of Indigenous soldiers, but neglects to explore the lives of these soldiers following their return to Canada. Authors such as Fred Gaffen, James Dempsey and Timothy Winegard have created great works that outline the experience of World War I on First Nations soldiers. They provide exemplary detail on the extent of the enlistment process and the strenuous relationship with the Indian Affairs Commission of Canada. Supplementary to these works, historians have produced testimonies of the successes of First Nations soldiers such as Francis Pegahmagabow, Tom Longboat and Alexander and Charles Smith. However, what continues to be overlooked in the discussion of the Great War is the impact on First Nations. Moreover, the collection of work neglects to discuss how the experience of war compelled First Nations to collectively advocate for the reinstatement of rights.

During the years following the war, First Nations began to advocate first and foremost for their right to the land that had been taken from them and for the power to govern the land as they wished. Canada's Aboriginals took this opportunity to gather collectively and advocate for "better education; improvement in health programs; ownership of property and land; treaty and hunting rights; freedom to practice the Sundance and other ceremonies; and economic development."[2] The Great War motivated First Nations to build

[2] Rarihokwats, Historical Notes on the League of Indian Nations, *Four Arrows Historical Sketch,* (October 19, 2001) 10.

new political organizations that advocated for change and the just treatment of their people. Winegard shares in the belief that "the environment in which these soldiers were thrust was clearly one of assimilation"[3]. First Nations soldiers enlisted with the British Expeditionary Force as a means of escaping the reserves. It is evident that the life of First Nations soldiers overseas was wrought with the same prejudices they faced in Canada. The oppression that the First Nations experienced during the war is what fostered the aforementioned awakening. It is on the battlefield that Indigenous soldiers began the movement toward acting as agents of change. Veteran Francis Pegahmagabow, offers his perspective on the war; "Them dogs let them suffer, take the money away from them, and kick them out".[4] It is in this time of injustice during the war that First Nations soldiers began to question the validity of their relationship with Canada's non-Indigenous population[5].

Winegard states that many First Nations soldiers used songs to embed their culture into the hostile environment of the war. The act of singing one's own war song was a pivotal step to becoming a warrior in Indigenous marital culture[6]. Moving off the reserves in Canada allowed First Nations soldiers the autonomy to practice the traditions that were being manipulated at home. Predating the Great war, "the 1876 Indian Act and within the confines of native residential schools, First Nations communities were compelled to adopt the ways of Anglo-Canadians. Yet the occupational change to that of a soldier empowered Indigenous peoples because it placed no restrictions on the ways they chose to engage with warfare."[7] This was an opportunity for First Nations soldiers to practice the culture that was being extinguished by the government back in Canada. Dempsey raises the viewpoint that when the war extended to the First Nations, it resurrected the warrior spirit that had since been dormant for the last 50 years. This was a component that could not be eliminated from the culture of the Indians, both in Canada and Flanders.[8] To escape the horrors of the trenches, the soldiers would sing songs, play sports, and host and perform plays as a means of coping with the

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[3] Eric Story, "The Awakening Has Come": Canadian First Nations in the Great War Era, 1914-1932," *Canadian Military History*, Vol. 24: Iss. 2. (2015) 20.

[4] Adrian Hayes, *Pegahmagabow: Life-Long Warrior, Forgotten Hero,* (Pennsylvania: Fox Hill Creations, 2003) 35.

[5] Timothy Winegard, *For King and Kanata*. 133

[6] Ibid. 113

[7] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come*. 24.

[8] James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King: Prairie Islands in World War I,* (Regina: University of Regina, 1999) 10.

hellish everyday life of a soldier. For First Nations soldiers, the Great War provided them with the opportunity to express their culture to escape the gruesome life in the trenches. Like all soldiers, First Nations sought to practice their culture as a means of self-preservation and to bring comfort to the horror of the war. This opportunity helped ensure the flourishing of Indigenous culture in the years following the war. Author Frantz Fanon discusses the concept of decolonization as national liberation or national reawakening. Fanon outlines that decolonization exists within the conscience of the oppressed[9]. The overpowering authority from the Dominion Government compelled First Nations to foster Indigenous culture while overseas. The First Nations experience of war brings Fanon's concept of decolonization to light as they returned home determined to bring about change through political activism.

On the homefront, a small organization of reforming First Nations called the Dehorners began to protest the decision making power that the department of Indian Affairs held on the Six Nations Indian reserve. Just as the 107th battalion was approaching Hill 70 near Vimy Ridge, the Dehorners sent a petition with 56 signatures to Ottawa questioning the role of the Department of Indian Affairs. The petition stated that The Six Nations of the Grand "can no longer look on our present council with respect and confidence, we therefore sign this as an agreement, to do all in our power to rid our nation of the said council, and in its place to establish a government [...] whereby we as Six Nations Indians may be intelligently represented, and our public affairs [...] be properly looked after"[10]. This passage written by the Dehorners demonstrates how the First Nations of Canada were participating in political activity during the war. This minor display of political activity predated the mass movements that would soon follow.

As stated by Superintendent Deputy General Duncan Campbell Scott, "the end of the First World War should mark the beginning of a new era for [First Nations] wherein they shall play an increasingly honourable and useful part in the history of a country that was once the free and open hunting ground of their forefathers[11]. The remainder of this work will tell the stories of two First Nations veterans who returned from World War I with the desire to

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[9] Franz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth,* (New York: Grove Press, 1961) 1-2.

[10] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come* 17.

[11] Duncan Campbell Scott, "Canadian Indians and the Great World War", *Canada and the Great World War,* Vol. 3: Guarding the Channel Ports (Toronto: United Publishers of Canada, 1919) 328.

bring forth change. They are very much a part of the awakening, indeed their efforts solidified the foundation for the active political participation of First Nations for years to come.

Political Backlash: Frederick Loft & The League of Indians

In the years following the homecoming, Canada's First Nations population came to the abrupt realization that fighting a war alongside Canadian soldiers did little to raise their social status on the homefront. When the call to arms came, First Nations soldiers answered. They viewed themselves as allies of the British and hoped that their efforts would be recognized by the Canadian government. However, the Indigenous populations returned from the horror of Flanders to a nation that was inherently unchanged. To comply with the rules imposed by the Dominion Government of Canada without resistance was no longer an option. Historian James Dempsey suggests that First Nations veterans exposure to new forms of policy and new systems of governance had greatly impacted their outlook on "white" methods of control and leadership. After returning home, First Nations soldiers were stripped of their ability to vote, which eliminated their democratic right to advocate for improvements in the quality of life on the reserves. It was during this time of oppression that First Nations veterans began to organize politically to combat the oppressive Canadian government.

First Nations soldiers believed that they would return to Canada and receive adequate payment for their service as well as the opportunity to thrive on their own land. Many First Nations veterans were disgusted after returning home to find that the Canadian government had not adjusted its social values to include compensation of First Nations soldiers, or acknowledgement of their service. The disillusionment that developed is what inspired returning soldiers such as Frederick Ogilvie Loft to organize en masse. First Nations activism was centralized around advocating for the just treatment and reinstatement of rights to Indigenous people across Canada. As stated by historian Eric Story, "many of these warrior-veterans became leaders in their communities, and individually began to agitate for community rights. Others such as Loft realised the importance of working together for the larger national Indigenous community, and his ideas resonated throughout Canada."[12] Loft and many of his fellow Indigenous

[12] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come*, 33.

combatants were appalled by the treatment of First Nations soldiers overseas. They returned home with a negative outlook on the war. His experience in the war laid the foundation of the movement toward the improvement of social status for Indigenous people in Canada.

In the early years following the war, many First Nations soldiers seized the opportunity for political activity that was available upon their return home. It was evident that issues obtaining land and earning money from farming on available land was not possible. The Dominion Government had established a system that allowed First Nations soldiers to obtain land at an adjusted price. First Nations were signing mortgages for farms without any means of effectively cultivating or paying for the land. This caused First Nations veterans to use the money earned from farming to offset the cost of living and high mortgage payments. Loft brought this issue and many others to the British Privy Council, but was advised to plead his case to the government of Canada. His following in Canada would evolve into The League of Indians of Canada. The actions of Loft would kickstart a politically active movement of First Nations across Canada. This movement would spearhead the political activity by First Nations advocating for Aboriginal self-government.[13] Loft strove to mitigate the social and economic conditions affecting the livelihood of First Nations. The Dominion Government's actions following the Great War pressed further into reserve territory, leaving too many of his fellow Indians disadvantaged and unlikely to prosper.

Loft's early goals were outlined clearly in a few works that are still available today and capture his determination to give Canada's Indigenous people the rights which had long been stripped beyond their grasp. On September 2nd 1919, the first official gathering of the League of Indians led by Loft, introduced the agenda for reinstating the rights of Indians across Canada. Loft wrote, "The first aim of the League then is to claim and protect the rights of all Indians in Canada by legitimate and just means. Second, absolute control in retaining possession or disposing of our lands."[14] He believed firmly that the problems of Indians were alike from coast to coast and he advocated strongly for his concept of pan-Indigenous rule and activism. His purpose was to create a collective organization of representatives who could foster a productive relationship with the Dominion

[13] Gale Toensing, Declaration Adoption Marks the End of the First Step, *Indian Country Today,* (September 21, 2007).

[14] Rarihokwats, *Historical Notes on the League of Indian Nations*. 11

Government and press Indian demands into the forefront.[15] Loft firmly believed that the right to own and self-govern the land that belonged to the Indigenous population was paramount to First Nations across Canada.

The League of Indians was heavily involved with providing a solution to settlement and land claims following the Great War. Loft brought countless cases to the Canadian government outlining the unjust circumstances that First Nations faced while obtaining funds for their service overseas. Indigenous leaders also sought farmland as well as the means to cultivate it. For First Nations veterans, an average of $1,894 was allocated for loans while the average loan for all settlers throughout Canada was over $4,000. When obtaining farmland, First Nations tended to receive smaller land plots with poor quality soil, low-grade livestock and outdated agricultural equipment.[16] Following the Great War, reserve land was repurposed across Canada to meet the needs of returning soldiers. For a white soldier, farmland could be leased for up to 5 years, adding to a total of 313,398 acres designated for non-Indigenous Canadians. Meanwhile, the Canadian government established "Federal agriculture experiments on 20,448 acres of Blood, Blackfoot, Muscowpetung, Cooked Lakes, and Assiniboine reserves".[17]

The Dominion Government also provided pension packages for soldiers who had suffered serious war-time injuries, leaving them unable to work. The amount of funding for a soldier was decided based on the severity of the injury. Veterans with missing limbs would receive a pension equitable to what they made prior to the war. Whereas, a veteran with neurasthenia (shell shock) would not qualify to receive any pension. Historian Desmond Morton describes the concept of "attributability" as the systematic method of allocating governmental funding to veterans. In many cases, First Nations veterans were denied a pension based on their racial background[18]. This was the case for Private John Wabanosse, an Ojibwa man from Manitowaning Ontario. He had suffered two gas attacks while serving with the Canadian Expeditionary Force, causing the development of tuberculosis. In 1919, he was denied a pension and struggled as a farmer until 1929. His ailment

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[15] Peter Kulchyski, *A Considerable Unrest,* 101.

[16] Robin Brownlie, *Work Hard and Be Grateful: Native Soldier Settlers in Ontario after the First World War,* Edited by Franca Lacovetta And Wendy Mitchinson. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998) 184-186.

[17] James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King,* 75.

[18] Eric Story, "The Wabanosse Hearing: An Indigenous Veteran Fighting for a Great War Pension" *CanadianMilitaryHistory.ca*. October 7, 2016.

rendered him unable to work and he was hospitalized in 1930 as a tuberculosis patient. Once again, he pleaded his case to obtain a pension and was denied. A doctor specializing in respiratory illness, Dr. W.J Dobbie, devalued Wabanosse's case by stating that "Indian races [are] more susceptible to tuberculosis than other races"[19]. Wabanosse did not receive a pension for his ailment and justified Morton's idea of attributability. Because he was Indigenous, the Canadian government manipulated its legislation to avoid giving Wabanosse a pension.

As the dispute over land and pension continued, government officials began to implement a strategy to counter the threat of First Nations becoming too politically active in defense of their own land. Historian Paul Whitney Lackenbauer, states that enfranchising First Nations was a means of offering Indigenous peoples Canadian citizenship, which would discount their rights outlined in the Indian Act. He notes "When status Indian veterans expressed an interest in farming on their own reserves, Indian Affairs took over [...] ownership of lands on reserves"[20] It was intended to be extremely difficult for Indian veterans to receive the funding and to establish a productive farming operation. The response to this action was "that returned soldiers were being forcibly enfranchised, were denied War Veterans' Allowance Act benefits [...] and also that 85,000 acres of allegedly 'surplus' Indian reserve land were surrendered for non-Aboriginal veteran settlers, further frustrating Aboriginal veterans during the 1920s and 30s."[21] First Nations across Canada suffered at large from the oppressive Canadian government digging deeper into the land that was entrusted to them. Under these circumstances, the active presence of Loft and the League of Indians stood as a means of preserving what little territory was left to flourish on.

Loft was led to advocate for self-government on native reserves due to the unjust delegation of land during the time of the Great War. Loft's League of Indians would face animosity from Duncan Campbell Scott, who was smothering the political efforts of Loft and the League of Indians during the Great War, and in the years to follow. Scott was actively involved in the workings of the First Nations band council. He had been heavily involved in enlisting First Nations soldiers in the Canadian Expeditionary Force; however, his relationship with Canada's Indigenous populations was not necessarily a

[19] Ibid.
[20] Paul Lackenbauer, *A Commemorative History of Aboriginal People in the Canadian Military,* 134.
[21] Ibid, 134.

healthy one. Many First Nations despised his use of manipulative tactics to bolster enlistment rates on reserves. He often touted the enlistment numbers of other bands in order to prod others into following. Scott had a very detailed history with many of the First Nations bands across Canada, especially in Ontario. His feud with Loft and the League of Indians continued into the post war years, causing a great deal of unrest with the League and its following.

As the League of Indians began to gather a following, Scott developed a strong desire to silence the masses by targeting Loft since he was the source of hope and direction for the movement. Scott made the demands of the League of Indians a top priority and strove to prevent the group from developing further. Scott wanted to enfranchise Loft, stating that he was too much of a white man to be invested with the affairs of Canadian Indians. He argued that Loft's status in the army as a lieutenant, as well as his education and political vigor made it clear he was much more than a simple-minded Indian. It is understood that Scott attempted to enfranchise Loft because of his experience with Canadian systems of governance and his level of education. However, his true motive was "to remove his status as a First Nations person, and thus eradicate troublemakers and educated Indians from the ranks as a whole"[22].

The purpose of enfranchisement was not to gain alternative perspectives and people of different races. Rather, it was used to rid the Dominion Government of those who posed a threat to the existing structure and who challenged the dominant system of values. Scott writes to Major Gordon Smith stating that "it has occurred to me that Mr. F.O. Loft [...] should be eligible for enfranchisement under the provisions of the Indian Act as amended last session of Parliament"[23]. Enfranchising was symbolic of the relationship between non-Indigenous and First Nations. It was a clear cut effort to remove trouble makers, activists and educated Indians from the political sphere, which would handcuff their ability to mobilize politically. Scott planned to revise the Indian Act in many ways during the peak of Loft's movement. He aimed at defusing the spirit of the movement through either enfranchising the First Nations or creating revisional clauses to the Act that would keep the initiatives of the First Nations at bay.

The efforts of Loft and the League of Indians continued to develop into the 1930s, with the organization gaining a large following, especially in

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[22] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come*, 32.

[23] *RG 10 Scott to Major Gordon Smith*, Vol. 3212 File 527 787-4, (October 8, 1920).

Manitoba and Saskatchewan. Loft's presence in western Canada led to the formation of the League of Indians of Western Canada (LIWC) and the Indian Association of Alberta (IAA). These groups were organized by members who were inspired by Loft's leadership and were active followers of the League of Indians. It is important to note that Loft's League of Indians was the forerunner to the Assembly of First Nations. The Assembly of First Nations is the largest national advocacy organization that represents over 900,000 people living in 634 First Nations communities across Canada.[24] Of Loft's accomplishments, the League of Indians which later became the Assembly of First Nations has developed into the most important facet of First Nations political activity to date.

Loft died in 1934 after returning from England to discuss the issues within Canada's reserves and to seek assistance from Britain. His legacy inspired First Nations of Canada to follow his practice of bringing cases of oppression of Indigenous Canadians to the Government of Canada. This practice especially influenced the amendments to the Indian Act in 1951, which addressed many of the most flagrant, coercive aspects of the document.[25] Peter Kulchyski states in his position paper A Considerable Unrest, that the League of Indians movement gained momentum exponentially throughout the second half of the twentieth century. Furthermore, Kulchyski states that "the sixties did not witness the "initial stirrings of Indian activism" so much as a culmination of at least forty years of intense struggle."[26] He outlines very admirably that to ignore this struggle would have drastic consequences for Canada as a nation. More generally, Loft ended his work as a symbol of hope by declaring that his people "were not silent, passive observers of their destiny but rather actively struggling for a place as native people in Canada."[27]

The Search for Global Support: Chief Deskaheh and The League of Nations

After discussing the League of Indians and the movement that Loft was able to generate, it is necessary to outline another story of a First Nations soldier who returned from the Great War with the desire to oppose the

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[24] Assembly of First Nations website accessible at http://www.afn.ca/en/about-afn/description-of-the-afn

[25] Peter Kulchyski, *A Considerable Unrest*, 96.

[26] Ibid, 97.

[27] Rarihokwats, *Historical Notes on the League of Indian Nations*, 14.

oppressive structure inflicted on the Six Nations of the Grand River. Levi General was his name when in the company of non-Indigenous Canadians, however, to his family and band in Cayuga he was known by his given name and title, Chief Deskaheh.

With the conclusion of World War I, The Big Three (David Lloyd George, Georges Clemenceau, and Woodrow Wilson) along with supporting nations, drafted the Treaty of Versailles which would decide the fate of Europe and those involved in the war. Woodrow Wilson's concept of the League of Nations was introduced as a means of providing all European nations with the ability to achieve national self-determination. Within the League of Nations, each country could thrive with the support of other nations through imports, exports and most importantly, keeping peace with one another. As the League of Nations was formed immediately after the Paris Peace Conference in 1918, Chief Deskaheh sought to seek help fighting against the oppressive regime that affected the Six Nations Reserve.

The First Nations soldiers returned home with the belief that after four years of admirable service, they deserved to be rid of the oppressive lifestyle typical of Indian reserves. Indigenous peoples across Canada felt this same disillusionment.[28] As Private Mark Steinhauer of the Saddle Lake Alberta Cree pondered post-war life, he claimed that he and other First Nations did "not get anything [from the] country we [were] fighting for.[29] Deskaheh returned to the Six Nations Reserve, overwhelmed with the magnitude of oppression that was imposed on the Indigenous people of Canada.

In 1923, Chief Deskaheh brought the plight of his people in Canada to the attention of the League of Nations at a conference held in Geneva. He stated that "we mean to look to the League of Nations for the protection we so much need, to prevent complete destruction of our government and the obliteration of the Iroquois race which would soon follow"[30] Deskaheh planned to address the conference to call "the League of Nations to secure: recognition of their independent right of home-rule, appropriate indemnity

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[28] In Margaret Macmillan's *Parties Long Estranged: Canada and Australia in the Twentieth Century*, she outlines that Canada and Australia opposed Wilson's fourteen points and were frustrated with this concept being used as the basis for peace negotiations. Canadian Prime Minister, Sir Robert Borden argued that the dominions should be consulted in the decision making process, thus including the agenda of Canada at the conference. Adding more Canadian representation in Geneva could have generated more success in Deskaheh's desire to aid First Nations.

[29] James Dempsey, *Warriors of the King*, 72.

[30] Deskaheh, *Chief Deskaheh Tells Why He is Over Here Again,* Book, London 1923. 8.

for the aggressions for the benefit of their injured nationals, Adequate provision to cover the right of recovery of the funds and interest by the Six Nations, Protection for the Six Nations hereafter under the League of Nations".[31] Deskaheh felt as though the League of Nations would be in support of the Six Nations' efforts to strive for national self-determinism. He believed that because the First Nations answered the call to arms in World War I, the League of Nations would be willing to assist the oppressed Aboriginal people of Canada. Deskaheh declared, "you told us you were in great trouble a few winters ago because a great big giant with a big stick was after you. We helped you whip him. Many of our young men volunteered and many gave their lives for you. You were very willing to let them fight in the front ranks in France. Now we want to tell our troubles to you."[32]

Deskaheh argued that the relationship with non-Indigenous people in Canada had long been established through the creation of the Two Row Wampum belt (1613). The wampum belt was symbolic "of [the] non-interference between the Iroquois and the colonist...Neither will pass laws to interfere with the steering of the others craft"[33] This pact was essential to the British to maximize trade and to keep peace with First Nations. The symbolic representation of the wampum belt was undermined by the developing Canadian government. The agreement symbolized by the Two Row Wampum belt began to falter with the development of the Canadian government, leaving First Nations trapped to live in the oppressive conditions on the reserves.

The Haldimand Proclamation was drafted by King George III in 1784, declaring that six miles each side of the Grand River was allotted to the Haudenosaunee in the years following the American Revolutionary War. It was reserved for First Nations as a symbol of gratitude for their assistance during the war and to compensate the First Nations for the territory that was lost. The Haldimand tract was meant to be a parcel of territory that would forever be entrusted to the Six Nations of the Grand (Mohawk, Cayuga, Oneida, Seneca, Onondaga, Tuscarora)[34]. The Six Nations territory however,

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[31] Deskaheh, *The Redman's Appeal For Justice,* Manuscript to Sir. James Eric Drummond, Secretary-General of the League of Nations. Geneva 1923. 6.

[32] *The Last Speech of Deskaheh*, March 10 1925, Rochester NY.

[33] Darren Bonaparte, "The Two Row Wampum Belt: An Akwesasne Tradition of the Vessel and Canoe" *The People's voice,* August 5, 2005.

[34] Matthews, R. "The Haldimand Treaty of 1784" *Six Nations: Land and Resources.* (October 25, 1784).

had been unwillingly partitioned and governed by Canada following its confederation in 1867[35]. The Haldimand Proclamation was steadily deconstructed under the Dominion Government, along with the borders of the Six Nations reserve. It was evident that the Dominion Government was not a reflection of the First Nations pre-existing relationship with the British crown.

Since the end of World War I, the Dominion Government had been redistributing entrusted land along the Grand River for settlement packages for returning soldiers. Deskaheh addressed this agreement that was drafted so many years earlier, "our document reads that the Six Nations, as the King's faithful allies, may settle upon the Grand River lands as a safe retreat under his protection for them and their posterity for ever".[36] Deskaheh continued to identify that "large sums of the Six Nations' funds held by the Dominion Government have been misappropriated and wasted without consent of the Six Nations"[37]. He noted that this misappropriation of funds continued and was creating disadvantages for the Mohawks of the Six Nations.

Deskaheh explained the shortcomings that followed the Great War and identified the harsh living situations on the reserves, stating that "we have a little territory left -- just enough to live and die on. Don't you think your governments ought to be ashamed to take that away from us by pretending it is part of theirs?"[38] His speech railed against the neglect of the Canadian government. "Over in Ottawa, they call that policy 'Indian Advancement'. Over in Washington, they call it 'Assimilation'. We who would be the helpless victims say it is tyranny."[39] Deskaheh's voice was not heard at the conference in Geneva. He was denied entry to speak to the administration of the League of Nations. He told his story to a multitude of sources in England and eventually returned home. His attempt to gain the support of the League of Nations was ultimately unsuccessful. During his time in Europe, Deskaheh was recorded "standing at the main entrance of the Paris City Hall, where the League's Council meets, Deskaheh has been indefatigably button-holing the delegates, some of whom have lent a receptive ear, while others hurried away." Deskaheh was pleading that his "tribe sent 400 men to fight in the

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[35] *Chief Deskaheh Tells Why He is Over Here Again*, 2.

[36] Ibid. 7.

[37] Deskaheh, *The Redman's Appeal For Justice*, 4.

[38] *The Last Speech of Deskaheh*, March 10 1925, Rochester NY.

[39] Ibid.

late war, forty of whom were killed...I will pursue this claim relentlessly until it is recognized."[40] While in Geneva, Deskaheh wrote of his despair to a Swiss journal, stating that "my appeal to the Society of Nations has not been heard, and nothing in the attitude of Government… leave[s] me any hope."[41]

Chief Deskaheh provides an incredible story underlining the plight of the First Nations following World War I. His endeavor to approach the League of Nations to obtain support for the Six Nations of the Grand, and other Indigenous populations inspired future generations of Canadian Indigenous people to advocate for their rights. He believed that "The constituent members of the state of the Six Nations of the Iroquois [...] now are, and have been for many centuries, organised and self-governing peoples, respectively, within domains of their own, and united in the oldest League of Nations, the League of Iroquois"[42] While Deskaheh was unsuccessful, it is critical to note that the Mohawks of the Six Nations presented a compelling case for the political, social and financial well-being of its people.

The Comprehensive Indian Legacy

The stories of Frederick Loft and Chief Deskaheh carry the same message. Both men sought to provide an answer to the plight of Canada's Indigenous population, laying the foundation for the awakening of political activity following World War I. Both Loft and Deskaheh were able to establish a foundation on which Indigenous people across Canada could begin to address the needs and rights of their own tribes in order to flourish within Canada. They acted as guides through some of the darkest times for First Nations and their actions spearheaded the fight for equality that is still ongoing.

With regard to the concept of self-determination, Loft and Deskaheh found different ways of defining this concept. The story of Loft is one that has sparked a pan-Indigenous movement that would aim to break down the barriers to effective communication with the Canadian government in order to promote the prosperity and just treatment of Indigenous Canadians. Loft outlines that "to force or coerce us will do no good; justice and fair dealing is what we ask for. We are men, not imbeciles; from our view and standpoint we

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[40] Robert Koch, "George P. Decker and Chief Deskaheh," *The Crooked Lake Review*, September 1992.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Deskaheh, *The Redman's Appeal For Justice,* 1.

must be heard - as a nation when we have to speak for ourselves"[43] Loft strove to motivate his people through stern, unbreakable resilience, "to lift ourselves up by our own effort to better conditions, morally, socially, politically and industrially."[44] Rather than motivating the Indigenous communities across Canada, Chief Deskaheh reached out to the global community to find a solution that would bring about change for the Mohawks of the Grand River. It is important to understand the circumstances of Deskaheh to best understand the magnitude of his effort. As an individual, he attempted to bring the issues of the Six Nations to the attention of the powers that made up the League of Nations. It is evident that Loft and Deskaheh acted as agents of change in the years following World War I. Despite the lack of success from Deskaheh's trip to Geneva, the effort to bring about change to the oppressive life on the reserves would stand as the foundation that needed to be built in order to motivate First Nations to advocate for political, social and financial control of their land.

The Haudenosaunee saw themselves as allies of the British crown rather than subjects of Britain, arguing that the League of Nations was not upholding the agreement of the Two Row Wampum belt. The Canadians believed that First Nations were wards of the British crown with an obligation to abide by the system of governance imposed by Canada's parliament. The Indian Act was defining what the relationship would look like for years to come. After the turn of the century, Canada had solidified its system of government and established concrete societal values. However, the Aboriginal people were led astray as Canada grew apart from its colonial motherland. Indigenous people found that the relationship they had developed with the British Empire as a colonial power was subject to change following Canada's development as a nation itself. Perhaps the turn of the century brought forth too many changes in Canada (including the second industrial revolution and the participation in the Great War). Canada was developing at such a fast pace during this time that when the need for farmland presented itself, digging into the Indian reserves seemed like the most logical, if unethical, thing to do.

Conclusion

The political actions taken by First Nations following the Great War as a result of their disillusionment, demonstrate the oppressive force imposed by

[43] Peter Kulchyski, *A Considerable Unrest*, 101.
[44] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come*, 30.

the Canadian government. The soldiers had given too much of their blood and money to continue to lead isolated lives of oppression on shrinking plots of land. The awakening is about establishing a voice and shedding light on the political foundations that were constructed by Loft and Deskaheh. Mobilization in the name of social rights has since been a major part of the relationship between First Nations and non-Indigenous people. Following the disruption of World War I, Canada would be introduced to a form of First Nations agency grounded in the belief that First Nations were no longer mere subjects to be confined to the reserves.

It is evident that "First Nations soldiers consistently used the Great War to further both personal and collective goals of improving the circumstances of their peoples".[45] The legacy of Loft and Deskaheh continue to develop throughout the twentieth century. Loft is considered to be "the greatest Indian [activist] of the first half of the twentieth century, whose struggles laid the groundwork from which recent activism emerged"[46]. It is the sacrifices that were made by Loft that forged the opportunity for First Nations to challenge their oppressor and to bring prosperity to their people and homeland. His League of Indians was the precursor for the Assembly of First Nations, which succeeded in justifying the political efforts of Loft and continues to advocate for First Nations today. Deskaheh is remembered for his "courageous attempt to bring justice to his Haudenosaunee people. [This] was the first step in an ongoing quest that reached a benchmark almost 85 years later" with the United Nations adoption of the Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples.[47] Shortly after Deskaheh had died in 1925, Chief Clinton Rickard of the Tuscarora Nation founded the Indian Defense League of America[48] which would resist the threat of government power and open borders for Canadian and American Aboriginals. It is the efforts of these two individuals that forged future political activity and led to the acknowledgement of people that have been belittled for years. Frederick Loft and Chief Deskaheh are held in the utmost regard as their efforts have contributed to the empowerment of Canada's Indigenous people as they continue to advocate for their rights.

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[45] Eric Story, *The Awakening Has Come,* 14.

[46] Peter Kulchyski, *A Considerable Unrest,* 107.

[47] Indian Country, Declaration adoption marks the end of the first step

[48] Rarihokwats, *Historical Notes on the League of Indian Nations*, 9.

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HI 461: War and Memory
Supervised by Dr. Roger Sarty

In his 1918 memoir The Glory of the Trenches, Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson of the Canadian Field Artillery wrote: "When we think of God, we think of Him in just about the same way that a Tommy in the front-line thinks of Sir Douglas Haig."[1] Topics of religion, God, and spiritualism are deeply woven throughout the letters, diaries, and memoirs of Canadian soldiers who fought in the trenches of Western Europe during the First World War. Both positive and negative discussion about the Divine was commonplace among soldiers as they were constantly surrounded by the dead and dying. For many soldiers and civilians, the Great War was a religious crusade. In regards to the experiences of Canadian soldiers in the First World War, this paper will

[1] Coningsby Dawson, *The Glory of the Trenches: An Interpretation* (New York: John Lane Company, 1918), 137-141.

attempt to answer two main questions: Firstly, to what kind of religious belief did Canadian soldiers subscribe, and to what degree did combat experience cause these soldiers to lose their religious faith and/or to turn to religion as a means of comfort; and secondly, what were soldiers' attitudes towards the presence of military chaplains in the Canadian Expeditionary Force (CEF).

Understanding the religious sentiments of First World War soldiers allows historians today to understand, in the words of veteran Will R. Bird, that "the private in the trenches had other thoughts than the fresh [and] had often finer vision and strength of soul than those who would fit him to their sordid, sensation-seeking fiction."[2] This research is also important because the religiosity of the CEF has never before been fully studied in the Canadian context. An analysis of Canadian soldiers' perspectives on the presence of chaplains during the war is also important. This research will give new insight into the role and acceptance of religious personnel in the CEF and would help to better explore whether or not wartime chaplains were, in the eyes of the soldiers themselves, successful in bringing moral and spiritual discipline, hope, and friendship to the average Canadian soldier overseas.

Key Canadian published works which deal with relgiosity among front-line troops include David Marshall's Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief (1992) and ""Khaki has become a sacred colour:" The Methodist Church and the Sanctification of World War One" (2014), Duff Crerar's Padres in No Man's Land (1995) and "Dismissed: Military Chaplains and Canadian Great War History" (2014), and Jonathan Vance's Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War (1997). While these works focus more on the general religious and spiritual trends and attitudes during the war, they fail to look in depth at the individual experiences of Canadian soldiers as found in their own letters, diaries, and memoirs. These authors claim that while many soldiers drifted from the institutional church during the war, often because of the unexplainable hardships they faced, they generally did not stop believing in God, the supernatural, or spiritual forces. Marshall, for example, argues that while many soldiers behaved immorally (at least in the eyes of the religious society at home), became "indifferent to religion," and "rebelled against religious institutions,"[3] they still "espoused a clear faith in God."[4] Since these

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[2] Will R. Bird, *And We Go On: A Memoir of the Great War* (McGill: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 4-5.

[3] David B. Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith: Canadian Protestant Clergy and the Crisis of Belief, 1850-1940* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 157.

historians are in general agreement about the religious atmosphere in the CEF, their statements are valuable because they give a sense of the prevailing ideas surrounding the topic of religious experiences of soldiers in wartime.

Just because religious and spiritual beliefs existed among the soldiers, it does not necessarily mean that they accepted traditional Christian doctrine. Marshall argues that while soldiers may have had "little understanding of Christianity and scant regard for the church… [since the] war itself made belief in Christianity extraordinary difficult," a certain level of religious sentiment, spiritualism, or supernatural belief, all of which were detached from the traditional religious teaching of the official military chaplains and institutionalized churches, existed in the minds of frontline soldiers.[5] Duff Crerar generally supports this line of thinking. In Padres in No Man's Land, he claims that the majority of soldiers were "uncommitted or disillusioned but not entirely irreligious" and that their place was "somewhere between the hardened atheist and the fulsome idealist."[6] Religion "played [such] an important role in soldier thinking," in fact, that soldiers rarely questioned the existence of God, finding atheism to be "unthinkable."[7] In an almost contradictory statement, however, Crerar argues that many soldiers felt that "God had been profoundly silent, even absent, from the Western Front…"[8] Marshall, Crerar, and Vance all agree that the Christian symbolism of Christ's sacrifice, death, suffering, resurrection, and eternal life acted as powerful coping mechanisms for soldiers and civilians alike who lost comrades and family members.[9] While these are all clear statements on the religious belief of, and the use of religion by, Canadian soldiers, the above statements made in the secondary literature are not grounded in a wide base of primary source

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[4] David B. Marshall, ""Khaki has become a sacred colour:" The Methodist Church and the Sanctification of World War One," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War*, ed. by Gordon L. Heath (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 123.

[5] Marshall, *Secularizing the Faith*, 157, 173.

[6] Duff Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land: Canadian Chaplains and the Great War* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 224.

[7] Duff Crerar, "Dismissed: Military Chaplains and Canadian Great War History," in *Canadian Churches and the First World War,* ed. by Gordon L. Heath (Eugene: Pickwick Publications, 2014), 243-244.

[8] Crerar, "Dismissed," 258.

[9] Marshall, "Khaki has become a sacred colour," 102-104; Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 161-193; and Jonathan Vance, *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1997), 35-72.

evidence. In claiming that soldiers simply used religion as a means of comfort before a battle but quickly forgot about it after their return, for example, Duff Crerar cites only two short interviews.[10] Surely such a weighty statement deserves to be backed up with a larger breadth of primary sources.

Key non-Canadian published works that contribute to the first research question include Paul Fussell's The Great War and Modern Memory (1975), Jay Winter's Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning (1995), Richard Schweitzer's The Cross and the Trenches (2003), and Philip Jenkins' The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade (2014). Although not directly relevant to religion in the CEF, these authors are valuable because they still make important arguments surrounding the connections between war, memory, commemoration, and religion during the Great War. In The Great War and Modern Memory, Fussell argues that the war was so destructive that it completely changed the way soldiers experienced and remembered war. The war was ironic, it challenged the optimistic Idea of Progress, and it "was a hideous embarrassment to the prevailing Meliorist myth which had dominated the public consciousness for a century."[11] In regards to the impact of warfare on soldiers' religious belief, Fussell argues that, despite the fact that the war "represent[ed] a triumph of modern industrialism, materialism, and mechanism… the result [was] a plethora of very un-modern superstitions, talismans, wonders, miracles, relics, legends, and rumours."[12] Fussell uses the rumour of the Crucified Canadian to illustrate the growth of the un-modern amidst a modern war. It was said that the Germans captured a Canadian soldier in the Ypres sector, pierced his hands and feet with bayonets, and crucified him on a wooden cross in No Mans Land. Regardless of the validity of this story, its symbolism was significant to the soldiers. As Christ suffered and became a sacrifice for mankind, so too did soldiers suffer and act as a sacrifice for mankind.[13] While soldiers may have turned to 'un-modern superstitions', according to Fussell the First World War ultimately killed these traditional cultural forms and led to the birth of 'modern memory'.

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[10] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 224.

[11] Paul Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1975), 8.

[12] Fussell, 115.

[13] Fussell, 117-118.

In Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning, Jay Winter argues the opposite of Fussell. Where Fussell claims traditional motifs (classical, romantic, and religious imagery) decreased in popularity during the war, Winter argues that they actually became more popular. These motifs were used to "mediate bereavement," give comfort, and help preserve the memory of those who had died. It was not until the Second World War, Winter claims, where 'modern memory' was born.[14] Later in the book, Winter discusses religion and spirituality specifically. Spiritualism, which helped survivors cope with the loss and trauma of trench warfare, rose dramatically during and after the war. This spiritualism took on two main forms: secular spiritualism, which included the desire to communicate with the dead through seances and other psychical means, and religious spiritualism, which included the desire to see apocalyptic, divine, angelic, or saintly presences.[15] Winter argues that the majority of soldiers on the front lines were more spiritual then religious, since "the experience of the trenches could not easily be explained in conventional theological terms."[16] Some soldiers tried to make this wartime spiritualism compatible to traditional Christianity. And though the two often shared many of the same thematic language, such as ideas of heaven, hell, angels, demons, the apocalypse, and the resurrection, it did not mean that soldiers who were spiritualists followed traditional Christianity or even believed in God. Despite their stance on traditional religious belief, First World War soldiers believed in, and clung to, fate, superstition, and the supernatural. As Winter writes, "It is not that most soldiers were avowed spiritualists. It is rather that the bizarre and unnatural world in which they fought," [17] which included, as Eric Leed writes, mass destruction, purposelessness, loss, and a continuous presence of death, "was the perfect environment for the spread of tales of the supernatural." [18]

Richard Schweitzer gives a strong general view of the wide variety of religious beliefs that were present on the Western Front during the Great War. He discusses soldiers whose wartime experiences led them to have multiple views about God and religion. "As with the spectrum of faith, a

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[14] Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 29.

[15] Winter, 54.

[16] Winter, 64.

[17] Winter, 67.

[18] Eric J. Leed, *No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 109.

variety of vantage points constitute[d] the spectrum of doubt," he writes.[19] Many drifted away from organized religion but kept their faith, others remained religious but simultaneously accepted other creeds like fatalism, humanism, or spiritualism, and others still became atheists. Some turned to God as a source of comfort in the midst of war, while others felt neglected, ignoring what they saw as an "uncaring God."[20] Overall, Schweitzer agrees with many of the Canadian historians that religion and faith in God was definitely a part of the soldier's life at the front, but that the men often drifted away from the institutionalized church. As Schweitzer writes, "soldiers were occupied with fighting and surviving rather than praying."[21]

Although from an American perspective, Philip Jenkins' book The Great and Holy War gives a compelling argument for the religiosity of soldiers during wartime. "Religious language and assumptions," he writes, "were omnipresent, on the home front and at the front lines, as part of the air people breathed."[22] Jenkins states that in the diaries and letters of American, Canadian, British, and German soldiers, religious language was frequently used, especially regarding the image of Christ and his sacrifice of laying down his life for his friends. In response to the popular saying "there are no atheists in foxholes," Jenkins argues that the horrific war conditions did not, in fact, produce "orthodox believers." Rather, it created soldiers whose beliefs existed on the "fringes of Christianity" and incorporated traditional religion and the occult.[23]

To answer the second research question about what soldiers' attitudes were towards military chaplains, Duff Crerar's Padre's in No Man's Land is the key source. This book, however, focuses almost entirely on the experiences of military chaplains in the army and chaplain-soldier relationships rather than how soldiers viewed chaplains and soldier-chaplain relationships. To be fair, Crerar does claim that his book is not "an authoritative representation of how every Canadian soldier viewed the padre."[24] Nonetheless, he still makes some important arguments including the fact that soldiers viewed chaplains as nuisances and elites, and that the only way padres would be respected

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[19] Richard Schweitzer, *The Cross and the Trenches: Religious Faith and Doubt Among British and American Great War Soldiers* (Westport: Praeger Publishers, 2003), 231.

[20] Schweitzer, 215-217.

[21] Schweitzer, 133.

[22] Philip Jenkins, *The Great and Holy War: How World War I Became a Religious Crusade* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 2014), 14.

[23] Jenkins, 120-121.

[24] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 9.

was if they "proved themselves in battle or in some way advocated the common soldier's point of view."[25] Padres in No Man's Land does not focus on the soldier's point of view, however, and therefore does not substantially back up these claims with primary source evidence.

The arguments and positions that all of these secondary sources make are important to understanding the current views about the religious belief systems of soldiers in the CEF. The key arguments regarding the shift away from institutionalized religion and towards the person of Christ, as well as the use of un-modern religious belief as a means of comfort during the war, will be tested by analyzing a number of letter sets, diaries, and memoirs of Canadian soldiers during the Great War. What do the letters, diaries, and memories of Canadian soldiers tell us about what they thought regarding the presence or absence of God from the battlefield? Likewise, what do these primary sources tell us about how soldiers viewed military chaplains and organized religion generally?

Some general conclusions can be reached. Firstly, in agreement with Marshall, Crerar, and Vance, the majority of Canadian soldiers, while maintaining religious, spiritual, and/or supernatural beliefs, were dissatisfied with, and drifted away from, institutionalized religion as a result of their war experiences. Secondly, in many cases, Canadian soldiers could not separate religion and religious services from both the war-torn and pastoral surroundings they encountered. While religious sites like churches and shrines, many of which remained intact despite the destruction surrounding them, did give comfort and identity to Canadian soldiers as Jonathan Vance argues, they did more than that - they also reminded soldiers of home and of the indestructability of the roots of Christianity.

The primary sources used for this analysis are invaluable because they are the first-hand accounts of Canadian soldiers in the Great War. They share the experiences of ordinary soldiers in their own words. Because Canadian soldiers came from such a wide array of religious and cultural backgrounds and thus held a variety of different attitudes towards both personal religious experiences and institutionalized religious services, each letter, diary, and memoir gives a unique perspective. Some of the most pertinent primary sources that will be used to answer the first research question include Harold Henry Simpson's letters (1915-1919), Harold Peat's Private Peat (1917), Coningsby Dawson's The Glory of the Trenches (1918),

[25] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 224.

Will R. Bird's And We Go On (1930), and Christian Yale Harrison's Generals Die in Bed (1930). By comparing memoirs like Private Peat and Generals Die in Bed, valuable insights emerge. Whereas Harold Peat tended to be more pro-war and pro-religion, Charles Harrison was anti-war and anti-religion. Understanding the attitudes of soldiers towards war can help in understanding whether there is a correlation between being against the war and against religion, or being for the war and pro-religion.

To what extent did soldiers in the CEF feel close to God on the Western Front from 1914-1918? After analyzing the selected first-hand accounts, it is clear that a large number of Canadian soldiers did maintain religious, spiritual, and/or supernatural beliefs. As Crerar, Marshall and Vance argue, many soldiers also used their belief systems as a means of comfort before and during combat. Harold Simpson, a native of Prince Edward Island, wrote to his mother in February 1917 commending the religious faith of his comrades. After witnessing an alter call where soldiers declared their "belief in the Saviour and… determination to serve Him more faithfully in the future," Simpson professed that it was "a splendid thing to see that body of men… pledging themselves to lead a better life."[26] In a letter to his mother in October 1916, Lieutenant Armine Norris emphasized the growing tendency towards religious faith and its benefit as a means of comfort:

> Somehow I think some of the older fellows are getting less and less certain of their atheism. It is a fact, unadmitted by many, even to themselves, but a fact nevertheless, that it's only from the instinct given us by our mothers that there is a Supreme Power intelligently controlling our destinies that we can endure long hours of shelling and stay sane.[27]

Not only do Simpson and Norris acknowledge the religious belief many men inhabited, they also acknowledge the power of this religious belief – it helped soldiers endure and keep their sanity.

In April 1917, the day before he would be killed at Vimy Ridge, Lieut. Clifford Wells asked his mother to "not grieve too much" if he was killed. "Remember that I died doing my duty… and that we shall be together again in heaven," he continued, "where God will wipe away every tear from our eyes. God and heaven seem more real here in the presence of suffering and

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[26] Harold Henry M.M. Simpson, "1917 February 7," *The Canadian Letters and Images Project*, http://www.canadianletters.ca/.

[27] Armine Norris, *"Mainly for Mother"* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, c.1920), 114.

death than they ever did before."[28] Here, Wells is describing the tendency to have religious faith even in the midst of suffering and death. For Private Harold Peat, the tendency was strong even for nonreligious men. Lying wounded on the battlefield of Ypres, Peat had a vision: "It was while I was resting after such an effort that a wonderful moment came to me. I saw the Lord Jesus upon His cross, and the compassion upon His face was marvelous to see... a great comfort surrounded me. I was happy."[29] After the war, Peat was asked, "How did you live? How did you 'carry on'?" He responded, "there was always that Unseen Hand which held back the enemy in his might…And that is why we were not driven back… That is why we stood the test. That is why we, the Allied Nations, shall win."[30] Simpson, Norris, Wells, and Peat acknowledged that their wartime experiences led, in part, to their religious or spiritual beliefs, and that the overwhelming comforting presence of the divine on the battlefield helped each of them 'carry on'.

In his memoir And We Go On published in 1930, Will R. Bird also claimed that religious belief, or in his case belief in secular spiritualism, got men through the war.

> Never on earth was there a like place where a man's support, often his sole support, was his faith in some mighty Power… Unconsciously there were born faiths that carried men through critical moments, and tortured minds grasped fantasies that served in place of more solid creeds. The trench at zero hour was a crucible that dissolved all insincerity and the superficial, and it did more. It drew from even dulled and uncouth natures a perception that was attributed to the mystic and supernal.[31]

Other soldiers followed this line of thinking. Major Georges Vanier, who would later become Governor General of Canada from 1959-1967, claimed that he came through the war "without a scratch" because of "Providence" and all the "prayers of all the dear ones at home."[32] Lieutenant William Blair

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[28] O.C.S. Wallace, ed, *From Montreal to Vimy Ridge and Beyond: The Correspondence of Lieut. Clifford Almon Wells, 1915-1917* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart Publishers, 1917), 306-307.

[29] Harold R. Peat, *Private Peat* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co. Publishers, 1917), 194.

[30] Peat, 84-85.

[31] Bird, *And We Go On*, 4-5.

[32] Deborah Cowley, ed, *Georges Vanier, Soldier: The Wartime Letters and Diaries, 1915-1919* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 2000), 247. Later in the war Vanier was severely wounded; he lost a leg.

Gray who was born in Toronto but raised in Brandon, Manitoba, told his mom in a letter dated February 13, 1916 to not worry since "up there beyond the Gates of Pearl there is one Omnipresent, and He will watch o'er me as he has done over millions of other sons."[33] Lieutenant Coningsby Dawson, a British born soldier in the CEF, claimed that although soldiers were religious "doubters" before the war, belief came "as simple and clearly as it did when [they] were children" once they had "gaze[d] hourly into the eyes of Death."[34] The fear of death led many soldiers to the comforts religion promised.

Harold Simpson qualified his August 22, 1916 letter to his mother by claiming that soldiers, though they may have played poker and appeared like "heathens at first glance," fully subscribed to Christian belief. He wrote:

> Many a time I have seen the bunch of men playing poker and at the same time singing "Nearer My God To Thee", "I Am Thine O Lord" or "Abide With Me"… You say he is a thoughtless gambler. Perhaps he is at least a gambler but if you know him personally and understand his life, in four cases out of five I think you would say he was a Christian… Soldiers' life at the front is essentially a rough and ready one and to the outsider the majority of us would appear heathens at first glance… though I think the average Tommy thinks more about religion and the higher things here at the front than the same Tommy would if he were home in civil life.[35]

On St. Patrick's Day 1917, his twentieth birthday, Simpson wrote another letter to his mother. In it he comments on the effects the deaths of comrades had on him, the comfort he found in his Christianity, and the fact that many people at home believed soldiers on the front had no religion:

> Naturally it brings a feeling of sadness to one's heart to see one's comrades laying cold in death, victims of the fiendish inventions of a so-called culture and highly developed science which places itself on the footing of a God and leads its deluded followers to crimes unprecedented in history; but there is another and more glorious side too and one sees it in those who have fallen, examples of Him who upon Calvary's tree gave himself to save his friends and just as

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[33] William (Blair) Gray, *A Sunny Subaltern: Billy's Letters from Flanders* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart Publishers, 1916), 74.

[34] Dawson, *The Glory of the Trenches*, 109-110.

[35] Simpson, "1916 August 22."

> his death was not in vain so that will be with those who pay the supreme sacrifice out here in their devotion to duty… A good many people have the idea that once a chap becomes a soldier he loses every spark of good and of manhood that is in him, that he forgets his home, his Christian training and his God and becomes a mere animal, a brute. A worse delusion than this I could not imagine. There are as true soldiers of the King of Kings out here as one could find anywhere…[36]

For Simpson, soldiers were far from lacking religion. In fact, they lived and breathed religious belief. As Paul Fussell and Jonathan Vance argue, the supreme sacrifice of soldiers amidst the horrors of war gave ultimate comfort to both soldiers and civilians because it pointed to the sacrifice of Christ.[37]

While the majority of Canadian soldiers maintained some sort of religious or spiritual belief, the fact that they also drifted away from institutionalized religion is also evident in their letters, diaries, and memoirs. For Lieutenant Dawson, the new "happy religion" of the soldiers, "which lies hidden in the hearts of our men," was "the religion of heroism, which they have learnt in the glory of the trenches."[38] Dawson continued:

> It's a religion in which men don't pray much. With me, before I went to the Front, prayer was a habit. Out there I lost the habit; what one was doing seemed sufficient. I got the feeling that I might be meeting God at any moment, so I didn't need to be worrying Him all the time… If God was really interested in me, He didn't need constant reminding…The religion of the trenches is not a religion which analyses God with impertinent speculation. It isn't a religion which takes up much of His time. It's a religion which teaches men to carry on stoutly and to say, "I've tried to do my bit as best I know how. I guess God knows it. If I 'go west' to-day, He'll remember that I played the game. So I guess He'll forget about my sins and take me to Himself." That is the simple religion of the trenches as I have learnt it - a religion not without glory; to carry on as bravely as you know how, and to trust God without worrying Him.[39]

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[36] Simpson, "1917 March 17."

[37] Fussell, 117-118; Vance, 35-72.

[38] Dawson, *The Glory of the Trenches*, 106-107.

[39] Dawson, *The Glory of the Trenches*, 137-141.

Private Mervin Simmons, a native of British Columbia, was a prisoner during much of the war. In his memoir published in 1918, he discussed what the religion of the returning Canadian soldiers would look like and how it differed from traditional Christianity: "In religion, [the soldier] will not care anything about form. Denominationalism will bore him, but the vital element of religion, brotherly love and helping the other fellow, will attract him, wherever he finds it."[40] The new religion of Dawson and Simmons would be about heroism, sacrifice, and "laying down one's life for his friends" rather than following all the rules, praying to and 'worrying' God, and acknowledging God "out loud," which were characteristics of traditional religion.[41]

The characters in Will R. Bird's And We Go On are perhaps the best examples of soldiers who, while maintaining spiritual beliefs, wanted nothing to do with conventional religion.[42] When asked if he believed in God, Tommy responded, "I do. If I didn't I'd quit everything. But I'm going to have my own belief in my own way. It's all going to be between Him and me, and no preacher is going to have anything to do with it."[43] For Bird and his fellow soldiers, religion was important, but it needed to be completely voluntary and done on their own terms:

> Something in every man, no matter what his record as a church-goer, resented the idea of having his religion forced on him. There was no greater stupidity shown, no more blind disregard of the soldier's intelligence and right to individualistic feeling, than compulsory church parades [and hymn singing]. They went because they had to go… But in the evenings, when there was opportunity, those same dumb-lipped men would go, voluntarily, to a Y.M.C.A. hut, and there fairly bring down the roof with singing that throbbed with fervour. Given their own freedom in the matter and religious services would have been enjoyed by the soldiers.[44]

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[40] Nellie L. McClung, ed, *Three Times and Out: A Canadian Boy's Experience in Germany* (Toronto: Thomas Allen, 1918), 246-247.

[41] Dawson, *The Glory of the Trenches*, 111-119. [See also Simpson, "1918 April 21," where the new religion he envisions is non-judgemental and based on sympathy and friendship].

[42] Bird, *And We Go On*, xxxi.

[43] Bird, 202-203.

[44] Bird, 129-130.

It is true, however, that some soldiers lost faith in God and became hostile to religion altogether because of their war experiences. After seeing men killed for the first time, Keith Fallis, who joined the army at the age of eighteen, "didn't want to discuss moral questions or religious questions." After battle he would often ask, "how could anyone believe in God as having an influence in human life and have this sort of thing happen?"[45] Other soldiers also had negative views of the war and of religious belief. In his anti-war novel Generals Die in Bed, which was published in 1930, Charles Yale Harrison finds no hope in religion or God. After being wounded at the Battle of Amiens in August 1918, Harrison wrote:

> I began to pray. "God – God – please…" I remembered that I do not believe in God. Insane thoughts race through my brain. I want to catch hold of something, something that will explain this mad fury, this maniacal congealed hatred that pours down on our heads. I can find nothing to console me, nothing to appease my terror. I know that hundreds of men are standing a mile or two from me pulling gun-lanyards, blowing us to smithereens. I know that and nothing else.[46]

Harrison continues:

> What god is there as mighty as the fury of a bombardment? More terrible than lightning, more cruel, more calculating than an earthquake! How will we ever be able to go back to peaceful ways again and hear pallid preachers whimper of their puny little gods who can only torment sinners with sulphur, we, who have seen a hell that no god, however cruel, would fashion for his most deadly enemies? Yes, all of us have prayed during the maniac frenzy of a bombardment. Who can live through the terror-laden minutes of drum-fire and not feel his reason slipping, his manhood dissolving! Selfish, fear-stricken prayers – prayers for safety, prayers for life, prayers for air, for salvation from the death of being buried alive… Back home they are praying, too – praying for victory – and that means that we must lie here and rot and tremble for ever.[47]

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[45] Daphne Read, ed, *The Great War and Canadian Society: An Oral History* (Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1978), 132.

[46] Charles Yale Harrison, *Generals Die in Bed* (1930) (Hamilton: Potlatch Publications, 1975), 24-26.

[47] Harrison, 98-101.

In his account, Harrison viewed the religious atmosphere surrounding him as futile. His war experiences caused him to have a negative view of God, destiny, and religion[48]

Despite these anti-war and anti religious writings, it is true that, overall, Canadian soldiers openly discussed religious themes. Many wrestled with God and traditional Christianity in their writings, but most soldiers still maintained some belief in God or spiritual forces, even if these beliefs were unmodern as Fussell and Winter would argue.[49] The result of this wrestling was predominantly removal from organizational religion rather than a complete abandonment from all religious belief.

After analyzing a variety of first-hand accounts, it is clear that Canadian soldiers made a significant connection between religion and their physical surroundings. This connection was commonly made when soldiers had time to write and think, usually when they were on leave, away from the frontlines, or when combat was halted. This connection between religion and their surroundings illustrates the presence of religious thought in the minds and writings of Canadian soldiers, even when their lives were not in immediate danger. For the purposes of this paper, 'physical surroundings' refers to the natural or man-made landscape or atmosphere surrounding a soldier as they wrote. This includes experiences which occurred on torn up and muddy battlefields, in destroyed towns and cities, churches, and at roadside shrines, as well as in the untouched landscapes and skylines away from the frontlines.

Religion, war, and nature were very much connected in the writings of First World War Canadian soldiers. When soldiers recounted religious services at or near the front lines, they almost always discussed their physical surroundings. In the following examples, soldiers connected religion with their war-oriented surroundings. At Vimy Ridge in May 1917, New Brunswick native Major Cyrus Inches was attending a church service on "the side of a hill nearby." Amidst the service, while the band was "playing the choir music," nearby guns were "chiming in by way of accompaniment."[50] The day after returning from the trenches, Lieutenant Clifford Wells and his men

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[48] See also Ralph Scott, *A Soldier's Diary* (London: W. Collins Sons & Co. Ltd., 1923), 96-100, where he talks about an unsympathetic God.

[49] Fussell, *The Great War and Modern Memory*, 115.

[50] Valeria Teed, ed, *Uncle Cy's War: The First World War Letters of Major Cyrus F. Inches* (Fredericton: Goose Lane Editions and the New Brunswick Military Heritage Project, 2009), 207.

attended their first church service in months. "On this occasion," he wrote to his mother in March 1917, "there were times when the sound of the nearby guns drowned the padre's voice."[51] Likewise, when Toronto-native Lieutenant Bernard Freeman Trotter attended a church service one Sunday, he was given "a new thrill… to repeat the Te Deum and the Nunc Dimitis in a room, scarred, walls and ceiling, with shrapnel; and with the roll of the guns for accompaniment instead of the organ."[52] While church services did act as a solace in the midst of war, the war was nevertheless connected with the church and the service. Religion and war were connected so much so, in fact, that the partially damaged church with shrapnel gave a visual reminder of the surrounding war, and the nearby guns replaced the organ in playing songs of worship to God.

When given the chance to sit still and think, whether on leave or on watch, soldiers often commented on themes of religion and pastoral nature. While Harold Simpson and his buddy Lawson were on night watch, they could not help but notice their surroundings:

It was an ideal night, the moon suffusing old Mother Earth with a soft radiance presenting a scene of tender beauty without disclosing the ugly scars which civilized man, so-called, in his campaign of destruction has brought upon the fair face of Nature. And overhead the myriad eyes of Heaven twinkle out their messages of peace and love and quiet power. And as one's gaze wandered out over this scene one's thoughts also reached out into the infinities of space, into the eternal mystery, the hidden secrets of the universe…And as we sat in that little shelter, silent, our thoughts wandering at will I felt that there was a third Presence in place and that here with us was the Companion who would never forsake us, ever ready to offer the guiding, helping hand.[53]

Note how Simpson distinguished between the "tender beauty" and the "peace and love and quiet power" of the sky, stars, and untouched land on one hand, and the "ugly scars" man produced on "the face of Nature" during his "campaign of destruction" on the other. Despite what man had done to God's creation, Simpson still felt that a divine "Companion" or "Presence" was guiding and protecting him. This idea aligns well with Paul

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[51] O.C.S. Wallace, ed, *From Montreal to Vimy Ridge and Beyond*, 292.

[52] Bernard Trotter, "1917 January 22," *The Canadian Letters and Images Project*, http://www.canadianletters.ca/.

[53] Simpson, "1917 September 25."

Fussell's point about soldiers using their natural surroundings as a means of comfort. "If the opposite of war is peace," Fussell writes, "the opposite of experiencing moments of war is proposing moments of pastoral." Since war occurs outdoors and in nature, soldiers often wrote of the pastoral to protect themselves "from the horrors of war" and to act as a comforter, "like rum, a deep dugout, or a woolly vest."[54]

Lieut. Dawson, Lieut. Wells, and Major Hughes give further evidence to support Fussell's claims. While on leave, Lieut. Dawson said that he felt like Lazarus because he "[rose] out of his tomb and prais[ed] God at the sound of a divine voice." "You don't know how exquisite a ploughed field can look, especially after rain," he continued, "unless you have feared that you might never see one again… Life, how I love you!"[55] Lieut. Wells, while on leave in Kent, England in April 1916, discussed the beauty of his surroundings in a letter to his father:

> From the rising ground on which we were standing we could see for miles over the country, which is wonderfully beautiful. The hillsides, well watered by nature, and closely cropped by thousands of sheep, appeared as green and smooth as well kept lawns. A bluff beside us was scarred owing to having been used as a machine gun target. During the service an aeroplane flew over our heads. These signs of warfare, however, seemed much less close to us and much less real than the quietness and peace of the service and of our natural surroundings.[56]

While also on leave, Major John Hughes of Alberta wrote a similar passage to his wife:

> We have just had a shower of rain, and now the setting sun is shining on the trees and making them all glorious in their fresh-washed foliage… no mere man could ever reproduce this work of the great Architect of the Universe… God has just shown us what a beautiful world he has placed us in, to contrast in our minds what a hell we can make of the beauty spots he gave us. Just a few short miles and there are no trees, and the setting sun shines on heaped up ridges of dirty clay and chalk, rusty brown rows of tangled wire, great rents in

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[54] Fussell, 231-235.

[55] Coningsby Dawson, *Carry On: Letters in War-Time* (New York: John Lane Company, 1917), 81-85.

[56] O.C.S. Wallace, ed, 127.

> the lands, dirty white bone which once was man or horse, and that is what thousands have to gaze on this evening. A few of us have had a chance to see how beautiful this world is when unspoiled by man."[57]

In the same ways that Inches, Wells, and Trotter could not escape the war even during solemn church services, Simpson, Dawson, Wells, and Hughes could not separate war, religion, and their physical surroundings, regardless of how far removed they were from the frontlines. It is clear that soldiers used the pastoral to comfort themselves as well as to separate in their minds the beauty of God's creation with the hell created by men on earth.

The encounters with churches in destroyed cities, and roadside shrines greatly moved many Canadian soldiers in France and Belgium as they travelled behind the frontlines.[58] "The sight of a shattered crucifix, the body of Christ pierced by a bullet or shrapnel fragment, could be a powerful lesson to a marching infantryman," Vance writes in Death so Noble. "It reminded him of one who suffered 2,000 years earlier, and in whose footsteps he followed. It may also have offered the comforting thought that he did not suffer alone, but in the company of Jesus."[59] While soldiers who wrote about roadside shrines or churches often mentioned their extensive damage,[60] many soldiers tended to focus on the intactness, integrity, and survival of the religious sites rather than their destruction. R. A. L., a Canadian stretcher bearer who rarely discussed religion, wrote a letter to his future wife in November 1916 describing his curiosity of "a little wayside shrine:"

> Of course wrecked villages have become monotonous; but when you see one first, the desolation and waste of it all strikes you very forcibly. A thing I noticed particularly was that, at a cross road where all the corner houses were smashed flat, a little wayside shrine, like you see in every village, with its large crucifix was

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[57] John R. Hughes, ed, *The Unwanted: Great War Letters from the Field* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2003), 154-155.

[58] Vance, *Death So Noble*, 23-24.

[59] Vance, 137.

[60] See George G. Nasmith, *On the Fringe of the Great Fight* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart Publishers, 1917), 81, "The houses round the church had been completely razed to the ground... the church itself had been hit scores of times, and the walls though still standing were perforated like a sieve;" Nasmith, 85, "Great piles of stone and debris lay in front of it [St. Martin's Church], and the roof was gone and the windows had disappeared, but the tower was still intact; the houses in the neighbourhood had been blown to atoms;" and Dawson, *Glory*, 111.

absolutely untouched. I hear this is very common all along the line. Curious, isn't it?[61]

Coningsby Dawson was fascinated with shrines and churches and wrote about them frequently in The Glory of the Trenches (1918).[62] While on leave, Dawson came across an undamaged shrine amidst the shambles of a church in a ruined city. While the cathedral was "roofed only by the sky," he noticed "the high alter [was] totally untouched by the hurricane of shell-fire." He continued:

The saints were perched in their niches, composed and stately. The Christ looked down from His cross, as he had done for centuries, sweeping the length of splendid architecture with sad eyes. It seemed a miracle that the altar had been spared, when everything else had fallen. A reason is given for its escape. Every Sabbath since the start of the war, no matter how severe the bombardment, service has been held there… The Hun is aware of this; with malice aforethought he lands shells into the cathedral every Sunday in an effort to smash the alter. So far he has failed. One finds in this a symbol – that in the heart of the maelstrom of horror, which this war has created, there is a quiet place where the lamp of gentleness and honour is kept burning. The Hun will have to do a lot more shelling before he puts the lamp of kindness out.[63]

The experiences of R.A.L. and Dawson illustrate that soldiers often noticed churches and shrines in their travels, and while they did mention the damage done to these religious sites, they did not give that the emphasis.[64] Instead, they focused on the intactness of the religious sites amidst the destruction around them. This reinforces the point that Canadian soldiers thought and wrote about religion during the war. Religious thoughts were also not simply used by soldiers in times of helplessness before or during a battle and forgotten quickly after, as Duff Crerar would have his readers

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[61] R.A.L., *Letters of a Canadian Stretcher Bearer* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1918), 88.

[62] See also Dawson, *Glory*, 91-94, where he talks about a ruined town where a statue of the Virgin and the Christ in her arms dangled from "a splintered tower."

[63] Dawson, *Glory of the Trenches*, 106-107.

[64] For other examples see Reginald Roy, ed, *The Journal of Private Fraser, 1914-1918* (Victoria: Sono Nis Press, 1985), 49-50, for story about how a Chateau remained "practically untouched whilst all around was in ruins;" Gray, *A Sunny Subaltern*, 92, for story of how nurses and soldiers believed a field hospital, which remained untouched throughout the war, was saved because of a crucifix hanging in the ward.

believe.[65] In fact, even while on leave and away from the danger of the front, soldiers were still occupied with religious thought. Furthermore, the survival of these religious sites represented, for many soldiers, the survival, indestructability, and certainty of Christianity in a helpless time.

As already discussed, Vance argues that roadside shrines gave soldiers comfort because it reminded them of Christ's sacrifice and his presence with them. Vance also argues that these shrines symbolized the identity of each man as "soldiers of Christ" and, through their own sacrifices, as representations of Christ himself.[66] After analyzing the primary accounts of Nasmith and Simmons, however, churches in particular were used by soldiers as a means of comfort in more ways than simply as a reminder of Christ's sacrifice – in the midst of foreignness, destruction, and gloom, churches reminded soldiers of home. During a church service in a French village, George Nasmith began to reminisce:

> Our thoughts flew thousands of miles over the ocean to other Sunday evening services at our home in Canada. We could see the old family pew; we could hear father and mother and the old friends singing that same old hymn, while our youthful minds were likely busied with recollections of a lacrosse match or baseball game that we had seen the day before, or maybe of a visit to the old dam where we had had the finest swim of the season. We could see women attired in spotless white, and men in frock coats and silk hats, walking sedately to church, and we longed with an intense longing for one more such Sunday in the old home town. It seemed ages since we had been there; we wondered whether we would ever visit the old scenes again, and we had a premonition that we never would.[67]

Being in a church helped Nasmith and soldiers like him to remember church services at home. Religion allowed soldiers, at least temporarily, to escape from the war and to remember back to a time that was peaceful and comfortable. It gave them "an intense longing" to be back home, even though many like Nasmith realized that they might never return.

After being captured as a prisoner of war, Private Simmons was taken to a church in Belgium with his fellow comrades to sleep. After being unable to

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[65] Crerar, *Padres in No Man's Land*, 224.

[66] Vance, 37-39.

[67] Nasmith, *On the Fringe of the Great Fight*, 196-170.

fall asleep, Simmons began to wonder about what had all happened in the church and began to think of home:

> I couldn't help but think of the strange use the church which had been the scene of so many pleasant gatherings was being put to… Right here, I thought, the bashful boys had stood, waiting to walk home with the girls… just the way we did in British Columbia, where one church I know well stands almost covered with the fragrant pines… I fell into a pleasant reverie then of sunny afternoons and dewy moonlit nights, when the sun had gone over the mountains, and the stars came out in hundreds. My dream then began to have in it the brightest-eyed girl in the world, who gave me such a smile one Sunday when she came out of church… that I just naturally found myself walking beside her…[68]

In a similar way to Nasmith, Simmons connected the church he was in with memories back home, and used his imagination to escape his present circumstances. In this way, the church building helped to "mediate bereavement" as Jay Winter would argue.[69]

To answer the second research question, "what were soldiers' attitudes towards the presence of military chaplains in the CEF," this paper will analyze the various letters, diaries and memoirs of Canadian soldiers and compare them to Duff Crerar's Padres in No Man's Land. In general, these primary sources confirm Crerar's conclusion that soldiers respected military chaplains who related to them in their preaching and acted as friends rather than superiors. Soldiers wanted chaplains who were broadminded and not too religious in their preaching. Writing his future wife in February 1916 after a concert, R. A. L. commended the parson for speaking with no "hot air" and for "understand[ing] just what's wanted."[70] In the same letter, he discusses the chaplain at the church service he attended that day. "It's interesting how a man can go through life without getting in close touch with his fellow men," he wrote; "This particular man was utterly out of his element preaching to a bunch of Canadians on active service."[71]

Donald Fraser had similar remarks. Before going into battle, the divisional chaplain told the soldiers that many of them might not return.

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[68] McClung, ed, *Three Times and Out*, 16-17.

[69] Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning*, 29.

[70] R.A.L., *Letters of a Canadian Stretcher Bearer*, 35.

[71] Ibid. See also R.A.L.'s New Years Eve letter, 1916, 111.

Fraser said this hurt the morale of the men and that "it would have been better if [they] were left in blissful ignorance."[72] Will R. Bird also commented throughout his memoir about the unrelatability and hypocrisy of the chaplains he met. Tommy, a friend of Bird, remarked that "preachers and padres are not any better than brass hats. They're out of touch with the men, and they've lost their hold… They say just what the brass hats want them to say, there's not a sincere man among them."[73]

Norwood MacLeod, Coningsby Dawson, and Harold Peat had more positive views of their chaplains, precisely because of the style of preaching and their friendship. After hearing "an hour's long lecture on religion," MacLeod, who rarely spoke about religious faith in his letters home, commented to his father in an October 1917 letter that it was "the most sensible and broadminded [he'd] ever listened to" and that the padre was "a fine old fellow."[74] In a letter to his mother on September 24, 1916, Dawson described his "good-hearted" chaplain who "play[ed] the game," created good friendships with the men, and who related with them about his own faith being tested because of the war.[75] Harold Peat had great admiration for his chaplain because he practiced what he preached:

> All of us have deep in our hearts love, veneration and respect for the sky-pilot – chaplain… [He is] the man who not only points the way to higher things, but who travels with us over the rough road which leads to peace in our innermost selves… No stupid tracts are handed to us, no whining and groaning, no morbid comments on the possibility of eternal damnation [if he hears us swear]. No, the chaplain of to-day is a real man… A man who risks his life as do we who are in the fighting line. He has services, talks, addresses, but he never preaches. He practises all the time… Out of this war there will come a new religion. It won't be a sin any more to sing rag-time on Sunday, as it was in the days of my childhood. It won't be a sin to play a game on Sunday. After church parade in France we rushed to the playing fields behind the lines, and many a time I've seen the chaplain umpire the ball game. Many a time I've seen him take a hand in a friendly game of poker. The man who goes to France to-

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[72] Roy, ed, *The Journal of Private Fraser*, 44-45.

[73] Bird, 202-203. See also Bird, 120-121, 129-130, 226-227.

[74] Norwood MacLeod, "1917 October 8," *The Canadian Letters and Images Project*, http://www.canadianletters.ca/.

[75] Dawson, *Carry On*, 55-57.

> day will come back with a broadened mind, be he a chaplain or a fighter. There is no room for narrowness, for dogma or for the tenets of old-time theology…[76]

As alluded to in Harold Peat's letter above, soldiers also admired chaplains who turned a blind eye to the illicit behaviour of many soldiers, including drinking, gambling, and prostitution. Chaplains who respected soldiers despite their behaviour and chose to 'hate the sin but not the sinner,' were admired by the men. In describing his division's chaplain, Harold Simpson wrote:

> The Padre over here knows no distinction or no denomination. He [is broadminded,] understands human nature, and every man to him is the same. He thinks it no disgrace to be seen sitting in an [?] smoking a cigarette and chatting with a bunch of boys as they drink their beer and although he does not drink himself he does not as a rule disapprove for he knows that it is a real comfort to the boys being out the line to sit down around a cozy fire and chat over a glass of three per cent.[77]

Unlike Simpson's chaplain, John Hughes' joined in on the gambling and drinking, except for Sundays. He was "one very jolly chap," a "good poker player," and "very broad-minded in many things."[78] When discussing the controversial rum ration, Harold Peat described the attitude of his padre:

> I have never yet seen a chaplain refuse his ration. And of the salt of the good God's earth are the chaplains… No cant, no smug psalm-singing, mourners'-bench stuff for [our chaplain]. He believed in his Christianity like a man; he was ready to fight for his belief like a man; he cared for us like a father, and stood beside us in the mornings as we drank our [rum] stimulant.[79]

Canadian soldiers were not against chaplains giving spiritual advice, but they wanted to hear what the chaplains had to say 'man to man'. While this

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[76] Peat, *Private Peat*, 115-119. See also Gregory Clark, *The Best of Gregory Clark* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1959), 115-117, where he gives an account of Capt. William Davis, an Anglican chaplain, who carried around a Catholic rosary just in case he was near a dying Catholic and no priest was near.

[77] Simpson, 1918 October 30."

[78] Hughes, ed, *The Unwanted*, 227-228.

[79] Peat, 93-94.

was the opinion of the majority of Canadian soldiers, not all agreed. Eric Rosen, for example, claimed his unit "didn't have a very good padre because he used to drink" and was a "poor example" to the men.[80] Overall, however, Canadian soldiers did not want to hear the traditional religious rhetoric and the moral objections of their chaplains. Instead, they wanted their chaplains to act as non-judgemental friends who they could relate to.

Since soldiers admired padres who tried their best to understand and relate to them and their fellow soldiers, the best way to do this was to fight alongside them. More than anything else, soldiers had deep respect for chaplains who, while being restricted from carrying weapons, were still present in the trenches and on the battlefields comforting the wounded, carrying supplies, and risking their lives. In their letters, diaries, and memoirs, Canadian soldiers told countless stories of chaplains risking their lives to assist the wounded or bury dead comrades. William Gray tells the story of his divisional chaplain who, under a constant rain of shellfire, stayed at the frontlines for three days and nights straight to help the wounded and bury the dead. "It wasn't duty [that] made him do it," Gray remarked, "because he didn't have to [do it] – but it was done."[81] Gregory Clark described a chaplain who was running around No Man's Land helping the wounded amidst a fierce battle. Whether the soldier was Canadian or German, the padre would stab a nearby rifle into the ground and hang the soldiers' helmet on it. When both sides realized what he was doing, there was a ceasefire. The chaplain had established a clearing house where they traded wounded and offered cigarettes to each other.[82]

In describing his encounter with chaplains in a letter home, Armine Norris wrote:

> Do you realize that our chaplains are our bravest men? That is true, so when a man shows he's absolutely indifferent to death, naturally other men are willing to hear him talk about the faith that has made him so. I could tell you of many instances I've seen where the

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[80] Read, ed, *The Great War and Canadian Society*, 146.

[81] William Gray, *More Letters from Billy* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart Publishers, 1917), 104-109. See also Gray, *More Letters from Billy*, 69-76, which tells a story of a gentle, and friendly chaplain who came in to speak to a blind soldier in hospital; and Cowley, *Georges Vanier*, 197, 224, where Vanier talks about the love his battalion had for Father Crochetiere.

[82] Clark, *The Best of Gregory Clark*, 123-125.

> "padre" has done something that made everyone take off his hat to him. Wonderful men, our padres![83]

Canadian soldiers clearly had deep respect for chaplains who risked their lives and who treated them as friends rather than 'heathens' to be converted. These conclusions may seem obvious, and they are, but they give insight into how Canadian soldiers wanted to be viewed, and that, regardless of their religious or moral temperament, most desired to have a friendly relationship with their padre.

This paper has been about war, religion, nature, padres, and memory. Assessment of the conclusions of the key secondary literature by David Marshall, Duff Crerar, and Jonathan Vance on the basis of over twenty primary source accounts confirms that religion played a vital role in the experiences and identity of First World War Canadian soldiers. Religious and spiritual beliefs gave many soldiers peace and purpose in an unlivable, chaotic, and purposeless time.[84] While these beliefs may have borrowed from traditional Christianity and organized religion, the belief systems of soldiers tended to be unconventional, individualistic, and pliable, focusing on bravery, sacrifice, and brotherly love rather than dogma, hierarchy, and moral rules. The military, religious, and naturistic experiences of Canadian soldiers were often interlaced and inseparable. The physical surroundings of soldiers, especially the presence of intact religious sites amidst destruction, gave comfort and identity to soldiers passing by and also acted as a symbol for the indestructability of the roots of Christianity. Brave, non-condemning, and relatable military chaplains were treated as fellow soldiers by the army, but those chaplains who focused on moral vices and church doctrine were treated as aloof, hypocritical, and narrow-minded.

There are a few acknowledgements, limitations, and next steps that need to be taken into account at the closing of this paper. A deeper and more comprehensive search for primary source material would make the arguments in this paper more effective. This would include finding more diaries, letters, and memoirs from a vast number of Canadians from various

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[83] Norris, *"Mainly for Mother"*, 196-197. See also Norris, 137-138, where a chaplain "a man braver than the bravest of us" because he buried corpses along a road while being constantly shelled by the Germans; and Peat, 120-122, Peat describes two chaplains sacrificing themselves at Neuve Chapelle to try to help wounded soldiers, and while they may have failed, " Heaven is witness that their deaths were the deaths of men."

[84] Crerar, "Dismissed," 243-244.

geographical regions, religious backgrounds, ethnicities, and languages from before, during, and after the war. This would also include analyzing the accounts of French, Jewish, Indigenous, and Sikh Canadians. A comparison between the religious experiences of Canadian soldiers in the First World War with the experiences of British, American, German, and Australian soldiers would also be beneficial to understanding the bigger picture. Also, this paper by no means exhausted the possible angles of this topic. It did not discuss the phenomena of soldiers seeing ghosts and spirits, the idea that the Great War was a religious crusade, or the impact the war had on churches in Canada. Furthermore, there are also limits to this research. How was each soldier shaped by their belief systems before and after the war? How does a historian today truly prove the genuineness of a soldiers' religious conversion or occult experience? When discussing the individual experiences of soldiers, Duff Crerar wrote: "Their truth, their experiences, their realities, could never be conveyed home, partly because there were no words to describe them. To pass into uniform and cross the seas was to enter a different world, where only fellow soldiers could understand and offer support and courage."[85] We may never fully comprehend the wartime calamities Canadian soldiers experienced on the battlefields of Europe from 1914 to 1918. As Private Fraser wrote on June 2, 1916 during the Third Battle of Ypres, "One has therefore no conception of the horrors of war until he is in the midst of it."[86] We, as historians, must take their word for it.

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Roy, ed, *The Journal of Private Fraser*, 149.

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Brittany Doerbecker, "'King of the Dead:
Osiris, Religion, and Society in Ancient Egypt"
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Osiris, god of the dead, is arguably one of the most easily identifiable figures of the Egyptian pantheon. Myths about Osiris endured from the Old Kingdom to the New Kingdom, a period spanning some 3,000 years. Not surprisingly, these myths, and the rituals, interpretations, and depictions associated with them, did not remain unaltered. In fact, the figure of Osiris was constantly evolving, with additions or subtractions to the canonical myths prompting a reorganization of the heavenly hierarchy or changes in the way he was worshiped. It is important to recognize that one, single, complete

version of Osiris' myth did not emerge until Plutarch recorded the most common version during the later Greek period. Like other Egyptian myths, the myth of Osiris is difficult to reconstruct be- cause the Egyptians had so many different versions of their myths which were continually repurposed.

The goal of this paper is to trace the evolution of the cult of Osiris through the Old, Middle, and New Kingdoms. It will argue that, over time, Osiris grew increasingly im- portant within the pantheon and that this was instrumental in the process of legitimizing divine kingship, 'democratizing' the afterlife, and inspiring funerary rites. During the Old Kingdom, he remained a relatively minor though popular deity. He appealed to commoners as the lord of order and the bringer of the Nile flood. Egypt's rulers also liked Osiris as legitimizer of their theocracy and bestower of eternal life upon rulers. In the Middle Kingdom, Osiris was also popular with commoners as one who enacted divine justice and brought order. He was further embraced by the rulers, who made him the primary deity in the pantheon. By the New Kingdom, he was arguably the most popular of Egypt's deities for providing eternal life to all Egyptians. This trajectory facilitated by the process of democratizing the afterlife.

This paper will also examine the ways in which these mythological changes influenced Egyptian religious structures and society as a whole. In the Old Kingdom, Osiris justified the institution of divine kingship and facilitated the establishment of a theocracy. In the Middle Kingdom, Osiris functioned as a unifying force, allowing rulers to reassert their authority after the supposedly chaotic First Intermediate Period. In the New Kingdom, the changes in Osiris' myth led mainly to changes within religious rather than political structures but, again, served to unify the country after the political decentralization of the Second Intermediate Period.

The Myth in Overview

Due to the nature of Egyptian writings on mythology, it is extremely difficult to piece together a narrative form of Osiris' myth before Plutarch recorded it during the Greek period.[1] Before this, myths were not recorded in narrative form; rather, deities were referenced on funerary monuments, so that their myths must be inferred from there. Nevertheless, it is likely that Plutarch's recorded form would have also been the standard narrative by the

[1] Bojana Mojsov, *Osiris: Death and Afterlife of a God* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell Publishing, 2005), xix.

New Kingdom.[2] In this form, the myth claims that Osiris, ruler of the Nile valley and lord of order, was slain by his brother Seth, ruler of the desert and lord of chaos. Seth tricked Osiris into lying in a box which he then sealed with lead and set adrift on the Nile.[3] Older versions are less specific; the assumption in the Middle Kingdom was that Seth simply drowned Osiris in the river while Old Kingdom texts provide few details outside of the assertion that Seth had killed him.[4] Similarly, specifics about how he is slain and what happens to the body afterward often change. Later myths claim that Seth dismembered Osiris' body and scattered the pieces throughout Egypt, thereby creating the Egyptian provinces and various temple sites.[5] In all versions, however, when Osiris' body was whole, Isis, Osiris' sister and wife, performed funerary rites, including mummification and entombment, and breathed life back into her husband. They then produced Horus, who challenged his uncle Seth in order to avenge his father and was then crowned king of both Upper and Lower Egypt. Osiris remained king of the dead in all versions of the myth and ruler of the duat or netherworld.

The Old Kingdom

'Old Kingdom' is a term used by historians to denote the period from the 3rd through 6th Dynasties, 2686–2181 BCE. While myths concerning Osiris can be traced back to pre- dynastic times, Osiris did not become a significant deity until the Old Kingdom when the first evidence of a systematic cult dedicated to him appeared during the 6th Dynasty.[6] Osiris' first appearance in writing is in the Pyramid Texts which were likely written between 2500 and 2270 BCE.[7] These texts were intended as a guide for the deceased to guide him or her through various obstacles, the process of gaining eternal life, and the journey to the sky to live with the gods.

The Pyramid Texts offer valuable insight into versions of myths available at the time. From the sparse references to Osiris in the Pyramid Texts, scholars have determined that his role in early Egyptian religion was complex. In this period, it appears that Osiris was killed by Seth, though the

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[2] Mojsov, *Osiris,* xix.

[3] Mojsov, *Osiris*, xx.

[4] James P. Allen and Peter Der Manuelian, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, vol. 23, Writings from the Ancient World (Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2005), 16.

[5] Mojsov, *Osiris, xx.*

[6] John Gwyn Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, vol. 40, Studies in the History of Religions (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1980), 41.

[7] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 8.

exact method of murder is unclear.[8] Osiris is regarded as the bringer of life. His most important function was the revitalization of the sun during the night when it passed into the underworld. The sun's journey was a foundational element of the Old Kingdom's conceptualization of the afterlife, which envisioned the deceased traveling west with the sun into the underworld to be revitalized with it and thence to the sky.[9]

In this version of the myth, Osiris held several important functions. He was worshiped by commoners as the bringer of the annual Nile flood and as ruler of the Nile valley. For rulers, however, Osiris served to legitimize divine kingship and was believed to make resurrection and eternal life possible for them. These differing functions also influenced Egyptian religious structures and society.

Impact on Religious Structures

For commoners, Osiris did not yet represent eternal life, but he made earthly life possible. His death and resurrection were intrinsically linked to the Nile and its flood. Myths portrayed the Nile's first flood as Isis' tears pouring into the river at the news of her husband's death. Osiris was also the ruler of the Black Lands—another name for the Nile's flood plain—and provided order. It was this order which allowed the Nile to flood to consistently. Furthermore, Osiris was associated with Orion, a star whose appearance marked the end of the annual inundation.[10] This connection reinforced several of Osiris' characteristics. First, the receding waters allowed farmers to begin their planting in the freshly deposited silt. Thus, the receding of the water was instrumental to the order of the valley. Additionally, the fertile deposits were also related to one version of the Osiris myth, wherein his genitals were cast into the river. This was believed to be the origin of the river's fertility, though this myth is likely from a later period.[11] While Orion and Osiris represented the 'death' of the flood, its end also represented the beginning of a new stage in the agricultural process. Thus, the association with the end of the flood also served to reinforce Osiris' connection to death and the afterlife. Furthermore, Osiris was drowned in the Nile by Seth in some of the earliest versions of the myth, thus creating another tie between Osiris and the Nile. This version of the myth may have also contributed to the

[8] Allen and Der Manuelian, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 16.
[9] Allen and Der Manuelian, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 16.
[10] Mojsov, *Osiris,* 14.
[11] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 16.

belief that those who drowned in the Nile were considered sacred for dying in the same was as Osiris, or for being drawn to the underworld.[12] This association between Osiris and the Nile made Osiris an extremely vital and popular deity among common people rather than, as in later periods, any capacity to act as a bridge to the afterlife. Osiris was often seen as a promethean figure who constantly gifted humans with knowledge and innovations. According to legend, he taught the Egyptians to farm and gave them the god Thoth's great invention of writing.[13] In fact, though the Nile was eventually represented by its own deity, Osiris' connection to it remained intact through most of Egyptian history. Because most of Egyptian life, culture, and religion was centred on the Nile, Osiris became an important figure in almost every aspect of Ancient Egyptian life.

Osiris' significance in the Old Kingdom, however, depended upon social status. It was different for elites than for commoners and affected their funerary rites and other religious structures in different ways. First, Osiris played a vital role for rulers by ensuring eternal life for them, a privilege reserved almost exclusively for the ruling class during this period. In fact, most rulers were believed to become one with Osiris at death. Some have even argued that the rulers' association with Osiris made them not only beneficiaries of immortality, but its source.[14] This meant that even the most righteous people could not achieve immortality except through the ruler. Remaining close to the ruler in death was also a crucial element in achieving immortality and, thus, many officials in the Old Kingdom constructed their own funerary monuments as close to the ruler's as possible.[15]

Another change in religious structures and funerary rites inspired by Osiris resulted from the advent of the first artificially created mummies during the Old Kingdom. Before this period, Egyptians often buried their dead in the desert where no moisture could reach the body.[16] This prevented decomposition and resulted in 'natural' mummies. When tombs became standard for burials, bodies became exposed to air and moisture and, thus, decomposed. The Egyptians, as a result, sought ways to artificially preserve

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[12] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 4.

[13] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 23.

[14] Etim E. Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' *European Scientific Journal* 8, no. 26 (2012): 111.

[15] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 111.

[16] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 53.

bodies which eventually culminated in the precise art of mummification.[17] Despite Anubis' role as the primary god of mummification, Osiris played a crucial role in its popularization since he had himself, after all, been the first mummy. He was wrapped in bandages by Isis and his body was reanimated as a consequence and continued to enjoy eternal life. Therefore, the belief that mummification was essential to eternal life likely had its roots in Osiris' myth. There are many features of mummification which appear to be closely related to or directly taken from Osiris' myths. First, the mummification process took exactly 70 days. This is the same amount of time that Orion, the star associated with Osiris, is missing from the night sky.[18] Also, the Egyptians believed that one's body must be whole to travel to the afterlife. This seems odd considering later myths wherein Osiris is dismembered. This suggests that the practice of requiring the body to be whole in the afterlife likely emerged before the incarnation of that aspect of the myth. Furthermore, even then, Isis reassembled Osiris and held him together with bandages. Egyptians wrapped themselves in bandages in a similar fashion to prevent dismemberment.[19] Moreover, when Isis was unable to find Osiris' genitalia, she fashioned a prosthetic by means of which Osiris was made whole again. The Ancient Egyptians also used a similar method for those who were mummified but missing limbs or other body parts. People were often mummified with prosthetics to make their bodies whole and, consequently, capable of eternal life.[20] The exception to this rule of completeness was, of course, the removal of the internal organs. However, such removal made room for the magic required to come into union with Osiris and therefore served a greater purpose.[21] These organs remained with the body in canopic jars from the 3rd Dynasty onward and the most vital organ, the heart, remained intact in order to be judged in the afterlife. Finally, the process of removing organs was considered vital to the process of amalgamating with Osiris. Therefore, Osiris' serving as the first mummy fundamentally altered Egyptian burial practices.

Osiris' association with the ruler did not stop at death, however. The ruler's death was also seen as fulfilling a mythic cycle wherein Osiris must die

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[17] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 54.

[18] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 18.

[19] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 54.

[20] John H. Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2001), 66.

[21] Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 67.

in order for his son to ascend to the throne. Thus, for the Egyptians, once rulers had a suitable heir, they became more closely associated with Osiris and their heir became the new Horus.[22] The association between the ruler and Osiris became less prominent during the later Old Kingdom when rulers began instead to associate themselves with the sun god Re. During this period of solar worship, rulers were buried in pyramids to funnel their souls toward the sun.[23] However, even within pyramids, Osiris continued to play a vital role. Rulers continued to be mummified and placed in underground chambers to simulate Osiris' burial and to receive his gift of immortality.[24] Additionally, the parts of the Pyramid Texts drawing a direct relationship between the deceased ruler and Osiris were found in the burial chamber where the deceased was referred to with an 'Osiris name'.[25] Like the 'Horus name' in life, an Osiris name was used to refer to rulers who had become one with Osiris in death. These names were simply the ruler's name preceded by Osiris' name.[26] Rulers who achieved this eternal life were believed to exist outside of time in that they were not subject to ageing or weakness. Rulers might change only if and as they wished, and not as the result of processes outside of their control, like time.[27] This desire to remain unchanging is reflected in the practice of mummification in that it prevents the body from fully decomposing. An unchanging body was, in fact, crucial to achieving immortality since Egyptians believed the body and soul were intrinsically linked and one could not exist without the other.[28] Furthermore, mummification allowed the ruler to continue bestowing gifts upon Egypt and serving its people since the body remained without diminishing.[29] The kings remained unchanged by making the journey to the sky where they were fashioned into stars. The Pyramid Texts also suggest that commoners and foreigners were not allowed to pass through the guarded gate to the sky

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[22] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 43.

[23] John D. Ray, *Reflections of Osiris Lives from Ancient Egypt* (New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 12, accessed April 4, 2017, http://books.scholarsportal.info/viewdoc.html?id=/ebooks/ ebooks0/oxford/2009-11-30/3/0195158717.

[24] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 35.

[25] Allen and Der Manuelian, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 23.

[26] Allen and Der Manuelian, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts*, 23.

[27] James P. Allen, *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, vol. 3, Yale Egyptological Studies (New Haven, Conn.: Yale Egyptological Seminar, Department of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, the Graduate School, Yale University, 1989), 1

[28] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 110–111.

[29] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 112.

though kings and gods passed through freely, suggesting that the afterlife was inaccessible to these people.[30] Thus, the ruler became one with Osiris in the afterlife, deepening the ruler's connection to Osiris in both life and death and inspiring a variety of funerary rites.

Additionally, the Old Kingdom rulers' association with Osiris led many of them to locate their burials at Abydos, the mythical site of Osiris' burial. This ensured that the ruler's cult would also remain active long after he or she had perished. Rulers were believed to become one with Osiris after death and, thus, worshiping Osiris at Abydos also meant worshiping dead rulers who were buried there.[31] While rulers were no longer buried at Abydos after 2650 BCE, they continued to use it as a mortuary site to connect their funerary cults with Osiris.[32] Cenotaphs or other facsimile tombs of dead rulers were often placed at Abydos when the ruler was buried elsewhere. This was also a common tradition amongst rulers buried at other sites associated with royals like Thebes and Memphis.[33] This royal association with Abydos exemplifies Osiris' national significance and its importance to rulers who wished to associate themselves with Osiris. Abydos remained a significant site throughout subsequent Egyptian history by retaining its association with both the funerary cults of deceased rulers and Osiris himself, though the funerary cults themselves were much shorter-lived than Osiris'.

As a result, Abydos became one of the most religiously significant urban areas in Egypt, second only to Heliopolis, which housed the temple and cult of Re. However, Abydos was treated more similarly to other regional temples, with few rulers dedicating many resources there.[34] Heliopolis remained the most nationally significant site, Abydos being second. This mentality changed by the 12th Dynasty, however, when patronage of Abydos became vital to the process of legitimizing divine kingship after the politically volatile First Intermediate Period.[35]

It is also likely that the myth of Osiris played a role in religious structures by inspiring the famous heb sed festival which likely took place throughout

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[30] Allen, *Religion and Philosophy in Ancient Egypt*, 5.

[31] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 24.

[32] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 24.

[33] David B. O'Connor, *Abydos: Egypt's First Pharaohs and the Cult of Osiris* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2009), 33.

[34] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 33.

[35] Mary-Ann Pouls Wegner, 'New Fieldwork at Abydos: The Toronto Votive Zone Project,' *Near Eastern Archaeology* 75, no. 3 (2012): 179.

Egyptian history.[36] When a ruler had spent 30 years on the throne, this festival attempted to revitalize the ruler so that he or she could continue to govern. The most significant ritual involved included burying a statue of the ruler wrapped in a ceremonial cloak. This symbolized the death and revitalization of the ruler in an attempt to extend his or her rule and bears a striking resemblance to the Osiris myths of the Old Kingdom, wherein Osiris is resurrected as king of the dead.[37] Therefore, this ritual was one way in which rulers associated themselves with Osiris and contributed to divine kingship structures.

Impact on Societal Structures

For Egypt's rulers, Osiris was also extremely important. The association of the kings with Osiris and Horus resulted in one of the most fundamental changes to Egyptian political and social structures. The institution of divine kingship transformed ancient Egypt into a theocracy. Rulers were believed to be intermediaries between the heaven and earth and the centre of the earth's cosmic order.[38] The first rulers of Egypt had a vested interest in associating themselves closely with Osiris in both life and death. Rulers, especially kings, associated themselves with Horus in life by taking a Horus name. This practice began in the 1st Dynasty and suggested that the ruler became one with Horus in life.[39] This automatically associated the kings with Osiris as well, as kings claimed to be his son incarnate. By associating themselves with Osiris and Horus, rulers could claim that their rule was ordained by divine right, thus ensuring that they and their offspring could be considered the only legitimate holders of the title.[40] The desire to legitimize rule through the use of divine kingship likely arose from the unification of Egypt, wherein the Upper and Lower Kingdoms were brought under one ruler. This new ruler needed a way to promote unity between these two differing populations. It was clear that this unity could not be achieved through political means alone and, thus, religion and myths were reconfigured to fit a single state rather than disparate tribal groups.[41] At the head of this new state religion was the state's ruler. Furthermore, the

[36] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 31.
[37] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 31.
[38] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 111.
[39] Griffiths, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult*, 18.
[40] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 38.
[41] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 26.

eventual reinstatement of Horus, Osiris' heir and legitimate ruler of Egypt, to the throne provided rulers with a divine model for "orderly and legitimate succession."[42] The myths offered rulers a model through which to justify a monarchical system whereby rulers would be replaced by their children as the rightful heirs to the throne. The myth also warned usurpers that, eventually, divine justice would reinstate the true ruling family, just as Osiris' line was reinstated when Seth unjustly took the throne. However, this structure also suggests that female rulers were, in some way, unworthy since they could not be sons of Osiris.[43] The instatement of a female runs contrary to the narrative that rulers were the incarnation of Horus or son of Osiris and, thus, were seen as illegitimate by many. This is why female rulers such as Hatshepsut in the New Kingdom tended to masculine themselves in order to legitimize their rule and were, subsequently, erased from history by their successors.[44]

The ruler's association with Osiris also encouraged loyalty amongst their elite followers. The belief that the ruler was the only source of immortality was vital in allowing rulers to justify their rule and exert control.[45] If rulers alone could bestow immortality, loyalty to them was the only way to achieve immortality. This encouraged loyalty, patriotism, and obedience through the promise of immortality to their followers, bestowed by rulers thanks to their association with Osiris.

The Middle Kingdom

The Middle Kingdom is the period of Egyptian history spanning the late 11th through 14th dynasties, 1549–1077 BCE. It saw the further development of the cult of Osiris. Here, Osiris' function began to change and there is a sort of half way point in the process of 'democratizing' the afterlife. During this period, Osiris shifted from being merely the incarnation of deceased rulers to judge of the dead. This theoretically opened up the possibility of eternal life to all Egyptians, though at this time it is still reserved mainly for the wealthy upper classes.

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[42] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 38.

[43] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 60–62.

[44] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 60–62.

[45] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 111.

Impact on Religious Structures

Beginning in the Middle Kingdom, Osiris' resurrection was celebrated annually at Abydos. For over 1,000 years, a public passion play re-enacting the Osiris myth took place there.[46] The ceremony spanned three days, the same period spanning Osiris' death and resurrection. This three-day period seems characteristic of the Middle Kingdom versions of the Osiris myths. In later myths, the period was much longer, since Isis had to search for his scattered body parts. In any case, this passion play resulted in the emergence of pilgrimages to Abydos.[47] Pilgrims would play a vital part in the ceremony by repelling Seth's attempted attacks on Osiris during his funeral procession, hailing the dead god, and witnessing the placement of Osiris' earthly body, in the form of silt from the Nile, into his tomb.[48] After his body was laid to rest, pilgrims would mourn for the three days which followed and, on the third day, Osiris' resurrection was celebrated.[49] Thus, Osiris played an important role in Middle Kingdom religious structures for commoners by inspiring pilgrimages to Abydos.

Another change in religious structures occurred when Osiris took on a new role as judge of the dead from the Middle Kingdom onward. While the concept of a divine judge in the afterlife was not new to the Egyptians, the fact that Osiris filled the position was. During the Old Kingdom, an unidentified god, perhaps the so-called 'Great One', judged whether a ruler was deserving of eternal life. The general process remained the same in the Middle Kingdom, with a few minor tweaks. Osiris and the Great One came to be considered connected in some way and, thus, Osiris took his place as the judge of the dead.[50] This promotion reflects Osiris' increasing status and importance within the Egyptian pantheon and religion. Furthermore, Osiris became judge not only of rulers but of all people who fulfilled the necessary funerary rites. In this period, these were extended to upper class and wealthy families, ultimately a stepping stone in the process of democratizing the afterlife. Thus, Osiris took on new meaning in the Middle Kingdom by becoming judge of the dead, reflecting his increased importance in the Egyptians' pantheon and religious structures.

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[46] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 38.

[47] Taylor, *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*, 133–134.

[48] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 51.

[49] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 51.

[50] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 46.

The Coffin Texts, a group of inscriptions similar to or evolving out of the Old Kingdom's Pyramid Texts, show several changes in the mythology which may have also either resulted from or encouraged Osiris' heightened prominence during the Middle Kingdom. One such change was the association between Re and Osiris. Some scholars have suggested that the Coffin Texts reorganized the divine genealogy to make Re Osiris' son.[51] This reorganization put Re below Osiris in the genealogy, reflecting the status of their respective cults in the Middle Kingdom. Unfortunately, it is almost impossible to tell which came first in this instance. It is unclear whether the changes in beliefs which caused Osiris' ascension influenced the Coffin Texts or vice versa. Regardless, it is important to note that religious writings reflected the realities of Egyptian society. Re's importance is still emphasised in this version of the myth since, through the binding of the two gods' bas, Osiris was resurrected and the two gods merged into one with Re as the sun during the day on earth and Osiris as the sun at night in the netherworld.[52] Re's rays also aided in this process and were interpreted as lifegiving.[53] Thus, the joining of Re and Osiris reflected the improved status of Osiris' cult in the Middle Kingdom.

Alterations in the myths may have also led to an alteration of funerary rites and iconography. One such change is the appearance of feathered or winged iconography on Late Middle Kingdom coffins. Winged iconography may have appeared as a direct response to the new myths. Egyptians believed that the ba was one of the five parts of the soul and the embodiment of the deceased's personality. The ba could have many functions, but was usually depicted as a bird with a human head.[54] Therefore, it is likely that the winged iconography was meant to associate the deceased with Osiris' new resurrection process which involved the joining of his ba with Re's. The wings will have represented Osiris' ba and its bird-like form in an attempt to draw a connection between the deceased's ba and Osiris', which would have brought eternal life.[55]

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[51] Gianluca Miniaci, 'The Iconography of the Rishi Coffins and the Legacy of the Late Middle Kingdom,'
Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt 46 (2010): 55.

[52] Kevin Cahail, 'In the Shadow of Osiris: Non-Royal Mortuary Landscapes at South Abydos during the Late Middle and New Kingdoms' (ProQuest Dissertations Publishing, 2014), 156, accessed April 4, 2017, http://search.proquest.com/docview/1613184938/.

[53] Miniaci, 'The Iconography of the Rishi Coffins and the Legacy of the Late Middle Kingdom,' 55.

[54] Miniaci, 'The Iconography of the Rishi Coffins,' 56.

[55] Miniaci, 'The Iconography of the Rishi Coffins,' 56.

This tradition emerged in the Late Middle Kingdom and continued into the Second Intermediate Period, suggesting that changes in myths were also likely reflected in funerary rites.

The Middle Kingdom saw a shift toward the process of 'democratizing' the afterlife. During this period, Abydos saw consistent growth not only in the temple structures there, but also in the number of graves. Placing some form of funerary item, whether it be a stela, statue, or tomb was believed to afford the deceased the opportunity to participate in the passion play at Abydos for eternity and secure a place in the afterlife by appeasing Osiris himself.[56] This participation was primarily in the form of protecting Osiris from the attacks of Seth. However, unlike the Old Kingdom situation, rulers were not the only ones buried within the Abydos complex.[57] Wealthy, upper class individuals were also permitted to be buried at Abydos and, in fact, funerary items originating from a variety of socio- economic backgrounds have been found at Abydos during this period.[58] Still, rulers still held the most prominent position within Abydos. In an attempt to retain their position and reinforce their connection to Osiris, they were buried in close proximity to the temple while those of a lower status were buried further away.[59] However, gradually, non-royals also began to associate themselves with Osiris after death in an attempt at eternal life. This represented a gradual extension of the afterlife to non-royals, though they tended to be upper class, wealthy, or associated in some way with the monarchy.

Impact on Societal Structures

Osiris' new elevated position was reflected in myth and in concrete ways. Osiris was an instrumental force in reunifying Egypt after the First Intermediate Period. The lack of authority and justice in earthly life led many to rely more heavily on the concept of divine justice. Osiris, as one of the most prominent gods and recently appointed judge of the dead, came to symbolize divine order and justice.[60] In this way, Osiris acted as more of a unifying force in the Intermediate Period than the rulers themselves. Therefore, when the rulers of the late 11th Dynasty began to, once again, assert their sovereignty and position as rulers of a unified Egypt, they had to acknowledge the newfound adoration of Osiris on the part of many

[56] Wegner, 'New Fieldwork at Abydos,' 179.
[57] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 40.
[58] Wegner, 'New Fieldwork at Abydos,' 184.
[59] Cahail, 'In the Shadow of Osiris,' 13.
[60] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 40.

Egyptians.[61] They did so by associating themselves more closely with the Osiris cult than the cult of Re and by making Osiris the patron deity of the cities of the dead. These changes cemented the cult of Osiris as the primary cult, overtaking formerly more powerful cults, like that of Re.

Osiris also became the patron deity of various cities, including Abydos.[62] Mythologically, Abydos rose to prominence not only as Osiris' burial place, but also through newfound significance in its own right. During this period, Abydos came to be understood as the gate to the afterlife. According to the Coffin Texts, all souls flowed toward Abydos before they could be resurrected and move on to the later stages of the afterlife.[63] Thus, Abydos itself rose to prominence during the Middle Kingdom as also reflected in its reconstruction. The cult centre had fallen into disrepair during the First Intermediate Period and, with the cult of Osiris and the site itself holding even more prominent positions than they had in the Old Kingdom, Abydos had to be restored. The old temples and tombs were either repaired or reconstructed entirely during the 12th Dynasty.[64] This further attests to Osiris' growing importance as rulers began to turn their attention and resources toward Abydos. Abydos was no longer treated as a regional religious centre but rather rose to national importance as the foremost cult centre during this period.[65] Other, smaller sites related to Osiris also rose to prominence during this period. These were associated with specific events in the Osiris myth, including the drowning and embalming of Osiris among others.[66]

The New Kingdom

The New Kingdom is the period of Egyptian history which includes the 18th to 20th Dynasties, 1549–1077 BCE. It saw the transformation of the Osiris myth into its final, most famous form. This mythological structure resulted in several concrete changes in the cult and society. First, temple sites which had once been associated with the various events in Osiris' drowning death were now understood to be the places where his body parts landed following his dismemberment.[67] Abydos remained the central site in Osiris'

[61] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 40.
[62] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 47.
[63] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 73.
[64] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 89.
[65] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 33.
[66] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 74.
[67] O'Connor, *Abydos*, 74.

cult since it was considered to be the resting place of his mummified body. However, many other aspects of Osiris' mythological base remained largely unchanged. Osiris remained the judge of the dead, although the Book of the Dead made it clear that it was not Osiris himself who passed judgement. Rather, Osiris oversaw the weighing of the heart against the feather of Maʾat which determined the deceased's fate.[68] Osiris also maintained his association with Re in this period and the two gods' souls combined in the Book of the Dead to form the 'double divine soul'.[69]

Impact on Religious Structures

The New Kingdom saw Osiris' zenith in popularity. A New Kingdom text entitled 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth' claimed that Osiris asked "Who is there among you [i.e. the gods] who is mightier than I?".[70] This suggests that Osiris had become one of the most powerful and influential gods in the Egyptian pantheon by this time. This popularity and power was partially thanks to the so-called democratization of the afterlife. Because anyone, not just rulers and other elites, could receive Osiris' gift of immortality and thus afterlife, Osiris became important to everyone. Anyone could be associated with Osiris and, therefore, everyone's ultimate goal in death was resurrection. One manifestation of this broadly available access to the afterlife was the so-called 'Book of the Dead'. This was a specifically New Kingdom document meant to help guide its owner through various trials and into the afterlife. These documents were mass-produced with a blank space where the deceased's name could be inserted in order to personalize the document.[71] These books also suggested that everyone could achieve eternal life through Osiris himself by taking an Osiris name after death: the word 'Osiris' would follow the deceased's name, allowing him[72] to become Osiris after death.[73] Everyone who could purchase a Book of the Dead could have eternal life. This, of course, excluded some people since they did not have the resources to purchase it but, in principle, the afterlife was available to all and none were

[68] Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge and John Romer, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead*, Penguin classics (London: Penguin, 2008), 30.

[69] Budge and Romer, *The Egyptian Book of the Dead, cxxxvii.*

[70] Edward F. Wente, Jr., trans., 'The Contendings of Horus and Seth,' in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry*, 3rd ed., ed. William Kelly Simpson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 102.

[71] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 87.

[72] On the question of the option of immortality for women, see below.

[73] Ray, *Reflections of Osiris Lives from Ancient Egypt*, 154.

excluded on grounds stipulated in the mythology. The impoverished were not formally excluded from resurrection narratives, but it is unlikely that they would have been unable to afford the requisite funerary rites. A proper burial, Book of the Dead, mummification, and all the other trimmings of an Egyptian funeral would have been unattainable for many, and those who could not afford them were likely doomed and excluded from eternal life.[74]

There were, however, some exceptions to this 'democratization' inherent in the mythology itself, including the exclusion of women from resurrection narratives. Female goddesses in the Egyptian pantheon were incapable of creation or resurrection and, rather, tended to act as protective figures. Conversely, male gods had more active roles in creating humans or caring for the dead. Thus, female gods were deemed incapable of resurrection.[75] Also, since it was deemed unnatural for women to associate themselves with Osiris or other male deities in the same way that men associated themselves with gods, it is unlikely that women would have been granted access to resurrection and, by extension, the afterlife. Some measures were taken to work around this mythological barrier, however, including the masculinization of women in order to harness the male spark of creation and make association with Osiris more acceptable. This masculinization process manifested in the coffins and funerary texts of deceased women.[76] Therefore, while women were not entirely excluded from rebirth and the afterlife, they could not enter the afterlife as women and, thus, required masculinization to live eternally.

The association of the dead with Osiris may have also led to new funerary rites, including wine offerings for the deceased. In Egypt, Osiris was closely related to the Nile and its annual flood. This association did not disappear as Osiris evolved, and persisted into the New Kingdom. Osiris became closely associated with grapes and wine as a result of his association with the Nile. The Nile's waters turn red during the flood and this colour became associated with the red grape harvest which coincided with the flood and the red wine the harvest produced.[77] Because Osiris was also so closely associated with resurrection, grapes and wine also became associated with resurrection. Therefore, offerings of wine were intended to aid the deceased's journey to the

[74] Okon, 'Archaeological Reflections on Ancient Egyptian Religion and Society,' 113.
[75] Kathlyn M. Cooney, 'Gender Transformation in Death: A Case Study of Coffins from Ramesside Period Egypt,' *Near Eastern Archaeology* 73, no. 4 (2010): 225
[76] Cooney, 'Gender Transformation in Death,' 225.
[77] Maria Rosa Guasch Jané, 'The Meaning of Wine in Egyptian Tombs: The Three Amphorae from Tutankhamun's Burial Chamber,' *Antiquity* 85, no. 329 (2011): 852.

afterlife. The most famous New Kingdom wine offerings come from the tomb of Tutankhamen, wherein three jars of wine were discovered in the east, west, and south of the sarcophagus chamber. Beside the association between Osiris and wine, the placement of the wine jars also suggests imagery related to the travels of the sun god from east to west.[78] The sun god himself was also sometimes associated with rebirth, but Re's amalgamation with Osiris makes a compelling argument that the wine was, in some way, invoking the process of rebirth and resurrection. Thus, wine offerings also became significant in the New Kingdom by ensuring the deceased would be associated with both Osiris and Re and, therefore, would be resurrected.[79]

Impact on Societal Structures

Osiris also reverted to one of his most important functions for the ruling class. Osiris, once again, became a vital force in reunifying Egypt after the political discussion of the Second Intermediate Period.[80] Osiris was instrumental in this process of legitimizing Ahmose's rule and returning order to Egypt for many of the same reasons he had been after the First Intermediate Period as well as in the founding of the Old Kingdom. Rulers found that Osiris resonated with commoners and therefore associated themselves with Osiris to gain favour and legitimize their rule.[81] Ahmose, the first king of the 18th Dynasty, reunified the Egyptian state and reinstated divine kingship structures by associating himself with Osiris through a funerary pyramid at Abydos. This pyramid was the last to be built and linked Ahmose with both past kings, whom he believed were his ancestors, and Osiris himself.[82] The construction of a pyramid connected Ahmose with past kings and allowed him to legitimize his rule through perceived family ties with them. Furthermore, by constructing his pyramid at Abydos, Ahmose drew a direct connection between Osiris and himself which further legitimized his rule and reinstated divine kingship structures.

Rulers also legitimized their consolidation of power by using Osiris as a rallying point. During the Second Intermediate Period, the Hyksos, foreign rulers from Syria, rose to prominence and ruled Egypt. These rulers did not recognize Osiris as their patron deity; rather, they were associated with Seth

[78] Jané, 'The Meaning of Wine in Egyptian Tombs,' 852.
[79] Jané, 'The Meaning of Wine in Egyptian Tombs,' 852.
[80] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 57.
[81] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 57.
[82] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 57.

who was reminiscent of their own patron storm deity, Ba'al.[83] Since a natural contrast already existed in Egyptian mythology between Seth and Osiris, Egyptian leaders used mythology to reunify their people and consolidate their power after expelling the Hyksos. Rulers claimed that, just like Seth, the foreign dynasties had usurped the Egyptian throne which belonged to the true king of Egypt, Osiris. Rulers, by worshiping Osiris and Horus as their patron deities, reasserted their role as the true rulers of Egypt based on divine right which favoured Osiris' line. Thus, Osiris was used to consolidate the ruler's power and reunify Egypt through his image as the true patron of Egypt and its people.

Conclusion

Osiris is one of Egypt's most recognizable symbols in the modern mindset. His myths and cults endured for over 3,000 years and effected great changes in Egypt politically and historically.

That said, Osiris was not a static figure. Over the course of his 3,000-year cult, he morphed several times either to reflect changes that had already occurred in Egyptian society or to encourage them. In the Old Kingdom, Osiris remained a minor, but popular deity. He was popular amongst commoners as a promethean figure who bestowed great blessings upon the land. In the eyes of rulers, he legitimized theocratic rule and afforded them exclusive access to the afterlife. Thus, Osiris facilitated the establishment of a theocracy in Egypt in the Old Kingdom. During the Middle Kingdom, Osiris played a vital role in reunifying Egyptians after the perceived disorder of the First Intermediate Period by taking on the role of divine judge. His popularity increased as people who had been wronged believed that Osiris would punish the wrongdoers after death. Rulers reacted to Osiris' newfound popularity by placing him at the top of the pantheon. The Middle Kingdom also saw the expansion of resurrection to non-royal elites. Finally, Osiris enacted little social change in the New Kingdom, but changing myths about Osiris and, particularly, resurrection influenced funerary and other religious structures drastically. Osiris reached his peak in popularity during this period as he became the guarantee of afterlife for nearly everyone.

[83] Mojsov, *Osiris*, 55.

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Heather Smith, "Sonorities of the Street: Music and Identity in Renaissance Florence (1484-1539)"

HI 450: Love, Sex, and Death in the Italian Renaissance
Supervised by Dr. Chris Nighman

Perhaps the single most elusive element of historical reconstruction is sound. The scholar attempting to "unearth" the urban soundscape of the Italian Renaissance is confronted with several methodological challenges, many of which are the product of how various disciplines have evolved over time.[1] Music, in particular, presents a unique set of disciplinary challenges. While musical terminology and notation have been vital to recovering music which might otherwise be lost to history, these tools of analysis have not always been broadly accessible to other disciplines. Indeed, even within the field of musicology, there is much debate as to how to best interpret the musical notation of Renaissance composers, as Renaissance music pre-dates codified understandings of harmonic principles.[2]

In his book, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals 1512-1537*, musicologist Anthony M. Cummings remarks that to ignore the performance

[1] Murray Schafer first coined the term 'soundscape', defining it as the acoustic sound environment of the world. See *The Soundscape: Our Sonic Environment and the Tuning of the World* (Rochester: Destiny Books, 1977), 4-5.

[2] Musicologists Robert Toft and Blake Wilson have argued that modern methods of harmonic notation are too narrow to encapsulate the nuances of musical performance in the Italian Renaissance. Toft has emphasized the importance of intabulations (notation commonly used during the Renaissance and Baroque eras of music), characterizing this debate in musicology as "controversial". See *Aural Images of Lost Traditions: Sharps and Flats in the Sixteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 7, and Blake Wilson, *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), vii.

contexts of Florentine Renaissance music is "to risk an incomplete understanding of the musical culture of early modern Florence".[3] I posit that this statement rings true not only of "musical culture", but of "culture" more broadly; understanding the place of music in the public life of Renaissance Florence can open new pathways of historical analysis.[4] While musicologists have explored the music of Renaissance Florence largely within the context of the development of musical forms and musical culture, I seek here instead to situate music in the context of broader social, cultural, and political history, integrating this analysis with the foundational works of historians such as Gene Brucker, Thomas Cohen, and Lauro Martines.[5] I am particularly inspired here by Lauro Martines's methodology of reading Renaissance tales through a historical rather than a literary lens which was introduced in An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical Context.[6]

Musicologist Susan McClary recently spoke at the Renaissance Society of America's annual conference of the need to bring musical notation into the discipline of history.[7] This call for cross-disciplinary collaboration is an exciting and necessary step. The present study was created in this same spirit, though with an inverse method. This project explores the role that the digital humanities can play in broadening the accessibility of musical analysis to other academic disciplines. By integrating recorded music directly into the digital format, I aim to demonstrate that some features of Renaissance music, such as contrafactum (the setting of different texts to the same melodies, or melodic "borrowing" across texts), can be analyzed aurally. Moreover, I propose that the act of listening to music in this format facilitates a sensory experience of the music which provides an aural context for the written essay.

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[3] Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse: Music for Medici Festivals 1512-1537* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 172.

[4] Within the context of this project, "cultural history" refers to the cultural production, and those involved in the cultural production, of music, art, literature, and other creative endeavors, with networks of patronage intersecting between the social and the cultural.

[5] Some of the many works of these historians include Gene A. Brucker's *Giovanni and Lusanna: Love and Marriage in Renaissance* Florence (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), Thomas V. Cohen's *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2004), and Lauro Martines's *An Italian Renaissance Sextet: Six Tales in Historical* Context (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004).

[6] Lauro Martines, *An Italian Renaissance* Sextet (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2004), 9.

[7] Susan McClary, "Audible Traces: What Music Gives Historians," plenary Session presented at the annual meeting for the Renaissance Society of America, Chicago, Illinois, March 30-April 1, 2017.

While this method of analysis is an effective tool for certain musical features, there are also limits in terms of the level of musical detail which can be described. Thus, a combined framework incorporating new methods of interpreting musical notation alongside aural analysis would be ideal, and this is an exciting prospect to ponder for the future.

Recent scholarship has made monumental strides in exploring the sensory and spatial landscape of the Italian Renaissance. Building upon the foundational work of Edward Muir and Richard Trexler, a group of historians put forth an issue of I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance, in the fall of 2013, which combined sensory, spatial, and symbolic approaches to visualizing the Renaissance street.[8] Many of these contributors have since expanded their work to include elements such as digital mapping. The DECIMA project, led by Nicholas Terpstra, is one such example. DECIMA features an open-access digitized map of sixteenth-century Florence which is overlaid with census data from 1561. This enables academics and non-academics alike to explore the sensory and spatial culture of Renaissance Florence.[9]

Art historian Niall Atkinson, a DECIMA collaborator, has explored the soundscape of Renaissance Florence, examining how sounds such as cathedral bells permeated and structured daily life. Atkinson contends that sound was symbolic and inextricably linked to urban architecture, with citizens of the Renaissance city continually negotiating their social identity in an active dialogue with sound and space.[10] This project integrates this paradigm, focusing on how it can be applied to music.[11] Through this model, I explore the role of the public musical performance in four phases of

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[8] See Richard Trexler's *Public Life in Renaissance Florence* (New York: Academic Press Inc., 1980), and Edward Muir's *Ritual in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997). Some articles featured in the *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* include "Owning the Corner: The 'Powers' of Florence and the Question of Agency," by David Rosenthal, *I Tatti Studies in the Italian Renaissance* 16, no. 2 (2013):181-196, "Creations and Re-Creations: Contexts for the Experience of the Renaissance Street," by Nicholas Terpstra, 221-229, "Introduction: The Experience of the Street in Early Modern Italy," by Georgia Clarke and Fabrizio Nevola, 47-55, and Niall Atkinson's "The Republic of Sound: Listening to the Republic at the Florence of the Threshold of the Renaissance," 57-84.

[9] DECIMA: Digitally-Encoded Census Information and Mapping Archive (University of Toronto, 2014), http://decima.chass.utoronto.ca/.

[10] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance* (Pennsylvania Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 4-5.

[11] Niall Atkinson places music in the urban soundscape. See *The Noisy Renaissance* (Pennsylvania Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2016), 14.

Florentine history, from the late fifteenth-century carnivals of Lorenzo de'Medici, to the reformed carnivals of Girolamo Savonarola, through to the "return" of the Medici to Florence in 1512, and lastly to the 1539 marriage of Eleonora di Toledo and Cosimo I de'Medici. This analysis explores how music might define, and in some cases, delimit identity in various ways, such as gender dynamics and women's agency, the fluidity of "sacred" and "secular" ideologies, political rhetoric, and the shifting of social alliances. Due to the scope of the present study, it is not possible to explore every facet of the Renaissance Florentine festival. However, this approach is a proposed starting point in the hopes of generating discussion, and perhaps motivating more scholarly treatments of the place of music in the sensory and spatial world of the Italian Renaissance.

The project is presented as both a printed and a digital Wordpress essay (http://trionfiproject.com/).[12] While the textual analysis of lyrics is incorporated in both versions, the digital format also integrates audio recordings of musical examples. Where applicable, I present potential methods of analyzing the music aurally. In other cases, excerpts of music are included as a means of guiding the reader to "hear" the sounds of the festival while visualizing the musical performance. All musical examples were recorded by myself and a group of fellow music students at Wilfrid Laurier University, with the exception of the last musical example, Ingredere, which features an instrumental version of the song, to better focus on non-textual elements. The recordings have been intentionally left unpolished in an effort to more closely emulate the environment of street performance, with any errors and improvised sections left in the final recordings. While it is obviously impossible to "replicate" the songs as they would have been performed on the streets of Renaissance Florence, their "imperfection" more closely mirrors the spirit of public performance than would a curated studio

[12] The full digitized project is found at: http://trionfiproject.com/. This project has benefitted from much generous advice and collaboration. I would like to especially thank Dr. Chris Nighman for allowing me to pursue this project, and for his time and support, Dr. Kirsten Yri for attending my presentation of this project and for offering helpful suggestions of musical terminology, Barry Torch for engaging in conversations about the project and allowing me to work through ideas, the singers who recorded the songs: Rachel Kalap, Dylann Miller, Grace Scheele, and Sophie Vogan, Professor Alicia McKenzie for her advice with Wordpress, and to Dr. Christine Kralik for her encouragement and advice on the iconography of Lent and carnival.

recording.[13] As a means of visualizing festivals and their movement through the urban landscape, maps of processions were created using the DECIMA digital mapping tool wherever source accounts of specific routes are available. Imagery such as photographs, woodcuts, and paintings is also included where relevant.

Before delving into the music of Lorenzo de'Medici, it is necessary first to give a brief overview of the musical and textual features of the carnival song genre, and of the closely-related lauda. Carnival songs (Canti carnaschialeschi) were most commonly written for three to four voices with texts which rhymed in various formats. Additionally, texts were written in vernacular Italian, as opposed to Latin. As Patrick Macey has noted, carnival songs appear to have been a significant part of oral culture and were most often learned by ear as opposed to by written score.[14] Thus, the melodies tended to be memorable, repetitive, and easy to sing, with a relatively narrow vocal range. This was the 'pop' music of the Italian Renaissance. In terms of classifying carnival songs, musicologist William Prizer has proposed a helpful distinction between the two types: mascherate (masking songs), and trionfi (triumphs). Mascherate were performed on foot or on horseback, and most often had lyrics with sexual themes and innuendos, while trionfi were performed on floats in elaborately staged processions, which often depicted scenes from ancient Greek mythology.[15]

The majority of carnival song melodies are known through laude ("lauda" singular, "laude" plural). Laude were non-liturgical sacred songs, which, like the carnival songs, were written in vernacular Italian. They were performed in a variety of settings, from everyday lay devotional practices, to execution processions, and were most often sung by the boys and men of various confraternities in Florence who were so closely associated to the singing of laude that they became known as laudesi companies.[16] As musicologist

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[13] Nicholas Terpstra astutely notes how historical reconstructions which are overly polished and glossy might detract from their authenticity. See "Creations and Re-Creations: Contexts for the Experience of the Renaissance Street," 225.

[14] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs: Savonarola's Musical Legacy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998), 50-51.

[15] William F. Prizer, "Reading Carnival: The Creation of a Carnival Song," *Early Music History* 23, (2004): 192.

[16] Nicholas Terpstra, "Catechizing in Prison and on the Gallows in Renaissance Italy: The Politics of Comforting the Condemned," in *The Renaissance in the Streets, Schools, and Studies*, eds. Konrad Eisenbichler and Nicholas Terpstra (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 163. For a focused study on laudesi companies, see Blake

Patrick Macey has observed, many of these songs might have been lost to history were it not for their careful transcription by individuals such as Dominican Friar Fra Serafino Razzi, who published an extensive anthology in 1563.[17] However, it is important to note the limitations of the written music. Although the transcriptions preserve the basic melodies and harmonies of the songs, one of the fundamental characteristics of the carnival song and the lauda is that they allowed for improvisation, with singers given considerable leeway in determining the shape and dynamics of the songs.[18] Many laude texts were published without music. These most often included the written instruction "cantasi come" (to be sung like).[19] This marking indicated the name of a well-known song—often a carnival song—for which the lyrics of the laude were intended. This meant that two songs of widely diverging lyrical contexts could likely have the same melody. Such was often the case with the songs of the Lorenzo de' Medici.

The carnival songs of Lorenzi de'Medici (il Magnifico) (1449-1492) shed light upon the role of music in constructions of identity. This section examines one carnival song of each type, as well as one laude, parsing the place of the songs in the soundscape of Renaissance Florence. The music and performance contexts of the songs reveal much about gender dynamics and female agency, political rhetoric, and the fluidity of "sacred" and "secular" ideologies.

As extensive historiography has established, Lorenzo (il Magnifico) de' Medici was the unofficial "leader" of the Florentine Republic, closely controlling financial interests and broadly patronizing the arts.[20] One form of this patronage was his fashioning of the pre-Lenten carnivals, which took place on the Shrove Tuesday of each year.[21] As historians have frequently

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Wilson's *Music and Merchants: The Laudesi Companies of Republican Florence* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992).

[17] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs,* 49.

[18] Musicologist Frank D'Accone speaks of the improvisatory tradition, and of Lorenzo de'Medici's, as well as Marsilio Ficino's, participation in musical improvisation. See Frank A. D'Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence: Studies and Documents* (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Ltd., 2006), 272-273.

[19] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs,* 33.

[20] Lauro Martines gives a particularly succinct and apt description of Lorenzo in *Strong Words: Writing and Social Strain in the Italian Renaissance* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2001), 99-100.

[21] Edward Muir lays out a helpful diagram of the ritual calendar in *Ritual in Early Modern Europe,* 59.

lamented, the study of Laurentian carnivals has at times been complicated by the lack of surviving imagery and physical artifacts associated with these events. While chronicles and songs survive, many of the carnival apparati, which included costumes, drawings, and paintings of events, have been lost, as these were most often constructed for a specific event and afterward left to decay or to be re-purposed.[22]

In exploring connections of music and identity in Renaissance Florence, one finds an ally in nineteenth-century Swiss historian, Jacob Burckhardt, who speaks of the connections between networks of patronage and music in relation to the Laurentian festival. While Burckhardt, as well as other nineteenth- and early twentieth-century historians, mistakenly took the popularity of "pagan" carnival songs as an indication of growing secularism,[23] he also correctly identified the Franco-Flemish musical school as a major influence upon the development of music in Florence during the time of Lorenzo.[24] Lorenzo frequently employed Franco-Flemish composer Heinrich Isaac (1450-1517) to compose the music for his carnival song texts. The Canzona de' Confortini (Song of the Confortini) is one song produced by this partnership.[25]

Figure 1

Lorenzo de'Medici's mascherate song Canzona de' Confortini, sheds light upon dynamics of gender and women's agency, as well as political

[22] Bonner Mitchell, *Italian Civic Pageantry in the High Renaissance: A Descriptive Bibliography of Triumphal Entries and Selected Other Festivals for State Occasions* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki Editore, 1979), 6.

[23] Hans Baron is perhaps the most notable example of the equation of "pagan" imagery with secularism in the twentieth century. See *In Search of Florentine Civic Humanism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1988).

[24] Jacob, Burckhardt, *The Civilization of the Renaissance in Italy*, trans. S.G.C. Middlemore. (New York: Random House, 2002), 208.

[25] Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 35.

rhetoric of the Florentine republic. A rare woodcut of a performance of the song survives in Bernardo Gambullari's 1515 edition Canzone per andare in maschera fatte da piu persone.[26] In the woodcut, Lorenzo is seen with a group of three men and two younger boys, who perform the song as women observe from the windows above (See Figure 1). This illustration appears to provide evidence that Lorenzo himself was intimately involved not only with the composition of texts, but with the public performance of carnival songs. Granted, his presence in the illustration could also be the product of artistic license. While the precise street corner depicted in the woodcut is unclear, the depiction demonstrates that –whether behind walls or not—women were active participants in the soundscape of street songs. In the image, the "private" sphere of the home is very much an artificial barrier to women's participation in social culture.

The paradox of women's active participation in public culture from behind the barriers of built space is further reinforced by chronicle accounts which describe the mascherate performance. The chronicle of Antonio Francesco Grazzini (1503-1584) is particularly informative in this case. Grazzini describes the mascherate as being performed either on foot or on horseback by groups of young and old men.[27] If one visualizes the mechanics of singing while walking, or while riding on horseback over rough cobblestone, it seems likely that the sound would have been rough, the voice jolted by movement, and in sum, the performance would have been very unlike carefully curated studio recordings of Renaissance music. A segment of this song was recorded to contextualize the sounds of the performance.

An important key to the social and political functions of the carnival songs in the era of Republican Florence lies in Grazzini's richly detailed description of the mascherate performance:

"And thus they [the singers] spread out and try, between the day and night, [to go through] almost the entire city. They are seen and heard by everyone, they can be sent wherever one wants and they can be made a spectacle for everyone, including even the

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[26] Bernardo Giambullari, "*Canzone per andare in maschera fatte da piu persone*," (Florence: 1515), 1, accessed March 2, 2017, https://archive.org/stream/ita-bnc-in2-00002304-001#page/n0/mode/2up.

[27] Antonio Grazzini, *Tutti i trionfi, carri, mascherate o canti carnascialeschi andati per Firenze dal tempo del Magnifico Lorenzo de' Medici fino all' anno 1559: in questa seconda edizione corretti, con diversi MSS. collazionati, delle loro varie lezioni arricchiti, notabilmente accresciuti, e co' ritratti di ciascun poeta adornate* (Lucca: In Cosmopoli, 1559), x, accessed March 2, 2017. https://archive.org/details/tuttiitrionficar01graz.

young maidens in their houses, who, making for themselves a screen or a curtain, can see and hear it all without being seen by anyone. And when the celebration, which all the populace has enjoyed, is over, the words are read by everyone and at night they are sung everywhere and both and at night they are sung everywhere and both [the words and the music] are sent not only all about Florence and to all the cities of Italy, but also to Germany, Spain and France to relatives and friends."[28]

There are several layers within this account to unpack here. Firstly, the division of women and men into "public" and "private" spheres is openly acknowledged as an artificial separation. Thus, Grazzini's description corroborates the image of the Canzona de' confortini woodcut. Young women could guard their virtue safely from behind window screens or curtains, and this was not only known to men who chronicled such events, but seems to have been expected behaviour. Thus, in this paradigm, women have the agency both to hear the carnival songs, and to retain their public reputations.

These dynamics of gender are particularly intriguing in light of the sexual themes of the songs. In considering the image of the women at their windows in the woodcut, the double entendre of the lyrics is particularly poignant. The song is narrated from the perspective of the men who specialize in making the doughnut-like pastries (confortini and berricuocoli) which are held up in the woodcut.[29] The men sing: "Berricuocoli, donne, e confortini! Se ne volete, I nostri son de' fini." (Berricuocoli, ladies, and confortini! If you want some, ours are among the finest)."[30] Thus, the surface layer of the lyrics mirrors the song's performative contexts with the male narrators directly advertising the desserts to the women at their windows. However, as Michel Plaisance has noted, upon closer examination, the imagery in the song appears to have a double-meaning, with berricuocoli as

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[28] Translation by William Prizer in, "Reading Carnival: The Creation of a Carnival Song," 188-189.

[29] Both Patrick Macey and Anthony M. Cummings have included this woodcut in their works. Macey discusses the lyrics and musical contexts, while Cummings has connected the song to a description of the *trionfo* song type. Given the sexual themes of the song and its lack of triumphal imagery, as well as its performance on foot, it seems to better fit with the *mascherate* song type as defined by Prizer. Patrick Macey, Bonfire Songs, 41, and Anthony M. Cummings, *The Meacenas and the Madrigalist: Patrons, Patronage, and the Origins of the Italian Madrigal* (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 2004), 132.

[30] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 37.

a metaphor for phallus, and confortino as conforto, representing sodomitical activity.[31] This then introduces a whole new layer of interpretation. Are the women aware of this covert metaphorical language, or is the song a kind of "inside joke" or social code for the male performers and observers? These questions of intentionality can perhaps not be definitively answered. However, what is immediately clear are the semiotic layers of the song's lyrics and performance context. The song encodes meaning at multiple levels lyrically. This multi-layered meaning is then expanded to the surrounding contexts of where the song was performed, who would have seen the performance, and what the song may or may not have meant to the listener.

Such explorations of music can reveal social dynamics which both enhance as well as reinforce historical knowledge of Renaissance Florence. This knowledge can then be integrated with other avenues of historical study. As Natalie Tomas observes in "Did Women Have a Space?", women at windows were considered "out in public." Tomas traces this observation in several sources, from literature to real-world examples, with figures like Girolamo Savonarola expressing deep concern over women at their windows in Florence.[32] Thus, one can easily envision this paradigm of demurring female sexuality within the literary world of The Two Lovers where the omission of female speech spoke volumes, or within the real world of Giovanni and Lusanna where female eye-contact was—at least in theory—a brazen act. This can even be seen more broadly in the dropping of a handkerchief as the equivalent of giving the "green light" for gestures of courting in Renaissance Rome.[33] It is at these intersections of literature and history that the contexts of the public musical performance can further inform and reinforce understandings of gender roles in a world where a young

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[31]Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici: Public Celebrations, Politics and Literature in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, edited and trans. Nicole Carew-Reid (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2008), 20.

[32] Natalie Tomas, "Did Women Have a Space?" in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, eds. Roger J. Crum and John T. Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 315.

[33] I have in mind here the symbolic acts of Lucrece which communicate meaning, such as the way in which the "act" of sending letters connotes her desire for Eurialus, even if her letters contain rejections. "This letter, (though it seemed unto Eurialus very hard, and contrary to the woman's words"), yet did show him the ready way how to send his letters. See Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers: The Goodly History of Lady Lucrece and Her Lover Eurialus*, eds. Emily O'Brien and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Ottawa: Doverhouse Editions Inc., 1999), 133, Gene Brucker, *Giovanni and Lusanna,* 27, and Thomas Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy,* 61.

maiden could be known by men to eavesdrop on the vulgar lyrics of the carnival song—and even to memorize and sing such songs—but she must not be seen to be doing so. Integrating this analysis as a means of informing and reinforcing social and cultural knowledge could do much to nuance understandings of women's roles in public life.

In addition to gender dynamics and female agency, the performance contexts of the mascherate can further enhance understandings of the political rhetoric of the Florentine Republic. Grazzini's account that the singers attempted to go "virtually everywhere" in Florence is an indicator of the political implications of the carnival song. The ambiguity of the words "Quasi tutta quanta la città" (nearly everywhere in the city) is revelatory.[34] This indicates that, in contrast to curated trionfi performances along processional routes, the performance of this type of song did not have a pre-planned route. Thus, much like the permanent everyday fixtures of the Renaissance Florentine soundscape, such as the ubiquitous cathedral bells, and the bells of the Signoria, the mascherate were, at least in theory, for everyone.

As Niall Atkinson has observed, the Florentine government enacted a "rhetoric of inclusivity" through the coordination of the soundscape.[35] Thus, this "inclusivity" can be viewed as somewhat paradoxical in that it was ultimately controlled through the hierarchy of government. The mascherate performance presents a similar paradox, which is perhaps even more subtle, in that the act of performing "nearly everywhere" in the city delivers a unified message by virtue of its randomness. In effect, the message is that every citizen has virtually inclusive access to the music of the carnival. Yet, paradoxically, this randomness is a prescribed and pre-organized feature of the performance. Thus, as with the bells, sound, in theory, signifies social inclusivity. However, in practice all are subject to one codified message which is orchestrated through carefully curated governance. More to the point, in the case of the Canzona de' Confortini, the very composer of the text was the unofficial "leader" of Florence.

The trionfi songs of Lorenzo de'Medici reveal yet another dimension of identity negotiation. As the imagery depicted in trionfi lyrics most often revolved around humanistic ideas of Antiquity, the contrafactum (melodic borrowing) of the songs with Christian-themed laude reveals the comfortable co-existence of diverging ideologies in the soundscape of Renaissance

[34] Grazzini, *Tutti i trionfi*, x.

[35] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, 123-124.

Florence. Unlike the predominantly sexual themes of the mascherate, the trionfi were a more grandiose affair, with lyrics which often praised ancient Greek deities, and were rife with allegory.[36] Performers dressed in elaborate costumes and acted out these roles as "deities" while they rode in chariots along processional routes throughout the city. Thus, the allegorical representation of Antiquity occurred on several levels and was enacted through the texts of the trionfi, as well as the performance context of the triumphal procession. This constituted a metaphorical performance of Antiquity which reflects the performative nature of fifteenth-century humanism.[37]

As art historian Cristelle Baskins has noted, the Italian Renaissance literary tradition of the trionfi dates back to Petrarch's fourteenth-century poem of the same name which lauds the triumphs of love, chastity, death, fame, time, and eternity.[38] These themes were represented in iconographical depictions throughout the Italian Renaissance, as well as in later festival books.[39] The triumphal tradition continued in festivals throughout the seventeenth century, with allegorical representations of Antiquity depicted through re-enactments, costumes, and triumphal processions. The image in Figure 2 depicts the iconography of the triumph of love.

Based on the descriptions of triumphal processions in sources such as Vasari's Lives of the Artists, and the similarities of these descriptions to the iconographic tradition, it seems reasonable to posit that trionfi iconography could potentially provide insight into how the triumphal cars of the Florentine festival might have appeared.[40] This might help to fill in gaps of visual culture which are lacking due to the temporary nature of festival apparati.

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[36]Prizer, "Reading Carnival", 192.

[37] I originally proposed the term "performative" as a descriptor of Renaissance humanism in a paper entitled "Hegemonies of Humanism: Dichotomies of Medieval and Renaissance Historiography," written in 2016. The paper contains the following definition: "The term 'performative' refers to dominant characteristics of Renaissance humanism. While some ad hoc quoting of ancient sources did occur, Renaissance humanist engagements with Antiquity appear to have predominantly been geared toward bolstering personal and civic identity through the emulation of ancient Roman and Greek culture, particularly in Renaissance Florence." To the best of my knowledge, this term is my own creation.

[38] Cristelle Baskins, *The Triumph of Marriage* (Boston: Isabella Stewart Gardner Museum, 2008), 6.

[39] Triumphal imagery in festival books will be discussed in the context of the marriage of Cosimo I de'Medici.

[40] A particularly vivid description of triumphal *apparati* appears in "Life of Pontormo" in Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists.* See *The Lives of the Artists,* translated by Julia Conaway

Figure 2: Images courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

Lorenzo de'Medici's participation in the trionfi tradition included the production of allegorical carnival songs. Among these, his most well-known song is Quant'e bella giovanezza (How Beautiful Youth Can Be), also known as Bacchus and Ariadne. Lorenzo also wrote a lauda with the same melody entitled Quant'e grande la ballezza (How Great Your Beauty is, Virgin).[41] The contrast between "pagan" and "Christian" themes is pronounced between the two songs. Where Bacchus and Ariadne praises the god of wine and encourages drinking and debauchery during the carnival, the lauda praises the Virgin Mary for her chastity and exaggerated modesty. It is as if the carnival song is intended for Shrove Tuesday, and the lauda for the day after. The first verses of each song are included in Figures 3 and 4. Listen to each song and note how the music is identical. Also note how by slowing down the lauda and singing the song more softly, the mood of the song changes to reflect the more meditative lyrics. Similarly, singing the carnival song in a faster and more boisterous manner connotes the energetic atmosphere of the carnival.

Bondanella and Peter Bondanella (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991) 394-413. Specific passages from this account are analyzed for the 1513 carnival section.

[41] This project benefitted greatly from Emily Haug's transcription of carnival songs, which provided the singers with easily readable scores. In *Musical Borrowing in Renaissance Florence: Carnival Songs and Contrafracture* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia, 2014), 34-40.

Figure 3 - *Trionfo* Text

Quant'e bella giovanezza
Chi si fugge tuttavia!
Chi vuol esser lieto, sia:
Di doman non c'e certezza
(Translation)
How beautiful is youth in its allure
That ever swiftly flies away!
Let all who want to, now be gay:
About tomorrow no one's sure

Figure 4- *Lauda* Text

Quant'e grande la bellezza
Di te, Vergine pia,
Ciascun laudi te, Maria
Ciascun canti in gran dolcezza.
(Translation)
How great your beauty is,
Virgin, holy and devout
Let everyone praise you, Mary
Let everyone sing in great sweetness

In addition to melodic contrafactum (musical borrowing), the first stanzas of each song demonstrate the syntactic and syllabic connection between texts, which is constructed through the use of words which rhyme between versions.[42] Were the melodic borrowing merely a utilitarian device designed to more efficiently turn out greater numbers of songs, the phonetic and syntactic similarities between trionfi and laude would not be necessary, and the lauda could conceivably be set to any set of lyrics. Instead, there appears to be a deliberate phonetic emulation between texts, with the words giovanezza (youth) and certezza (certain) adapted to bellezza (beauty) and dolcezza (sweetness), in the lauda. Additionally, the lyrics appear in the same syntactic position in corresponding phrases of each song (Note the bolded lyrics in Figures 3 and 4).[43] Thus in both songs, these phonetic connections occur at the same point in the music. While it is precarious to infer finite symbolic meanings from the lyrical borrowings, even if this were a device of practicality designed to make the songs memorable by drawing upon the familiarity of the carnival song, this nevertheless reinforces the connection between the songs and that the contrafactum was intentional. Thus, Christian and humanistic ideologies often resided in fluid connection through musical borrowing. Far from an atypical example, syntactic and syllabic rhyming

[42] Emily Haug also remarks on the rhyming connections between the texts, in *Musical Borrowing in Renaissance Florence, 41*. Haug remarks that the *contrafactum* of carnival songs and *laude* demonstrates very little in the way of separation between sacred and secular aspects of social behaviour in fifteenth-century Florence. I would expand this paradigm to the broader umbrella of ideology, to incorporate humanistic thought, as well as cultural significance. *Musical Borrowing in Renaissance Florence*, 98.
[43] Translation adapted from Emily Haug's version. Ibid., 34-36

between carnival songs and laude were a normative part of the cantasi come tradition.[44] While learning the songs for the recording above, many singers had difficulty not mixing the two sets of lyrics. It is conceivable to envision singers encountering this same challenge in fifteenth-century Florence.

The implications of carnival song/lauda contrafactum are vast in terms of how Renaissance Florentine citizens formed their identities, as the singing of the laude to carnival melodies implies a fluidity of cultural meanings. The boundaries of the secular and the sacred were flexible at best if a song in praise of a sacrilegious Greek god of wine could so easily be repurposed as a devotional to the Virgin Mary. Moreover, the melodies of the laude would at times have occupied the same urban space as the carnival songs, and been heard by a broad audience. As mentioned, the laudesi companies sang in a vast array of locations throughout the city. This demonstrates that alternate sets of lyrics could be heard in the same space of public performance. Thus, this fluid contrafactum, much like the intermingling of the so-called "sacred" and "secular" bells in Renaissance Florence, can be viewed as part of a complex culture of ideas which were communicated through cacophonous and sonorous sound.

It is not possible in all cases to say for certain whether a carnival song or a lauda was composed first. As mentioned, from chronicle accounts, it is known that carnival songs became part of the oral culture of Renaissance Florence.[45] The cantasi come markings demonstrate that, at the very least, carnival song melodies were well-known enough to be applied to other lyrics through a simple short-form. It is perhaps not surprising in a culture which reconciled Aristotle with Christianity, that "pagan" and "Christian" lyrics could so freely be transferred across melodies.[46] Thus, contrafactum demonstrates the fluidity of humanist and Christian ideologies in public culture, and indeed, that the two could quite happily co-exist.

While the historiographic perception that Renaissance humanism ushered in an era of modern secularism has largely been discredited, music can be used to visualize how the fluidity of humanist and Christian ideologies

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[44] Patrick Macey notes the prevalence of the *cantasi come* convention. See Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs,* 32.

[45] Frank A. D'Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence,* 272-273.

[46] Amos Edelheit observes how figures such as Giovanni Pico della Mirandola engaged in debates which fused Plato and Aristotle with Christianity. In Amos Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico, and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology (1461/2-1498)* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2008), 350.

operated in practice, integrating and enhancing existing cultural and social historical knowledge to form a more fully fleshed out image of how cultural identity was negotiated through sound and space.[47] Looking at music in this way helps to visualize how this fluid ideology may have circulated in daily life—from the humming of melodies in the streets—to opulently staged performances. Thus, the music of Lorenzo de'Medici reveals many facets of Renaissance Florentine social, political, and cultural identity. While his carnivals would be idealized by many future generations of Medici, he was equally the inspiration for the harsh rhetoric of Dominican reformer Girolamo Savonarola.

The carnival reforms of Girolamo Savonarola (1452-1498) once again illustrate connections of music and identity. This section explores the contrafactum of one Savonarolan carnival song with two laude, as well as the Contrasto song composed for his "Bonfire of the Vanities." Savonarola's borrowing of carnival song melodies reveals intriguing facets of social, cultural, and political continuity from the Laurentian era, particularly in light of the fact that they were officially banned.[48] Moreover, this brings to light the continued fluidity of "sacred" and "secular" ideologies within the soundscape of Renaissance Florence.

Savonarola's unofficial "reign" in Florence lasted from around 1492 to his eventual execution in 1498. As has been well-established, his sermons frequently spoke out against the perceived excesses of fifteenth-century Florence while promoting modesty and religious reform. His flamboyant delivery of such rhetoric appealed to many prominent humanists, as well as a wide audience of women.[49] Savonarola took particular issue with Lorenzo de'Medici, and claimed to have predicted his death, which he viewed as an omen of the misfortune which was to befall Florence.[50] Among his goals for

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[47] Robert Black's essay on humanist historiography is helpful for tracing lines of historical thought. See Robert Black "Humanism" in *Renaissance Thought: A Reader,* ed. Robert Black (London: Routledge, 2001), 69-70.

[48] Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici,* 58.

[49] For continuities between social networks of Lorenzo de'Medici and Savanarola, see Stefano Dall'Aglio, *Savonarola and Savonarolism*, trans. John Gagné (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2010), 23. For Savanarola's popularity with women, see Natalie Tomas, "Did Women Have a Space?" in *Renaissance Florence: A Social History*, eds. Roger J. Crum and John T Paoletti (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 320.

[50] Girolamo Savonarola, "Sermon on the Renovation of the Church," in *The Catholic Reformation: Savonarola to Ignatius Loyola: Reform in the Church,* edited and translated by John Olin (New York: Harper and Row, 1969), 9.

reform, he sought to banish the excesses of carnival, subverting many of its traditions. In this vein, carnival songs were banned, and carnival in its old form was replaced with a Christian-themed carnival.[51] However, perhaps unintentionally, by commissioning laude texts which were set to familiar melodies, Savonarola preserved some of the "secular" sounds of the Laurentian carnival.

The processional route for the Savonarolan carnival of 1497 reveals facets of social continuity in urban space. As a starting point for visualizing the performance of the laude, this map of the procession serves as a useful tool.

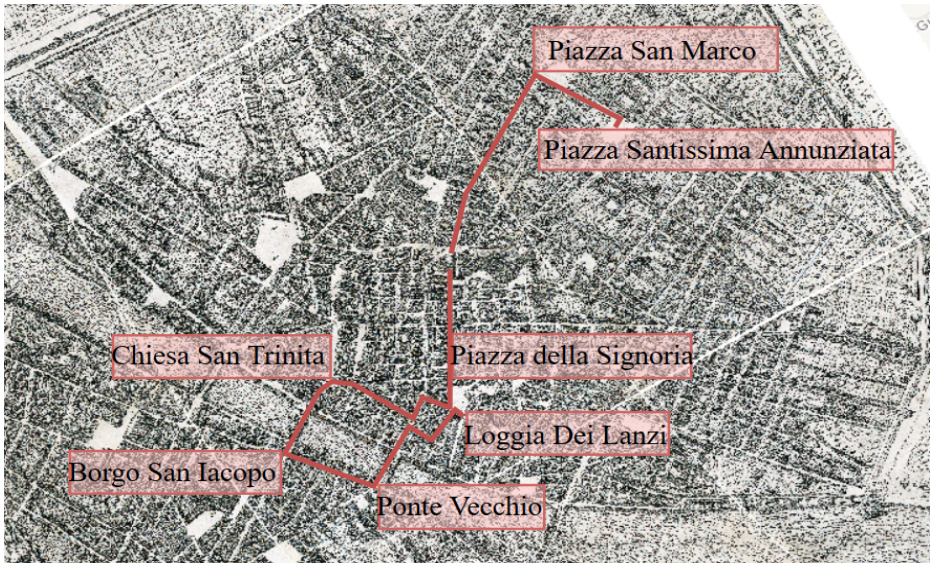

Figure 5 – Created with DECIMA GIS Mapping tool[52]

This route, which began at Piazza San Marco and processed down to Borgo San Iacoppo, ending up at the Loggia dei Lanzi in Piazza della Signoria, is quite elaborate in scope. In fact, the tracking of this route required zooming out an additional level from all of the other routes mapped in the project. Thus, from the sheer vantage point of optics, the spectacle of this on-foot procession across the city would have been eye-catching, to say the least. For this procession, Savonarola enlisted a large group of male

[51] Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 58

[52] DECIMA, http://decima.chass.utoronto.ca/. Processional route is based on Parenti's account in *Storia Fiorentina* as translated by Patrick Macey. See Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 61.

youths, or fanciulli, who were mainly from property-owning classes in Florence.[53]

Chronicles report how these previously rambunctious youths now appeared pious and angelic as they sang laude while clasping olive branches.[54] It is interesting to note that Savonarola appears to mix the performance contexts of the mascherate and the trionfi in this paradigm by having the fanciulli sing the laude while they process by foot, melding the tradition of performing mascherate on foot to unplanned routes, with the planned triumphal procession. This would surely have been a spectacle, though of an entirely different sort than a triumphal procession of costumed, singing "deities". Thus, in this framework, the public expectation of a procession on the day preceding Lent is fulfilled. This demonstrates that there was spatial continuity between the old carnival and the Savonarolan procession. Thus, just as complex symbols were encoded within the performance contexts of the carnival, so too were these subverted by Savonarola in creative ways. The beauty of this form of subversion is that it tacitly acknowledges the popularity of old traditions. In addition to the elements of spatial continuity of the carnival, the "sounds" of carnival were also somewhat preserved. This continuity of sound can be heard through the laude which were sung by the fanciulli under the Loggia del Lanzi.

Figure 6 - 360 degree view of the Loggia dei Lanzi – Courtesy of Wikimedia Commons

[53] Lauro Martines, *Fire in the City: Savonarola and the Struggle for the Soul of the Renaissance* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 119.

[54] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 62.

The borrowing of carnival songs for the pre-Lenten festival reveals social and cultural continuity in the urban soundscape of Renaissance Florence. Due to the extensive work of musicologist Patrick Macey on the use of carnival texts by Savonarola, it is possible to trace the texts of the laude to corresponding carnival song melodies. Macey astutely pinpoints four possible songs for the procession based on Parenti's chronicle of youths shouting "Viva Cristo!" along the route.[55] Among these are the anonymous laude, Viva viva in Oratione (Long live, long live in prayer) and Viva, viva in nostro core, which both borrow the melody of the carnival song Viva, viva la ragione (Long Live, Long Live Reason).[56] Once again, listen to the three songs and note the melodic and harmonic borrowing. Note how the tempo (speed of the song), and dynamics (loudness and softness), can be used to communicate the meaning of the texts. The laude are both sung more softly and slowly, giving the song a comparatively sombre mood which fits with the penitential themes of the texts.

Figure 7 - Carnival Song

Viva, viva la ***ragione***
Ciascun ch'e suo ***champione***
Noi siam tutti huomini giusti
Ch habbian il torto e sdegno
Con questi mazzafrusti
Partiano dal suo regno
Ci la dove per segno
Ecol pose le colenne
Trovar queste madonne
Ecco habian piu ragione

Translation:

Long live, long live in reason
And anyone who is his champion
We are all upright men
Who hold the wrong disdain
And with these blunt clubs
We departed from this realm
An we have sought through many regions
Beyond where Hercules placed
His columns as a sign
So as to find these ladies.

Figure 8 - Lauda 1:

Viva, viva in nostro core
Cristo re, duce e signore.
Ciascun purghi l'intelleto,
La memoria e voluntate
Dal terrestre a vano affetto
Arda tutto in caritate
Contemplando la bontate
Di Gesù, re di Firenza;
Con digiuni e penitenza
Si reformi dentro e fore

Translation:

Long live, long live in our hearts
Christ the King, leader and lord,
Let everyone purge his mind,
Memory, and will
Of earthly and vain affections,
Let all burn in charity,
Contemplating the goodness
Of Jesus, King of Florence,
Through fasting and penitence
Let us reform ourselves inside and out.

[55] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 59.
[56] Emily Haug, *Borrowing in Renaissance Florence*, 45-46.

As musicologists have noted, Renaissance singers would have been given some artistic license to improvise in this manner.[57]

Similar to the carnival song/laude contrafactum in Lorenzo de'Medici's music, there is a syntactic and phonetic connection between the songs. The most obvious connection is that all three songs begin with the lyrics "viva, viva". Beyond this detail, the phonetic connection is particularly emphasized in the first two lines of Viva, Viva in oratione and Viva, viva la ragione through the rhyming of -ione endings (ragione with oratione, and champione with devotione) (See bolded words in figures 7 and 9). However, beyond these two lines, there are no obvious corresponding rhyming words between versions. Thus, unlike Lorenzo de'Medici's carefully curated Quant'e bella giovanezza (How Beautiful Youth Can Be) and its corresponding lauda Quante grande la ballezza, where lyrics are rhymed throughout the verse, this rhyming is far less extensive. This may be because, unlike Lorenzo's songs, the carnival song and the laude were likely written by different composers. Nevertheless, the rhyming scheme is identical within all three versions, which each follow a form of xx ababbccx (same letters indicate rhymed words), with the exception of the word "dannati" in Viva, Viva in oratione.[58] This demonstrates the connection between the texts.

Figure 9 - Lauda 2:

Viva, Viva in ***oratione****,*
Ciashedun con ***devotione***
Chi pensasse al Paradiso
E alla glioria de; beati
Dal mondo saria divoso
E da vitt, e da peccati
Contemplando che I dannati
Hanno a star in sempiterno
Nel caliginoso inferno
Coi demoni a dannazione

Figure 9, cont'd - Translation for Lauda 2:

Long live, long live in prayer
Everyone with devotion
Those who would think of paradise
And the glory of the blessed
Let them remove themselves from the world
And from vices and from sins
Pondering that the damned
Have to remain for eternity
In the darkness of hell
In damnation with demons

While the syntactic and phonetic similarities are perhaps less pronounced between the three songs in comparison to Lorenzo's songs, the lyrical themes of the laude are quite striking in their subversion of the carnival

[57] Frank D'Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence*, 272-273.
[58] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 64.

song. Where the carnival song praises rationality (ragione), great men, and of going to a pagan realm ("We departed from this realm, and we have sought through many regions, beyond where Hercules placed his columns as a sign"), the laude speak pointedly of damnation and the need for moral cleansing. Thus, the fluidity of "sacred" and "secular" ideologies can once again be seen through the contrafactum between carnival songs and laude. However, the key difference in this case is that this contrafactum was occurring at a time when carnival songs had been removed from formal festivals.[59] Yet, Florentine citizens would have been used to this kind of musical borrowing. Thus, if one imagines how this musical borrowing might have operated in practice, it is very easy to envision informal gatherings where, having just heard the lauda, a group is then is reminded of the carnival song with the same melody. As witnessed through actually singing the songs, the mixing of lyrics is quite easily done. This may perhaps seem speculative, but it is relevant to consider the implausibility that carnival song lyrics, once banned, were never again sung in Savonarolan Florence. What then is to be made of the setting of a carnival song melody, not once, but twice, to two different texts? Would the songs be interpreted as a bold statement of a new regime, as Savonarola intended, or conversely, would people perhaps be drawn to the laude because they were already familiar with this genre, as well as these tunes? Given the widespread interest in lay devotion in pre-Savonarolan Florence, the latter seems more likely.

In his book Ficino, Pico, and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology (1461/2-1498), Amos Edelheit posits that modern scholarship has not fully considered the deep interest that humanists, such as Marsilio Ficino and Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, had in theology. Edelheit suggests that it is in part this interest which drew humanists to Savonarola's "brand" of, what Edelheit calls, his humanist theology.[60] This theoretical paradigm can also be viewed through the continuities in musical conventions from the Laurentian to the Savonarolan eras. The increased production and performance of laude appears to have satisfied the interest in lay religious devotional practices which were present in pre-Savonarolan Florence. Additionally, the setting of many laude to carnival song melodies through cantasi come indications preserved the familiarity of the sound of the carnival song, satisfying lay religiosity, as well as the excitement of carnival.

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[59] Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici*, 58

[60] Amos Edelheit, *Ficino, Pico, and Savonarola: The Evolution of Humanist Theology*, 463.

In addition to the "sound" of carnival, the excitement of carnival was arguably preserved through events like Savonarola's "Bonfire of the Vanities". The contrasto which was sung for the bonfire gives clues as to the social dynamics of the event. The bonfire took place on February 7, 1497, in the Piazza della Signoria, on the day which would have been reserved for the Pre-Lenten carnival under the Medici. "Pagan" artifacts of excess, such as wigs, costumes, paintings, and even musical instruments were collected and burned by Savonarola's followers.[61] Thus, the pageantry of the trionfi procession appears to have been a particular target. Given this variety of materials, it is not difficult to imagine a considerable odour of smoke, burning hair, and burning paint materials mingling with the open air. In addition to the visual and olfactory dimensions of the event, the music reveals much about the social and cultural dynamics of Savonarolan Florence.

The contrasto song features a dialogue between the character of "Carnival" and the citizens of Florence. Thus, Savonarola takes the mythological allegory of the trionfi carnival song and subverts it by creating an allegorical representation of Carnival. Unfortunately, the musical setting for the song does not appear to have survived, but the lyrics are preserved. The narrative of the song follows the character of Carnival as it (or he) is ultimately burned to death by the newfound faith of the city. Overt references to the "pagan" deities celebrated in carnival songs are prominently featured: "(Character of Florence): Where are Jove, Juno, and Mars, and beautiful Venus so adorned, the silly Bacchus with his horns, who usually assist you so much?" It is noteworthy that the text specifically references Bacchus, demonstrating the tacit acknowledgment of the popularity of Bacchic imagery at this time.[62] It is also conceivable, given Savonarola's specific targeting of Lorenzo, that this is a tacit reference to Bacchus and Ariadne.

While the lyrics themselves present a layer of allegorical symbolism, there is yet another layer which is connected to the performance context of the song and its performers. The text directly references the fanciulli, who are singing the song, as the final "nail in the coffin" of Carnival. "(Character of Carnival): Those fanciulli are the death of me; they have stolen away all my glory, with another sweet story, they have driven me out of their court; they don't remember me anymore."[63] Thus, once again, there is a complex

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[61] Patrick Macey, *Bonfire Songs*, 59.

[62] Ibid., 76.

[63] Ibid.

encoding of symbols which extends from the allegorical lyrics referencing the old carnival traditions, to the allegorical "killing of carnival" by the singers of the song. In referencing the fanciulli directly, the youth of Florence are literally singing a message to themselves to "kill" carnival by eschewing its evils and adopting piety. This is then surrounded by the overarching spectacle of the bonfire. Thus, while the bonfire may signify on one level that a new social order is in place, on a more subliminal level it also appeals to the traditions it subverts, filling the streets with an event which is another kind of spectacle, and perhaps satisfying the excitement of carnival.

While the degree to which Savonarolan reforms were ultimately "successful" can perhaps not be quantified, through an analysis of the social and cultural continuities of music and its performance contexts in this era it is possible to gain new insights by employing new methods of visualizing the sound and space of Savonarolan Florence, and how Florentine identity was, or was not, greatly affected during this time. This visualization gives a sense of the atmosphere which surrounded Savonarolan Florence, and the continuities which were enacted at a musical, social, and political level. Amidst the blazing fires, the elaborate processional routes, and the music on the streets, it appears that many, if not most, of the elements of the pre-Savonarolan carnival were preserved. There were fewer lyrics about pagan gods perhaps, but the symbolic pageantry that had gone hand-in-hand with those lyrics was largely preserved and even visible. Thus, once again, situating the music and its performance contexts within the soundscape of Renaissance Florence can facilitate new avenues of historical analysis, both reinforcing existing knowledge and exploring new pathways.

Perhaps the most compelling illustration of the continuities of Savonarolan reforms lies in the continuity of people whose lives spanned across the Medicean and Savonarolan eras. One significant example is Jacopo Nardi, a staunch Savonarolan supporter who somehow became the lead organizer for the triumphal carnival of 1513 for the return of the Medici to Florence.[64] This section features two events of 1513: the February carnival, for which much textual and musical detail is available, and the triumphal processions for Leo X's election in March 1513. In this era of Florentine history, the shifting of social and political alliances is prevalent. As well there are spatial and sonic indications of the shifting mentality toward the future duchy.

[64] Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 16.

Figure 10:

colui che dà le leggi all natura
in vari stati e se coli dispone;
ma del bene è chagione
e'l mal quant'e per mette al mon do dura
onde in questa figura contemplando
si vede
come con lento piede
l'un secol doppo l'altro al mon
do viene
e mute il bene in male e il male in bene

He who gives laws to nature
And orders various states and ages
Is the cause of every good
And when He permits, evil reigns in the worlds
Therefore, in contemplating this figure you may see
How with a sure step
One age follows another in the world
And transforms good into evil and evil into good.

Negotiations of identity can once again be seen through the music for the carnival of February, 1513. In particular, the contexts of patronage and performance reveal assertions of political power, as well as shifting social and political alliances. Although Lorenzo and Giuliano de'Medici returned to Florence in 1512 after an eighteen-year exile, celebratory festivities were put on hold until the carnival season of 1513.[65] Giorgio Vasari's Lives of the Artists provides a particularly vivid window into the inner workings of patronage and artistic production that the event encompassed.

As Vasari's account details, Lorenzo and Giuliano created two competing carnival companies, Diamante and Broncone. The creation of these carnival companies was an overt attempt to harken back to the perceived "Golden Age" of Lorenzo the Magnificent.[66] Among the members of the Broncone company was Jacopo Nardi, whose prominent contribution included a play and a trionfo song.[67]

As Vasari recounts, Jacopo Nardi was charged with commissioning six trionfi floats for the carnival procession. One such float featured his song Colui che dà le leggi all natura (He Who Gives the Laws to Nature), which details the return to the Age of Gold from the Age of Iron.[68] Once again, listen to the song while reading the lyrics and note the similarities in overall imagery and sound to the previous carnival song examples.

Like Lorenzo Il Magnifico's Quant'e bella giovanezza, the song resides in the world of ancient Greek mythology, with references to the arrival of the

[65] Ibid., 11.
[66] Ibid., 16
[67] Ibid.
[68] Giorgio Vasari's *Lives of the Artists,* 402.

Golden Age scattered throughout.[69] The lyrical themes of the song reveal the pointed return to the triumphalism of the Laurentian age. Unlike the previous examples which pair carnival songs with laude, Nardi's song was composed as a stand-alone carnival song. Thus, there is no contrafactum to demonstrate. However, the song is included here to aid in contextualizing the soundscape of the carnival. Additionally, the song does not appear to have previously been recorded; it is not included in the Naxos music database, nor has it been found in any library databases searched, or online, though it is possible a recording exists in a closed archive.

The performance contexts of the song provide a rare snapshot of the social dynamics of carnival productions. Vasari's account of the Life of Pontormo connects the performance of colui che dà le leggi all natura to the "gilded boy", a child who was painted entirely in gold to personify the Age of Gold. Vasari gives a detailed account of the trionfo float which included a man clad in rusty iron who lay prostrate on his face, while the young boy in gold arose from an opening in the back of the armour to signify the rebirth of the golden age of Florence with the election of Giulio de'Medici as Pope Leo X.[70] The child, who was the son of a baker, died shortly after the carnival, most likely of the effects of the gilding and the chilly February weather.[71]

There is a small measure of historical justice in the fact that, through his death, the boy provides a rare window into the social dynamics of the carnival, as performers are rarely mentioned in accounts.[72] Were it not for his death, the brief mention would have been unlikely to be made. Thus, through the account of the "gilded boy" it is possible to place the lowly son of a baker in the thick of the drama of carnival, acting out the all-important role of the Age of Gold. This demonstrates that trionfi performances did not merely include the social elite. Just as Christian and humanist ideologies resided fluidly in music, so too did social classes intermingle in elaborate carnival productions. Thus, Nardi's trionfi song and its performance contexts reveal much about the underlying social structures of carnival. While the story of the "gilded boy" is well-known in carnival historiography, analyzing the music and its performance contexts once again reveals social dynamics, as

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[69] John Dillon, "Plato and the Golden Age," *Hermathena* no. 51 (1992): 23.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Anthony M. Cummings, *Politicized Muse*, 30.

[72] As an example, as Frank D'Accone notes, the names of carnival song performers have still not been recovered, if they were recorded. Frank D'Accone, *Music in Renaissance Florence,* 261.

well as shifting social alliances, and networks of patronage, thereby integrating the soundscape of carnival with these elements.

If one takes Vasari's explanation of the message of the song and its accompanying trionfo as fact, Nardi's involvement not only as a coordinator of events, but as a composer of the song additionally reveals that, at the very least, political and social alliances during this time were fluid. The idea conveyed through his song that the period prior to the election of Pope Leo X was a "rusty Iron Age" would certainly seem to condemn the era of Savonarolan Florence. As Nicholas Scott Baker observes, Nardi's Istorie is less an attempt to relate historical facts as it is an emotional history of his life.[73] Thus, of even greater significance than the details he recounts are those which are omitted. As Baker again notes, Nardi's shift from avid Savonarola supporter to head coordinator of the Medicean carnival of 1513 is a subject which is conspicuously absent from his Istorie della città di Firenze.[74] That Nardi could at one time be adamantly opposed to the "pagan" corruption of the Medicean regime and a close supporter of Savonarola, and in 1513 coordinate a triumphal program which prominently displayed the very "vanities" which Savonarola targeted, is telling of the malleability of political and social alliances in Renaissance Florence at this time. This shifting of alliances is once again visible at a musical level, with the composition of a song with ostensibly "pagan" lyrics. Thus, Nardi's involvement with the 1513 carnival, and his design of the festivities reveals connections of music and identity in Renaissance Florence.

Agenore Gelli, who published and glossed the 1858 edition of Nardi's Istorie della città di Firenze, is careful to state of Nardi's involvement in the 1513 carnival that, while Nardi wished to revive the excellent poetic forms of Lorenzo il Magnifico, he aimed to do so in a way which also honoured Savonarola's reforms.[75] It is interesting to note this hindsight framing of

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[73] Nicholas Scott Baker, "The Remembrance of Politics Past: Memory and Melancholia in Jacopo Nardi's *Istorie della città di Firenze,*" in *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, eds. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015), 263.

[74]. Ibid., 267.

[75] "*Negli suoi canti carnascialeschi e' si guardò da quella scorrettezza e licenza di linguaggio e d' immagini che fu tanto in grado di Lorenzo il Magnifico e degli altri letterati, i quali pure intendendo a più nobili subbietti credevan bene ricrearsi con tali bazzecole giustamente riprovate dal Savonarola, siccome quelle che deturpavano la castità della poesia ed erano fomento alla corruzione de costume,*" in *Istorie della città di Firenze,* ed. Agenore Gelli (Florence: Felice le Monnier, 1858), xviii.

Nardi's motives, particularly in the nineteenth-century when Italian nationalism was in a state of accelerated development, and Italian Renaissance historiography had begun to reflect this shift.[76] Thus, the analysis of music and its performance contexts can also shed light upon historiographical biases.

Through the music of former Savonarola supporters like Nardi, it is possible to gauge the fluidity of social identity in new ways. While valuable analysis has been conducted on both Savonarola and on the carnival of 1513, music and its performance contexts provide a vehicle for bringing together historical continuities and changes over time.[77] Additionally, the various ways in which Laurentian imagery was revived can be viewed from new angles. This works in the reverse as well, raising questions once again about the level of continuity which existed in Savonarola's reforms. If the same people who were his staunch supporters then propagated triumphalism upon the return of the Medici, it is possible that there was more continuity than has been supposed. The triumphal processions for the election of the first Medicean pope, Leo X, further demonstrate this continuity of triumphalism.

In addition to shifting social and political alliances, the triumphal processions to celebrate the election of Leo X reveal changing dynamics of political identity. The procession took place on three successive nights in March, 1513. On each night, a triumphal car was paraded from the Piazza San Marco down Via Larga to the Palazzo de'Medici and subsequently set alight with fireworks.[78] Unfortunately, the trionfi songs which were composed for each procession have not survived. [79] The short processional route ran from the Medicean garden in Piazza San Marco to the Palazzo Medici. Musicologist Anthony M. Cummings notes that there were many properties along Via Larga which belonged to the Medici.[80] Thus, it is likely that the procession would have encountered not one, but several, Medici holdings along its short route.[81] In contrast to the mascherate performance with its exaggeratedly public route, or even the elaborate fanciulli procession of

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[76] James Hankins, "Renaissance Humanism and Historiography Today," in *Palgrave Advances in Renaissance Historiography*, ed. Jonathan Woolfson (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005), 75.

[77] Nicholas Scott Baker offers a recent analysis in "Medicean Metamorphoses: Carnival in Florence, 1513," *Renaissance Studies* 25, no. 4 (2010): 491-510.

[78] Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 42.

[79] Ibid.

[80] Ibid., 43.

[81] Ibid.

Savonarola's carnival, this route seems intentionally exclusive. This is emphasized all the more when sound is factored into this paradigm. It seems highly unlikely that the performance of music or the loud crackle of fireworks would not be heard beyond the Via Larga. Thus, as with the illustration of the women at their windows in the mascherate performance context, sound once again permeates the artificial barrier of built space. However, in this case, "built space" has moved into the public realm, with the street a marker of "Medici" territory. This marking of territory is then reinforced through its repetition over three nights. Thus, the permeation of sound beyond the processional route declaims a barrier which aurally signifies to those "in" and those "out" where they stand socially and politically in relation to where they literally stand. In contrast to the republican government's "rhetoric of inclusivity", as defined by Niall Atkinson, these delineations of sound and space can be said to enact an inverse "rhetoric of exclusivity".[82] This mentality of exclusivity continued to progress, leading to the official beginnings of the Florentine duchy in 1532, and to the subsequent marriage of Cosimo I de'Medici to Eleonora di Toledo.

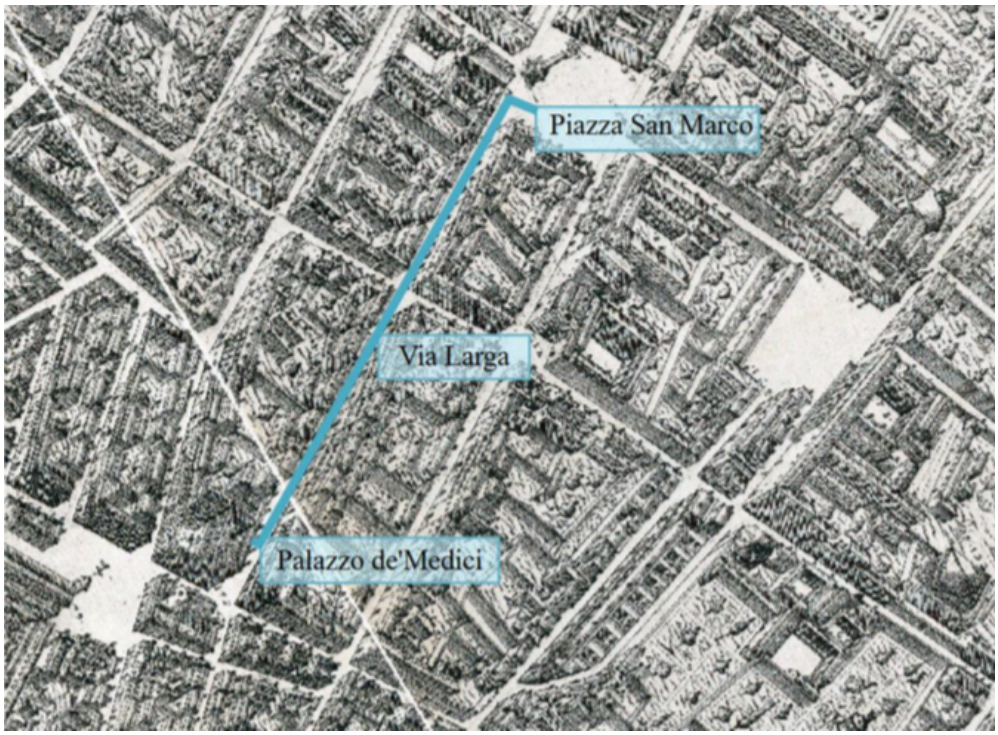

Figure 11 – created with DECIMA

[82] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, 123-124.

The music and performance contexts for Eleonora di Toledo's entry into Florence shed light on how political and social identity were enacted through sound and space in this era. The elaborate wedding of Cosimo I de'Medici, the second official "duke" of Florence, and Eleonora di Toledo, a Spanish noblewoman, took place over twelve days from June 29 to July 9, 1539. Due to the emergence of the formalized festival book around the 1520s, the event, including Eleonora's processional route, is meticulously described, and the texts of the music are preserved.[83] This section will explore, in particular, the political rhetoric and social dynamics of the bridal processional entry of Eleonora into Florence. The festivities as a whole have been well-covered in Bonner Mitchell and Andrew Minor's A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539 based on Pier Franceso Giambullari's account in his festival book.[84] However, digital mapping, in conjunction with the musical contexts, provides the opportunity to look at this event in new detail.

As Michel Plaisance has noted, musical performances in ducal Florence began to feature increasingly elaborate harmonies and lyrics with complex meanings. In contrast to the relatively accessible themes and melodies of the carnival songs and the laude, this increased complexity of lyrical themes often confused certain demographics of the audience, and would most likely require more specialized performers. [85]

The lyrics of Ingredere, and its accompanying triumphal imagery provide a window into the fluidity of sacred and secular ideologies, as well as the political rhetoric of the early Florentine duchy. When Eleonora di Toledo entered the city of Florence at the age of seventeen for the official festivities to celebrate her marriage to Cosimo I de'Medici, she was greeted at Porta al Prato by a gigantic triumphal arch constructed for the occasion, atop which stood various statues, including the goddess Juno, who is representative of fecundity in Greek mythology (See processional route, Figure 12).

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[83] Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly "The Early Modern Festival Book: Function and Form," in *Europa Triumphans: Court and Civic Festivals in Early Modern Europe,* eds. Helen Watanabe-O'Kelly and Margaret Shewring (Aldershot and Burlington VT: Ashgate, 2004), 4.

[84] Andrew C. Minor and Mitchell Bonner, *A Renaissance Entertainment: Festivities for the Marriage of Cosimo I, Duke of Florence, in 1539* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), 3.

[85] Michel Plaisance, *Florence in the Time of the Medici,* 21.

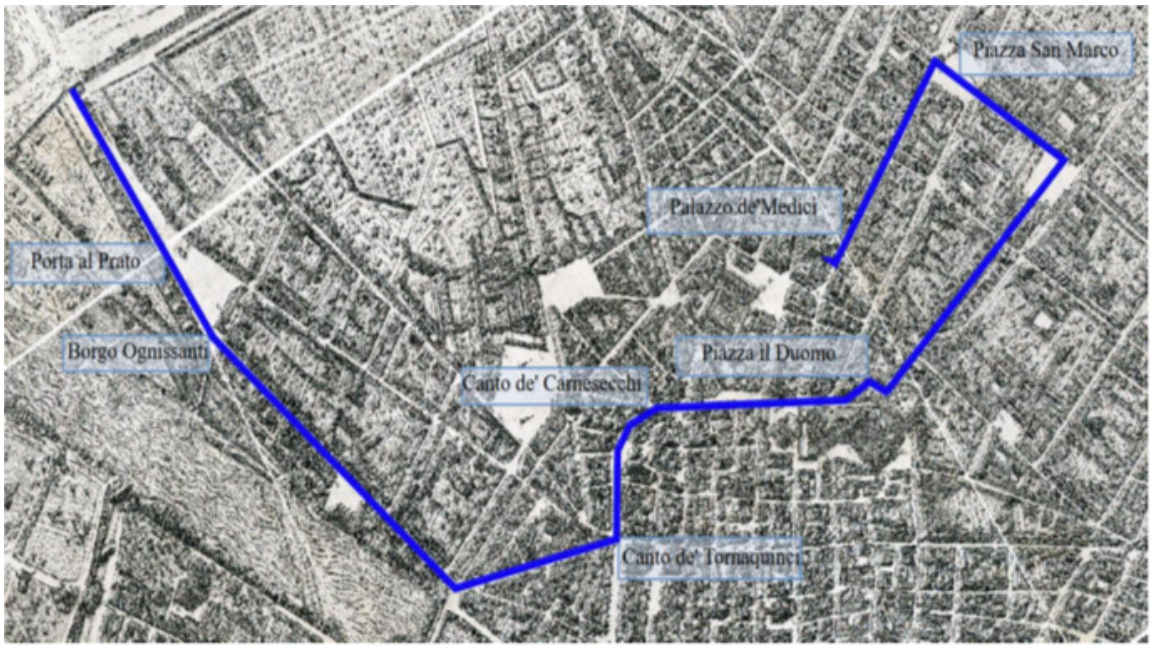

Figure 12 – created with DECIMA

Additionally, a box was built into the arch for a choir of twenty-four singers.[86] The motif of fertility was additionally filtered through the music composed for this occasion, which featured the lyrics: "Enter, Eleonora under the most favourable auspices of your city, and, fruitful in excellent offspring, may you produce descendants similar to your father and forebears abroad (See Figure 12)." If this message still needed clarification, these lyrics were additionally engraved on the triumphal arch in rustic capitals.[87] Thus, the performance contexts of the song first and foremost enact a very public political rhetoric of aristocratic legitimization by the early Florentine duchy. If Pier Franceso Giambullari's narration of the procession is to be deemed credible, this reception was greeted by "cheering crowds" who "lined the streets".[88] While it is not possible to say for certain exactly who was in the

[86] Eleonora was greeted with triumphal statues representing Victory, Fame, and the asteroid, Pallas. Pier Francesco Giambullari, "*Apparato et feste nelle nozze dello illustrissimo signor duca di Firenze [et] della duchessa sua consorte, con le sue stanze, madriali, comedia, [et] intermedij, in quelle recitati,*" Florence: Bendetto Giunta, 1539. Accessed February 25, 2017. http://www.bl.uk/treasures/festivalbooks/BookDetails.aspx?strFest=0189, 7, processional route and lyrics excerpted from this account. Janet Cox-Rearick, *Bronzino's Chapel of Eleonora in the Palazzo Vecchio* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), 314.

[87] Bonner Mitchell and Andrew C. Minor, *A Renaissance Entertainment*, 3.

[88] Ibid.

crowd at Porto Prato, what is known is that there were several permanent religious orders in close proximity within the neighbourhood.

Figure 13:

Ingredere, ingredere foelicimis
Auspicimis urbem tuam, Helionora
Ac optimae prolis foecunda ita domi similem
Patri foris avo sobolem prodocus ut Mediceo
nomini eiusque devotimis
Civibus securitatem praestes aeternam.

Enter, Eleonora
Under the most favourable auspices of your city,
And, fruitful in excellent offspring.
May you produce descendants similar to your father and forebears abroad
So that you may guarantee eternal security for the Medici name
And for its most devoted citizens

The digital mapping of the performance contexts of Ingredere provides the opportunity to investigate the social dynamics of Elenora's procession. As the census data of 1561 reveals, the neighbourhood of Porta al Prato was dominated by the monasteries of Santa Anna sul Prato, and Santa Maria sul Prato. Both fell within the parish district of Santa Lucia sul Prato (See Figure 14).

As pictured on the maps in figures 15 and 16, Porta al Prato, where the gigantic triumphal arch was erected, was within a very close radius to two monasteries. Thus, it is highly unlikely that the monks and nuns would not have heard the sounds of this grand reception. In effect, those inhabiting these religious houses could have gazed out their windows to see triumphal imagery, which included statues of the pagan deities. This brings to

Figure 14

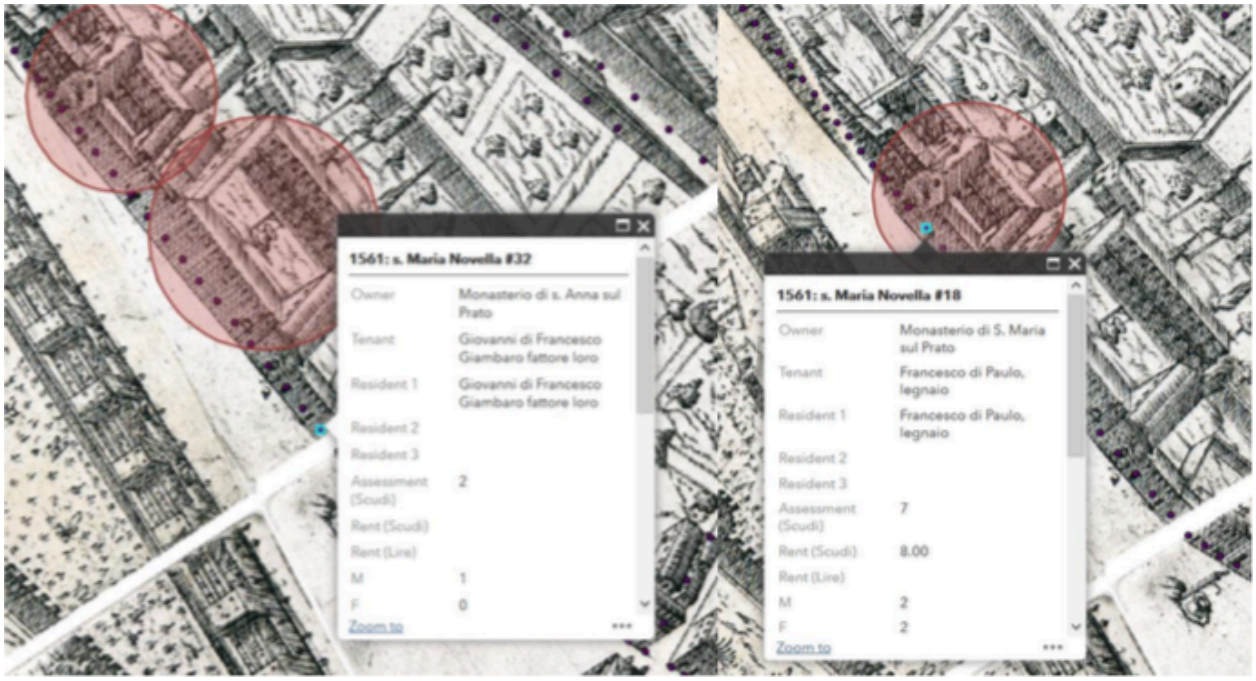

Figure 15 Figure 16

mind Thomas Cohen's theoretical paradigm of the "pastness of the past"; it is difficult to conceive of a world where one could gaze out their window to see a triumphal arch with a choir of twenty-four singers.[89]

While it is not possible to know whether the various members of these religious orders would have welcomed these sights and sounds, this scene demonstrates several social dimensions to the street procession. There is the melding of old "republican" triumphal traditions with the aristocratic concept of legitimization. This is enacted visually and aurally through an elaborate musical performance. The deliberate construction of gender roles is also pervasive in Eleonora's designation as the expected producer of future heirs.

Beyond the political rhetoric and dynamics of this scene, there are layers of social dynamics in the immediate proximity of religious institutions to this triumphal display which constitutes a spatial representation of how the sacred and the secular intersected in the streets. Thus, once again, as has been a common thread throughout the various contexts explored, built space is in many cases an artificial barrier. As Niall Atkinson has skillfully pointed out, sound can provide cues as to how identity operated in practice.[90] Thus, there is the melding of old and new traditions, complex

[89] Thomas V. Cohen, *Love and Death in Renaissance Italy*, 7.
[90] Niall Atkinson, *The Noisy Renaissance*, 4-5.

political motivations, and social dynamics. Once again, music operates as a useful vehicle for exploring such avenues of social, cultural, and even political history, and the digital humanities greatly facilitate this investigation.

The music itself further exemplifies political dynamics, as well as the political objectives of Cosimo I. Unlike the vernacular Italian lyrics of the carnival song and the lauda, the lyrics were written in Latin. Additionally, the harmonies are complex in comparison to the three- or four-part carnival songs, as the song was written in eight parts and composed for two choirs, each comprised of soprano, alto, tenor, and bass voice types.[91] This musical example was selected because it is instrumental, which helps to facilitate hearing the many parts and appreciating the complexity. The song is too detailed to facilitate a comprehensive aural analysis. As mentioned, there are limits to the amount of detail that the method of aural analysis can encapsulate. However, what can be "heard" is the complexity of the music. Note how much more "crowded" the song sounds than the carnival songs and laude. The song was meant to be sung in one location, as opposed to the mobile performances of the trionfi and the mascherate.

It is striking to observe that, while the language, form, and performance context of the song differs significantly from the mascherate or the trionfo carnival song context, there is continuity in the use of triumphal imagery. Thus, there is the melding of the trionfi tradition with the new complexities of the music, as well as political themes, which relate to aristocratic lineage. This juxtaposition of old and new continued throughout the Italian Renaissance, far beyond the temporal scope of the present study, in madrigals which featured settings of Petrarch's poetry to increasingly complex formal structures.[92] As with the trionfi tradition, Italian Renaissance history circles back to Francesco Petrarch.

This project has explored music's place in the sensory and spatial world of Renaissance Florence through festivals in four phases of Florentine history. The music and performances for these events reveal various facets of social,

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[91] Anthony M. Cummings, *The Politicized Muse*, 76-77.

[92] Anthony M. Cummings, *Meacenas and Madrigalist*, 31.

cultural, and political identity. Among such connections are gender and female agency, the fluid co-existence of the "sacred" and the "secular", prospective political motives, and cultural, social, and political continuities, as well as changes, over time. While, as stated at the outset, this is in no way an exhaustive analysis, it is hoped that the methods used to explore these contexts have shed light on music's role in the historical landscape of Renaissance Florence, as well as how digital humanities applications can help to bring together disciplines and facilitate new methods of inquiry.

It is to the credit of enterprising projects like DECIMA that the streets of Renaissance Florence are beginning to be visualized in new ways. This is an exciting time for cross-disciplinary collaboration. Similarly, it is because of the work of musicologists like Anthony M. Cummings, Patrick Macey, William Prizer, and Blake Wilson who have dared to delve into the cultural and social contexts surrounding the music of Renaissance Florence that explorations of this music are able to be informed by a wealth of foundational research. Sound in its ephemerality has been a notoriously difficult aspect of historical reconstruction. It is hoped that the methods presented here might contribute toward conceptualizing the place of music in the broader soundscape of Renaissance Florence, and situate music as a vital communicator and constructor of identity. While the deeply symbolic culture of Renaissance Florence is something which may never be fully grasped, if one imagines these songs in various timbres and tones mingling with the bells of Santa Maria del Fiore, or as the backdrop for an impromptu performance of poetry in Piazza San Martino, this may provide another path to truly "hearing" history.

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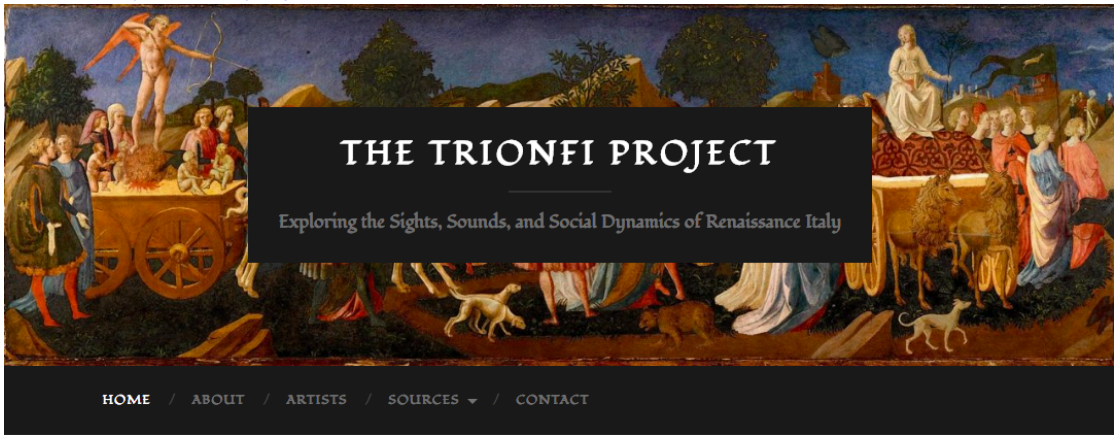

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Ellen Tsigas, "'The Trail Where We Cried:' Native Removal and the Decline of the Cherokee Nation"

HI 462: Race and Gender in the United States, 1608-1877
Supervised by Dr. Dana Weiner

Introduction

Since the seventeenth century, the Cherokee lived in parts of present-day North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, and Georgia where they based their hunting and farming society. They operated under their own government independent from the white settlers who eventually came to the continent. Nineteenth-century settler-Indigenous relations became based in

British and American desires to assimilate Indigenous peoples into American society through 'civilizing missions.'[1] While the Cherokee welcomed changes, they adjusted the program in order to serve Native interests which frustrated federal officials. Cultural tensions between the two groups grew as the Cherokee way of life underwent considerable changes. For example, whites pressured Indigenous people to abandon their gender roles that outlined women as farmers and men as hunters and fighters.[2] The United States government believed that Natives adapting to white American culture would transform them into American citizens. These ideas of assimilation developed into an emphasis on racial differences as the root of Indigenous inferiority, as Americans saw it. Out of these discriminatory thoughts came the idea of removal.

In 1803, Thomas Jefferson wanted control over Louisiana, but this land was already occupied by Natives. He believed he could offer an exchange of land such that the Cherokee and Choctaw would resettle west of the Mississippi.[3] As historian Theda Perdue explains, government officials wanted to enact relocation and claim territory for the United States, but recognized that Indigenous people would oppose removal if it was presented as optional. This struggle coupled with the election of Andrew Jackson in 1828 led to the federal pursuit of removal policies; Jackson favoured removal to solve the tensions surrounding land ownership and sovereignty in Georgia. Congress passed the Indian Removal Act on May 28, 1830 and mandated the forced emigration of approximately one hundred thousand Choctaw, Chickasaw, Cherokee, Creek, and Seminole people, or the so-called 'Five Civilized Tribes.'[4] This act triggered substantial Native opposition and created sectionalism among the Cherokee.

Despite this resistance, the Cherokee and American government reached an agreement under the Treaty of New Echota in 1835. It detailed that the original Cherokee land would be ceded to the United States in exchange for land in present-day Oklahoma. The agreement also stipulated that the Natives would receive financial compensation and federal assistance from the time of their departure until one year after resettlement. However, Cherokee misrepresentation at the treaty's signing meant most Natives disagreed with

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[1] Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green, *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2005), 8.

[2] Ibid., 13.

[3] Ibid., 17.

[4] Ibid., 19.

the agreement, sparking considerable opposition.[5] Nevertheless, the American government followed through with the treaty and evicted the Cherokee Nation from their land between the spring of 1838 and winter 1839. As the Cherokee travelled, they referred to their journey as "the trail where we cried" which later developed into its current name, the Trail of Tears.[6] Cherokee removal incited the decline of their nation due to the American government's repression of Native and non-Native resistance, the gruelling journey on the Trail of Tears, and the difficult re-establishment of the Cherokee Nation. Resistance is evident in petitions, personal letters, and violent Native actions as well as non-Native intervention. The arduous Trail of Tears caused great suffering resulting from little food, rampant sickness and death, white interference, and property loss. The aftermath of removal demonstrates poor living conditions, divisions, and successes in social services among the Cherokee as they attempted to reconstruct their nation.

Historiography

The historiography surrounding Cherokee removal was scarce prior to Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians*. His 1932 work and 1953 revision drew attention to the removal of the Five Civilized Tribes. As Angie Debo writes in the book's introduction, removal is "among the skeletons on our national conscience."[7] In addition to stressing this topic, Foreman aimed to highlight the southern tribes specifically because of their forceful resistance to relocation. He explains that despite their attempts at diplomatic negotiation, the Cherokee could not convince the United States government to cease discussion of removal. Foreman continues that it was a "tragic migration" in which "oppression was employed mercilessly to break the spirit of the Cherokee who refused to leave their homes."[8] He later refers to the Cherokee as a "captive nation," suggesting that they were helplessly stuck in a position of inferiority with American forces.[9] By situating Cherokee removal within the context of other tribes' experiences, Foreman expresses his disdain for the actions of the American government and provides readers with an interesting comparison

[5] Ibid., 24.
[6] Amy Sturgis, *The Trail of Tears and Indian Removal* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 2007), 2.
[7] Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1953), 5.
[8] Ibid., 251.
[9] Ibid., 286.

among the experiences of the 'Five Civilized Tribes.' All other historians mentioned below share this dissatisfaction with federal policy. Foreman's work highlighted Cherokee removal and brought greater attention to it, ushering in further studies on the topic.

In the 1960s, Louis Filler published a collection of primary and secondary sources and categorized them into a debate over whether Cherokee removal was a shameful part of American history or key to the expansion and success of the nation. In examining the tensions between Natives and whites in Georgia, the author questions whether these two independent nations could coexist on the same land.[10] Filler creates an interesting dichotomy between the two trends in removal scholarship, though the argument of manifest destiny faded from historical record by the mid-1970s. This is likely due to its racist undertones and belief that the expansion of America was worth the cost of Cherokee lives and homes. However, his work illustrates early perceptions of Native removal in the southern United States both during and after its time while highlighting a key historical debate.

Similar to Foreman's argument, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* depicts Angie Debo's frustration with removal policies in her 1972 work. The author contends that the American government made a mistake by destroying Native institutions because it diminished the chances for growth and self-sufficiency in Indigenous communities.[11] Debo further explains that the Cherokee experienced the most negative effects compared to the other four 'civilized tribes' and that their first year of rebuilding post-removal was gruelling work.[12] While this perspective hinges Cherokee success upon American actions, the author succeeds in demonstrating the pervasiveness of removal policies. Debo's argument is helpful in conveying the complex relationship between Native people and the United States. She is also the first historian mentioned here to discuss Indigenous life after removal. Debo provides statistics on finances, social services, and the economy from the 1850s into the 1930s to depict how removal continued to influence matters within the Cherokee Nation. Her interest in post-removal life sparked further study among her successors, as discussed below.

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[10] Louis Filler and Allen Guttmann, ed., *The Removal of the Cherokee Nation: Manifest Destiny or National Dishonour?* (Boston: D.C. Heath and Company, 1962), v.

[11] Angie Debo, *And Still the Waters Run: The Betrayal of the Five Civilized Tribes* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1972), xi.

[12] Ibid., xvii.

In 1976, Samuel Carter III published *Cherokee Sunset: A Nation Betrayed* tracking removal from its early negotiations to its aftermath. Carter agrees with his predecessors in stating that Cherokee removal distressed Indigenous people and caused them extreme suffering.[13] He also follows Angie Debo's path in deeply exploring Cherokee life after removal, referring to this period as the "rebirth of a nation." The author commends Native perseverance in reconstructing their lives after emigrating but also acknowledges how "they had been decimated by the cruel trek."[14] In fact, Carter ends his work triumphantly because of the Cherokees' ability to survive and adapt despite the devastation they endured. He explains that many Cherokee thrived in their careers, finances, land ownership, and domestic lives.[15] This positive interpretation was new to the scholarship on removal. Rather than framing the Trail of Tears as an inevitable tragedy, the author reshapes readers' perceptions to emphasize the resilience and power of Native people while under extreme circumstances.

John Ehle's 1988 *The Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* takes an unique approach to the topic of Cherokee removal. Despite his work's title, Ehle does not view removal as a catalyst for Native decline, but rather the reason they succeeded post-removal. He juxtaposes the periods before and after emigration, stating that the Cherokee suffered from political instability, illiteracy, and limited land ownership.[16] After moving to what Ehle describes as "welcoming, rich and productive" land, Indigenous people gained wealth and economic prosperity. However, the author acknowledges that death and disease afflicted the Cherokee.[17] Ehle dislikes how primary and secondary sources demonized whites during the removal period and romanticized Native peacefulness. In particular, he refers to Private John Burnett's recollections of supervising emigration and condemns its dramatization and inaccuracies.[18] Further, the author believes that the American government faced two major challenges: slavery and Native rights. Ehle felt they successfully diffused the 'Indian problem' because their "method of feints and dives and promises and evasions…was less costly in

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[13] Samuel Carter III, *Cherokee Sunset: A Nation Betrayed: A Narrative of Travail and Triumph, Persecution and Exile* (Garden City: Doubleday, 1976), 258.
[14] Ibid., 267.
[15] Ibid., 279.
[16] John Ehle, *Trail of Tears: The Rise and Fall of the Cherokee Nation* (New York: Doubleday, 1988), 386.
[17] Ibid., 392.
[18] Ibid., 394.

human terms than an outright war… [though he] looks back nostalgically to the earlier days when Washington and Jefferson believed a cultural adaptation was possible."[19] Ehle's perspectives diverged from the historiographical trend toward Native agency, sympathy and positivity. His work conveys how historical sympathy can be problematic because it leads to exaggeration and false information. Overall, Ehle holds a view conflicting with other historians mentioned in this paper and strays from the patterns in the scholarship.

In the 1991 collection *Cherokee Removal: Before and After*, William Anderson aims to contrast the success of the Cherokee prior to the enforcement of removal policies with its subsequent negative effects. He views removal as the inciting moment that caused chaos among the Cherokee and completely reconfigured their way of life.[20] The author holds two previously mentioned views: that the impact of the Trail of Tears continues into the present day, and that the Cherokee demonstrated an ability to recover and prosper after removal's disastrous consequences.[21] In his edited collection, Anderson achieves interdisciplinarity by including historical, legal, sociological, and geographical perspectives on removal. These unique views help readers understand how far removal's influence spread and how it relates to present-day affairs among the Cherokee. Another benefit of his collection is the addition of three contributors of Cherokee descent. The author aptly conveys the direct influence of removal on Native livelihood by examining conditions among the Cherokee before and after the United States government imposed emigration policies.

William McLoughlin focused mainly on the forty years after removal in his 1993 work, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880*. He claims that historians have neglected the post-removal history of the Cherokee and sees this period as critical in the development of the Native nation. McLoughlin states that the Cherokee successfully rebuilt their lives in the 1850s but grappled with the issue of sovereignty until 1907 when they lost independence.[22] The author explains that this year signified the creation of Oklahoma as an American state, ushering thousands of new white

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[19] Ibid.

[20] William L. Anderson, ed., *Cherokee Removal: Before and After* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1991), viii.

[21] Ibid., 132.

[22] William G. McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears: The Cherokees' Struggle for Sovereignty, 1839-1880* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993), xiii.

settlers into what had been called Indian Territory. This new statehood left the Cherokees as "a people without a country."[23] Furthermore, McLoughlin contends that the problems challenging Native peoples throughout the nineteenth century resulted from white Americans' rejection of their country's racial and cultural diversity.[24] This work is the first among Cherokee removal scholarship to address the repercussions of emigration in such detail, as he discusses social, economic, political, and military matters. McLoughlin greatly contributed to the historiography surrounding Indigenous removal and convincingly reveals its lasting impact.

Twenty-first century historian Tim Garrison examined the political concepts of removal in his 2002 work, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations*. He explains that white southerners and the southern justice system favoured the forced relocation of Indigenous people so the government enacted various acts as "the legal club... to beat the tribes into submission."[25] As he inspects these statutes, Garrison discovers that removal policies caused significant internal divisions among the Cherokee while leaving a trail of psychological and physical destruction behind. The author exposes governmental goals to obtain cheap land desirable for farming and ethnically cleanse their state.[26] He takes an original approach by examining the legality of forced relocation and the difficulty of Indigenous sovereignty in the American South due to tense white-Native relations. Garrison's study deconstructs the legalization of removal while demonstrating the social implications of such policies.

In her 2007 study, Amy Sturgis challenges the inevitability of Cherokee removal. She questions the logic of President Jackson's justification in pursing removal as part of his 'civilizing mission' among the 'Five Civilized Tribes.' The author believes that the Trail of Tears is an example of ethnic cleansing in the United States and a turning point in nineteenth-century American history that led to further oppression of Natives, even into current affairs. Moreover, Sturgis claims the forced emigration of Indigenous peoples symbolized a shift in the federal approach towards Natives because they came to be viewed as the 'other.'[27] The author centres around troubles within

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[23] Ibid., 368.

[24] Ibid., 380.

[25] Tim Alan Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal: The Southern Judiciary and the Sovereignty of Native American Nations* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 2002), 3.

[26] Garrison, 10.

[27] Sturgis, *The Trail of Tears*, 5.

the Cherokee Nation due to relocation such as the loss of land, internal division, and political unrest. This work is useful in conveying the deliberate government attempt to destroy Native livelihood and explaining the impacts of removal discussions before and after their emigration.

From Foreman's early work to Sturgis account, historians persist in their condemnation of the American government, its policies of removal, and the subsequent negative effects on the Cherokee Nation. Scholars often convey this sentiment through sympathy towards Natives. As mentioned, the historiography started portraying Indigenous people with more agency and highlighting the incredible reconstruction of the Cherokee Nation after removal in the 1970s. This addition is critical in countering the image of Native helplessness that appears in earlier works. Another interesting trend in the scholarship is the use of the term 'betrayal' to describe the American government. Beginning in the early 1970s, historians like Debo and Carter began characterizing government policies as disloyal to Native tribes and their pre-existing treaties with the United States. This language more strongly suggests American fault in the suffering of several Indigenous tribes. The 1970s also saw a flourish in the historiography surrounding Cherokee removal, likely because of the increased public interest in Native American issues. The American Indian Movement (AIM) formed in 1966 to emphasize Indigenous sovereignty and rampant racism. Many protests intended to bring Native issues into the national spotlight, such as the "Trail of Broken Treaties" protest in 1972.[28] These events impacted historians' interpretations and studies of Cherokee removal. The historiography persists in its disdain for governmental removal policies and its harmful effects along with its sympathy towards Natives. However, the 1970s sparked further scholarship due to the emergence of protests and civil rights movements of the time. This era also explored the resilience of the Cherokee as they reconstructed their nation.

While most historians agree on the negative impact of removal on the Cherokee, many fail to extend their arguments to illustrate the ways in which they survived and succeeded after relocation. This study aims to combine the widely-explored damage done by federal officials and their removal policies with the positive reactions of the Cherokee as they rebuilt their nation. Therefore, this research draws from William McLoughlin's depiction of post-removal life among the Cherokee as well as the positivity and agency of Samuel Carter III's approach.

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[28] "The Native American Power Movement," *Digital History*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/disp_textbook.cfm?smtid=2&psid=3348.

Methodology

The purpose of this research is to emphasize the harmful effects of federal interference in Indigenous matters through the examination of Cherokee removal and the Trail of Tears. In order to demonstrate Native opinions and how they resisted policies of removal, a variety of primary sources are used. Petitions and legal letters depict the political nature of Native reactions to removal and the various methods they explored to bring about change. Personal letters portray opinions of the Cherokee public and explain how emigration affected them and their communities. Several Indigenous reflections appear in this paper to allow Cherokee voices to dominate the discussion of removal, in hopes of granting Natives some agency. This is significant because at the time of removal, the American government silenced Natives by ignoring their calls for change. While most sources mentioned in this paper are written by Cherokee people, non-Natives are briefly mentioned to demonstrate outside support for Cherokee resistance.

In relation to terminology, this study refers to removal using the following words: relocation, emigration, moving, forced relocation, forced emigration, and migration. For the purpose of this discussion and to avoid repetition, these terms are used synonymously with removal though they may carry different meanings or connotations. Some of these words may appear gentler in tone despite the aggressive nature of the removal process. They also may suggest that Natives chose to remove from their land, though this was not the case for most Cherokee. These words and phrases should be interpreted with the same strength as 'removal' suggests.

Native Opinions of Removal

The Cherokee were aware of the stirrings in the Jackson administration regarding removal policies and held two opposing views towards them. The Treaty Party wanted to negotiate the terms of removal with the federal government to ensure the best conditions possible and had support from John Ridge, Major Ridge, Stand Watie, and Elias Boudinot among others. Countering this group was John Ross and the National Party which strongly

resisted removal.[29] For the purpose of this paper, Elias Boudinot and John Ross represent the arguments of their respective parties.

Born into a prominent Cherokee family, Boudinot attended a Moravian mission school and furthered his education at the Foreign Mission School in New England, leading to his conversion to Christianity. Through these religious educational experiences, he noticed whites' racism towards Indigenous people. Boudinot had strongly advocated for Cherokee 'civilization' through the adoption of Christianity and new agricultural practices, but grew hesitant to fervently supporting Western influence that held such strong prejudice.[30] In response, he became editor of the *Cherokee Phoenix* from 1828 to 1832. Boudinot used this platform to voice his opinions on removal when debate arose in the 1830s. Historian Theda Perdue explains that Boudinot "totally rejected a proposal by the principal chief that the Cherokees remain in their homeland and become subject to the laws of the states."[31] He refused ideas that Natives and whites could coexist. Boudinot reported to his fellow Natives that the state of Georgia wanted to exercise control over their nation and seize their land. He also explained that the United States disregarded the pre-existing Cherokee government and declare the people and land uncivilized. In his assessment of state officials' treatment of Indigenous peoples, Boudinot questioned, "will the Congress of the United States permit its citizens to invade us in a warlike manner in time of peace?"[32] He expressed that he would rather remove from Cherokee land to maintain sovereignty than remain under American rule. This sentiment favouring independence was central to the Treaty Party's argument.

Despite his partiality towards emigration, Boudinot voiced his dissatisfaction with federal pursuit of removal policies in several periodicals throughout the 1820 and 1830s. In a letter to Reverend Cornelius in 1829, he asserted that Christians have neglected their moral duty to assist the Cherokee escaping governmental subjugation. Boudinot also explained that Georgian officials are encroaching on their land, knowing that such actions will cause a split among the people.[33] Writing in the *Cherokee Phoenix* in

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[29] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal,* 23.

[30] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Editor: The Writings of Elias Boudinot* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983), 10.

[31] Ibid., 11.

[32] Elias Boudinot, "Editorials in the Cherokee Phoenix 1829, 1831," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 139.

[33] Theda Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 48.

1830, he contended that removal violates several treaties between the Natives and United States. Furthermore, Boudinot argued that no Cherokee would place faith in a government that ignores the existent treaties and act against their wishes.[34] Boudinot's writings embody the Treaty Party's desire to seek removal while explaining his dissatisfaction with the policy and the government's behaviour. However, the Treaty Party represented the minority of Cherokee.

The main figure of the National Party, or non-treaty party, was John Ross. Born to a Scottish father and Cherokee mother, he learned to appreciate his Native culture and came to understand that his nation needed strong leadership. In 1816, he first emerged in politics as a delegate to Washington and became president of the Cherokee legislature three years later. Ross oversaw the first constitutional government among any Native tribe. This Indigenous solidarity allowed the Cherokee to resist American attempts at acquiring their land on the state and national level.[35] With the eventual divide between the treaty and non-treaty parties, John Ross became the leader of the National Party and assured the Cherokee majority that they would fight federal policy to remain on their land.[36] Ross had a strong opposition towards removal and publicly vocalized it. In a letter to Lewis Cass in 1833, he stated that any Native who favoured removal would be committing suicide to the well-being of their people.[37] Moreover, he claimed that Indigenous people lived happily until American intrusion in 1828. From this point on, Ross said the government strategically pursued a policy of removal with the intention of creating miserable conditions and exacerbating internal tensions among them.[38]

John Ross also wrote to President Jackson in hopes of explaining the majority Cherokee position regarding emigration in 1834. He first emphasized that if given the choice, the Natives would not opt for removal. More significantly, he drew parallels between the discussion of removal and slavery, arguing that if the government views the Cherokee as incapable of living independently, they would rather die free than become slaves to the

[34] Ibid., 120.
[35] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross Volume I: 1807-1839* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 5.
[36] Ibid., 6.
[37] Ibid., 256.
[38] Ibid., 397.

American system.[39] In saying this, Ross hoped federal officials will recognize Native sovereignty and their success without American intervention. Similar to Boudinot, he believed that the white and Native populations in Georgia could not coexist. However, Ross saw this as reason to oppose removal policies and fight for their land.[40] He held a highly political role in resisting removal, as he visited Washington numerous times throughout the 1820s and 1830s to negotiate the issue and proposed alternatives such as American citizenship for Cherokees in the east or emigration to Mexico.[41] With these ideas, Ross hoped to either preserve Native land ownership or escape the jurisdiction of the United States entirely. Clearly stating his position on removal, he asserted that Indigenous people would not relinquish "their heritage in the soil which moulders the bones of their ancestors for any consideration."[42] This statement reflects the core of the National Party. By examining Boudinot and Ross, the Cherokee were clearly divided in their opinions on removal.

Aside from key leaders, the Cherokee people published a memorial to express their anti-relocation perspective in 1830. The authors explained that removal would occur only if their rights were being infringed upon and the United States' subjugation of Indigenous people was unbearable. Thus, they would be forced off the land, rather than negotiating with the federal government. However, they wanted to stay on the land of their ancestors and avoid moving to a foreign and barren place, as they described. In a stirring conclusion, the authors referred to claims of their low intelligence. They said that while the Cherokee do not boast exceptional intellect, they were aware of their rights to their land and that removal would be a violation of their "immemorial privileges."[43] Natives understood the government's intentions to evict Indigenous populations as they employed removal policies. As such, they often challenged federal logic when discussing relocation. Elias Boudinot explained in the *Cherokee Phoenix* in 1828 that American officials believed the Native population would die without removal and needed the

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[39] Ibid., 284.

[40] Ibid., 262.

[41] John Ross, "Letter in Answer to Inquiries from a Friend," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 158.

[42] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 288.

[43] "Memorial of the Cherokee Nation, 1830," *Cherokee Nation*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/TrailofTears/MemorialoftheCherokee.aspx.

'civilizing' power of white intervention in their nation. However, Boudinot pointed out that the land to which they are expected to move is "a perfect wilderness" and cannot possibly serve this purpose of 'civilization.'[44] The contradictions in the government's argument made it difficult for the Cherokee to accept their terms and negotiate their relocation. Instead, these illogical federal justifications created considerable doubt among Natives as to the potential benefits of emigration. The opinions expressed by Boudinot, Ross, and the Cherokee public regarding removal divided between two main groups but the majority opposed relocation which inspired some to actively resist the policy.

Native Resistance to Removal

Evidently, most Cherokee people opposed removal and strongly resisted its policies. One way Natives showed their disapproval for these government-enforced plans was through political avenues of petitions and protests. For example, Cherokee women wrote three petitions between 1817 and 1831 to the National Council, expressing their opposition to removal and to the issue of land allotment. Allotment involved the division of Cherokee land into individual sections. This was a strategy used by the United States government to undermine the Native practice of collective landholding.[45] The women clearly stated that the lands they occupied were given to the Cherokee by the Great Spirit and asserted their right to the land since they occupied it from time immemorial. The petition further explained how the Cherokee are becoming 'civilized' through the adoption of Christianity, transition to farming, education of children, intermarriage with white men, etc. These women observed that the land they would be moving to is "a savage state" and thus, a regression from the progress they have made. The petition aimed to dispel the government's false goal of 'civilizing' the Cherokee through forced relocation.[46] These women also addressed their own people in these petitions, instructing them to continue living as usual. In fact, they encouraged the Cherokee to continue farming and making clothing because they believed they would not be surrendering any more lands to the American government.[47] In their last petition, the women referred to the

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[44] Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 96.
[45] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal*, 130.
[46] "Cherokee Women Petition," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 133.
[47] Ibid., 132.

removal policy as "highly oppressive, cruel, and unjust."[48] Women more often chose non-violent resistance tactics. These petitions were greatly politicized though, not only because of the subject but also because these women made public declarations. The women acknowledged that releasing such petitions stepped outside of traditional gender roles, but they believed their opinions should be voiced because of the importance of the removal debate. Cherokee women felt compelled by the gravity of the situation to break the social mould and oppose removal publicly. Thus, through their petitions to the National Council, Cherokee women resisted the removal policies and broke traditional gender roles.

Resistance is also evident in the actions of key Cherokee political figures, such as John Ross. Responding in 1836 to journalist John Howard Payne's questions regarding Ross' absence from the signing of the Treaty of New Echota, Ross clearly stated his purpose for his exclusion from the signing. He explained that Natives would not accept the treaty as legitimate because it contradicted Cherokee values and deceived them into believing they would be granted a better home. Ross claimed to see through the trickery of the United States government, acknowledging that "this policy will legislate the Indians off the land!"[49] Evidently, Indigenous people were not quietly accepting the advancing processes of removal. John Ross shared reports with his brother in 1838 that "the Cherokees were planting corn and thought nothing about going away...and when the white man shall come after the 23rd of May to take away their crops and require them to remove to the West the Indians will resist and blood will be spilt."[50] The Cherokees' farming symbolized their unwillingness to comply with the impending removal policies. They planned to remain on their land and were thus planting corn to sustain their future. Thus, the Cherokee people resisted removal through political and non-violent action.

Indigenous peoples also directed their opposition to removal in communications with government offices. For example, a letter to the Senate and House of Representatives in 1824 voiced Native anti-removal sentiment. This address, written by John Ross among others, expressed the commitment of the Cherokee people in their fight to preserve their land and their position. They strongly asserted that they had knowledge of the area they would be moved to and that there was nowhere west of the Mississippi River that they

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[48] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal*, 135.

[49] John Ross, "Letter in Answer to Inquiries from a Friend," 157.

[50] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross*, 617.

would agree to settle because it was desolate. The letter further stated that the Cherokee have adapted to American methods of agriculture, education, and manufacturing but this potential new home was not conducive to these 'civilized' ways. In fact, the Natives claimed that the land was only suitable for hunting buffalo, a practice they abandoned when they ushered in "American ways."[51] In their letter, the Cherokee authors challenged the United States government by arguing that the Declaration of Independence guarantees rights to all men and that removal would contradict these rights.[52] This letter portrayed Indigenous determination in preventing removal and their understanding that these oppressive policies were against United States law.

Resistance is also evident in Cherokee writings directed to their nation. For example, a group of Natives wrote in the *Cherokee Phoenix* in 1829, calling for the rejection of removal. They first emphasized that their land was specifically chosen by their ancestors and is thus sacred and cannot be abandoned. This group asserted that the American government feels threatened by the sudden 'civilization' of the Cherokee so "we are now assaulted with menaces of expulsion."[53] However, the group stated that removal is a strategy employed by the federal government in order to destroy the Cherokee Nation and should be ignored by Natives. These protestors also highlighted the illogical nature of the government's tactics. The United States claimed that the land they would be moving to was fertile and advantageous. The group questioned why such land would have been left unclaimed by whites who could have profited from it. Furthermore, they referred to reports stating that land west of the Mississippi was not favourable.[54] This document demonstrated that Natives wanted their people to be informed from an Indigenous standpoint and understand the true implications of removal without the government's bias influencing their opinions. Through their petition, Indigenous protestors disproved federal reasoning behind removal and attacked its logic to demonstrate that the Cherokee should resist emigration policies.

While petitions and letters were key to the resistance movement in the Cherokee Nation, Indigenous people also participated in violent opposition.

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[51] Ibid., 77.

[52] Ibid., 78.

[53] "Objection to Removal - 1829," *Cherokee Nation*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.cherokee.org/AboutTheNation/History/TrailofTears/ObjectiontoRemoval-1829.aspx.

[54] Ibid.

When American soldiers arrived to force Native movement in 1838, a man named Tsali released his aggression. As his family was ushered out of their community, troops became impatient with his wife's pace and aggressively pushed her. In response, Tsali called for an uprising and several Cherokee joined him in an assault on the soldiers, who retreated once violence ensued. Tsali and a group of Natives fled to the mountains and thus avoided removal.[55] The story of Tsali demonstrates the unwillingness of some Indigenous folk to accept relocation without challenging the government forces. However, violence was an unpopular form of Native resistance, compared to passive political and legal methods. John Ross explained to President James K. Polk in 1845 that Cherokee chiefs instructed their people against aggressive action despite the distressing discussions of removal in the 1830s.[56] This directive of non-violence led some historians such as William McLoughlin to claim that Indigenous peoples did not resist at all.[57] This opinion is inaccurate and fails to acknowledge the multitude of resistant actions taken by Natives. Evidently, the Cherokee often pursued passive actions to oppose removal policies and obey their leaders' commands while exercising their rights and voicing their opinions. As John Ross said in 1836, his people "have no weapon to use but argument."[58] Therefore, the Cherokee resisted removal through petitioning to the United States government, direct passive and violent actions against removal, and the education of their people.

Non-Native Resistance to Removal

While Native voices were the strongest dissenters, non-Natives expressed disagreement with removal as well. White opinions against removal are important in understanding the broader context of resistance. They also inform readers that the American government ignored dissatisfaction with removal policies regardless of protestors' race; this was not merely a white-Indigenous issue. One defiant force was Jeremiah Evarts who wrote several documents in protest of forced relocation for the Cherokee. Evarts worked as a secretary for the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, and worked diligently alongside Indigenous people to oppose the

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[55] James Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee* (New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1970), 131.
[56] Gary E. Moulton, ed., *The Papers of Chief John Ross Volume II: 1840-1866* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1985), 275.
[57] McLoughlin, *After the Trail of Tears,* 2.
[58] John Ross, "Letter in Answer to Inquiries from a Friend," 158.

government's policy of Cherokee removal.[59] For example, he prepared a Protest Against the Principles and Policy of the Indian Bill of May 1830. In this document, he addressed several issues with the removal process such as Natives being coerced or threatened into agreeing to move. Evarts explained that many treaties stretching back to the 1780s were negotiated between the Cherokee and the federal government, and that removal policies violated these agreements. He drew on the Seminole's experiences with removal as they were pushed to starvation and severe conditions. In relation to this occurrence, Evarts argued that Cherokee removal was destined to cause great affliction for the approximately 75, 000 Natives as a result of government interference.[60] Further, Evarts questioned the logic employed by federal officials who claimed that the Cherokees would be moving to desirable land. He stated that if the land truly was favourable, whites would have claimed it already. The author concluded that the United States government cannot be trusted in their intentions with the Cherokee people.[61] Evarts also declared his dissatisfaction with the idea of Cherokee relocation in Congress in 1830. The author asserted that Indigenous folk called for federal assistance in fighting these policies but their "oppressive and tyrannical character" prevented any aid.[62] Moreover, Evarts said that the state's desire took precedence over the rights of Indigenous peoples because Georgia announced that violence would be used to acquire Cherokee lands if necessary.[63] Overall, Evarts challenged the motives of the federal government and exposed their disregard for Native life.

In an attempt to clarify the views of Natives in their relationship with the United States, Evarts published *A Brief View* in 1829 in which he explained Indigenous expectations for the federal government. Among these assumptions, the Cherokee believed that their land was to be untouched by Americans and left to their own control because they were a sovereign nation separate from the United States. Under these circumstances, along with the several treaties made between the two sides, Evarts said "the removal of any Indians from their country by force would be an instance of gross and cruel

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[59] Jeremiah Evarts, *Cherokee Removal: The "William Penn" Essays and Other Writings*, ed. Francis Paul Prucha (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1981), v.
[60] Ibid., 250.
[61] Ibid., 252.
[62] Ibid., 266.
[63] Ibid.

oppression," whether it be through fear tactics, confusion, or violence.[64] Thus, it is evident from his writings that Jeremiah Evarts strongly opposed the removal of the Cherokee.

Evarts championed the non-Native campaign against Cherokee relocation though many other Americans joined the cause as well. Women like Catharine Beecher acted against what they saw as harsh and unjust treatment against the Cherokee.[65] Beecher called American women in 1829 to protest the immorality of their government and support Indigenous interests. Her rhetoric varied from Evarts' writings as she claimed that southern states were driving the policy of removal and the federal government needed to intervene to "prevent the unhallowed sacrifice."[66] She wanted the Jackson administration to channel what white Americans saw as the stereotypical feminine tendencies of sympathy and compassion in order to spare the Cherokee suffering that would come with forced relocation.[67] While Beecher took an alternative view on the federal government compared to Evarts, she agreed with his cause to resist the removal policy. In another case of female resistance, a group of women from Steubenville, Ohio gathered together to protest the forced relocation of Cherokee people in 1830. In their address to the Senate and House of Representatives, the women appealed to the officials' Christian morality and character in order to evoke change. They implied that removal would result in Native extermination and implore to the government as "the constitutional protectors of Indians...[and as] guardians."[68] These women viewed forced emigration as cruel and refused to let their concerns go unheard. Thus, Jeremiah Evarts and some American women vocalized their disapproval of the government's removal policies towards the Cherokee.

The Trail of Tears: How Removal Affected the Cherokee

Despite several Native and non-Native attempts to overturn policies of removal, Andrew Jackson and his administration implemented forced

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[64] Ibid., 202.

[65] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal*, 110.

[66] Catherine Beecher. "Circular: Addressed to Benevolent Ladies of the United States," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 113.

[67] Ibid., 114.

[68] "Memorial of the Ladies of Steubenville, Ohio (1830)," *Digital History*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/indian_removal/ladies.cfm.

relocation onto the Cherokee Nation and greatly affected its people as a result. In 1838, American forces invaded Cherokee territory and pushed Natives to leave. Travelling from their homes in Georgia to new territory west of the Mississippi River was a strenuous and punishing journey that stretched nearly 1000 miles.[69] Accompanying the Cherokee masses were many missionaries and military men, some of whom recorded their experiences. Baptist missionary Evan Jones recounted when the Natives were forced from their homes, stating that they were given no time to prepare for the move. He continued to portray the sense of terror as American forces raided. Jones simply stated that "the Cherokees are nearly all prisoners."[70] He explained that feelings of hopelessness and desolation consumed Indigenous peoples on their journey west.[71] Aside from missionaries, soldiers oversaw the removal process, either witnessing or causing the distress Cherokees faced. One record by a Georgian volunteer compared the removal to his service in the Civil War, claiming that "the Cherokee removal was the cruelest work I ever knew."[72] This evaluation revealed the true hardships suffered by Indigenous migrants.

Before the Cherokee began their move though, American troops often placed them into stockades or internment camps. James Mooney explained that federal officials removed approximately 17,000 Natives from their homes and forced them into these camps. He describes the pervasiveness of invading troops:

> Families at dinner were startled by the sudden gleam of bayonets in the doorway and rose up to be driven with blows and oaths along the weary miles of trail that led to the stockade. Men were seized in their fields or going along the road, women were taken from their wheels and children from their play.[73]

Indigenous people left their homes and possessions to be destroyed by American soldiers. Furthermore, since this transition occurred in the summer, the heat caused significant sickness and death. The provisions in the

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[69] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal*, 24.

[70] Evan Jones, "Letters," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 172.

[71] Ibid., 173.

[72] Mooney, *Myths of the Cherokee*, 130.

[73] Ibid.

stockades were also poor which led to further mortality.[74] Rebecca Neugin recalled a comparable story of her family being forced into a stockade with other Natives, describing them as captives.[75] Historian Theda Perdue contends that the heat, widespread disease, and lack of food and water in these internment camps triggered the suffering of Indigenous people. For many, their weak physical conditions worsened as they travelled which resulted in the high mortality rates both in camps and on route to their new land.[76] Stockades were the first step in the long struggle for the Cherokee to come as they reached their western destination and attempted to rebuild their nation.

The westward trek was particularly strenuous for the Cherokee. George Hicks' narrative stated that crossing the Mississippi River was an especially challenging part of the journey. The cold weather and ice across the river hindered their ability to cross. Hicks, a leader of one group of Cherokees, described how some members of his group endured sickness, exposure, and exhaustion. They had little clothing or food. Many died from the extreme conditions.[77] Similar issues are discussed in Rebecca Neugin's *Recollections of Removal*. Her record of removal described how the soldiers worked quickly to evict the Cherokee and disallowed families from taking several possessions. Neugin explained that the food was scarce so her father would often hunt along the way to supplement their meagre rations. She also shared how sickness was rampant among the travellers, especially whooping cough among the younger children.[78] One unfortunate case of sickness arose for White Path, a Cherokee leader and member of the Cherokee National Council. Elijah Hicks explained in an 1838 letter to John Ross that "White Path has been in the last stages of sickness for many days and has to be hauled and is helpless who cannot last but a few days."[79] Soon after the writing of this letter, White Path died in Kentucky before reaching new Cherokee territory. Overall, between 4,000 and 8,000 Cherokee died during removal.

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[74] Ibid., 133.

[75] Rebecca Neugin, "Recollections of Removal," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 179.

[76] Perdue, *The Cherokee Removal*, 24.

[77] George Hicks, "Letters from the Trail of Tears," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 177.

[78] Rebecca Neugin, "Recollections of Removal," 179.

[79] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross: Volume I*, 684.

These estimates are imprecise because federal officials failed to record deaths in internment camps and of slaves who made the journey west.[80] Nonetheless, the high incidence of illness on the Trail of Tears shows the devastation of removal.

Similar themes of dire conditions among the Cherokee are echoed in writings by Elias Boudinot in 1831. He described the Natives as a declining nation. In fact, he explained that some "are suffering for provisions, and...many are nearly starved and some compelled to sustain life by subsisting upon sap and roots."[81] Sometimes, provisions were difficult to acquire because of increased prices. Farmers and merchants along the road west often raised food and service costs to hinder Native progress while other whites terrorized them on their journey. The company under George Hicks' leadership cited such problems. Writing to John Ross in 1838, Hicks described how American citizens blocked Indigenous travellers, stating "since we have been on our march many of us have been stopped and our horses taken from our teams for the payment of unjust and just demands…Our property has been stolen and robbed from us by white men and no means given us to pay our debts."[82] White Americans brought harm to the Cherokee as they increased costs for provisions and stole what few goods they carried with them. The stories of Evan Jones, George Hicks, Rebecca Neugin, and Elias Boudinot demonstrate the difficult conditions on the Trail of Tears as the Cherokee left behind their homes and lives. These arduous circumstances foreshadowed further struggles as they rebuilt their nation.

The Cherokee Nation declined due to removal because they lost land and property. Evan Jones and Rebecca Neugin referred to the inability to gather household items for travel and that Cherokee families were forced to leave their homes for American troops to pillage and sell their possessions.[83] These themes persist in letters regarding claims of lost property. For example, prominent Cherokee leader Stand Watie wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1840 on behalf of a Cherokee man who wanted compensation for his lost property. Watie explained that John Fields

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[80] Sturgis, *The Trail of Tears*, 2.

[81] Perdue, *Cherokee Editor*, 131.

[82] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross: Volume I*, 687.

[83] Evan Jones, "Letters," 172.

lost his slaves and that he had been promised 600 dollars in compensation.[84] Many Cherokee were slaveholders and during this transition, they struggled to maintain their slave ownership through the process of removal. Some slaves made the journey with their Native masters. Eliza Whitmire, who was enslaved along with her parents, recorded what she witnessed as she travelled the Trail of Tears. Whitmire asserted that when American troops arrived in Cherokee Nation in 1838, they plundered Indigenous homes in search of valuables and occasionally rummaging through graves. Any cattle or livestock escaped amid the soldiers' assault.[85] Whitmire's account exhibits the terrorization of Indigenous peoples at the hands of United States armed forces and the extensive destruction of their belongings.

Elizabeth Watts told a comparable story of lost possessions. She poignantly stated that as the Cherokee began their journey, "they were all grief stricken [because] they lost all on earth they had" but remaining in their territory was unlikely.[86] Evidently, the thought of travelling to new homes with few possessions to restart their lives distressed Native Americans. Thus, the Cherokee lost property and control over their homelands as a result of being forcibly relocated. The difficulties with weather, provisions, sickness, and racism travelling to Indian Territory along with the dispossession of property complicated the Cherokee efforts to rebuilding their nation.

Removal's Aftermath: Rebuilding the Cherokee Nation

While the trek to their new land was gruelling, more struggles faced the Cherokee after they arrived as they attempted to rebuild their nation. In an 1841 letter, John Ross states that:

> The Cherokees were rapidly advancing in agriculture; in all the arts of civilized life. We had established churches, schools, laws and a Constitution. But in the midst of this onward march, one of the most monstrous political frauds which ever stained the page of history is perpetrated upon the United States and against the Cherokees; and

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[84] Edward Everett Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers: Forty Years of Cherokee History as Told in the Correspondence of the Ridge-Watie-Boudinot Family* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1939), 19.

[85] "Eliza Whitmire," *Digital History*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/indian_removal/whitmire.cfm.

[86] "Elizabeth Watts," *Digital History*, accessed April 18, 2017, http://www.digitalhistory.uh.edu/active_learning/explorations/indian_removal/watts.cfm.

> in consequence of it, the Cherokees are told they must depart forever from the land of their fathers to the wilderness![87]

Ross voiced his frustrations with the American government disturbing the developments among the Cherokee and forcing them to uproot their nation. He continued to explain that soldiers surround their land and the Natives are prisoners to United States officials.[88] In his letter, Ross attempted to draw comparisons between Native struggles immediately following removal to the current state of the Cherokee to accentuate their diminishment. While federal troops surrounded Cherokee land, other whites encroached and settled there. Elias Boudinot relayed to Stand Watie that Natives had expelled these intruders from their land in 1855, although the problem persisted until 1857 when American troops intervened to remove the white invaders.[89] The Cherokee struggled to maintain their land after removal and quell white interference. Federal pressure and white invasion exemplifies the negative influence of removal on Native life. However, internal issues worsened due to removal as well.

While Cherokee divisions occurred prior to removal, their migration resulted in significantly more strife within the nation. First, the split between John Ross and the Ridge-Boudinot-Watie clan persisted. John Rollin Ridge explained in 1849 that his association with Stand Watie made him a target of potential violence. Regarding John Ross, Ridge stated that there was strong resentment towards the National Party and a potential plan to assassinate Ross among the Cherokee minority.[90] These accounts demonstrate the continuous animosity not only between the two leaders, but also between the two groups of followers. In addition to these old conflicts, new divisive topics arose within the Cherokee Nation. For example, a debate emerged around 1855 that questioned if the Native tribe should seek admission into the Union. John Rollin Ridge and Elias Boudinot believed recognition as an American state would be beneficial because of the supposed prosperity, power, and happiness it would bring. However, this opinion was unpopular among the Indigenous majority.[91] The Cherokee Nation experienced further conflict and sectionalism after removal, which negatively impacted their ability to rebuild.

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[87] Moulton, *The Papers of Chief John Ross Volume II*, 86.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers*, 85.
[90] Ibid., 65.
[91] Ibid., 87.

Issues with disease also challenged the rebuilding of the Cherokee Nation. As mentioned, many Indigenous travellers suffered from various illnesses; these health concerns endured after re-settlement. In 1854, Barbara Longknife recorded that her husband, among other family members, "had a great deal of sickness in our family since we came to this country and our doctor bills have cost us a great many dollars."[92] In 1859, Stand Watie wrote to his wife detailing the deaths of many due to persistent illness. He referred to Standing Deer, Mrs. Sam Hildebrand, and Jacob Alberty's wife who had all recently passed. Watie commented that there was "a good deal of sickness through the country, several deaths."[93] Evidently, sickness continued to challenge the Cherokee people after removal. In addition to illness, Indigenous people experienced frequent violence and disorder. In the same letter from Stand Watie to his wife, he also explained the chaos within the Cherokee Nation. He mentioned two shooting victims, Tom Monroe and John Ramsey to illustrate how violence and disorder persisted among Native peoples.[94] Disease and chaos plagued the Native population, indicating the decline of their nation and hindering their development.

Despite close federal presence and internal divisions, Indigenous peoples experienced some successes in their new homelands. Ethan Allen Hitchcock visited the western territory to inspect potential corruption in the removal process. His 1841 diary described the various ways in which the Cherokee had re-established their lives. Hitchcock recorded seeing several log houses with large plots of land attached, a variety of crops in their fields, and slaves working the land. He also noticed a school with about thirty students engaged in reading, writing, and mathematics. Hitchcock noted that the Cherokee formed a council, committee, and court with elected officials.[95] Furthermore, Mary Boudinot wrote to Stand Watie in 1847 praising the establishment of seminaries in Indian Territory. She strongly believed these institutions would improve the nation and its people.[96] Established homes, farming, a school, council meetings, and seminaries signified important progress in the Cherokee Nation. While Natives struggled with poor living

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[92] Ibid., 78.

[93] Ibid., 96.

[94] Ibid.

[95] Ethan Allan Hitchcock. "Journal," in *The Cherokee Removal: A Brief History with Documents*, ed. Theda Perdue and Michael D. Green (Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2005), 181.

[96] Dale, *Cherokee Cavaliers*, 62.

conditions and sectionalism, they succeeded in developing important social services as part of their national rebuilding.

Conclusion

The removal of the Cherokee in 1838-1839 caused their decline because of federal suppression of Native and non-Native resistance, the arduous Trail of Tears, and the problematic rebuilding of the Cherokee Nation. Indigenous and white opposition occurred through political and legal methods as well as violent action. The Trail of Tears devastated Natives due to poor conditions and a loss of property. After relocation, the Cherokee experienced a decline in living conditions and heightened internal divisions as they attempted to re-establish themselves.

Removal was a discriminatory policy that weakened the Cherokee Nation so the American government could force them into submission. Federal officials took advantage of Native powerlessness and exploited them for their land while disregarding their basic human needs. Despite governmental opinions holding that removal was a necessary process for the success of the American nation, it needlessly dismantled and destroyed the Cherokee, among other Indigenous tribes. As Tim Garrison observed, the American justice system is deceiving because while laws can be passed or court decisions made, the ultimate power lies in the hands of enforcement officials.[97] In the case of the Cherokee, the few legal victories they had were neglected by the federal and state governments because they were predisposed to removal as the only 'solution' to their 'Indian problem.' Historian Angie Debo contends that the effects of removal endured for nearly a century before American perpetrators realized that forced emigration did not benefit Natives.[98] While the Cherokee survived removal and experienced some successes, its legacy of suffering and strife persists today. Removal serves as a reminder of the negative consequences that arise from federal interference in Indigenous affairs, especially when racism and ignorance dominate.

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[97] Garrison, *The Legal Ideology of Removal*, 12.

[98] Debo, *And Still the Waters Run*, 351.

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