Huang Yongyu, Owl, 1978.

Contents

This is the fourth year of our journal celebrating the best papers from our fourth year capstone seminars at Waterloo and Brantford. These seminars are a form of learner-centered instruction in which students take responsibility for crafting a topic and researching their major 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. 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 a maximum size of 15 students.

These papers represent the best of those research papers; only one paper per class can be nominated, and not all classes will have an essay nominated. Congratulations to all of our authors.

Megan Blair, "Indigenous Activism in Canada, 1969-1982"
HI 476: Interpreting Native History since Columbus
Supervised by Dr. Gary Warrick

Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, countries around the world experienced immense social change in response to a growing disregard towards racial, cultural, gender, and diplomatic norms. Countries in Asia and Africa were experiencing revolutions, which sought to disband their imperialist pasts while vying for independence. In North America, similar actions were being taken by minority groups who desired freedom from the subjugation of the paternalistic actions of the state. Extreme examples of this unrest can be seen in African Americans who were culminating their fight for racial equality under revolutionary leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Women across the continent were also lobbying organizations and governments, objecting to the oppression they faced in all aspects of society through both political and radical means. In Canada, French Canadians were asserting their right to recognize their French heritage and to have their beliefs and best interests reflected in the laws and government through what became known as the Quiet Revolution. These various examples of unrest contributed to an unstable and radically changing global atmosphere in the 1960s and 1970s for both the government and the people.[1]

While these various minority groups were fighting for their right to be freed from oppression by the state, Indigenous peoples across North America were fighting a similar battle of resistance against years of coercion and subjugation by both the American and Canadian governments. American Indigenous peoples acted on their discontent through a variety of tactics, much of which is remembered through the violent, radical actions of the American Indian Movement (AIM). In Canada, the actions of Indigenous peoples towards the state did not escalate to a level that attracted national attention until the release of the White Paper on Indian Policy (White Paper) in 1969. The White Paper, which attempted to strip Indigenous peoples of their treaty rights and disregarded their special status in Canada, provided Indigenous peoples with an opportunity to mobilize on a nation-wide level and respond to government and societal oppression through a diverse range of tactics. From 1969 to 1982, Indigenous activists made several political and cultural gains, which impacted both the public and government's ability to recognize Indigenous peoples as a distinct part of Canadian society.

The history of Indigenous-European relations in Canada presents a complex system of both cooperative and coercive behaviour. While there are many instances in the first centuries of contact where Indigenous peoples and Europeans entered into reciprocal agreements of trade[2], there has also been a consistent trend of legalized, systematic oppression towards Indigenous peoples by the government. In the 1830s, the Indian civilization program was launched to enhance the government's control over Indigenous peoples, which initiated the intense assimilationist actions that would continue to suppress Indigenous culture for the next century. This program resulted in the forced cession of Indigenous land, the creation of reserves governed by Indian agents, and the development of residential schools.[3] The *Indian Act* was created in 1876 and consolidated all past legislation regarding Indigenous peoples into one legal document. Virtually all aspects of Indigenous life were governed by the *Indian Act* including whom the state would consider an Indian.[4] Amendments to the *Indian Act* continued to be put forth throughout the 1900s, most of which attempted to reduce the cultural and political identity of Indigenous peoples.

While Indigenous peoples resented the assimilationist policies forced upon them by the Canadian government, they were often incapable of resisting these actions because of more repressive laws instilled upon them. Although there are several instances of Indigenous peoples gathering and attempting to initiate reforms prior to the 1960s, such as the Red River and Northwest Rebellions of the late 1800s, the actions of the

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[1] See Brian Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Ironies of Identity in a Rebellious Era,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009).
[2] See J.R. Miller, *Skyscrapers Hide the Heavens: A History of Indian-White Relations in Canada, Third Edition* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000).
[3] John F. Leslie, "The Indian Act: an historical perspective," *Canadian Parliamentary Review* 25, 2 (2002): 2.
[4] *Ibid.,* 3.

Haudenosaunee Chief Deskaheh in the early 1900s, and the attempts of F.O. Loft from the Six Nations reserve to create the League of Indians, there were several barriers in place that restricted the opportunity for an effective, nation-wide Indigenous organization to emerge. Sally M. Weaver discusses eight key problems that prohibited Indigenous peoples from establishing a successful organization prior to 1968. These problems include: the cost and time associated with contacting and meeting Indigenous peoples from across Canada, the diversity of Indigenous culture and languages, distrust among Indigenous groups, different degrees of acculturation between Indigenous communities, poverty, limited education, and a lack of funding.[5] Along with these problems, there were legal practicalities that restricted the ability for Indigenous peoples to mobilize. Prior to 1950, the government banned Indigenous organizations[6] and until 1961 Indigenous peoples were unable to instigate legal action as they were prohibited from hiring lawyers.[7] Although Indigenous peoples were discontent with their current place in society well before the late 1960s, there were numerous obstacles that prevented them from effectively organizing against the government.

Aside from the National Indian Council (NIC), which was developed in 1961 in attempts to promote Indigenous culture and assist in the development of provincial Indigenous organizations, Indigenous peoples in Canada were a "politically unorganized minority" prior to 1969.[8] The NIC lasted for seven years until its demise occurred because of conflict between status and non-status Indians.[9] Two organizations were created out of the NIC, these being the National Indian Brotherhood (NIB), which represented status Indians, and the Native Council of Canada for Métis and non-status Indians.[10] The creation of the NIB represented a turning point for Indigenous organizations, as it was the first time since colonization that Indigenous peoples had the opportunity to gather together without the influence of non-Indigenous people.[11] The creation of the NIB in 1968 was situated in a time of growing awareness by Indigenous peoples of their position in society. The 1960s presented a decade of self-discovery for Indigenous peoples in which they were able to reconstruct their identity as something more than what the White colonizers had created for them over the centuries.[12]

Another development of the 1960s that encouraged the rise of Indigenous power and rights was the Hawthorn Report. The Hawthorn Report, published in two parts in 1966 and 1967, investigated the living conditions and general lives of Indigenous peoples across Canada.[13] The results of the Hawthorn Report were a triumph for Indigenous peoples and anthropologist Harry Hawthorn became one of the first non-Indigenous people who advocated for effective Indigenous policy.[14] The primary outcome of the Hawthorn Report concluded that Indigenous peoples were to be considered "citizens plus", meaning that they should have the rights and duties of Canadian citizenship, plus additional rights as Indigenous peoples.[15] The Hawthorn Report finally recognized both the reality of the conditions that Indigenous peoples were living in, as well as the consistent paternalistic and assimilationist policies of the state.[16] The growing consciousness of Indigenous rights that was occurring both within the Indigenous community and throughout the rest of Canada encouraged the government to revise the *Indian Act* and introduce new policy, a solution many felt would solve years of conflict and subjugation.

The culmination of the efforts of Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau and Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Jean Chrétien to reform Indigenous policy was the *Statement of the Government of Canada*

[5] Sally M. Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy: The Hidden Agenda 1968-1970* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981): 42.

[6] Brian Palmer, 'Indians of All Tribes': The Birth of Red Power," in *Debating Dissent: Canada and the 1960s,* ed. Lara Campbell, Dominique Clement and Greg Kealey (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2012): 194.

[7] David A. Long, "The Precarious Pursuit of Justice: Counter Hegemony in the Lubicon First Nations," in *Organizing Dissent: contemporary social movements in theory and practice,* ed. William K. Carroll (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1997): 154.

[8] Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy,* 41.

[9] *Ibid.,* 43.

[10] *Ibid.,* 43.

[11] Peter McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood: George Manuel and the Making of the Modern Indian Movement,* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 1993): 98.

[12] Palmer, *Canada's 1960,* 378.

[13] Kristy A. Holmes, "Imagining and Visualizing 'Indianness' in Trudeauvian Canada: Joyce Wielands 'The Far Shore and True Patriot Love'," *Canadian Art Review* 35, 2 (2010): 49.

[14] Alan Cairns, *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State* (British Columbia: UBC Press, 2000): 162.

[15] Palmer, *Canada's 1960s,* 390.

[16] Holmes, "Imagining and Visualizing 'Indianness' in Trudeauvian Canada," 49.

on Indian Policy or "White Paper" released in 1969. The two key aspects of the White Paper included repealing the *Indian Act* and shutting down the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND), therefore transferring responsibility of Indigenous peoples and reserves to the provinces.[17] The rationale for revoking the *Indian Act* came from the belief that "repealing the Indian Act was necessary in order to remove the legislative and constitutional basis of discrimination."[18] Trudeau believed that cultural groups within Canada should not have special legislation and Indigenous culture did not need to be protected through laws to be preserved, but instead would be able to live through the conservation of their traditional languages and participation in Canadian society.[19] The White Paper also determined the future of treaties, explaining that their importance had diminished in recent years and it was therefore necessary to have the treaties "reviewed to see how they can be equitably ended."[20] Trudeau believed that it was impossible for one section of society to have a treaty with another section of that society.[21] Overall, the White Paper's foundation was based on removing any special status or legislation that distinguished Indigenous peoples from the rest of Canadian society. The White Paper therefore failed to take into consideration Hawthorn's idea of 'citizens plus', and instead was a "thinly disguised programme of extermination and assimilation."[22] Indigenous activist Arthur Manuel went as far as to argue that the White Paper's goal was the same as policy created by deputy superintendent of Indian Affairs and residential school architect Duncan Campbell Scott in the 1920s.[23] The unique aspect of the White Paper, however, was that Indigenous people were now prepared to fight back against the state and used this policy as a catalyst to initiate a nation-wide movement.

Indigenous leaders and grassroots activists rejected the White Paper immediately after its release. The two main reasons as to why the proposed policy was rejected was because it did not reflect consultations that had been undertaken with Indigenous peoples, and it denied them of their previously recognized rights.[24] Rather than recognizing past wrongs and moving forward in a mutually agreeable manner, Indigenous activists saw the White Paper as ignorant to the impact that colonialism and treaties had on their society,[25] and instead aimed to assimilate Indigenous peoples into Canadian society.[26] Indigenous peoples argued that the White Paper would inevitably lead to cultural genocide.[27]

With the threat of the White Paper looming over their society, Indigenous leaders from across the country gathered to discuss how to respond to the new policy. The decision made from these consultations resulted in *Citizens Plus: The Red Paper* (known simply as the Red Paper), the official response to the White Paper from Indigenous peoples and the NIB. Created by the Indigenous Chiefs of Alberta, the Red Paper rejected many of the propositions outlined in the White Paper. The Red Paper opposed the decision to repeal the *Indian Act*, arguing that in order to preserve their culture, receive fair justice, and actively contribute to Canadian society, Indigenous peoples needed to maintain their special rights and status.[28] Instead, the Red Paper suggested that the *Indian Act* should be amended to remove the paternalistic notions included and to implement legislation that more appropriately reflected the experiences of Indigenous peoples.[29] The Red Paper also demanded that the government appoint a full-time Minister of Indian Affairs so that Indigenous peoples could have proper cabinet representation and a medium for productive consultations with the government.[30] It recommended that a Claims Commissioner be established through consultation with Indigenous peoples in order to deal with treaty and land

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[17] Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy,* 166-168.
[18] Holmes, "Imagining and Visualizing 'Indianness' in Trudeauvian Canada," 49.
[19] Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy,* 168.
[20] *Ibid.,* 167.
[21] Cairns, *Citizens Plus,* 52.
[22] Harold Cardinal, *The Unjust Society* (Vancouver: Douglas & MacIntyre Ltd., 1999): 1.
[23] Arthur Manuel, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2015): 30.
[24] Weaver, *Making Canadian Indian Policy,* 173.
[25] Holmes, "Imagining and Visualizing 'Indianness' in Trudeauvian Canada," 50.
[26] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 30.
[27] *Ibid.,* 32.
[28] The Indian Chiefs of Alberta, "Citizens Plus," in *The Only Good Indian: Essays by Canadian Indians,* ed. Waubageshig (Toronto: New Press, 1971), 10.
[29] *Ibid.,* 16.
[30] *Ibid.,* 15.

disputes.[31] This would ensure for a more impartial system of dealing with land claims issues. While presenting these demands in response to the White Paper, the Red Paper also put forth several suggestions to the government that would better the overall living conditions of Indigenous peoples. For example, it explained the need for employment on reserves in order to boost the economic status of Indigenous peoples. To do this, it suggested that tax incentives be provided to industries that opened on or near reserves.[32] The Red Paper concluded by warning the government that more militant people would take over the Indigenous leadership if necessary, threatening that they "would make the Riel Rebellion of 1884-5...look like kindergarten picnics."[33]

The content of the Red Paper displayed the immense discontent that Indigenous peoples felt towards the White Paper and the overall governing of Indigenous communities. The composition and presentation of the Red Paper can be seen as the first example of united Indigenous activism in Canada that occurred after 1969. Not only was the written text a form of activism, but the actual presentation of the Red Paper to the government also displayed the growing agitation and desire for confrontation among Indigenous peoples, while simultaneously displaying the strength of Indigenous culture. The meeting during which the NIB presented the Red Paper to Trudeau and his cabinet represented the first time that Indigenous peoples had the opportunity to have a real conversation with the most powerful people in government.[34] The NIB carried out the meeting as a formal ceremony, with Indigenous drumming and singing.[35] Chiefs dressed in ceremonial clothing presented copies of the Red Paper and White Paper to Trudeau and Chrétien, while Elders prayed before commencing their presentation.[36] In presenting the Red Paper, Indigenous representatives declared that they had created their own ideas as to how Indigenous peoples should live and be governed and that they "do not need the Indian policy paper."[37] NIB leader Dave Courchene explained that, "this year is not ending in frustration and anger [as the past hundred years have]. We have, for the first time in our history, joined together as one."[38] Trudeau's response to the presentation was fairly positive as he admitted that when creating the White Paper they were too theoretical, abstract, and not understanding enough; however, he recognized that moving forward there was a need for Canada to consult with Indigenous peoples to ensure a solution to the difficult problems Indigenous peoples had faced over the past several centuries.[39] Young Indigenous activist Harold Cardinal explained that Canada's Indigenous peoples presenting the Red Paper to the Canadian government was the political equivalent of the armed battle of Little Big Horn.[40] Although the meeting ended with the government promising that regular consultations with Indigenous peoples would be scheduled for the future, Indigenous leaders recognized that they needed to maintain their unity and continue to voice their discontent in order to ensure that the policies of the White Paper were not implemented.[41]

While the Red Paper was the official response of the NIB, individual Indigenous activists also saw the White Paper as an opportunity to voice their political position and discontent on an unprecedented level. The most prominent example of this is Harold Cardinal's *The Unjust Society,* a response to the White Paper and an attack on the historical and current treatment of Indigenous peoples. In the introduction to his book, Cardinal explained that:

> I hope to point a path to radical change that will admit the Indian with restored pride to his rightful place in the Canadian heritage, that will enable the Indian in Canada at long last to realize his dreams and aspirations and find his place in Canadian society. I will challenge our fellow Canadians to help us; I will warn them of the alternatives. I challenge the Honourable Mr. Trudeau and the Honourable Mr. Chrétien to reexamine their unfortunate policy, to offer the Indians of Canada

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[31] *Ibid., 24.*

[32] *Ibid., 21.*

[33] *Ibid., 27.*

[34] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 116.

[35] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 34.

[36] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 117.

[37] *Ibid.,* 117.

[38] *Ibid.,* 117.

[39] *Ibid.,* 118.

[40] Harold Cardinal, *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians* (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1977): 184.

[41] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 118.

hope instead of despair, freedom instead of frustration, life in the Just Society instead of cultural annihilation.[42]

Cardinal's book expresses the many grievances that Indigenous peoples experienced throughout the centuries and explains how those grievances continued to affect their communities. *The Unjust Society* was the first time that certain topics, such as treaties, education, health care, missionaries, and the treatment of Indigenous women, had been presented to a non-Indigenous audience, making it a key piece of activism that translated Indigenous issues to a broader audience.[43] Similar to the Red Paper, *The Unjust Society* concluded with a warning to Canadians and the government that if negotiations with the NIB were to fail, Indigenous peoples would not hesitate to take violent paths to liberation like African American and Indigenous activists in America had done.[44] Cardinal warned that the young generations of Indigenous peoples are less patient and tolerant than the Elders, alluding to the possibility of militant action.[45] Overall, *The Unjust Society* succeeded in presenting Indigenous issues on a scale that had never been seen before, making non-Indigenous people aware of, and even interested in the concerns and pleas of Indigenous peoples.

Indigenous response to the White Paper did not stop after the initial presentation of the Red Paper. The White Paper continued to act as a catalyst for Indigenous activists throughout the decade, as individuals and groups from across the country rose up against the oppression and unfair treatment that they had been facing for the past several centuries. Their concerns were related to issues regarding education, childcare, land claims, and constitutional rights. The activism initiated to combat these issues took the form of political lobbying, legal action, non-violent action, and occasionally confrontational tactics with threats of violence. While many protests ended successfully by gaining rights for Indigenous peoples or at least raising peoples' awareness of the issue, there were also many setbacks that Indigenous activists faced throughout the decade. However, the many cases of Indigenous peoples challenging the norm and demanding change represent the significant impact that the White Paper had on igniting Indigenous activism throughout the 1970s.

Following their work to challenge the White Paper, Indigenous leadership continued their activism by focusing on issues regarding education. Indigenous activists wanted the education of Indigenous children to reinforce their own cultural identity while also preparing the children for success in modern society.[46] To do this, Indigenous leaders believed that they needed to have control over their own education and the NIB presented this opinion in a policy paper entitled 'Indian Control of Indian Education.'[47] While the NIB was working towards this goal through legislation, grassroots activists were attempting to take control of Indigenous education through non-violent action. In 1970, Indigenous activists in Alberta occupied Blue Quills Indian School in response to the Department of Indian Affairs' (DIA) decision to close the school.[48] Activists demanded that the school be given to the community so it could be run by the Indigenous peoples themselves. After consultation with officials, the school was given to the community and Blue Quills became the first Indigenous-operated school in Canada.[49] Protests regarding education continued in response to a decision by the Alberta government to close all reserve schools and bus Indigenous children to urban areas. Communities across Alberta continued to follow the actions of those that participated at Blue Quills by staging their own sit-ins and protests.[50] Some Indigenous communities, such as the Cold Lake band, took their protests beyond schools and occupied the Indian Affairs office in Edmonton.[51] The protests at schools continued to percolate across the province until 1972 when the government agreed to keep reserve schools open, which was a victory for Indigenous peoples despite the realization that funding for these schools would continue to be two thirds less than that of other Canadian schools.[52]

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[42] Cardinal, *The Unjust Society,* 2.
[43] Hartmut Lutz, "The Beginnings of Contemporary Aboriginal Literature in Canada 1967-1972: Part Two," *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien* 30, 1 (2010): 71.
[44] Cardinal, *The Unjust Society,* 90.
[45] *Ibid.,* 91.
[46] Cardinal, *The Rebirth of Canada's Indians,* 59.
[47] *Ibid.,* 57.
[48] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 139.
[49] *Ibid.,* 139.
[50] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 38.
[51] *Ibid.,* 38.
[52] *Ibid.,* 39.

Concern over the welfare of Indigenous children continued throughout the decade, as hundreds of children living on reserves were being taken by the provincial governments and placed in foster care or adopted into white families through what became known as the 'Sixties Scoop'. Amendments to the *Indian Act* gave the government more control over child welfare, resulting in hundreds of children being taken from their homes because of the "incongruence between Euro-Western notions and cultural practices and realities of Indigenous communities."[53] Children taken from their homes often faced physical, sexual, and emotional abuse, as well as a loss of cultural awareness and family bonds.[54] Indigenous leaders were frustrated with this destructive system and initiated a protest under the leadership of activists from the Sapllumcheen band in British Columbia.[55] In the fall of 1980, activists left Sapllumcheen in numerous buses and cars and travelled across British Columbia, stopping in Indigenous communities to gather support and voice their discontent.[56] The event, which came to be called the Child Caravan, culminated in Vancouver where the activists received positive media coverage as they told devastating stories of how their families had been broken apart because of the government's intrusive actions.[57] The activists continued to lobby the government until they agreed to give jurisdiction of child welfare to the Sapllumcheen band.[58] Protests at reserve schools and the success of the Child Caravan demonstrated that the well-being of children and their education were key concerns of Indigenous communities, and that the strengthening of Indigenous organizations allowed activists at the local level to mobilize and create change for future generations.

While Indigenous activists were fighting for the right to govern their own children, Indigenous youth were also mobilizing themselves in organizations such as the Native Youth Association. This organization brought together Indigenous youth from across the country to discuss their discontent and provide a voice for their community through protests. The largest protest organized by the Native Youth Association occurred in 1973, when 350 youth travelled to Ottawa and occupied the DIA building. Organizers chose this tactic because the building was a physical representation of how their lives had been controlled since the day they were born.[59] The DIA building also housed thousands of files, which the activists wanted to obtain to give to the NIB so they could understand past and current DIA policy.[60] Upon their arrival at the DIA building, leaders explained to security guards that they would peacefully remain in the building for twenty-four hours.[61] Protestors proceeded into the building where they remained for twenty-four hours despite intense Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) presence outside. Although the young activists successfully displayed their discontent during this occupation, receiving plenty of media coverage and revealing the strength of Indigenous youth, the aftermath of the protest saw a discontinuation of funding to the Native Youth Association.[62] This tactic was common for the government, maintaining funding for Indigenous organizations that complied and negotiated with the DIA but cutting funding for organizations that displayed aggression or opposition to authority.[63] Although the youth were able to organize and implement a large-scale protest, the DIA still managed to limit their desire for change.

Indigenous youth were also mobilizing in more radical organizations led by militant, "new Indians", who were leading their fellow youth towards what they hoped would be a revolutionary point in their history.[64] Youth were often inspired to create change because of the international atmosphere of anti-colonialism and the influence of idealized, radical groups such as AIM. These young people were mobilizing in their own organizations, such the National Alliance of Red Power (NARP), a radical organization composed of "ex-convicts, young Indian

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[53] Holly A. McKenzie, Coleen Varcoe and Annette J. Browne, "Disrupting the Continuities Among Residential Schools, the Sixties Scoop, and Child Welfare: An Analysis of Colonial and Neocolonial Discourses," *International Indigenous Policy Journal* 7, 2 (2016): 6.

[54] *Ibid.,* 7.

[55] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 268.

[56] *Ibid.,* 269.

[57] *Ibid.,* 269.

[58] *Ibid.,* 269.

[59] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 41.

[60] *Ibid.,* 43.

[61] *Ibid.,* 40.

[62] *Ibid.,* 43.

[63] James S. Frideres, "Native Rights and the 21st Century: The Making of Red Power," *Ethnic Studies* 22, 3 (1990): 4.

[64] Richard Fidler, *Red Power in Canada* (Toronto: Vanguard Publications, 1970).

run-aways from the schools, young drop-outs […] academics and [the] unemployed as well as young workers."[65] This type of organization was a stark contrast from Elders who were traditionally the voice of Indigenous communities. However, Indigenous leaders of all ages recognized the value of having radical youth at the base of their movement, as "marches, demonstrations, civil disobedience and even the threat of violence…were essential in getting the government's attention."[66] The radical organizations often distrusted larger, nation-wide organizations, as they thought the actions of these organizations were heavily influenced by government funding. Therefore, radical youth felt that they needed to make real change through physical actions.[67]

An example of this radicalism can be seen in the actions of Mohawk Warriors. Mohawk territory at Akwesane expanded beyond the Canadian border and included parts of Ontario, Quebec, and New York. This international connection led many Mohawks to be active members of AIM. Mohawk leaders were able to gain valuable leadership experience and protest techniques through their time with AIM, and they applied those skills to their own Mohawk Warrior nation.[68] While there were several different networks of Mohawk Warriors, they were all connected through a shared history and cultural heritage that created a united Mohawk Warrior movement.[69] The primary goal of Mohawk Warriors was to assert their sovereignty as an independent nation. Mohawks did not want to be classified as Canadian or American, but instead desired to identify as a united Mohawk nation.[70] Mohawk Warriors were fighting against assimilationist policies before the White Paper was even released. The White Paper would later try and rid Indigenous peoples of their special status, going against the idea of nationalism that the Mohawks were fighting for. In 1968, Mohawks blocked the Seaway International Bridge on Cornwall Island to defend their right to cross the border freely, which had been determined under the Jay Treaty of 1794.[71] This protest displayed Mohawk unity, and, despite being met with force from the Cornwall Police, they continued to protest throughout the next decade on both sides of the border.

Another example of a young, militant group is the Ojibway Warrior Society, a group of young Indigenous peoples who also modeled their organization on AIM.[72] In 1974, the youth in this organization were involved in a standoff with RCMP after they occupied Anicinabe Park in Kenora, Ontario, which they claimed was land that was stolen from Indigenous peoples by the government. The Ojibway Warriors surrendered at Anicinabe, but continued to implement their radicalism as they organized a caravan of activists that traveled from Vancouver to Ottawa to present a number of demands to the government.[73] Some of these demands included repealing the *Indian Act*, providing reparations to Indigenous peoples from the provincial and federal governments, and increasing health care, housing, and education on reserves.[74] Upon their arrival at Parliament, the protestors were severely beaten by police, which caused an outcry of discontent among Indigenous activists. Caravan participant Vern Harper explained the scene on Parliament Hill:

> A lot of people couldn't believe what was happening, when the riot squad attacked us. Some people were knocked off the steps and off the ledge – a fifteen-foot drop. I was hit on the head with a riot club and received a concussion in the first part of the fight, and Cindy Anderson's skull was cracked when she was thrown from a paddy wagon […] I believe that the whole thing was pre-planned, that the Cabinet knew the riot squad was going to be used on us. We had put them in an embarrassing position […] We had gone to Ottawa to discuss our grievances, to talk face-to-face with the government about issues like housing and education and self-determination. But when we got there we were met with violence. The riot squad deliberately attacked us, and whenever I talk

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[65] Henry Jack, "Native Alliance for Red Power," in *The Only Good Indian: Essays by Canadian Indians,* ed. Waubageshig (Toronto: New Press, 1971): 162.

[66] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 190.

[67] Vern Harper, *Following the Red Path: The Native People's Caravan, 1974* (Toronto: NC Press Limited, 1979): 9.

[68] Linda Pertusati, *In Defense of Mohawk Land: Ethnopolitical Conflict in Native North America* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997), 41.

[69] *Ibid.,* 44.

[70] *Ibid.,* 53.

[71] George C. Stoney, *You are on Indian Land,* directed by Michael Kanentakeron Mitchell (Canada: National Film Board, 1969).

[72] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 190.

[73] *Ibid.,* 191.

[74] Harper, *Following the Red Path,* 52-53.

to people about that day I always point out that it wasn't Native people who rioted – it was the RCMP.[75]

Harper believed that the violence used by RCMP was a way to discourage other youth from participating in Indigenous activism, as well as a way to dampen the momentum and spirit of those involved in the Anicinabe standoff and Caravan.[76] While many Indigenous leaders disagreed with some of the radical, far-left demands that the Ojibway Warrior Society put forth, they used this situation as an opportunity to reveal the police brutality carried out against Indigenous peoples.[77]

Indigenous title to land was another issue pertinent to activists that encouraged mobilization and action.   The most famous case of the decade was that of the Nisga'a land claim, also known as the *Calder* decision. Until the *Calder* decision, the government and courts had consistently denied Indigenous title to land. The White Paper even declared Indigenous land title as unrealistic and incapable of being remedied unless Indigenous peoples gave up their special status to be members of Canadian society.[78] In 1972, the Nisga'a's land claim was sent to the Supreme Court where three main questions were considered; "(1) whether Aboriginal title existed in the first place; (2) whether […] this title had been lawfully extinguished; and (3) […] whether the Court had jurisdiction to grant such a declaration."[79] The major victory in this case was that six of the seven Supreme Court judges affirmed Indigenous title to land.[80] This ruling meant that Indigenous title to land was legitimate in areas that had not been dealt with through treaties, which included Labrador, the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, the Yukon, and parts of Quebec.[81] The aftermath of this decision was extremely influential for Indigenous land claims. In 1973, Chrétien announced a policy that would guide the Canadian government in "[negotiating] settlements with Aboriginal groups where rights of traditional use and occupancy had neither been extinguished by treaty nor 'suppressed by law'."[82] Overall, the *Calder* decision undermined the government's ignorance and unwillingness to recognize Indigenous title to land. Only three years after its release, the Nisga'a had fought and succeeded in diminishing the White Paper's dismissal of Indigenous title to land.

Although the Nisga'a won their battle for land claims, not all Indigenous communities were as successful in asserting their rights over ownership of the land. In the late 1960s, the Quebec government began planning for the development of a hydroelectric plant in James Bay, located on Cree land. By the mid-1970s, the project was initiated and the Cree began protesting the development, as they saw it as an intrusion onto their land by outside forces.[83] The project would disrupt their hunting grounds and waterways, while propelling the traditional community into modern society without choice or preparation.[84] The Quebec government and organizers of the James Bay project displayed little concern over the welfare of the Cree peoples, as they dismissed their claims of title to the land. In an attempt to eliminate the conflict, the Quebec government and James Bay Corporation offered $100 million to the Cree and portrayed them as "extortionists trying to squeeze more millions out of the government."[85] The NIB became involved in this issue and related it to the White Paper, explaining that this offer represented a transfer of responsibility of Indigenous peoples from the federal to provincial government, which was "a complete implementation of the 1969 federal Liberal government White Paper proposal which has been vigorously opposed by all Canadian Indian groups."[86] In the fall of 1974, the Quebec government presented their final offer to the Cree, who accepted, recognizing that it was their only option after years of fighting. This offer extinguished the Cree's title to the land in return for $150 million, a small fraction of land, and a role in the

[75] *Ibid., ,* 65.

[76] *Ibid.,* 65.

[77] *Ibid.,* 191.

[78] Christina Godlewska and Jeremy Webber, "The *Calder* Decision, Aboriginal Title, Treaties, and the Nisga'a," in *Let Right be Done: Aboriginal Title, the Calder Case, and the Future of Indigenous Rights,* ed. Hamar Foster, Jeremy H.A. Webber and Heather Raven (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007): 3.

[79] *Ibid.,* 4.

[80] *Ibid.,* 4.

[81] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 173.

[82] Godlewska and Webber, "The *Calder* Decision, Aboriginal Title, Treaties, and the Nisga'a," 6.

[83] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 176.

[84] *Ibid.,* 178.

[85] *Ibid.,* 180.

[86] *Ibid.,* 181.

regional government.[87] Many saw this as a tragic defeat for the Cree and Indigenous peoples as a whole, as they were forced to cede their land so soon after the success of the *Calder* decision. Although the NIB and Cree attempted to negotiate and fight against the government, this issue would not be resolved in favour of the Indigenous peoples, displaying that, despite a growth in success and activism, the government still had the capability to overpower Indigenous peoples by using oppressive policies set out in the White Paper.

Another difficult case for Indigenous activists occurred in 1972, when an Indigenous woman, Jeannette Corbière, initiated a claim that argued that the policy in the *Indian Act* that revoked a woman's Indian status when she married a non-Indigenous man went against the Canadian Bill of Rights.[88] Although many Indigenous activists wanted to fight for Indigenous women's rights and publicly asserted this, the circumstances surrounding Corbière's case proved to be complex.[89] While Indigenous leaders, such as George Manuel, supported what the case was trying to achieve, the legal framework that Corbière was using to appeal the policy had the potential to have negative implications for all Indigenous peoples.[90] Since Corbière's lawyers claimed that the marriage policy in the *Indian Act* went against the Bill of Rights, they argued that the Bill of Rights was superior to the *Indian Act*, which threatened the legitimacy of the *Indian Act* as a whole.[91] This instilled fear in Indigenous activists, as for example, "white hunters could use the anti-discriminatory provisions in the Bill of Rights to challenge Indian hunting rights, or […] could challenge the provisions in the Act protecting Indian lands against sale to outsiders."[92] It also formed practical concerns that there would be an influx of women and families moving back to reserves, which would cause a strain on the infrastructure of the reserve.[93] In the end, Corbière's claim was denied, which although was what the NIB and other activists supported, was still a difficult situation for everyone involved. Corbière's case displays the complex issues that surrounded the assertion of Indigenous rights and activism in the 1970s. Her claim made it evident that the *Indian Act* did indeed need to revised, but not completely abolished as the White Paper declared. Indigenous women did receive their victory in 1985, when, after years of fighting, Bill C-31 amended the *Indian Act* to allow Indigenous women to retain their status after marriage.[94]

The decade-long fight for Indigenous rights culminated in 1980, when the Trudeau government declared it was requesting patriation from Britain and was developing a new constitution. Indigenous activists saw this as an opportunity to be involved in the creation of the constitution and to fight for the inclusion of their rights, which their ancestors in 1867 were unable to do.[95] To express their demand to be consulted, Indigenous activists boarded a train in British Columbia and made their way to Ottawa aboard the 'Constitution Express'. Hundreds of Indigenous peoples travelled across the country, while following a strict code of conduct to deter from the possibility of attracting negative publicity.[96] During the journey, Indigenous leaders held workshops to teach participants how the constitution could change their lives, and how to protest respectably.[97] Despite being stopped and searched for weapons by the RCMP, the Constitution Express arrived in Ottawa and was greeted by hundreds of Indigenous and non-Indigenous supporters, including the Mayor of Ottawa who arranged accommodations for many of the participants.[98] While in Ottawa, activists lobbied MPs and Senators to encourage them to fight to include Indigenous rights in the constitution.[99] Indigenous leader and activist Arthur Manuel explained the success that Indigenous activists were met with in Ottawa:

> Our people protested passionately on Parliament Hill. They sang, they chanted, they burned
> sweetgrass, and they spoke with journalists about the threat that the patriation package
> presented to our rights as Indigenous peoples […] The protestors were the most eloquent
> spokespeople imaginable for our cause. They had the grassroots passion and […] a deep

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[87] *Ibid.,* 181.

[88] *Ibid.,* 146.

[89] See Cardinal, *The Unjust Society,* 65-67.

[90] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 146.

[91] *Ibid.,* 146.

[92] *Ibid.,* 146.

[93] *Ibid.,* 146.

[94] Lianne C. Leddy, "Aboriginal Women's Fight to Keep Their Status," *Herizons* 28, 4 (2015): 48-49.

[95] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 67.

[96] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 270.

[97] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 67.

[98] *Ibid.,* 69.

[99] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 279.

understanding of how the Trudeau constitutional power play could affect their future. Their
message was getting through to the government and the Canadian people.[100]

After many discussions, Chrétien, in his capacity as Minister of Indian Affairs, assured Indigenous activists that their rights would indeed be protected in the constitution. Nevertheless, activists were not content with this vague promise and wanted concrete evidence that the constitution would "recognize and affirm" their rights.[101]

Indigenous activists continued their protests by initiating the European Express, a tour that travelled through major cities in Europe and attempted to gain international support in protecting Indigenous rights in the constitution. Throughout their tour, Indigenous activists were welcomed in Germany, France, and Belgium, where they often participated in traditional ceremonies and were joined by large military displays and other minority groups fighting for independence, such as the Irish Republican Army.[102] The European Express ended in London where activists lobbied MPs and Lords, encouraging them to block the constitution if it did not protect Indigenous rights.[103] Their efforts in exposing the injustices that Indigenous peoples in Canada had faced for so many years and in gaining the support of international allies was a success, as Trudeau and Chrétien succumbed to pressure and included Section 35 in the constitution, entitled: *Rights of the Aboriginal Peoples of Canada*.[104] This section stated: "(1) The existing aboriginal rights and treaty rights of the aboriginal peoples of Canada are hereby recognized and affirmed. (2) In this Act, 'aboriginal peoples of Canada" includes the Indian, Inuit and Métis peoples of Canada."[105] Despite concerns over the phrasing of 'existing' rights, the inclusion of their rights at all was a monumental success for Indigenous peoples as the Constitution Express and European Express allowed for Indigenous peoples to actively be involved in the process of making the constitution.

Indigenous opposition to the constitution in 1980 and 1981 mirrors the opposition to the White Paper in 1969. In 1969, Indigenous unrest had been growing for centuries and the release of the White Paper was the catalyst for expression of frustration and discontent. By 1980, Indigenous organizations had grown and grassroots activists were aware of the impact that protests could have after witnessing several instances of triumphs for Indigenous rights throughout the decade. While the opposition to the White Paper initiated a nation-wide Indigenous movement and the Constitution Express displayed the strength of Indigenous activism, there were still several setbacks that individuals and organizations had faced throughout the decades that challenged Indigenous peoples' ability to effectively mobilize and create change.

A major setback for Indigenous activists in Canada was the divide between Indigenous organizations and grassroots activists. Although the NIB was the largest and most influential Indigenous organization in Canada, there was no nation-wide grassroots movement similar to AIM.[106] Individual activists often saw Indigenous organizations as bureaucratic and distrusted them.[107] The government favoured this turn towards bureaucracy and only funded organizations that would negotiate reasonably with them; however, grassroots activists were frustrated and concerned that once infiltrated by the government, organizations would no longer truly represent Indigenous peoples' best interests.[108] Another problem with Indigenous organizations was that they were most often located in urban areas when a large population of Indigenous peoples remained rural. While the White Paper did indeed serve as an opportunity to unite all Indigenous peoples, the massive geographical distance between Indigenous peoples was a serious issue that hindered their ability to effectively mobilize.[109] Because of these issues, the concept of a 'Pan-Indian' identity was much weaker in Canada than it was in America.[110] This is why Canada did not experience large instances of violence or protest such as what occurred in America at Wounded Knee, a three month stand-off at the Pine Ridge reservation between members of AIM and military troops, FBI agents, and

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[100] Manuel, *Unsettling Canada,* 70.
[101]*Ibid.,* 71.
[102] McFarlane, *Brotherhood to Nationhood,* 290.
[103] *Ibid.,* 292.
[104] *Ibid.,* 294.
[105] *Ibid.,* 294.
[106] Rima Wilkes, "The Protest Actions of Indigenous Peoples: A Canadian – U.S. Comparison of Social Movement Emergence," *American Behavioral Scientist* 50, 4 (2006): 518.
[107] *Ibid.,* 581.
[108] Long, "The Precarious Pursuit of Justice," 156.
[109] Frideres, "Native Rights and the 21st Century," 4.
[110] Wilkes, "The Protest Actions of Indigenous Peoples," 519.

police, or Alcatraz, where members of AIM occupied Alcatraz Island for over a year, demanding that the government cede the land to them.[111] Overall, Canada's Indigenous peoples were more hesitant to engage in extreme violence because they had witnessed the brutal suppression of AIM, and therefore were more willing to work through these bureaucratic organizations.[112]

Unlike in America, the Indigenous movement in Canada was able to maintain itself past the 1970s because they were never suppressed on the same scale as AIM. Large Indigenous organizations such as the Assembly of First Nations, which grew out of the NIB in 1982, remain today and continue to provide a voice for Indigenous activists.[113] Instead of disbanding, Indigenous activism in Canada continued to grow more prominent and radical throughout the 1980s and 1990s. The Oka Crisis, a seventy-eight day armed stand-off between Mohawk and provincial police with assistance from the Canadian military in Quebec brought much awareness to Indigenous land rights.[114] Similarly, a confrontation at Ipperwash Provincial Park in 1995 resulted in the death of Dudley George, an Indigenous activist.[115] Indigenous activism continued into the 2000s with numerous confrontations between Indigenous activists and police over land disputes. More recent movements, such as Idle No More, display the growth and strength of Indigenous activism as organizations and individuals continue to adopt new tactics in attempts to bring large-scale attention to Indigenous peoples' injustices and discontent.

The White Paper was hoped to be the culmination of centuries of assimilationist, paternalistic Indigenous policy. The White Paper, however, had much broader and long-lasting implications than Indigenous policy from the past. For the first time in history, the White Paper encouraged Indigenous peoples to mobilize on a nation-wide scale to protest against what they saw to be a policy that destined them for cultural genocide. In fighting back against the White Paper, Indigenous peoples were able to create a voice for themselves through the Red Paper. This showed the government and Canadian citizens the strength and capabilities of Indigenous peoples. In the decade following the release of the White Paper, Indigenous peoples in Canada united and protested on an unprecedented scale. Activists fought for their children, their land, and their right to actively participate in the governance of their people. Although there were disputes and setbacks, Indigenous peoples were ultimately successful at asserting their own rights in Canadian society by being recognized in the 1982 constitution. While the White Paper's goal was to demolish the special status of Indigenous peoples and assimilate them into Canadian society, the response it created managed to do the opposite as it forever changed the course of Indigenous rights in Canada.

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[111] Dean J. Kotlowski, "Alcatraz, Wounded Knee, and Beyond: The Nixon and Ford Administrations Respond to Native American Protest," *Pacific Historical Review* 72, 2 (2003): 207, 213.

[112] Palmer, *Canada's 1960s,* 409.

[113] Thomas King, *The Inconvenient Indian: A Curious Account of Native People in North America* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012): 156.

[114] Adam J. Barker, "'A Direct Act of Resurgence, a Direct Act of Sovereignty': Reflections on Idle No More, Indigenous Activism, and Canadian Settler Colonialism," *Globalizations* 12, 1 (2015): 45.

[115] *Ibid.,* 45.

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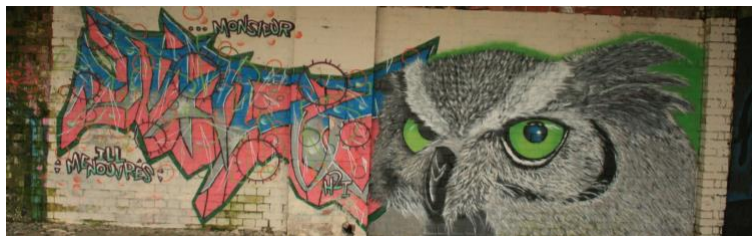
Mace H2i, factory at end of Woodbourn Hill, Sheffield, 2014

Emily Bonnell, "Winged Messengers: A Reconsideration of the Carrier Pigeon in Western Communication Strategies from the Franco-Prussian War to the First World War"
HI 496K: Animals in Modern History
Supervised by Dr. Eva Plach

Studies of past and current international conflicts demonstrate that military intelligence and the ability to effectively convey information is of the utmost importance in warfare. In antiquity, vital messages were communicated through physical runners, such as the infamous Pheidippides, who is said to have journeyed from Marathon to Athens to relay news of a military victory against the Persians at the battle of Marathon, circa 500 BC. Centuries later, remarkable changes in technology have allowed modern militaries to embrace the communications' 'revolution' through the implementation of sophisticated systems that enable faster, more flexible communications.[1] Improvements in visual and auditory signal technologies, smartphones, mobile and hand-held radios, sensors, and satellites have all transformed the way military strategies are conducted. Yet a closer look at the nature of correspondences in both early and present-day conflicts confirms that humans and modern technologies are not the only players in communication and data-collection during warfare. As early as the First Crusade in 1096, armies were using *animals* to relay vital information during campaigns, and continue to in modern conflicts. Whether via horseback during the American Civil War, or with canines, sniffing out IEDs in the Middle East, animals have demonstrated their utility in times of war, and have consequently evolved into essential players in communication initiatives.

Historically, conflicts between belligerent powers have been instrumental in demonstrating the tasks that various animals are capable of performing, and have shaped the responsibility of animals during warfare. One animal species in particular that has proven its utility in acts of war is the pigeon. Although current city-dwellers often regard pigeons merely as scavengers, describing them as 'rats with wings,' shrines and memorials dedicated to this avian species throughout Europe suggest that the worship and recognition of them has been long-standing.[2] Their dexterity, navigational skills, and the ability to overcome dangerous obstacles are fundamental qualities that have validated the pigeon's usefulness in times of war. In Europe and the Americas specifically, the pigeon species known as the *carrier/homing* pigeon (or 'messenger' pigeon) gained fame for its incredible skill of flying long distances, and its inherent instinct to return to its point of origin. Their success at delivering vital messages is acknowledged not only in ancient texts, but also in twentieth-century accounts, after shortcomings of new communication technologies were exposed during the late Victorian era and in the first 'modern' war between 1914 and 1918. Due to limitations in understanding how to perfect new technologies such as telegraphy, wireless radio, and the telephone, the fates of countless correspondences were often entrusted on the wings of this delicate bird. Over time, the carrier pigeon proved to be 95% accurate in delivering information, and consequently evolved into a military asset for its ability to transcend imperfect communication technologies. No period of history better demonstrates this shift than the *Belle Époque,* or the "Golden Age,"[3] between the Franco-Prussian War in 1870, and World War One in 1914. During this era, major powers such as France, Great Britain, and the United States recognized the potential of the carrier pigeon, and aimed to perfect the method by which their innate abilities could be harnessed during acts of war.

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[1] John Edwards. "The future of military comms on the battlefield: New radio and network technologies present opportunities and challenges" *Defense Systems* (February 2012) available at: https://defensesystems.com/articles/2012/02/08/cover-story-military-communications-technologies.aspx, accessed on: April 15th, 2018

[2] Arthur MacGregor. *Animal Encounters.* London: Reaktion Books, 2012, Pg.

[3] The era between 1870 and 1914 is referred to by historians as the "Golden Age" as it was a period of economic prosperity, colonial expansion, scientific, technological, and cultural innovations.
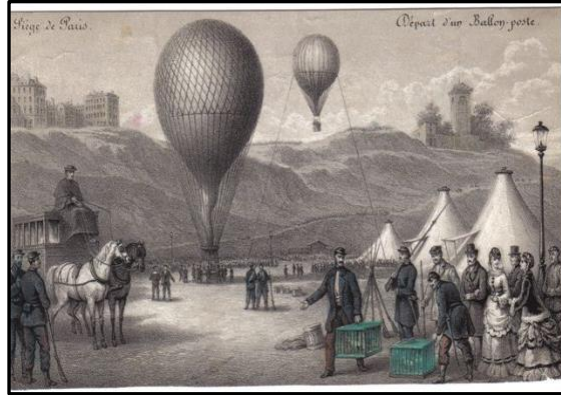
Image 1: Hot-air balloons deploying in Paris during the Franco-Prussian War, c. 1870

An analysis of sources from the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries suggests that carrier pigeons were a favoured topic in both public and professional publications. Local and international newspapers, as well as professional and popular scientific studies, indicate that Western nations were celebrating the utility of the carrier pigeon with great enthusiasm. The use of them by the French government in 1870 informed military figures, scientists, and the general public of the traits that carrier pigeons possessed that could be exploited for military purposes. Additionally, by the early 1900's, ornithologists[4] proved that carrier pigeons could work cohesively with new technologies, such as aerial photography, which inspired new methods of reconnaissance collection. Eventually, their potential would be harnessed in one of the bloodiest battles of human history between 1914 and 1918. Moreover, the argument of the following essay is twofold. While a general interest in pigeons was established before 1870, the excitement after the Franco-Prussian War marked a turning point in the discussion and attention surrounding carrier pigeons. As tensions in Europe were mounting by the end of the nineteenth century, Western nations were actively and consciously preparing for a potential war. Consequently, studies and experiments conducted on carrier pigeons in the early-twentieth century culminated in the use of them in the First World War, which fixed and established their full potential as agents of communication. An analysis of the use of carrier pigeons between 1870 and 1918 confirms that these birds have a storied history as messengers, photographers, and as war heroes. The use of them on the Western front was absolutely crucial, as vital messages were delivered via carrier pigeon when modern technologies failed.

While the significance of the carrier pigeon in war is demonstrated through its representation within archival documents, its acknowledgement within the historiographical discussion is largely absent. As previously mentioned, early accounts that discussed the carrier pigeon were published for both professional and public audiences. Studies conducted before the First World War by scientists and pigeon fanciers were the first to focus on the carrier pigeons' innate characteristics, demonstrating to military figures how useful they could be in a potential major war. However, these publications were generally directed at a niche audience. A prominent example is the 1901 account written by pigeon expert G. E. Howard titled, *The Homing Pigeon: A Complete Treatise on Training, Breeding, Flying, and Uses of the Winged Messengers.* This instructive analysis provides pigeon fanciers with meticulous descriptions of how to properly train carrier pigeons to reach their maximum potential as messengers, and suggests that out of all the types of pigeons, the carrier/homing pigeon is the "king" of its species.[5] A few years later, as new scientific research surrounding flight commenced, the carrier pigeon was again considered. In 1908, military officer and natural scientist Alfred Hildebrandt published, *Airships Past and Present: Together with Chapters on the Use of Balloons in Connection with Meteorology, Photography and the Carrier Pigeon.* This account also considers training methods and suitable environments for carrier pigeons, but furthers the discussion of their utility in war by pointing out that new technologies such as telegraphy were not always reliable. These accounts are not rogue publications, but are rather indicative of the deep-rooted interest in carrier pigeons by the turn of the century. The language used to describe these birds is also a telling example of how

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[4] An ornithologist is a scientist that specializes in the study of birds.

[5] G.E. Howard. *The Homing Pigeon: A Complete Treatise on Training, Breeding, Flying, and Uses of the Winged Messengers* (Washington, DC) 1901, Pg. 1

much they were revered; for example, Hildebrandt describes the carrier pigeon as a "really fine bird with a proud and somewhat elegant bearing."[6]

A former London double-decker bus converted to a mobile pigeon coop.

Image 2: Pigeon Bus.

In addition to professional and scientific-based publications, accounts were in circulation for the general reader, who were equally excited about the utility and behaviour of carrier pigeons. For example, in local newspapers from the United States between 1901 and 1919, carrier pigeons are intently discussed and praised. An important factor that assisted in shaping the interest in carrier pigeons in the United States was the extinction of the passenger pigeon, a species endemic to North America that was endangered well before 1900. Moreover, the interest in pigeons generally was already established in the United States, and as passenger pigeons became less prominent, carrier pigeons became the centre of attention. These publications also focused on the potential that carrier pigeons might have in a future war, noting that European nations such as Great Britain and France had success with them in previous skirmishes.

By 1913, tensions between major European powers heightened significantly as a series of land-disputes in the Balkans had been ongoing since the turn of the century.[7] The threat of hostilities posed by a power-hungry Germany, particularly towards France, became increasingly alarming. Consequently, the conversation about carrier pigeons and their potential in war was heightened in Western media, warranting further academic studies surrounding how pigeons could serve European armies if a war with Germany and her allies happened to occur. Moreover, the discussion surrounding the use of carrier pigeons in war shifted dramatically by the end of the Second Balkan War in 1913, and would continue to expand throughout the First World War and during the interwar period. Local and international newspapers such as the *New York Times, The London Illustrated,* and *The Times,* intently document the tasks that carrier pigeons performed during various campaigns during the war from 1914-1918. For example, in a popular local American Newspaper *The Abbeville Press and Banner*, an article titled, "The Pigeon-Post at Sea and in War" provides an interview with a commanding officer who claimed that in the war, "scouts are liable to be made prisoners or killed, telegraph or telephone wires may work faultily or be destroyed. [But] these mishaps are avoided by the use of the carrier pigeon."[8] This demonstrates that the decision to use and perfect the carrier pigeon's potential as messengers was an intelligent tactical decision in order to supplement communication networks during warfare.

By the inter-war period, literature written by military figures and ornithologists surrounding carrier pigeons in war began to present more provocative questions, such as how the reliance on the species contributed to the eventual inauguration of a separate pigeon corps in each of the Western militaries. Yet, despite the obvious fascination and consideration of carrier pigeons in early twentieth-century publications, more recent works

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[6] Hildebrandt, Alfred. *Airships Past and Present: Together with Chapters on the Use of Balloons in Connection with Meteorology, Photography and the Carrier Pigeon* (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company, 1908) Pg. 350

[7] Between 1899 and 1913, Europe had been involved in a number of small-scale/local wars such as the Boer War, the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), the annexation of Bosnia (1908), but most poignantly, the First and Second Balkan Wars (1911-1912, 1912-1913). Moreover, countries all over Europe felt the growing hostilities between nations, especially as many were fighting for dominance on the world stage, technologically, economically, culturally, etc.

[8] "The Pigeon-Post at Sea and in War," *The Abbeville Press and Banner* (Abbeville, SC), December 11, 1901, Page 6, col. 4-6

typically center on the pigeon species in general, and do not focus specifically on carrier pigeons and their utility in war. This is likely a result of the topic being considered by individuals from a variety of disciplines. For example, between 2000 and 2018, more 'popular' histories emerged regarding pigeons, complementing the increased interest in animal studies and animal welfare over the latter half of the twentieth century. Barbara Allen's *Pigeon* (2009) and Arthur MacGregor's *Animal Encounters* (2012), grapple with the pigeon species as a whole, but only mention the carrier pigeon in conflicts like the First World War in passing. Even works by animal studies historians such as Colin Jerolmack's *The Global Pigeon* (2013), consider the changing social and cultural perceptions of pigeons in urban settings, while ignoring entirely their uses in warfare. In 2017, historian Brian Hall attempted to integrate the military use of carrier pigeons into a study of Great Britain's communications and operations on the Western Front between 1914-1918. However, while this book centres on the First World War time-frame, pigeons are conveyed as a "last-ditch effort" in communication methods, and the study fails to explore the positive uses and applications of the carrier pigeon in a modern war.[9]

A comprehensive analysis of scholarship on the topic of pigeons demonstrates that there has been a lack of studies dedicated solely to the carrier pigeon's utility in warfare. To alleviate this void, the following study seeks to revive this historical topic by placing the value of the carrier pigeon in acts of war at the centre of the analysis. It will examine how the Franco-Prussian War in 1870 changed the way Western nations thought about and discussed carrier pigeons by analyzing training methods, early uses, and early understandings of the species. It will assess how and why countries such as France, Great Britain and the United States came to appreciate and acknowledge the utility of carrier pigeons at different times and in different contexts. It will consider the growing sense of impending war by the early-twentieth century, and how this lead to the militarization of carrier pigeons throughout Europe. Finally, it will analyze the use of the carrier pigeon in communications on the Western front in the First World War, specifically by assessing their role in various battles, and how pigeons such as *Cher Ami* came to be celebrated as war heroes. The successful use of them in the First World War was instrumental in their use in other conflicts such as the Second World War, and even current campaigns.[10]

The Franco-Prussian War was a watershed moment in establishing the value of the carrier pigeon in warfare, and consequently kick-started a 'pigeon-mania.' In 1870, a coalition of German states led by Prussia waged war on France in the hopes of unifying Germany into one major empire. During the campaign, when the Prussians besieged Paris, carrier pigeons were deployed from wicker baskets in hot-air balloons in an act of desperation, in order to establish two-way communications with the French provisional government, located 130 miles outside of the city.[11] The decision to use carrier pigeons was made after modern technologies, such as the heliograph, proved to be ineffective. The heliograph was an early signaling device by which sunlight is refracted in flashes from a movable mirror. Using Morse code, the light reflections communicated important messages across different areas.[12] However, given that the distance between Paris and the head-quarters of the provisional government was so great, technologies like the heliograph were futile. While telegraphy existed at this point, the technology was still in its infancy, and cables could not yet expand over such great distances. To compensate, as historian Mike Dash highlights, the balloons' "precious pigeon cargo would return to the city bearing messages by the thousands, all photographed using the brand-new technique of microfilming and printed on slivers of collodium, each weighing just a hundredth of an ounce."[13] The impromptu realization that carrier pigeons could successfully transport legible correspondences during the siege of Paris in 1870 was crucial as it reignited interest in them, and reminded military leaders of their unique capabilities in times of war. As Dash illustrates, "the general principle that carrier pigeons could make communication possible in the direst of situations was firmly established in 1870, and by 1899, Spain, Russia, Italy, France, Germany, Austria, and Romania had established their own pigeon services."[14]

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[9] Brian N. Hall. *Communications and British Operations on the Western Front, 1914-1918.* (United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press, 2017), Pg. 114

[10] Carrier pigeons are still used in special missions by the French military to this day. See: https://frenchly.us/carrier-pigeons-the-french-armys-unsung-heroes-are-still-on-duty/ for an informative video on this topic.

[11] Mike Dash. "Closing the Pigeon Gap" *Smithsonian Magazine* (April 2012 Special Report)

[12] *Signal Training*. III. Pamphlet No. 2, 1922. London: His Majesty's Stationery Office. 1922. pp. 10–13

[13] Dash. "Closing the Pigeon Gap."

[14] Ibid.

After the events of 1870, there was a new level of admiration for carrier pigeons, and as a result, the handling and assessment of them increased. To contextualize this, it is important to note that by the mid-nineteenth century, a general appreciation and empirical interest in the utility of animals manifested particularly in the West, as ideas surrounding speciesism were prevalent.[15] The examination and deliberate exploitation of certain animals was in line with scientific inquiry and Darwinism – the study of non-human species. Darwin's theory suggests that species of organisms develop through the natural selection of small variations that increase their ability to compete, survive, and reproduce.[16] In the case of carrier pigeons, however, a key figure in ornithology during the early twentieth-century, Frederick Lincoln, points out that "in light of present knowledge, the homing instinct of the pigeon should be considered as a specialized form of migration developed and exploited by man through training and selective breeding."[17] Moreover, when carrier pigeons demonstrated they could be trained, perfected, and used by *humans*, a fascination for them was ignited.

In the decades after the Franco-Prussian War, carrier pigeons were a popular source of amusement for the general public. Pigeon-racing societies popped up in substantial numbers across Europe to entertain the masses, and were often symbolic of status and wealth. King Edward VII, for example, kept carrier pigeons at Sandringham Estate in England to show off their speed and agility at national pigeon races.[18] The working classes also came to enjoy training carrier pigeons as a method of taking their minds off the hardships of urban life. Regardless of status, pigeon fanciers alike were excited about what the carrier pigeon was capable of, and thus wished to learn more about their biological make-up. In other settings, scientists and ornithologists were also conducting experiments on the birds as they were adamant about establishing the most successful training methods. Collectively, the scientific and amateur handling of carrier pigeons allowed for the species to be intently studied. As a result, the unique biological processes present in the carrier pigeon were slowly recognized, and specific behaviours which could be harnessed for their use as messengers in acts of war were identified.

Studies conducted between 1870 and 1914 determined that the carrier species was bred over centuries out of domesticated pigeons, and originated in Belgium.[19] The 'carrier' species is related to the Bizet, or "rock" pigeon (*Columba Livia),* as well as the dragoon (a species with the carrier trait); the smerle (a relative of the 'owl' pigeons who possess inherent homing abilities), and the amulet – a species known for its ability to fly for hours at a time.[20] A conglomeration of these traits created a superior species known to be the carrier pigeon. Through handling and training, incredible attributes such as remarkable eye-sight and hearing were discovered. According to early ornithologists, "their only blind spot is the 10 degree segment directly behind their heads."[21] Their ears are "similar to human ears in that they contain a system of semi-circular canals."[22]

To military figures, these observations stimulated further consideration of the pigeon's utility in war as their impressive sense of sight and sound meant they could dodge potentially dangerous obstacles, such as incoming artillery, or shrapnel from high-explosives. Experiments conducted during pigeon races, such as those attended by King Edward, exposed the favourable flying conditions for the carrier pigeon, and found that for longer distances, the average speed of the pigeon was twenty yards per second, some reaching up to thirty-six. Even with a moderate wind, the carrier pigeon could fly twelve yards per second on average.[23] This was another considerable attribute as the speed in which communications are delivered in war can determine the outcome of a specific campaign, and can even mean the difference between life and death in hostile situations. Therefore, the uncovering of advantageous traits in the carrier pigeon's biology increased their popularity amongst pigeon

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[15] Speciesism refers to the favour of the human species over others, especially in the exploitation or mistreatment of animals by humans. In essence, it refers to the species hierarchy created by humans in order to justify using animals for human benefit.

[16] Kahn Academy. "Darwin, evolution, and natural selection: Charles Darwin's voyage on the HMS Beagle and his ideas about evolution and natural selection" (2018) available at: https://www.khanacademy.org/science/biology/her/evolution-and-natural-selection/a/darwin-evolution-natural-selection, accessed on: April 16th, 2018

[17] Frederick C. Lincoln. "The Military Use of the Homing Pigeon," *The Wilson Bulletin* (Wilson Ornithological Society, June 1927) Vol. 39, No. 2, Pg. 72

[18] Jesse Alter. "The Incredible Carrier Pigeons of the First World War" Imperial War Museums (2018) available at: http://www.iwm.org.uk/history/the-incredible-carrier- pigeons-of-the-first-world-war

[19] Lincoln. "The Military Use of the Homing Pigeon."

[20] Ibid.

[21] John F. Vance. "What Brings Them Home?" *The Scientific American* (1937) Vol. 156 No. 3, Pg. 154

[22] Ibid.

[23] Hildebrandt, Pg. 353

fanciers, scientists, and military figures who were increasingly anxious about the growing hostilities in Europe. Ultimately, they believed that carrier pigeons could serve humans in desperate situations, like in the Franco-Prussian War, if necessary.

After unearthing the traits that carrier pigeons possessed which could be manipulated and perfected via human intervention, new training and breeding methods were established. As pigeon expert G. E. Howard points out, the acquirement of proper training methods was imperative in order to harness and develop the carrier pigeon's unique natural abilities. For example, in G.E. Howard's account, he emphasizes that with the help of human training, "the pigeon could leave its cote and travel up to 1,000 miles," exceeding speeds of up to 30-miles-per-hour.[24] Thus, with this in mind, training and handling practices were communicated and fine-tuned by pigeon fanciers throughout Europe.

An important contributor to the study of pigeon training was Alfred Hildebrandt, an ex-military officer and natural scientist. In Hildebrandt's account, he underlines the importance of training carrier pigeons with accuracy. As his book, and other studies at the time suggest, attention to detail was of the utmost importance in order to harness the pigeons' innate homing abilities to their fullest potential. For example, Hildebrandt claims that the best breeding period begins in spring, specifically around March 15th to April 1st. On the sixth or seventh day of the pigeons' life, a thin aluminum ring is put around the leg of the young bird, and "on this is engraved such information as would lead to its identification."[25] To introduce the practice of flying in its infancy, the carrier pigeon is sent off in random directions at a distance of two miles or so from their home. Before they begin flying more regularly, they must be accustomed to their baskets or cotes.[26] G.E. Howard's account points out the method by which carrier pigeons became accustom to their environments, illustrating that:

> When he has reached the age of 12 weeks, he is taken a little distance from the loft and released. Immediately, he hears his corn and peas rattling in the tin cup in his trainer's hand inside the loft. He listens for a few seconds and then flies in…entering through the same trap [door] each time.[27]

After the first exposure to the pigeon handler, training is intensified, as the most successful carrying feats are performed "between their second and fifth years."[28] Pigeon experts like Howard collectively agree that without the establishment of a proper environment, the successful training of carrier pigeons would not be possible. For instance, the pigeon cote/post was to be located in an area that was not too cold in winter, and not too hot in the summer.[29] The flooring of the cote was ideally constructed out of pine and was to be kept clean by sweeping when necessary. Additionally, as Howard points out, in colder months, "there should be sand placed in the bottom of the cote (approximately two inches) to absorb any water/moisture for maximum comfort, and should be safe from cats and rats."[30] Howard's account then goes on to suggest the ideal measurements and positioning for a proper pigeon post, further demonstrating how rigorous training practices became, and emphasizing the general interest in carrier pigeons at the time.

Another interesting and important discovery made surrounding carrier pigeons was the nature of their flight patterns. Ornithologist Hans Wallraff's account *The Homing Pigeon as Paradigm* (2005), highlights findings from scientific experiments conducted on the birds, which demonstrate the various paths taken on a given journey. According to Wallraff's findings, it is evident that carrier pigeons do not fly on a straight course to its home-base. Alternatively, Wallraff claims, "Mostly, we observe a considerable angular dispersion or variability in homing performance…Even the mean course of a sample of birds deviates, in most cases, more or less from the bee-line direction towards home."[31] As his findings suggest, some topographical features such as "high mountains, coastlines or large lakes clearly act as barriers which the pigeons hesitate to overfly. Detours around a mountain,

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[24] Howard, Pg. 12

[25] Hildebrandt, Pg. 352

[26] A "cote" is the term used to refer to a pigeon enclosure. It was essentially a larger version of a bird house.

[27] Howard, Pg. 17

[28] Carrier pigeons had a life span of about 10-12 years, meaning that they were most successful at carrying and delivering messages in their younger years.

[29] Howard, Pg. 7

[30] Ibid., Pg. 8

[31] Wallraff, Hans G. *Avian Navigation: Pigeon Homing as Paradigm.* New York: Springer, 2005, Pg. 340

along a valley or along a shore are obvious."[32] While carrier pigeons might be skeptical about flying over certain areas, their ability to adapt to other flight courses solved these issues, as evidenced by their ability to successfully deliver correspondences, regardless of the path taken to get from point A to point B and back. To military figures and governments interested in the potential use of pigeons in a future war, the level of versatility within the species was impressive and reassuring of their utility.

By 1913, when rumblings of war were at an all-time high, previous training methods and information revealed about the carrier pigeon was considered intently by European governments, especially in France. In conjunction with the memory of the war of 1870, France was particularly uneasy about Germany's growing desire for power and territorial expansion. By the turn of the century, the German empire, under Kaiser Wilhelm II, was viciously competing with other major empires for colonial development and dominance on the international stage. This included the desire for economic, cultural and technological superiority. Thus, an alarming new discovery made in 1907 by Julius Neubronner – a German apothecary who had been using carrier pigeons to deliver medical prescriptions and supplies for a number of years – added to the fear of German ascendency. At one point, Neubronner, among others, noticed that his pigeons could be gone for almost a month before returning home. Curious as to where their journeys took them, different men experimented with cameras that could be attached to the pigeon during flight. By 1908, Neubronner perfected the invention of a practical camera that could be attached to the pigeon in order to photograph their flight patterns. According to the article "Carrier Pigeons have become Photographers" in *The San Francisco Call,* "the cameras are attached to the breast by straps which pass under the wings and hold a metal plate directly between the wings in place. This plate has two metal hooks on which the camera fits – so securely that there is no danger of it being dislodged even in flight."[33] As the American magazine *Popular Science Monthly* illustrated, "the shutter opens automatically at prearranged intervals and the roll of the film, which moves in unison with the shutter, and can take thirty photographs one and a half inches square."[34] Eager to relieve itself of the burden of carrying the camera, the pigeon would generally fly home on a direct route, which was another recognizable advantage of making them photographers.[35]

The invention of the 'pigeon camera' was ground-breaking as various lenses could take pictures from different angles, such as horizontal and panoramic views. Between 1910 and 1911, Neubronner displayed and sold his images taken by his pigeon at the Frankfurt International Aviation Exhibition and the Paris Air Shows. Thus, the French government and other nations realized that the use of pigeon photography could transform the way wars are fought, as enemy locations, communication hubs, tactical movement transitions, and the status of ongoing battles could be revealed. Consequently, this would ignite a technological race between France and other Western nations, who were desperate to catch up to Germany's new found application of the carrier pigeon.

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[32] Ibid.

[33] "Carrier Pigeons have become Photographers," *The San Francisco Call* (San Francisco, CA), July 20, 1912, Page 5, Image 5, col. 2-5

[34] "The Pigeon Spy and His Work in War" *Popular Science Monthly* (New York: 1916) Pg. 30

[35] See image 3 in Appendices.

Image 3: Pigeon Photographer.

Moreover, by 1913, the geographical proximity to a power-hungry Germany, and the invention of the pigeon camera, forced the French government to mobilize not only her standing army, but also a pigeon corps, consisting of nearly 15,000 carrier pigeons. This would be relatively easy to accomplish as so many pigeon fanciers in France had carrier pigeons in reserve, in case of another conflict like the Franco-Prussian War. The decision to construct twenty-eight pigeon posts along French fortifications was made with the intention of competing against Germany, who had access to an impressive 300,000 carrier pigeons through various racing societies.[36] Additionally, early experiments conducted on carrier pigeons were influential in the decision to fortify France's borders with pigeon posts. For example, Herr Floring conducted an experiment with balloons and carrier pigeons in the early twentieth-century which demonstrated that out of 109 pigeons released, 103 returned safely.[37] Further research performed on carrier pigeons also demonstrated that they were cost effective – compared to new technologies like telegraphy, telephones, and wireless communications – and their small size made them less obvious, and thus harder to track and destroy.

The biggest test of pigeon utility was seen in the First World War. By the eve of the conflict, European nations such as France agreed that carrier pigeons were useful because they required little sustenance, and were easy to transport. For example, pigeons could be kept in mobile lofts, either drawn by horses or mounted on small busses or lorries.[38] Additionally, they could travel at speeds exceeding sixty miles-per-hour, often a lot faster than a runner or a messenger on horseback. Early discoveries about the species, such as their dexterity and ability to fly long distances, were pertinent advantages that were of value by the time the 'war to end all wars' broke out after the July Crisis in 1914. As a result, many countries, such as France were prepared to deploy carrier pigeons along the Western front, from the Alps to the Adriatic Sea. However, it is important to note that not all of the Western allies were as enthusiastic about the use of carrier pigeons and were thus unprepared to use them once hostilities began.

An absence of archival sources regarding carrier pigeons in Great Britain before the First World War accounts for the initial lack of interest in them. According to sources such as the *Times* and *The London Illustrated,* the appreciation of carrier pigeons was not evident in popular or professional publications until 1915. Historian Nicholas Lambert offers a considerable theory for the lack of interest in carrier pigeons. He grapples with Great Britain's anxieties about German encroachment on the North Sea, and addresses why their interest in carrier pigeons did not compare to her European counterparts. Lambert highlights that the British were extremely focused on perfecting systems of communications between her naval vessels for practicing what they called

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[36] "Pigeons Brave Under Fire," *The New York Times* (New York) June 1919
[37] Hildebrandt, Pg. 355
[38] Lincoln, Pg. 70, see image 2 in Appendices.

'maneuver warfare.'[39] Therefore, their attention centered on their own technologies, and all other modes of communication like carrier pigeon were ignored. Their goal instead was to perfect technologies like telegraphy and wireless communications, in order to out-run the German naval vessels that threatened the security of Britain's land and economic empire.[40]

As opposed to mobilizing a pigeon corps as a back-up method for communications, Great Britain poured millions of dollars into "subsidizing British cable companies to lay so-called 'strategic' cables and store overseas an abundance of spares and repair ships to mitigate disruption in times of war."[41] Ultimately, as historian Brian Hall points out, Great Britain's military figures felt that they could not rely on the pigeon in the same way that one could rely on 'British' made technologies in warfare. For example, after their poor maneuvers in the fall of 1913, British officers recorded that:

> the value of any pigeon service from an army point of view must depend on whether a pigeon can be relied on to 'home' to any place where it has been housed for a short time only…I can find no evidence whatsoever that we could expect pigeons housed and trained in England to 'come home' to the General Headquarters if the Expeditionary Forces is abroad.[42]

While the initial hesitation to use carrier pigeons is warranted – given that the British were generally unaware of the utility of them during the pre-war years – the British military's over-confidence in the efficiency of new technologies resulted in their unpreparedness to revive communications when they failed on the Western front. Cables could not be laid as strategically as they had been back home, given the nature of No Man's Land, and the variation in trench networks. Consequently, telephone and telegraph lines were often blown up, reburied, or cut by the enemy. Moreover, it is evident that while the Western allies collectively agreed by 1918 that pigeons are valuable in warfare, each country came to this realization at different moments in time. The French were aware of the pigeon's utility after 1870, and by 1915, Great Britain's anxieties turned towards her *lack* of carrier pigeons.

The British, as previously highlighted, were tentative about the use of carrier pigeons in the First World War for a variety of reasons. In addition to focusing on perfecting man-made technologies, by 1915, a growing fear of German espionage was prevalent. From the war's beginning, Germans actively deployed pigeons by the thousands on the Western front, many of which were fit with cameras. The analysis of photographs taken by carrier pigeons as a systematic method for gathering intelligence began in earnest in the First World War, and as many as 10,000 frames of aerial photographs of enemy lines and potential targets were printed daily for interpreters to assess. Moreover, Great Britain's anxieties mounted when they realized the German Imperial Army had thousands of players in espionage on the other side of No Man's Land. Additionally, in early battles such as the Marne and the First and Second Battles of Ypres, defects in British technologies on the front-lines were revealed. The use of modern technologies such as wireless transmission sets were "bulky and unwieldy," requiring wagons and horses to transport them between various locations. According to engineering and technology expert Paul Gannon, an added complication lay in the fact that technologies on the front lacked "battle-zone robustness," which made them impractical to use by infantry on the move.[43] Thus, as armies turned to older forms of communication, the accuracy and reliability of the carrier pigeon was comforting to the Western armies that had mobilized them, but Great Britain did not have a pigeon corps to fall back on.

An interesting argument made by *Smithsonian Magazine* surrounds the initial British view on their lack of a pigeon corps. As Mike Dash provocatively suggests, the so-called "pigeon gap" of the pre-war years resembled the alleged "missile gap" that "so frightened Americans at the height of the Cold War."[44] Given Great Britain's slow

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[39] Nicholas A. Lambert. "Strategic Command and Control for Maneuver Warfare: Creation of the Royal Navy's 'War Room' System, 1905-1915" *The Journal of Military History* (April 2005) Vol. 69, No. 2, Pg.

[40] Great Britain had control over the North Sea for centuries. Her trading was conducted in these waters, and the presence of Germany in the early-twentieth century was alarming as they had already gone to great lengths to take over colonies that belonged to GB and France, especially after the First and Second Moroccan Crises.

[41] Hall, Pg. 116

[42] Hall, Pg. 117

[43] Paul Gannon. "WWI: First World War communications and the Tele-net of Things" *Engineering and Technology* (June 2014) available at: https://eandt.theiet.org/content/articles/2014/06/ww1-first-world-war-communications-and-the-tele-net-of-things/, accessed on: April 16th, 2018.

[44] Dash. "Closing the Pigeon Gap."

acquirement of pigeons – only 15 were initially donated to their army by the French – commanding officers feared that the pigeon system of the Continental powers would lead to the demise of British communications, and would thus hinder their ability to wage successful campaigns in the future. For example, the British newspaper *The Nineteenth Century,* expressed concern at the development of a worrying "divergence" in military capabilities. The Empire, it was suggested, "was being rapidly out-paced by foreign military technology."[45] As a result, by 1915, a series of significant changes had been made to the British communications' "policy and practice."[46]

An instrumental figure in demonstrating the utility of the carrier pigeon to the British military was ornithologist Alfred Osman. Osman had previous experience working with carrier pigeons, and would prove to be of the utmost importance, not only for his suggestions on how to adapt the carrier pigeon to meet communication needs, but also for advocating the establishment of a Royal Pigeon Service. By the autumn of 1914, Osman had been fully convinced that "expert handling and British pluck could produce a vastly better bird than German fanciers possessed," – insisting that British birds were superior to those of their German counterparts. He recognized that the British army was in a period of transition, and hoped to integrate newer forms of communication technology with more traditional methods.[47] Ultimately, Osman identified that the most successful communication networks should have "built in redundancy, whereby if one method of communication broke down, there were alternatives in place to carry the message."[48] Consequently, he established a Voluntary Pigeon War Committee (VPWC) in order to build up the number of pigeoneers available to the army. Although initially small in number, the eventual failure of British communications on the Front in the early months of the war encouraged the VPWC to continue to expand. Additionally, British runners often fell victim to shell-fire and took too long to arrive, "even if the messengers [did] not become casualties."[49]

Upon implementing the VPWC, the British realized how useful and valuable the pigeon was during the war. As British author Jilly Cooper points out, "As field telegraph and wireless were always breaking down, pigeons were frequently used…Dispatch riders on bicycles took the birds up to the firing line in baskets. As soon as there was anything to report, say a battalion had advanced too far and had been cut off by the enemy, or a certain part of the line was weak and needed reinforcements, a message was scribbled out" and attached and sent by the carrier pigeon.[50] Various test runs throughout the war demonstrated to the British and French that messages could generally be received within 25-30 minutes of deploying the pigeon, making them the most reliable form of communication in most cases. Cooper also illustrates that "pigeons had the advantage over dogs in that they were much faster and were not bogged down by mud and shell holes. They also provided a much smaller target, and flew distances of sixty miles without turning a feather, whereas the dog was seldom reliable over five miles."[51]

As a result, the British dramatically changed the way they viewed carrier pigeons, and came to admire and appreciate their unique skills. For example, as Barbara Allen points out, Major General Fowler, Chief of the Department of Signals and Communications in the British Army eventually noted:

> if it became necessary immediately to discard every line and method of communications used on the front, except one, and it were left to me to select that one method, I should unhesitatingly choose the pigeons. It is the pigeons on which we must and do depend when every other method fails. During the quiet periods we can rely on telephone, telegraph, flag signals, our dogs, and various others…But when the battle wages and everything gives way to barrage and machine-gun fire, to say nothing of gas attacks and bombing, it is to the pigeon that we go for succour…I am glad to say they have never failed us.[52]

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[45] "The Carrier Pigeons' Importance in War," *The Washington Herald* (Washington, DC), October 11th, 1914, Magazine Section, Page 34, Image 34, col. 1-6

[46] Hall, Pg. 114

[47] Ibid.

[48] Hall, Pg. 115

[49] Hall, Pg. 118

[50] Robert H. Farrell. *Five Days in October: The Lost Battalion of World War One*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2005, Pg. 27

[51] Jilly Cooper. *Animals in War* (Transworld Books, 2010) Pg. 100

[52] Barbara Allen. *Pigeon* London: Reaktion Books, 2009, Pg. 113

Fowler's contention is important as it demonstrates the drastic shift in British attitudes towards the use of messenger pigeons in the First World War. It proves that in the chaos of modern warfare, the pigeon was the most reliable method of communication. The initial lack of confidence of the British in the carrier pigeon also stemmed in all likelihood from the fact that most of the belligerents involved in the conflict were unprepared for the effects of highly-mechanized warfare.

By 1916, the pigeon came to be so revered in Great Britain that she joined France in implementing strict laws which prohibited the shooting or consumption of carrier pigeons. Notably, under regulation 21A, the Defence of the Realm in Britain introduced a fine of up to six months imprisonment, and 100 pounds (equivalent to 11,500 pounds today) for the "killing, wounding, or molesting" of carrier pigeons.[53] This would be important as these laws applied to both the home-front, and the front lines. Moreover, if food for soldiers was sparse, the killing and consumption of them was viewed with disdain, and was punishable. This demonstrates that over-time, the carrier pigeon's utility and value came to be fully recognized after short-comings in communication technologies were exposed during the First World War.

In 1917, the Russian forces had withdrawn from the war as a result of social revolution, thus encouraging the United States to join her Western allies on the front. As sources such as local and international newspapers suggest, an admiration for the carrier pigeon was already established in the Americas, and as a result, the Doughboys were excited to work with the birds, donated to them by the British and French forces. This would mark a pivotal moment in the war as the utility of the pigeon would once again be put to the test. In the Meuse-Argonne offensive in 1918, American soldiers from the 77th Division had pushed too far into German territory and became trapped behind enemy lines. As a result, the battalion consisting of over 600 men, was shelled by friendly fire after advancing too far into the forested area of the front. Removed from "reinforcements and supplies, men from the 306th, 307th, and 308th regiments under Major Charles Whittlesey held their ground against a far larger German force for several days."[54]

Historian Robert Ferrell points out that six carrier pigeons were recorded to have been the only available means of communicating with the rest of the American army during the offensive. Over the course of five days, five pigeons were sent out with location correspondences, many arriving to their destination in merely thirty minutes. Unfortunately, though, due to constant bombardments of artillery fire from both the Germans *and* their own army, not all five birds survived the flight, and successfully communicating with fellow officers seemed impossible. However, the sixth little messenger, who has come to epitomize the resilient nature of pigeons in WWI, successfully got through to the main American lines. *Cher Ami* was the final pigeon available to the 77th Division and their only hope at making it out alive. Despite hitting the ground after facing wounds that blinded him in one eye, and after suffering the loss of a leg, he perked up again and returned to his original course, flying more than twenty-five miles.[55] He successfully delivered the infamous message from Major Whittlesey reading: "We are along the road parallel to 276.4 Our own artillery is dropping barrage directly on us. For heaven's sake, stop it."[56]

[53] Allen, Pg. 112

[54] Ferrell, pg. 28

[55] Adam Bieniek. "Cher Ami" The Pigeon that Saved the Lost Battalion" The United States World War One Centennial Commission (2016) available at: http://www.worldwar1centennial.org/index.php/communicate/press-media/wwi-centennial-news/1210-cher-ami-the-pigeon-that-saved-the-lost-battalion.html

[56] Ibid

Image 4: Cher Ami

Because of *Cher Ami*'s success in delivering the aforementioned correspondence, the army stopped the artillery barrage and repositioned itself to fight German forces on other parts of the front. According to Robert Ferrell, the next day, shells were dropped on German positions, allowing for pressure to be relieved off of the remaining 77th Division. For his part in saving close to 200 surviving soldiers, *Cher Ami* was awarded the Croix de Guerre, one of France's highest military honours.[57] Moreover, the little bird that saved the lost battalion would go on to be commemorated by the Americans, and other Western armies. *Cher Ami* is currently on display at the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, and his medal accompanies him. The miracle of the rescue of the lost American soldiers was so significant, that a small, fragile, yet resilient bird became a national sensation. For example, upon his death in 1919, a poem was penned by an American pigeon fancier that read:

"Mon Cher Ami – that's my dear friend
You are the one we'll have to send;
The whole battalion now is lost,
And you must win at any cost."

The recognition of messenger pigeons for their service in the First World War ties into greater ideas of heroism held by the Western allies. Towards the war's conclusion, local and national Western newspapers raved over the stories of messenger pigeons like *Cher Ami*, highlighting the species' ultimate 'sacrifice' to humanity. For example, collectively, the language used in the aforementioned sources describes the messenger pigeon as "valiant, heroic, reliable, and efficient."[58] While animal studies experts today might argue that viewing pigeons in this light is a display of anthropromorphization – partly as a result of rampant patriotism and nationalism throughout the conflict – the belief that these animals were so important to winning the war, warranting recognition by the military and thus the nation, speaks to the regard that France, the United States, and eventually Great Britain had for their natural communicators.

As illustrated in this study, a general appreciation of messenger pigeons was established in the late nineteenth century, after their successful use in the Franco-Prussian War. Their use in early conflicts proved that there remained many circumstances under which the carrier pigeon would be of vital use. By the dawn of the First World War, France's army had already militarized over 28 pigeon cotes, the British, while initially reluctant and the least equipped with a pigeon corps, came to champion the use of carrier pigeons in their overall communication network. Additionally, Americans had a firm appreciation for the birds that heightened once joining the allies in

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[57] Ibid. see image 4 in Appendices.
[58] *Chronicling America – Pigeons in War,* 1900-1921. Library of Congress, Newspaper and Current Periodical Reading Room: Serial and Government Publications Division

the war in 1917. After considering the training methods, uses of the pigeon in various campaigns between 1914 and 1918, and the analysis of the pigeon as a heroic figure, it is evident that the Western allies strongly believed that communications would not have been nearly as efficient or possible without the employment of military pigeons. Their unique traits offered a solution to the acute problems of communication on the Western Front, and provided commanding officers with "useful alternatives when all other options had failed them."[59] A significant number of lengthy articles in various newspapers and treatises from the time period additionally reflect the admiration that the general public had for a delicate bird that ending up saving so many lives in the most gruesome war the world had yet to see.

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[59] *The New York Times,* "Brave Pigeons Under Fire" (1919)

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Jordan Desai, "Toronto's Hippie Scene: A Study of Yorkville Village
and Rochdale College"
HI 480: Canada in the 20th Century
Supervised by Dr. Susan Neylan

Through an analysis of two case studies, Yorkville Village, and Rochdale College, it is clear that the Toronto's hippie movement was complex and continuously changing. While Yorkville emerged and thrived as one of the most popular hangouts for hippies, its decline in 1968-69 led several of its inhabitants to move into the fortress of Rochdale College, a failed cooperative learning experiment under two kilometers away. The lifestyles, attitudes, and evolution of Toronto's hippies reveals that they were a countercultural group that opposed the outside, 'straight' world. This paper will analyse both Yorkville Village and Rochdale College to discern the importance of understanding how Toronto's hippies made a long-term impact on the legacy of the city, as well as take into consideration interaction and public discourse between hippies and non-hippies. With somewhat strict rules for belonging, it is clear that s in their efforts to create a society which encouraged unity and belonging with one another, hippies also managed to create a negative reputation for themselves within mass media, popular culture, and citizens, including RCMP and police officers. Both Yorkville Village and Rochdale College served as significant locations for Toronto's hippies and can today be interpreted as important markers of Canadian identity in the 20th century. The hippie movement in Toronto proves to be significant for the city's cultural development, and the emergence of artistic movements in the 20th and 21st centuries in Toronto. As people were exposed to and eventually became more tolerant of countercultural lifestyles, it is clear that these liberal ideologies and acceptance of differences is something that is celebrated within the Canadian identity today.

While assessing primary documentation about Toronto's countercultural movement, deciding who was a hippie and who was not is difficult. Through a study conducted by Gopala Alampur, an anthropologist commissioned by the Addiction Research Foundation, who lived among Yorkville's hippies in 1967, it is evident that hippies adopted a unique lifestyle, that differed from both mainstream Toronto and other countercultural groups living within the city. Additionally, many hippies themselves did not want to classify themselves as 'hippies' because it would be conforming to the expectations created by society. For the purpose of this essay, people will be considered hippies if they a) exemplified the hippie lifestyle that matches Alampur's findings b) identified as 'hippies', or a had a similar collective name c) were identified to be a hippie by media outlets. Although who the hippies were is relatively clear in the context of Yorkville, it becomes less clear in the latter portion of the 1960s when many of Yorkville's inhabitants moved to Rochdale College. The complexity of identifying hippies throughout the 1960s is significant because it reveals the dual identity of the group. To non-hippies, hippies had a single identity that was separate from the identity of Toronto's. Contrastingly, hippies believed they were a unique and small group found within the city's population, amounting to around 400 hippies in Yorkville in 1966.[1]

Stuart Henderson has written a sufficient amount of literature about Toronto's hippie scene and the Village of Yorkville. Henderson also introduces Rochdale College in much of his work as the second hippie sanctuary of Toronto's hippies in the 20th century. However, Henderson proves to be one of few authors who have assessed the significance of the hippie scene in Toronto. The gap in literature lies with understanding the public opinion of hippies and defining the complexities of their identities within the greater city of Toronto. Additionally, little has been discussed about the happenings inside of Rochdale College after the influx of hippies moved in 1968. Resultantly, this paper will attempt to bridge the gap by using a newspaper and other primary resources to better understand how the hippie culture was addressed by the city of Toronto.

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[1] Addiction Research Foundation, *The Yorkville Subculture; A Study of the Lifestyles and Interactions of Hippies and Non-Hippies,* (Toronto: Addiction Research Foundation, 1969), 27. [Here after cited as ARF]

The foundation of the hippie community began in the late 1950s as young, middle-class people, generally between the ages of 16- 24, with an average age of 19-20,[2] began experimenting with drugs such as peyote and mescaline.[3] By 1961-1962, LSD was more frequently used among New York City's countercultural groups, who quickly decided to move west, sparking the hippie movement.[4] Emulating the American hippie movement, hippie communities began developing around Canada, and Europe.[5] People were attracted to these countercultural communities because there was little organization, while self-expression and individuality were valued.

In 1966, the Addition Research Foundation conducted a series of studies to examine drug use among young people living in Toronto.[6] The following year, Gopala Alampur, moved to Yorkville for six months and while he was there, he adopted the hippie identity and observed the hippie lifestyle in Toronto.[7] While the goals of the study were to better understand the drug culture within Toronto's counterculture capital, Alampur went further to examine lifestyles, goals, attitudes, and the appearance of the groups living in Yorkville. Alampur's research reveals that the hippies of Toronto were complex, multifaceted, and difficult to understand within the larger society. Alampur was given a budget, for the purchase of food, clothing, and to pay for his rent.[8] The hippie lifestyle of sharing enabled Alampur to form friendships and gain acceptance within Yorkville based on the commodities that he was able to afford and provide.[9] As he embedded himself into the Yorkville scene, Alampur discovered that although hippies celebrated their individuality, they still adhered to a specific lifestyle that was similar, regardless of the individual.

Hippies wore colourful outfits, and shoes were always optional, regardless of the weather.[10] This differed from the outfits of the dominant society, which reflected the desire to display individuality within the hippie community. In January of 1968, *Toronto Daily Star* reporter, Glen Allen reported that hippies did not dress properly for the winter, and many were walking around with little foot protection.[11] Alampur notes that while there was no specific hippie uniform, there was a collective style that was characterized by comfort, freedom, and eccentricity.[12] As a result, hippies were aesthetically set apart from other people because they wore dirty and broken clothing, and their hair was messy, and often long.[13] Additionally, beads, bells, flowers, and ponchos were not uncommon.[14] This reveals that their individuality and self-expression was exemplified in the way they appeared in public. However, because they still dressed in a similar way, they were easily identifiable, thus, suggesting a sense of unity within the act of expressing their own individualities.

The daily life of a hippie was laidback and playful. Most hippies did not work because they resented the idea of giving 8 hours of their day to contribute to an oppressive, conformist, bureaucratic system.[15] Hippies did not see the point of living lavish lifestyles, and often rejected the idea of having luxury commodities or materialistic goals.[16] If they did work, it was often short-term, menial tasks.[17] For hippies, the most common way of earning money was by begging, bumming, selling drugs, or petty crime.[18] Additionally, because they did not work, hippies became subjected to a sleeping schedule that was backwards from the normality as they generally stayed up all

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[2] Ibid., 10.
[3] Ibid., 5.
[4] Ibid., 5.
[5] Ibid., 5.
[6] Ibid., preface.
[7] Ibid., 2.
[8] Ibid., 3.
[9] Ibid.
[10] Ibid., 8.
[11] Glen Allen, "Yorkville More Than Cool, Man," *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, ON), January 10, 1968.
[12] ARF, 10.
[13] Ibid.
[14] Ibid., 11.
[15] Ibid., 11.
[16] Ibid.
[17] Ibid.
[18] Ibid., 12.

night and slept well into the afternoon.[19] They placed a strong importance on living in the present, with no discussion of realistic future plans or goals for themselves.[20] As they were not committed to anything, they often found themselves having similar day-to-day routines. This resulted in them putting great value on the types of activities that allowed them to escape from reality than deal with it.[21] Thus, intelligence became an important aspect of the hippie lifestyle. Knowledge of religion, philosophy, and psychology were seen as prestigious among hippies.[22] Their learnings and teachings led many of them to adopt the values of peace, passive behavior, and non-violence within their everyday behaviours. This led Alampur to conclude that among all the groups living in Yorkville, hippies were the most intelligent and intellectual.[23]

Hippies were often most concerned with acquiring and taking drugs.[24] Although some drugs were preferred over others, hippies did not believe in taking drugs in moderation or controlling drug experiences.[25] In order to achieve their desires of getting high, and experiencing new trips, hippies regularly took drugs including but not limited to, marijuana, hashish, LSD, amphetamines, speed, frost, cough syrup, asthma prescriptions, codeine, morning glory seeds, STP, airplane glue, nose drugs, samarium, opium, DMT, nail polish remover, cigarettes, depressants, and alcohol.[26] This behaviour shows that hippies placed an extreme importance on getting high, and would attempt to do so with whatever was made available to them. Often, shipments of drugs would arrive from Western Canada, the United States or Mexico, and were brought to Toronto by a hippie travelling from a bigger hippie centre such as Vancouver, or the Haight Ashbury in California.[27] On occasion, a group of people would pool their funds together so that one of them could go south and purchase drugs in higher quantities for the lowest prices possible.[28] Alampur suggests that there were several reasons that people took drugs. These included religious, psychological, curiosity, or relief from boredom.[29] He further noted that hippies likely took these drugs because they wanted to understand the unknown and mysterious and that marijuana and LSD specifically, helped them on this quest, offering enlightenment on the way.[30] It must be mentioned that although hippies frequently used drugs, and it was an important aspect of the hippie identity, hippies were not the only drug users in the city. However, the rise in drug usage later allowed RCMP (Royal Canadian Mounted Police) to identify only hippies as users, implying their threat to the wider population of the nation.[31]

Sexual relations within the hippie culture were another complex aspect of their lifestyle. To hippies, sexual relations were seen as a natural, common, and non-binding.[32] Among hippies, conception was not considered a necessity before engaging in sexual relations.[33] Hippies had numerous sexual partners, both of the same and opposite genders, which led to transmitted venereal diseases, and in some cases, unplanned pregnancies. In 1967, the *Globe and Mail* published an article entitled, "Doctors supply birth control pills to the girls of Yorkville, hippies say." This article reveals that there were five downtown Toronto doctors who supplied the birth control to females who were 18 and older.[34] Resultantly, there were few unplanned pregnancies within the hippie population in downtown Toronto during the end of the 1960s.[35] However, if an accidental pregnancy were

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[19] Ibid.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid., 13.

[22] Ibid.

[23] Ibid.

[24] Ibid., 54.

[25] Ibid., 61.

[26] Ibid.

[27] Ibid., 62.

[28] Ibid.

[29] Ibid., 63.

[30] Ibid.

[31] Marcel Martel, "'They Smell Bad, Have Diseases and are Lazy' RCMP Officers Reporting on Hippies in the Late Sixties" *The Canadian Historical Review* 90, no. 2 (2009): 217.

[32] ARF, 14.

[33] Ibid.

[34] "Doctors Supply Birth Control Pills to the Girls of Yorkville, Hippies Say," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), November 3, 1967.

[35] Ibid.

to occur, it would be the responsibility of the impregnated female to handle the situation alone.[36] In Toronto, if a woman chose not to abort her child, she would no longer be welcome among the hippies until she was no longer pregnant.[37] This meant that women who decided to go forward with their pregnancies either left the hippie scene permanently, or put her child up for adoption and returned.[38]

By understanding who was a hippie within Toronto, it is clear that the group's identity in some ways is complex, but in other ways is extremely straightforward. While they adhered to some concrete rules and regulations, the group was rather laid back in their ideals, lifestyles, appearances, and values. By adopting their own identities within the larger Canadian identity, hippies played a crucial role in understanding the Canadian countercultural movement, that served to create an imagined community. Hippies were an important example of the emerging importance people placed on individuality during a time of economic boom and social changes. By rejecting the common lifestyle, hippies were able to provide an alternative perspective of life meant in the post-World War II era.

To understand the rise and fall of Yorkville as the hippie scene in the 1960s, it is important to consider the history and evolution of the Toronto neighborhood. Yorkville is located within Bloor Street, Avenue Road, Davenport Road, and Rosedale Valley Road.[39] It was incorporated as a village in 1853 and annexed to Toronto in 1883.[40] The village consisted of Victorian style walk-ups that were generally low in rent.[41] In the post-World War II era, Toronto had a reputation for being sober, sleepy, and overall, uneventful.[42] By 1951, the majority of Toronto's residents were of British descent, Protestant, and Canadian-born.[43] As the artistic movement rose in the early 1960s, Yorkville saw an influx of visitors and inhabitants who had become interested in the neighbourhood's unique offerings that included beat poets, folk singers, and artists.[44] This reveals that even prior to the movement of hippies, Yorkville was seen as an area whereby people were able to come together and share their interests. Before it became a hippie community, Yorkville was not home to many young children, and the population became elderly.[45] As the quality of housing began to decline, many middle-class inhabitants sought residence elsewhere and working class, immigrants, and artists were drawn to the area.[46] Although the neighbourhood was quickly deteriorating, the location was desirable as it was not quite downtown Toronto, but there was still enough to do within its borders.[47] Due to the low rent and influx of new residents, business-owners saw opportunity and began opening coffee houses, cafes, and stores.[48] This encouraged people, including young couples and students attending nearby schools, to move to Yorkville.[49] Additionally, many potential hippies were attracted to the entertainment and casual employment the village offered.[50] As Yorkville's demographic was changing, its new residents exercised different lifestyles including individual expression and engaging in casual sexual relations.[51] However, it must be mentioned that although the demographics of Yorkville were changing, there was always a presence of upper-class boutiques, galleries, and salons at all times.[52] This created an intermingling of groups, and in some cases, conflict between the upper-class shoppers and the lower-class inhabitants.[53]

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[36] Ibid.
[37] Ibid.
[38] Ibid.
[39] Ibid., 12.
[40] Alan L. Brown, *photo of The Village of Yorkville Plaque,* Toronto Historical Board, Toronto, 1975.
[41] Stuart Henderson, *Making the Scene: Yorkville and Hip Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2011), 31.
[42] Ibid.
[43] Ibid., 32
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 34.
[46] Ibid.
[47] Ibid.
[48] Ibid., 36.
[49] Ibid.
[50] ARF, 7.
[51] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 37.
[52] Ibid., 42.
[53] Ibid.

The village continued to grow throughout the 1960s, and by 1962, the artist atmosphere was gone and replaced by a countercultural scene.[54] People were increasingly drawn to Yorkville because of the availability of drugs, sexual opportunities, and hippie lifestyle.[55] As more hippies migrated to the neighbourhood, there were clashes between the group and the police, shop owners, and other civilians.[56] As mentioned above, hippies took part in deviant acts including stealing, beginning for money, and using drugs within the neighbourhood which served to not only draw more people who were interested in that lifestyle, but slowly pushed visitors, including the upper class out. *Toronto Daily Star* reporter, Anthony Ferry roamed the streets of Yorkville for a week and concluded that the neighbourhood was comprised of young people who had left their suburban homes in Canada and the United States and have opted for "crummy rooming houses."[57] He noted that the hippies were up all night, creating a ruckus until 3am, and in the morning, it was "strung out and hung up like desolation row."[58] Alampur's study revealed that during the day, the streets were quiet and did not have much traffic, but by the nighttime, activities increased, there were more crowds, and even people who did not live in the village visited to observe.[59] Often, these visitors were comprised of tourists, who Alampur defines as, "the people who walk or drive through Yorkville but have little contact with the residents." Alternatively, they could have been teeny-boppers who were under the age of 16 and only visited the neighbourhood on weekends looking to temporarily participate in the Yorkville lifestyle without a full commitment.[60] However, hippies did not often venture outside of the village, and mostly stayed within the 20-block radius of Bloor Street, Avenue Road, Davenport Road, and Rosedale Valley Road.[61]

In his interviews, Alampur concluded that people decided to join the hippie scene in Yorkville for various reasons. In most cases, hippies attributed their participation in the countercultural lifestyle because they felt as though they had poor communication with their parents, leaving them feeling misunderstood, and upset.[62] Many hippies felt their parents were dull, old-fashioned, and led boring lives.[63] Nonetheless, hippies often maintained relationships with their families through phone calls, letters, and visits.[64] Hippies also admitted to accepting money from their parents to maintain their non-working, and experimental lifestyles.[65] This clash between generations within the 20th century reveals that values held by the baby boomer generation and their parents altered greatly which is likely a result of societal factors including the depression and war. As hippies were growing up in a time of economic boom, and most often from middle class families, it is clear they were not subjected to the harsh living conditions that their parents likely faced earlier in the century. It is worth noting that Alampur was unable to find a hippie who had been living in Yorkville for over three years.[66] This indicates that although hippies seemed to enjoy the lives that they were leading, they acknowledged that it was temporary. In some cases, people left Yorkville as a result of poor living conditions and pregnancy, but in most instances, people left the countercultural scene because they were no longer interested. In an article published in the *Toronto Daily Star,* reporter Andrew Olser discusses Yorkville's significance as a 'scene' regardless of where people actually live.[67] Nonetheless, over the course of the 1960s, Yorkville was changing, and became increasingly populated by hippies and other countercultural groups. This led for the 'straight' community to develop a concern for the village.

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[54] Ibid., 80.

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid., 81.

[57] Anthony Ferry, "Is Escape Hatch," *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, ON), October 30, 1965.

[58] Ibid.

[59] ARF, 7.

[60] Ibid., 9.

[61] Ibid., 12.

[62] Ibid., 40.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid., 47.

[67] Andrew Olser, "Yorkville Inspections: Where Have All the Hippies Gone?," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), July 23, 1966.

People's attitudes of hippies and the Yorkville scene altered into the 1960s. By the end of the decade, many made it clear that Yorkvillers were their own community apart from the rest of Toronto. The clashes between hippies and non-hippies were often covered by mass media and used to further hinder the Yorkville community and its inhabitants. The reputation that hippies acquired as a result of differences in opinions, lifestyles, and their contribution to the city's crime led civilians, politicians, store-owners, and civil servants to organize. As the destruction of Yorkville's reputation did not occur slowly, it is evident that attempts to rectify the hippie issue were more peaceful as the neighbourhood began to see changes.

In early 1964, people saw that Yorkville was changing for the worse and did not wish to associate themselves with the village.[68] Resultantly, the Yorkville Festival was created to cater to adults who had previously supported the village in order to demonstrate to them that the neighbourhood was still safe for them to be in.[69] The festival had a quiet opening and reminded attendees of the bohemian and artistic vibes that once defined Yorkville including street guitarists and sketch artists.[70] Police supervised the event in case a riot broke out, or unwanted villagers visited the festival, however, the hippies were completely absent.[71] Likely as a result of their sleep schedules and lack of interest in associating themselves with the 'straight,' the festival was successful in reminding attendees of the old Yorkville.

By April of 1965, people once again became more concerned about the growing deviance within Yorkville creating a movement to stop the further development of coffee houses in the area.[72] In the late 1950s, the area saw in influx of coffee houses and because of this, people were quick to blame the emergence of these coffee houses for the migration of hippies that began in the 1960s.[73] Business owners petitioned city hall suggesting that this was not the case as their shops often sold coffee, not liquor which was not what the hippies were interested in. This illustrates that their customers were mainly comprised of the non-hippie inhabitants or visitors to Yorkville.[74] This case exemplifies how the city tried to put the blame for the change of scene on someone other than themselves. However, as the neighbourhood was going through its own developmental period, housing was extremely inexpensive, thus contributing to the influx of hippies. By the middle of 1965 drug busts and arrest for simple possession in cases related to the village had soared.[75] In accordance with this, the media advertised Yorkville as sinful, negative, dangerous, and violent.[76]

By 1967, the city's bureaucratic departments were facing more public resentment.[77] Since hippie desires, decisions, and intelligence were assumed to be wrong, naïve or drug-induced, the city's response to the crisis was to increase police presence in the village leading to an increase in drug busts and other arrests.[78] Additionally, by 1967, the scene grew wilder since the villagers were younger, and more people joined the hippie movement. As a result, there was a rise in violence, disease, rape, and addiction.[79] This ultimately created a circle effect as more people were being caught for drug possession, the media would cover the story, and then the city would face a backlash. Resoundingly, in 1967, stores and restaurants shut down quickly.[80] Non-hippies viewed the area to be an exclusively hippie zone,[81] and as hippies could not afford to maintain the businesses within Yorkville, owners were left with limited options. Allan Lamport, a former mayor and anti-Yorkville politician made his views public saying

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[68] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 74.
[69] Ibid.
[70] Ibid.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.
[73] Ibid., 82.
[74] Ibid.
[75] Stuart Henderson, "They're Both the Same Thing? Transnational Politics and Identity Performance in 1960s Toronto," *Journal for the Study of Radicalism* 5, no. 2 (2011): 41.
[76] Ibid., 41.
[77]Ibid.
[78] Ibid., 42
[79] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 147.
[80] Ibid.
[81] Ibid 44.

that Yorkville was a "moral and social vortex that could no longer be condoned."[82] Essentially, through this statement Lamport was calling upon the city to address the situation and end Toronto's hippie movement. However, other Torontonian organizations took alternative approaches. Although to many, hippies were understood to be the cancer of the city, some made efforts to improve their living conditions. For example, in 1966, "Fish Net" was an effort to provide free coffee and Gospel to the hippies.[83] Although the hippies rejected this, some people did acknowledge the harsh conditions of Yorkville and wanted to make a difference by helping. This reveals that religious and medical organizations, although they had not agreed with what Yorkville represented or the hippie lifestyle, recognized that for the time being, this is where the hippies lived, and it was their duty to make their lives as tolerable as safe as possible.

Alampur discusses that the hippies created a form of Love Cult.[84] However, the group had clear exceptions when it came to universal love.[85] This included the informants, the police, and landlords.[86] Informants were the group that was undercover within the hippie counterculture that reported the hippie happenings to the police, landlords were often resented because they were not lenient on their lease regulations, and police were an unwanted symbol of authority that was too authoritarian.[87] He also discussed in his report that hippies were skeptical of everyone in the village at one point or another because they never knew if someone among their own was an informer, or a 'narc'.[88] This made hippies extremely cautious in public places, and around people that they did not know well. It was clear that as the decade wore on, hippies still wished to exemplify their culture, but did not want to cause trouble. On Victoria Day in 1967, Toronto's first "Love-In" was held in Queen's Park.[89] Police anticipated arrests, high drug usage and freak outs at the event.[90] To their surprise, there were no disturbances.[91] The event was successful, and for the first time, the hippie presence had reached outside the boundaries of Yorkville.[92] However, because of the city's distrust of hippies, there were so many police at the festival that they did not know what to do with themselves.[93] As a result, they spent the duration of the day getting the musically-charged hippies to stop climbing trees.[94] Although this was a significant event for how the hippies were being perceived in the public eye, it did not lead to a change of opinion by non-hippies to change their opinions. When another attempt at a festival was held at Wasaga Beach in the summer, which was just a few hours outside of the Toronto, Wasaga's inhabitants were unhappy that the hippies from Yorkville were continuing to move outside of the neighbourhood's boundaries.[95] Police were sent to bring the hippies home.[96]

In August of the same year, Yorkville broke out into violence as police abused a group of hippies that were trying to escape from a patrol wagon.[97] The demonstration had begun because hippies wanted to close Yorkville Avenue off from car traffic, and as a result, they had a sit-in on August 21, 1967.[98] This turned violent as police began beating hippies as they sat on the road with their arms locked.[99] One detective was seen slapping a girl

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[82] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 148.
[83] "'Mission' Brings Hipsters in It's Not Their Cup of Espresso,'" *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, ON), May 6, 1966.
[84] ARF, 30.
[85] Ibid.
[86] Ibid.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 151.
[90] Ibid., 183.
[91] Ibid., 184.
[92] Ibid.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 185.
[95] Ibid., 185.
[96] Ibid., 185.
[97] "Protest Brings Kicks, Judo Chops: Police Beat Up Hippies During Yorkville Sit-In," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), August 21, 1967.
[98] Ibid.
[99] Ibid.

across her face, pulling her hair, and then turned to her friend and kicked him in the ribs ten times.[100] In the event's aftermath, police feared that hippies would retaliate by adopting violence begin attacking with fire hoses and guns.[101] Instead, they sang and played their guitars to raise money to bail out protesters who were arrested.[102] This exemplifies that the relationship between the hippies and non-hippies is complex. While some political figures such as Mayor Phillip Givens visited the village on a regular basis to see shows with friends and family,[103] others denounced it for its violence, protests, and deviance. Givens although a regular visitor, never advocated or supported the village publically, and therefore, without political support, hippies continued to be portrayed negatively within the media.

The relationship between hippies and the RCMP was troublesome. As several officers were frequent visitors to the village or lived in the village to work on drug cases, there was a mutual distrust between hippies and RCMP officers. After spending six months in Yorkville an RCMP officer was, "convinced these people do not contribute to the dignity of a man and will destroy all they can through slothfulness, indolence and eventually violence through drugs"[104] RCMP targeted hippies in their reports sent to the Criminal Investigation Branch in order to support their battle against the legalization or decriminalization of marijuana.[105] In a *Toronto Daily Star* article, "It's a blash, an outpost of the lost" the writer reported about the tensions in the village.[106] As he sat on a bench smoking a cigarette, a police officer eyed him down because the cigarette and odor made him suspect.[107] Although he was not doing anything illegal, this instance exemplifies the distrust between Yorkville's visitors and inhabitants during the 1960s. Nonetheless, hippies became a target for the RCMP, and as they were easily identifiable, they became subject to more frequent, brutal, and unlawful arrests. In 1967, one undercover officer in Yorkville said that he heard hippies say they were going to kill policemen, assault people, and commit other offences.[108] This helped RCMP officers to further identify hippies as the problem. However, there was no proof that a hippie had actually made these threats.[109] Additionally, most people saw these as empty threats, as hippies often valued non-violent resistance and were passive. Nonetheless, in the eyes of the RCMP, hippies were tainted. One officer in the village said that he had never seen a hippie go to church, and this lack of Christian practice led them to their deviant lifestyles.[110] Another officer in Yorkville said hippies had no interest in anything 'normal.'[111] Instead, their interests were Vietnam, sex, drugs, etc.[112] While one can argue that the hippies were thinking critically about world issues and societal norms, RCMP officers were labelling them as abnormal. Additionally, the fluid sexuality of many hippies enabled officers to also build cases against hippies during the 1960s.[113]

The changes in Yorkville, and its growing reputation as being violent, deviant, and drug- induced, by the outside, dominant population, led people to adopt views on the village that altered from one another. Some people saw the village as a place of opportunity, others saw it to be extremely dangerous and unappealing. As the media painted a tainted picture of the village and despite the city's best efforts, people stopped visiting. The relationship between hippies and non-hippies proved to be complicated as many politicians and civil servants approached them with extreme caution, and in some cases, exerted violence over the group when it was unnecessary. Disassociating themselves with the countercultural movement within their own city, Torontonians viewed the hippies as a separate identity from their own. This imagined community is significant when assessing

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[100] Ibid.
[101] Ibid.
[102] Ibid.
[103] Henderson, *Making the Scene,* 86.
[104] Martel, 216.
[105] Ibid., 224.
[106] "'It's a Blash, an Outpost of the Lost,'" *Toronto Daily Star* (Toronto, ON), October 30, 1965.
[107] Ibid.
[108] Martel, 233.
[109] Ibid.
[110] Ibid., 235.
[111] Ibid.
[112] Ibid.
[113] Ibid., 236.

the importance of hippies in Toronto and their influence on the city during the 1960s. Although proving to be extremely controversial, it cannot be ignored that Yorkville's hippies allowed for the village to evolve, and for non-hippies to become more aware and educated about self-expression and individuality.

Yorkville had substantially changed throughout the 1960s. As stated above, as the decade continued, Yorkville became home to younger and more violent people. Henderson wrote, "the early Yorkville scene is often remembered as happy, idyllic neighbourhood peopled by artists, poets, and musicians who's calm was shattered."[114] He goes on to say, "by the end of 1967, Yorkville was increasingly linked to violence, drug abuse, homelessness, and disease.[115] Also, by the end of 1967, all the "true hippies" had left, and the neighbourhood became the scene of young people who while committed to the hippie lifestyle, were more experimental with new and highly addictive drugs.[116] Additionally, as a result of overcrowding in the village, casual sex became much more.[117] Another consequence of overcrowding was even poorer hygiene and sanitation within the living spaces of several of its inhabitants.[118] In November of 1967, the *Globe and Mail* reported that the Board of Control had ordered inspections of Yorkville due to the health concerns and "incidence of venereal disease" in the area.[119] The article mentions the call from doctors to police to assist in locating people who are infected.[120] Although the village had never reached the point of an epidemic, this did not stop the media outlets and conservative politicians from officially declaring Yorkville as a sick community that had been experiencing an epidemic and needed to be broken up.[121] For anti-Yorkville politicians and civilians, the hepatitis outbreak in Yorkville coupled with the unsanitary living conditions was just the right message to conveyed in order to shut down Yorkville as a countercultural scene. As the days passed, the negative attention that the village received continued to worsen, and there was a lack of interest from the greater population to help the villagers.[122] Flyers circulated the city warning of infectious hepatitis with no possible treatment, resulting in a 50% death rate.[123]

In 1968, villagers themselves began evacuating immediately.[124] On the odd chance that a non-villager wanted to visit Yorkville, they believed that the only safe way to do so was to get immunized.[125] However, because people had false understandings about how the disease was spreading, and how many people were in fact infected, many decided to stay away from the village all together. As the number of victims was believed to be increasing, people began calling out the city for its slow response to help the situation.[126] Hospitals became overcrowded with people who were anxious about catching the disease.[127] Many thought that the only way to address the situation was to declare a quarantine in Yorkville, and in keeping hippies in one place, the disease would not spread to other areas of the city.[128] Although this did not happen, city controllers reached the decision that stronger laws were needed to be put into place in order to put down hippies.[129] The 'epidemic' marked the end of Yorkville as the hippie scene. Yorkville was never able to recover from the media blasts, and people had less of an interest to visit or migrate to an area of the city where they believed they were going to become diseased. By the beginning of the summer of 1968, the city was able to start cleaning up the district without backlash from the

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[114] Henderson, "Toronto's Hippie Disease: End Days in the Yorkville Scene, August 1968," *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 17, no. 1 (2006): 207.
[115] Ibid.
[116] Ibid., 208.
[117] Ibid., 208.
[118] Ibid.
[119] "Board Wants Health Check on Yorkville," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), November 19, 1967.
[120] Ibid
[121] Henderson, "Toronto's Hippie Disease," 209.
[122] Ibid., 222.
[123] Ibid., 222.
[124] Ibid., 224.
[125] Ibid., 226.
[126] Ibid., 227.
[127] Ibid.
[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid., 228.

hippie. Interestingly, as of 2017, Yorkville is the third priciest retail space in North America, and houses and condominiums for sale well into the millions.[130] However, with Yorkville on the outs, where would all of the hippies go next?

In 1968, many of Yorkville's inhabitants found their new homes, a few blocks west, and within the walls of Rochdale College, an 18-story apartment complex.[131] While many non-hippie civilians believed they were successful in driving the hippies outside of the city, this was not the case. Rather, the group was just confined within a building instead of walking the streets. Inside Rochdale College, there was a wide range of people including hippies, draft dodgers, intellectuals, artists, bikers, and people who wanted to experiment with free love.[132] Rochdale College began as a provincially funded educational cooperative with the goals of providing students with an alternative learning opportunity and an answer to the much-needed student housing crisis within the city.[133] Despite its original goals, Henderson notes, "the apartment bloc almost immediately became something more like an enormous complex for countercultural experiments in living otherwise." To understand how Rochdale College reached this point, the history of the educational co-op must be considered.

The baby boom of 1946-60 in combination with the post-war economic prosperity meant that more middle class young people had the opportunity to attend universities. Across the nation, post-secondary institutions were built to accommodate the influx of students, but what was not fully considered was that these students would need a place to live near campuses.[134] In 1958, a philosophy student worked with housing in the University of Toronto campus to expand the co-op holdings.[135] Additionally, in 1960, the National Housing Act was amended to give a considerable tax and interest break to universities that were in need of expanding their residences.[136] Eventually, the Rochdale building was approved for construction at the southeast corner of Huron and Bloor, just one street away from the rest of the University of Toronto's houses and revenue properties.[137] Building began in 1966 and it was proposed that the residence could double as an alternative learning experiment.[138] The project proposed by Dennis Lee, an instructor at the University of Toronto, who criticized the lecture system, overcrowded classes, and superficial assignments.[139] He believed that Rochdale College could provide a more meaningful educational environment for students and should be based on student-need rather than grades and a curriculum.[140] To Lee, learning was the objective within the walls of Rochdale. Rather than focusing on achieving high grades, and the completion of assignments, Lee wanted to create an educational program that was not focused on anything other than students and learning. A 1966 promotional book written to propose Rochdale as an educational experiment, entitled, "Rochdale" informs the reader of the legitimacy of Rochdale College, noting that it was a provincially chartered institution of higher learning within the province of Ontario.[141] It explained how Rochdale did not offer degrees, grading systems or any incentives, and that the involvement of the students was up to them.[142] It mentions the availability of resources to students including professors, libraries, study spaces, workspaces, and more, and that the students would be trusted to use these resources to their creativity.[143] The book also noted that the purpose of the college was not to convey a message of anger to the existing institutions

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[130] Tenille Bonoguore, "The Downside of Up," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), March 27, 2017.

[131] Stuart Henderson, "Off the Streets and Into the Fortress: Experiments in Hip Separatism at Toronto's Rochdale College, 1968-1975," *The Canadian Historical Review* 92, no. 1 (2011): 108.

[132] Ibid.

[133] Ibid., 111.

[134] Ibid., 113.

[135] Ibid.

[136] Ibid.

[137] Ibid., 114.

[138] Ibid.

[139] Ibid.

[140] Ibid.

[141] [Rochdale College] Rochdale, in "Rochdale: 1967" folder, University of Toronto Archives, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

[142] Ibid.

[143] Ibid.

but to rather, to bring people together who were interested in becoming involved in creating their own educational experiences that focused on growth and learning.[144] The *Globe and Mail* wrote that it was going to be "revolutionary in more ways than one."[145]

In March of 1967, the *Globe and Mail* covered the potential of the experiment's approval by 400 students. On 23 March, the group of students was to vote on whether the college would double as an educational institution or not.[146] The article informed readers about what was going to be possible within the walls of Rochdale, if it was approved. Within the article, it is discussed that education would not stop at the end of the day.[147] This reveals that people were learning about Rochdale's goals of everlasting learning from the beginning, and since the buildings were going to be built anyway, there was no harm in trying something new, rather than allocating it as an apartment for students that was alienating and inhumane.[148] Although not affiliated with the University of Toronto, the administration was favourable to the idea that if successful, Rochdale might partner with University of Toronto in order to give students university credits.[149] After the experiment was officially approved, application forms were distributed to potential students. On the application it was clear admission was not going to be based on academic records or other qualifications.[150] Rather, a monthly quota system was going to be used to determine the number of students to be admitted.[151] Applicants had to be specific about whether they were comfortable living with multiple people, or in co-ed rooms.[152] They also had to consent to a $25 education-administration fee to help support the happenings at Rochdale College.[153] A promotional poster for the college, also released in 1967, pointed out the uniqueness of Rochdale's program as there were no pre-established courses, no degrees, and no exams.[154] The poster acknowledged that Rochdale was going to be challenging for many, but those who took up the challenge were going to embark on an invaluable journey of learning.[155] By promoting Rochdale College to potential students prior to the opening of the school, the administration made it clear that the experience was not one to be missed. Although the school was not officially opened until 1968, events sponsored by the school began in 1967. This included a Summer Rochdale Festival in July of 1967 that promoted togetherness, and celebrated music.[156] However, on the event's poster, there was a strong promotion of drug usage and drug culture.[157] This reveals that even prior to the opening of the school, students saw Rochdale as an opportunity to celebrate unity, and use drugs, thus, creating a similar scene that once existed in Yorkville.

Within months of opening, Rochdale College began to face issues that were made public by the media. Rochdale College student Margret Stewart, noted that she was not motivated to participate in the Rochdale experiment and she was not alone in the feeling.[158] Although she entered the school as an exceptional student who had previously won a scholarship from Cornwall, Stewart did not often emerge from her 7th floor chamber.[159] Another early Rochdale student who identified herself as Elizabeth said that she was in the middle of the academic

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[144] Ibid.

[145] Martin Knelman, "A New Way of Life in Campus Co-Ops," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), January 22, 1966.

[146] Warren Gerrard, "400 Students to Decide on Radical Experiment," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), March 11, 1967.

[147] Ibid.

[148] Ibid.

[149] Knelman, *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), January 22, 1966.

[150] [Rochdale College] Rochdale Application Form, in "Rochdale: 1967" folder, University of Toronto Archives, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

[151] Ibid.

[152] Ibid.

[153] Ibid.

[154] [Rochdale College] Rochdale Poster, in "Rochdale: 1967" folder, University of Toronto Archives, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

[155] Ibid.

[156] Unknown, Summer Rochdale Festival, in "Rochdale: 1967" folder, University of Toronto Archives, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario.

[157] Ibid.

[158] Michael Valpy, "Rochdale's Reality is Something Else," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), May 16, 1968.

[159] Ibid.

life and social scene, and she felt that the majority of people in Rochdale were also.[160] She said that she had no intentions of forcing ideas onto people, and to succeed at Rochdale, one needed to be passive around other inhabitants.[161] While asked about the usage of drugs, she said that many people in Rochdale were sensitive to the fact that they have heard rumors that undercover agents were in the college.[162] These two women exemplified similar characteristics that were seen in the earlier days of Yorkville such as passiveness, laziness, and suspicion of police interference which were seen in the earlier days of Yorkville. Additionally, as hippies were often interested in learning and were considered to be extremely intelligent, it is understandable why they would have wanted to seek a form of formal education, especially one that did not have much structure. Therefore, it is clear that people who had hippie-like qualities and interests did not leave the city. Rather, they began exemplifying their countercultural desires within the fortress that was Rochdale College almost immediately after it had opened. Instead of creating an alternative learning environment for eager students, Rochdale quickly developed a culture of otherness whereby freedom and random experience were important to its inhabitants.[163] Alas, the evolution of Rochdale is very similar to that of Yorkville's. What once began as a relatively harmless way to celebrate identity, culture, and learning, quickly became violent, drug-reliant, and a threat to the city. The only difference between the college and the neighbourhood was that the college was confined, and therefore, was not of much concern to the public.

Within the building, there was a cinema, restaurants, food delivery systems, literary presses, bars, and a health clinic.[164] This meant that people living within the walls of Rochdale College had little reason to ever leave the building. As a result of the migration of several types of people including gangsters, draft dodgers, homeless people, and hippies, Rochdale became dangerous, and outsiders began learning about Rochdale through the media.[165] Several papers covered the drugs, police raids, parties, riots, and in some instances, suicides that happened within the walls of the college.[166] Many referred to Rochdale College as a place where people could escape from their realities and seek a different type of lifestyle.[167] Like the hippies of Yorkville, people saw Rochdale College as a place where people could gather and potentially fit in better with the countercultural lifestyle. As early as November 1968, ten months after Rochdale had opened its doors, the *Globe and Mail* wrote that five people were arrested in a marijuana seizure in Rochdale College.[168] The police found 150 pounds of marijuana which up to that point was the largest seizure in Canadian police history.[169] In 1970, Rochdale was covered in an *Independent Magazine About Schools*.[170] The issue was entitled "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience" and was written by Sarah Spinks.[171] Featured in the magazine was a letter from the President of Rochdale College, Bernard Simmons, thanking the security staff of the police for getting a robber out of the school in late 1969.[172] This incident illustrates that Rochdale was not achieving the goals that it had set out in 1966. However, it was still recognized as a special place where students wanted to continue living. In the same article, Spinks said that Rochdale must be saved because it was a "groovy place to live" and that is what people had in mind when they chose to live there.[173] However, the media had already damaged the reputation of the college. In June of 1969, Rochdale administration attempted to rectify the issues in the college by electing a 12-

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[160] Ibid., 8.
[161] Ibid.
[162] Ibid.
[163] Henderson, "Off the Streets and Into the Fortress," 116.
[164] Ibid., 117.
[165] Ibid., 118.
[166] Ibid.
[167] Ibid., 118.
[168] "5 in Marijuana Seizure are Refused Bail Cuts," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), November 30, 1968.
[169] Ibid.
[170] Sarah Spinks, "Dreaming in the Beds of Academe: The Rochdale Experience," *This Magazine is About Schools*, 1970.
[171] Ibid.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid.

person council to enforce rules of discipline.[174] As the school was also in financial crisis, this policy was introduced to avoid it from becoming an ordinary dorm.[175] Regardless of these efforts, Rochdale was hanging on by a loose thread. By the end of 1969, Rochdale was known for its illicit drug users and seen as an "emblem of Toronto's youthful criminality and hip depravity."[176] The *Globe and Mail* referred to the school as a "$5 million nightmare."[177] It is clear that by the end of 1969, Rochdale's had failed at its educational goals. As exemplified in the media, hippies who in many cases were violent, drug-induced, and dirty invaded Rochdale.

Rochdale College was often fined and pled guilty to breaching the Public Health Act.[178] Sanitation was a prominent issue among the occupants of the buildings and the lawyer for the college, W.S.R. Seyffert said that while keeping Rochdale clean was the biggest problem, and college authorities were making every effort possible to rectify the issue.[179] In an article, the *Globe and Mail* referred to Rochdale College as owned by the University of Toronto.[180] The following day, the paper issued an apology confirming that the college had no affiliation with the university.[181] This is important because the University of Toronto was previously considering collaborating with Rochdale to grant students credit. Additionally, the reason that it was opened in the first place was because of the increased number of students at the University of Toronto. However, within a year of opening, the University of Toronto made it clear that they had no desire to associate themselves with the college.

In the 1970s, Rochdale drug dealers began supplying outsiders including teenagers.[182] Resultantly, police gave notice that they were planning a push against drug dealers in Rochdale which often resulted in violence.[183] Following a police raid riot in 1970 that led to the removal of several high-profile Rochdale dealers, the government was left in a difficult situation. On one hand, it was clear authorities knew about and did not like what was going on within Rochdale College. While on the other hand, they knew that the issue was, for the most part, was within the college, and therefore, did not have much impact on the outside world. Unless a large-scale raid or event occurred, the media did not often cover this complex relationship between outsiders and the inhabitants of Rochdale. This was because Rochdale was eventually considered as a "free zone to which the expectations of the outside society would not apply."[184] Allowing drugs in Rochdale but not in Yorkville was likely due to the containment of Rochdale. As those occupying the units within the buildings did not often leave, and outsiders were rarely allowed in, it was easier for the outside to turn the other way when it came to the happenings inside of the building. Resultantly, the government chose to allow some drugs, including marijuana, hash, and LSD, in an effort to keep Rochdale free of gangsters but the rest were outlawed.[185] As these were known to be the hippies' drugs of choice, it is clear that outside forces, although they did not like what was going on within Rochdale, saw hippies as less threatening than other potential occupants. Nonetheless, the college had its own, separate reality.

Like Yorkville, Rochdale became home to many younger teenagers and adults who had left home. Peter Turner, a board of director's member at Rochdale College, wrote in the *Globe and Mail* that just as Yorkville's had been, many of Rochdale's inhabitants were from middle class families.[186] This reveals that the demographic of Rochdale and Yorkville was similar in its socioeconomic makeup. However, it is not clear how big Rochdale became, or how many inhabitants lived there. Although both Rochdale and Yorkville became a home to people who were not middle-class, or fit in with the hippie lifestyle, it is clear that the majority of the countercultural scene were considered to be hippies in both places. By December 1972, reporter Michael Keeting covered

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[174] "New Rochdale Council Promises Stronger Discipline and Rules," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), June 13, 1969.
[175] Ibid.
[176] Henderson, "Off the Streets and Into the Fortress," 119.
[177] "Just What Was Said," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), March 31, 1969.
[178] "Guilty Plea Entered: Rochdale Fined $200 in Healthy Act Breach," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), June 3, 1969.
[179] Ibid.
[180] "Our Mistake," *Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), June 4, 1969.
[181] Ibid.
[182] on, "Off the Streets and Into the Fortress," 121.
[183] Ibid., 122.
[184] Ibid.
[185] Ibid., 123.
[186] Peter Turner, "Some of Your Children Are Hiding Here," *The Globe and Mail* (Toronto, ON), June 19, 1971.

Rochdale stating that no more academics remained, rather, it became home to curious flower people.[187] However, it is important to note that although the hippies of Rochdale and Yorkville were similar, the hippies of Rochdale were more similar to the hippies that were present in Yorkville later in the 1960s, rather than those there at the beginning. This can provide reasoning for the more frequent violence, and harsher drug usage than had been the case in Yorkville. In 1971, a study was conducted in Rochdale to better identify the patterns of behavior within the building.[188] An 8-page questionnaire was distributed to each resident.[189] The purpose of the study was to compare the lifestyles of Rochdale's inhabitants in 1971 with how they were portrayed in the newspapers. As seen with Yorkville, although Rochdale was home to an alternative lifestyle that was sometimes illegal, the media was exaggerating the deviance that went on within the building. Contrary to public belief, not everyone in the building was a drug-user. Rather, 62.7% of respondents reported using tobacco, and 62% used marijuana.[190] As these were considered "allowed" by the police, these users were not technically breaking the rules. Also, under 4% of the people who took the survey used heroin or psychedelics.[191] Notably, a small number of people were actually convicted for drug-related crimes.[192]Additionally, as Rochdale's occupants were also considered by many to be extremely unsanitary and unhealthy, only 2.6% of people said that they bathed less than a few times a week, and 84.9% ate at least one meal daily.[193] This survey revealed that people who lived in Rochdale, although adopting an alternative lifestyle, were not as deviant as the media had portrayed them to be. Rather, with some exceptions, many of Rochdale's occupants enjoyed living differently than the straight society. In 1975, despite residence' best efforts to keep it open, financial negligence led to the permanent closure of Rochdale College.[194]

Both the Village of Yorkville and Rochdale College serve as significant symbols that are representative of the countercultural movement of the 1960s. While Yorkville began as a thriving location where hippies could live on their principals of non-violence, togetherness, free love, and self-celebration, it turned into a home for people who shared these values, but wished to exemplify them by any way possible, regardless of repercussions. As a result of a hepatitis outbreak in 1967-1968 in Yorkville, many hippies moved on to Rochdale College, an educational cooperative that quickly turned into another hippie scene. Although both Rochdale and Yorkville were often covered in the media, the approaches towards each place were different. While the police and many citizens attempted to fight and advocate for the end of the Yorkville hippie scene, once they were in Rochdale, people often turned a blind-eye and were more tolerant of hippies within the building. This is largely as a result of their confinement within Rochdale rather than their public presence in Yorkville. Although the hippie scene was temporary in Canada, it is clear they served to impact the nation in a unique way. Celebrating the countercultural movement, hippies were able to adopt attitudes that were in many cases celebrated by non-hippies. Additionally, it allows historians to understand their complex identities within the Canadian one. The creation of an imagined community is exemplified within the hippie movement. Hippies are important to 20th century Canada because they allowed Canadians to adopt alternative lifestyles in an economically prosperous and changing society. Today, Canada is known as a nation that celebrates people's differences, and this was a fundamental characteristic of the hippie identity. Therefore, some hippie values although they may have not been understood and appreciated in the 1960s and 1970s, are a significant aspect of the Canadian identity today.

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[194] Henderson, "Off the Streets and Into the Fortress," 133.

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The complex nature of the goddess Artemis makes her cult and the rituals associated with it of intense scholarly interest. In this single deity coexists both an extreme wrath and an intense compassion for women. The goddess Artemis simultaneously acts as a harsh virgin goddess of the wilderness, and a goddess of marriage and childbirth. In this paper, I will explore how the cult of Artemis at Brauron helped to structure the lives of girls and women in ancient Athens. In many ways, the cult of Artemis reflects the conflicting cultural expectations relating to gender in the ancient world, while also working to soothe the rough transitions that were inherent to the lives of ancient females. This study involves examining the famous coming-of-age ritual that occurred at Brauron, the Arkteia, the *krateriskoi* that depict it, and the offerings that were left at Brauron by the women who visited. Ancient literature concerning the cult of Artemis at Brauron is scarce, scattered, and often conflicting. To help inform this paper I will examine three tragic plays that feature the heroine Iphigenia, a mortal priestess of Artemis: Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* and Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia Among the Taurians.* These three place depict Iphigenia and the cult of Artemis in different, yet enlightening ways. I will argue that the story of Iphigenia is closely intertwined with the Arkteia festival at Brauron, and can further aid in the scholarly understanding of the lives of women and girls in the ancient world.

The Scholarship of Artemis, Brauron and Iphigenia

There are several points of contention in the scholarship of the cult of Artemis at Brauron, including: the nature of the goddess Artemis, the presence and prominence of the mythical figure Iphigenia there, the breadth of the Arkteia festival, and what exactly the ritual of the Arkteia consisted of. Despite these plentiful uncertainties, most scholars agree the cult site of Artemis at Brauron, and the Arkteia festival that occurred there, fulfilled an important role in the lives of ancient Athenian women and girls.

The overarching issue when studying any cult site of Artemis lies in attempting to reconcile and understand the dual and often conflicting nature of Artemis herself. Ruth M. Leger's book, *Artemis and Her Cult*, accomplishes this by examining the main cult sites of Artemis, including Brauron, in order to gain a better understanding of community and identity in ancient Greece.[1] Leger argues that the goddess Artemis played two distinctive roles at each of these cult sites throughout ancient Greece: fierce huntress and fertility goddess, ultimately advocating for a greater emphasis on Artemis' role as a protector of both mother and child, evident in the coming-of-age rituals, such as the Arkteia, that took place at these sites.[2] Leger's main primary evidence is archaeological remains. For example, in a short section on the cult activity at Brauron, Leger utilizes the ceramic finds known as *krateriskoi* to describe the procession and offerings that took place as part of the Arkteia festival, emphasizing its importance in the upbringing of young girls in ancient Athens.[3] Leger's compilation of evidence from several cult sites of Artemis throughout ancient Greece demonstrates that the rituals and functions of Brauron extended elsewhere, and that Artemis was an important part of the lives of girls and women throughout the ancient Mediterranean world.

The potential presence of Iphigenia at Brauron is an issue much discussed by scholars of ancient Greek religion. In her article, "A Reconsideration of the 'Relief of the Gods' from Brauron", Marjorie Susan Venit offers an alternative interpretation of the unlabeled relief at Brauron. In particular, Venit contests the identification of the seated figure as Zeus, as the context and scale of the figure are incongruous with other confirmed representations of Zeus in art from ancient Greece.[4] Instead Venit identifies this seated figure in the relief as a topographical

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[1] Ruth M. Leger, *Artemis and Her Cult* (Oxford: Archaeopress Publishing Ltd, 2017), 1.
[2] Leger, *Artemis and Her Cult,* 93.
[3] Leger, *Artemis and Her Cult,* 89.
[4] Marjorie Susan Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," *Antike Kunst* 46 (2003): 47-8.

personification, most likely of the site itself.[5] Most relevant to this paper is Venit's interpretation of the running figure, previously identified as either Hekate or Iphigenia.[6] Venit decidedly identifies this figure as Iphigenia rather than as Hekate, eliminating the possibility of the figure brandishing a torch in each hand.[7] Instead Venit concludes that Iphigenia is holding the reigns of the chariot in her fisted hands, which doesn't carry the goddess Artemis herself, but her cult statue.[8] According to Venit's interpretation, this relief depicts the foundation of the sanctuary at Brauron, and places an importance on the figure of Iphigenia.[9] This article is particularly pertinent to this paper because it provides interesting evidence of Iphigenia's potential presence at Brauron and highlights the ambiguity of the archaeological evidence of the cult site there.

The connections between the story of Iphigenia and the Arkteia are explored thoroughly by T. C. W. Stinton in the article "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron". The article concerns two prominent texts in the study of Iphigenia and the Arkteia: Aeschylus' tragic play, *Agamemnon,* and Aristophanes' comic play, *Lysistrata.* Stinton agrees with Dr. Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's argument that Iphigenia's 'shedding' of her clothes in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* is the ritual act that was performed every four years by young girls at the Arkteia, as is described in Aristophanes' *Lys. 645.*[10] In taking this stance, Stinton also disagrees with scholar Hugh Lloyd-Jones, who interprets the *Agamemnon* passage as reading 'letting her robes fall to the ground'.[11] Stinton suggests an alternative reading of *Lys. 645* which solves the issue of age, removes Athena's title from Artemis, and ultimately solidifies Sourvinou-Inwood's main interpretation of these two passages even further.[12] This article strengthens the historical connection that exists between the tragic heroine Iphigenia and the cult of Artemis at Brauron by making narrative connections between the narrative of Iphigenia and the ritual at Brauron.

While most scholars, including Venit, Perlman, and Stinton, associate Iphigenia closely with the cult of Artemis at Brauron, scholar Gunnel Ekroth questions this association. In the article "Inventing Iphigenia: On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron", Ekroth argues that Euripides may have actually constructed the cult of Iphigenia at Brauron himself, elaborating on the existing mythical narrative by placing Iphigenia in the context of Athens.[13] Perhaps this was a way of connecting his tragic heroine with a primarily Athenian audience. Ekroth points out that any evidence of a cult specifically devoted to Iphigenia does not exist prior to this play's composure.[14] Any archaeological evidence that does survive is inconclusive, and has simply been fitted into the existing literary evidence by most scholars.[15] For example, while inventory inscriptions at Brauron do list unfinished clothing as votive offerings, there is no actual mention of Iphigenia.[16] As such, scholar Sarah Johnstone's assumption that these inscriptions back up the textual evidence of Euripides and other written sources is too hasty according to Ekroth.[17] Overall, the material evidence at Brauron simply fails to properly support Euripides' statement that a cult of Iphigenia existed there. Ekroth does note that Euripides' inclusion of Brauron in *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* does demonstrate the importance of Brauron as a cult site, even if it does not indicate the importance, or even presence, of Iphigenia there.[18]

In the article "Euripides' 'Iphigenia among the Taurians': Aetiology, Ritual, and Myth", Christian Wolff confirms the ability of tragic plays to invent and reinforce ritual and myth, arguing that this created aetiology can

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[5] Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," 49.

[6] Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," 51.

[7] Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," 51.

[8] Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," 52-3.

[9] Venit, "A Reconsideration Of The 'Relief Of The Gods' From Brauron," 53.

[10] T.C.W. Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," *The Classical Quarterly* 26, no. 1 (1976): 11.

[11] Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," 11.

[12] Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," 13.

[13] Gunnel Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia: On Euripides and the Cultic Construction of Brauron," *Kernos* 16 (2003): 100.

[14] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 100.

[15] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 101.

[16] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 70.

[17] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 70-1

[18] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 113.

act as a bridge between the ordinary world and that of drama and myth.[19] Wolff, much like Ekroth, notes the inconsistencies in Euripides' description of Iphigenia's cult at Brauron, particularly in terms of the supposed offering of the clothing of dead mothers to Iphigenia at Brauron. He notes, "In the case of childbirth the inscriptions imply and the epigrams clearly indicate that the mothers survived".[20] Despite the strong analysis performed by both Ekroth and Wolff, the thematic and symbolic connections that exist between Iphigenia's story of sacrifice and the ritual of the bears at Brauron are still quite strong, and deserve attention in this paper.

Another issue present within the historiography of the cult of Artemis at Brauron involves restrictions on participation in the Arkteia. Indeed, the significance of the ritual varies dramatically depending on the age and status of its participants. In the article "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron", Paula Perlman utilizes a passage in Plato's 'Laws' to argue that the *arktoi* who participated in the Arkteia at Brauron would have been between the ages of ten and fourteen.[21] She highlights the penteric nature of the festival, arguing that the four-year age variance would have been necessary to ascertain that all Athenian females were able to participate in this ritual prior to their marriage, which could occur as early as the age of fourteen.[22] In relation to this, Perlman notes that Plato's *Laws* dictates the appropriate clothing of Athenian girls engaged in sport, with girls over the age of thirteen participating in sports fully clothed.[23] Therefore, the foot-race scenes that are present on many of the *krateriskoi* at Brauron, showing girls as either fully nude or clothed in a short chiton, are actually depicting two distinct age groups.[24] With this interpretation, the seven verses of Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* lose none of their accuracy regarding the ritual lives of girls and women; the age of the *arktoi* is uncertain merely because the Arkteia had no fixed age, and could be participated in between the ages of ten and fourteen.[25]

While Perlman, among others, has advocated for the existence of an entirely inclusive and mandatory Arkteia, other scholars question its feasibility. In the chapter "From Adolescent to Woman, Wife and Mother", M. Dillon argues that the Arkteia was not a compulsory ritual, despite the fact that later sources claim that it was.[26] Dillon compares the role of the *arktoi* to other limited religious roles such as that of the four *arrephoroi*.[27] In fact, there is evidence in the form of *krateriskoi* and in local myth that the bear ritual was not exclusive to Brauron, but occurred at other cult sites of Artemis, such as that of Mounychia.[28] Similarly, Ekroth argues that the sanctuary at Brauron was not equipped to house anything more than a small number of girls at any given time; to have the entirety of the female population of eligible age (ten to fourteen years old) participating in this ritual segregation would have been an impossibility.[29] Ekroth supports Christiane Sourvinou-Inwood's alternative hypothesis that the names of all of the eligible Athenian girls may have been inscribed on white-washed wooden boards and displayed within the sanctuary, while only a select few girls actually took part in the rite of passage.[30] This is an interesting theory as it maintains the importance of the Arkteia as a ritual marker of transition from girlhood to womanhood for ancient Athenian girls, while also treating the surviving physical evidence realistically. Perhaps all Athenian girls were aware of the significance of this ritual, and were represented by the few girls who were able to physically take part, much like the other religious roles in ancient Athens.

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[19] Christian Wolff, "Euripides' "Iphigenia among the Taurians": Aetiology, Ritual, and Myth," *Classical Antiquity* 11, no. 2 (1992): 334.

[20] Wolff, "Euripides' 'Iphigenia among the Taurians'," 320.

[21] Paula Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies* 24, no. 2 (Summer, 1983): 116.

[22] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 117.

[23] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 121.

[24] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 122-4.

[25] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 124.

[26] M. Dillon, "From Adolescent to Woman, Wife and Mother," in *Girls and Women in Classical Greek Religion* (London/New York: Routledge, 2002): 220.

[27] Dillon, "From Adolescent to Woman, Wife and Mother," 220-1.

[28] Dillon, "From Adolescent to Woman, Wife and Mother," 221.

[29] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 91.

[30] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigenia," 92.

What exactly took place at the Arkteia festival is also uncertain. Perlman explores the significance of the bears in the Arkteia festival at Brauron in the article "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis". According to Perlman, simply accepting that the bear is a representation of Artemis' role as a huntress neglects her equally important role as a kourotrophic figure.[31] Looking at texts attributed to Pliny and Aristotle, Perlman notes that ancient scholarship regarding bears, at least from the fourth century BCE onwards, was highly focused on pregnancy, hibernation, birth and motherhood.[32] Perlman also questions what exactly it means to 'act the she-bear'. While this phrase may refer to a dance, procession, or simply dress, Perlman points out that the very act of withdrawal, transformation, and return that is inherent to rites of passage such as the Arkteia effectively mimics the hibernation and reproductive cycle of the she-bear as it was understood by the people of ancient Athens.[33] It seems that the she-bear fully embodies the duality of Artemis as a goddess, and, I would argue, the contradictions that existed regarding gender in the ancient world.[34]

Many scholars also note the importance of music and dance in the ritual of the Arkteia. In the book "Choruses of Young Women in Ancient Greece", Claude Calame speculates about the potential choral aspects of the ritual at Brauron. Although there is no written evidence describing a choral aspect of the Arkteia at Brauron, there is material evidence in the form of vases and *krateriskoi*.[35] Calame cites vase fragments depicting dancing girls and musical instruments, as well as young girls moving toward an altar, in support of his theory.[36] Based on this evidence, Calame concludes that choral performances by young girls were a central part of the Arkteia at Brauron.[37] Examples of these krateriskoi depicting scenes of song and dance can be found in Leger's archaeological index.[38]

It is now important to note that the interpretation of these ceramic finds from Brauron is not without contention. In the chapter "Fugitive Nudes", scholar Gloria Ferrari suggests that the images shown on these krateriskoi do not actually depict the realities of the ritual at Brauron, but a mythical Arkteia from Athens' legendary past.[39] The nudity of the *arktoi* on many of these vase fragments is particularly jarring to Ferrari, who points out that most contemporary writers in ancient Greece such as Plato and Ibycus considered female nudity to be an 'aberration'.[40] Instead, Ferrari proposes a tamer portrait of the Arkteia, as a time when young Athenian girls donned the *krokoton himation* for the first time, marking a transition of sorts, but not one as significant as has traditionally been assumed.[41] This theory, if true, would affect much of the accepted truth regarding the cult of Artemis at Brauron, including the arguments made by Perlman, Leger, and Stinton, so it is an important perspective to consider and keep in mind.

While the exact details of the cult of Artemis at Brauron remain highly contested by scholars, one thing is for certain: the Arkteia acted as an important coming-of-age ritual for girls in ancient Athens, and was of immense symbolic meaning and value. The connection between the dual natured goddess Artemis, the story of the heroine Iphigenia, and the Arkteia is recognized by most scholars, and, as I will argue, can inform our understanding of the realities of the lives of girls and women in ancient Athens.

Euripides, Iphigenia, and Brauron

Euripides' two sequential tragic plays *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* were both composed and performed in the late fifth century in Athens. *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* was composed around

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[31] Paula Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," *Arethusa* 22, no. 2 (Fall, 1989): 112.
[32] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 114.
[33] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 122-3.
[34] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 120.
[35] Claude Calame, *Choruses of Ancient Women in Greece: their Morphology, Religious Roles and Social Functions* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1996), 99.
[36] Calame, *Choruses of Ancient Women in Greece,* 99.
[37] Calame, *Choruses of Ancient Women in Greece,* 100.
[38] Leger, *Artemis and Her Cult,* 174-7.
[39] Gloria Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2002), 175.
[40] Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece,* 169.
[41] Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece,* 176.

414-13 BCE, and Iphigenia at Aulis was produced posthumously following Euripides' death, sometime after 406 BCE.[42] Euripides drew from several kinds of material in the creation of these two plays, namely: regional religious Artemisian cults, such as those located at Brauron and Tauropolos, poetic narratives, and historiography, namely the unsavoury description of the Taurian people that was provided by the ancient Greek historian Herodotus.[43] In these two plays, Euripides follows the usual version of Iphigenia's story in which she is rescued from the sacrificial altar by Artemis. However, he also puts an interesting spin on the traditional narrative by having Iphigenia survive as a mortal priestess of Artemis, rather than by being immortalized.[44] These tweaks to the traditional myth were likely purposeful on the part of Euripides, as has been suggested by scholars Wolff and Ekroth. For example, Wolff notes that Iphigenia's survival pointedly suggests that Agamemnon's crime against her was not an irredeemable one, and eliminates Clytemnestra's primary excuse for her harsh vengeance, ultimately making Orestes' matricide more justifiable and, therefore, more forgivable.[45] Euripides' deviation from the traditional narrative works to support and explain other connecting mythical narratives in Iphigenia's family's story, and appears to be deliberate in nature. These Euripidean innovations to Iphigenia's story also seem to connect her figure more closely to the Arkteia festival, and Brauron in general, as will be explored in this section.

In *Iphigenia Among the Taurians,* Euripides' connection of Iphigenia to the cult site of Artemis at Brauron is both explicit and deliberate. Athena herself descends from Olympus to instruct Iphigenia, saying: "Now you, Iphigenia, / must continue to hold the keys of [Artemis] / in the holy meadows of Brauron. / There you will die and be buried / and they will make an offering to you / of fine woven robes left behind in their homes / by women who die in childbirth" (*Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 1460-6, trans. Carson). As both Ekroth and Wolff have noted, if the figure of Iphigenia was actually present at Brauron at all, the offering of the clothing of the dead was likely not the reality of her worship there. So why would Euripides weave such a statement into *Iphigenia Among the Taurians*? Ekroth's assertion that it speaks to the importance of Brauron as a cult site in Attica is astute. However, I would argue that in order for Euripides to make such a deliberate statement, a strong connection must have already existed between the heroine Iphigenia and the cult site of Artemis at Brauron. This connection likely lies in the aetiological similarity that exists between the myth behind Brauron's Arkteia festival and the story of Iphigenia's sacrifice. Iphigenia's deliberate placement at Brauron in Euripides' *Iphigenia Among the Taurians* makes sense considering how well she fits into the existing local mythology, as well as her role as an extension of Artemis and all that the goddess represents for women and girls in the ancient world.

Iphigenia's story, as it is represented in literature, such as the tragic plays composed by Aeschylus and Euripides, bears a striking resemblance to the coming of age ritual at Brauron and its founding myth. The founding legend of the Arkteia festival involves animals, sacrifice, and penance by maidens, as does the story of Iphigenia. According to the Brauronian legend, a she-bear was killed because it injured a maiden, angering the goddess Artemis who presided over wildlife.[46] Because of this, a plague was brought down upon Athens.[47] After a consultation with the Delphic oracle, it was determined that the young maidens of Athens must 'act the she-bear' as penance for the killing of an animal sacred to Artemis.[48] In *Iphigenia at Aulis*, Iphigenia is nearly sacrificed to Artemis in order to calm the seas, allowing for safe passage, and is even depicted as doing so willingly (1550-1560, trans. Collard and Morwood). In a climactic speech, Iphigenia accepts her fate, saying: "If Artemis wished to take my body, am I, a mortal, to oppose this goddess? No, it is impossible. I give my body to Greece" (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1394-6, trans. Collard and Morwood). In a happy turn of events, Iphigenia is spared from death by Artemis, and her body is replaced at the altar by a 'mountain-running hind' (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1590-5, trans. Collard and Morwood). Like Iphigenia, the *arktoi* at Brauron must pay penance in order to put an end to the goddess Artemis' wrath, in

[42] David Grene and Richmond Lattimore, "Iphigenia Among the Taurians: Introduction," in *Euripides III* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013), 135-7.
[43] Grene and Lattimore, "Iphigenia Among the Taurians," 137-8.
[44] Grene and Lattimore, "Iphigenia Among the Taurians," 137.
[45] Wolff, "Euripides' Iphigenia Among the Taurians," 330.
[46] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 119.
[47] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 119.
[48] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 119.

this case, a plague on Athens. The replacement of Iphigenia with an animal is also resemblant of the *arktoi,* who become honorary bears for Artemis and 'act the she-bear' at the Arkteia festival. Finally, like Iphigenia, the *arktoi* that participate in the Arkteia at Brauron are permitted to keep their lives, both in myth and ritual, perhaps because of their strict adherence to public duty, matching Iphigenia's willingness to sacrifice. There is an overwhelming sense of duty in both of these cultural tales, indicating the importance of both duty and obedience in the lives of ancient women.

It is well known that marriage and motherhood were the primary duties of women in ancient Athens, and in the ancient Mediterranean world in general. This is demonstrated by the many female deities that preside over marriage such as Artemis and Hestia, as well as coming-of-age rituals such as that of the Arkteia that readied young girls and women for marriage. It is telling that in Xenophon's "How to Train a Wife", marriage, and the domestic tasks that come with it, consume Ischomachus' wife's entire world and life. Marriage was clearly a monumental and important part of an ancient woman's life. It is worth noting, then, that Iphigenia is brought to Aulis in *Iphigenia at Aulis* under the expectation of marriage. The importance of the construct of marriage is made evident by Euripides throughout *Iphigenia at Aulis.* This importance can be seen in the reactions of Iphigenia's mother, Clytemnestra, who worries about who will hold the marriage torch for Iphigenia and Achilles, and becomes furious at Agamemnon for interfering with her rightful part in the marriage ritual.[49] Iphigenia, at first, also clings to this ideal of marriage, begging for her life as she addresses her father saying: "I was the first to put myself upon your knees and give you loving kisses and receive them in return. And this is what you used to say: 'Shall I see you happy, my child, in a husband's house, living and flourishing worthily of me?'" (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1220-5, trans. Collard and Morwood). Iphigenia recognizes the importance of marriage as a milestone and an aspiration in the lives of young women, and brings this to the attention of her Father in the hopes that he will reconsider his decision. In order for Iphigenia to be sacrificed to Artemis, they must both forsake these cultural and societal ideals in exchange for death.

The emphasis on marriage in Iphigenia's story creates yet another link between Iphigenia and the Arkteia festival at Brauron. As has been previously established in this paper, the ritual of the Arkteia acted as a preparation, or even as a prerequisite, for the eventual marriage of the *arktoi*, according to some scholars.[50] In addition, the goddess Artemis, particularly at her cult site at Brauron, presided over girls and young women in their transition from childhood to maidenhood, wifehood, and motherhood.[51] The connection of the Arkteia festival and the *arktoi* to the figure of Iphigenia, who was a perpetual maiden unable to experience this monumental part of a young woman's life, may have added extra weight and importance to the Arkteia festival. The *arktoi* taking part in this festival would have went through a similar ordeal to Iphigenia through their penance to Artemis as 'she-bears', and were readied for marriage by it. Perhaps the connection to Iphigenia's story would have created an understanding of the importance of marriage, but also its privilege. It was a privilege to be able to marry and honour one's father and family through such a union, a privilege that was not permitted to Iphigenia and other female martyrs in ancient Greek mythology.

Even more pertinent is the interrelation of the concepts of marriage and sacrifice in both Iphigenia's story in *Iphigenia at Aulis* and the ritual of the Arkteia at Brauron. In her pivotal decision between sacrifice and marriage, Iphigenia is essentially making a choice between active and passive roles, between remaining a 'wild' maiden through her own sacrifice and being tamed by marriage to the hero Achilles. According to scholars Christopher Collard and James Morwood, Euripides intentionally plays on the similarities that exist between sacrifice and marriage in *Iphigenia at Aulis.* Euripides accomplishes this through the use of ambiguous words such as *protelaia,* a Greek term which refers to both the sacrifices that occur before marriage and preliminary sacrificial rites in

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[49] Rush Rehm, *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1994), 102.

[50] Dillon, "From Adolescent to Woman, Wife and Mother," 220.

[51] Joan Breton Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess: Women and Ritual in Ancient Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007), 27.

general.[52] On the whole, marriage and death are very closely linked in ancient Greek culture, religion, and literature, as is explored thoroughly in Rush Rehm's monograph: *Marriage to Death: The Conflation of Wedding and Funeral Rituals in Greek Tragedy.* According to Rehm, the powerful imagery of marriage and death utilized in ancient Greek tragedy, as well as the subversion and conflation of weddings and funerals, issued a "call to the living".[53] These convoluted images spoke to the audience in a deep and profound manner, perhaps highlighting the brief and urgent nature of life.

The concepts of marriage and sacrifice are likewise closely intertwined in the ritual of the Arkteia. As has been established previously in this paper, the Arkteia festival prepared young women for marriage and acted as a coming-of-age ritual. Its founding myth was based on the killing of a bear sacred to Artemis, closely linking this pre-marital ritual to the concepts of both sacrifice and death. Robert Garland even posits that 'acting the she bear' for Artemis may have been a way for girls on the brink of puberty to appease the virgin goddess before their necessary advancement to the service of Aphrodite through marriage and its associated sexual activity.[54] If this suggestion is true, sacrifice, both metaphorical and literal, is necessary for a marriage to occur in ancient Athenian society. Euripides' conflation of these two interrelated concepts in *Iphigenia at Aulis* is purposeful and meaningful to ancient Greek culture and creates further connections between Iphigenia's story and the cult site of Artemis at Brauron.

Interestingly, women in ancient Greek mythology tend to become heroines primarily through self sacrifice and self sacrifice alone.[55] This penchant for female self-sacrifice in ancient myth and literature can be seen in the mythical figures of Antigone and Polyxena, as well as the subject of this paper: Iphigenia. Of Euripides' many tragic plays featuring myths of human sacrifice, in only one instance is the victim, or martyr, a male.[56] Those female figures in ancient Greek mythology who do manage to take on a more active role that is not based in martyrdom or self-sacrifice, such as Medea, the helper-maiden of Jason, are portrayed quite negatively in ancient sources. This includes unsavoury depictions of these woman as 'man-like', or simply as evil. Self-sacrifice was quite obviously the preferred form of female heroism in ancient Greece. Lefkowitz suggests that this does not necessarily indicate that female lives were less valuable than that of their male counterparts in the ancient world, but instead demonstrates "women's ability to be as courageous as men and as responsible for maintaining the values of society".[57] It is true that Iphigenia's willingness to be sacrificed for the good of her people is revered by the onlooking characters in Euripides' text. The respect held for Iphigenia becomes evident when the messenger relays the news of Iphigenia's sacrifice to her mother, Clytemnestra, speaking of her brave speech and the audience's sympathetic reaction, saying: "and as they listened, everyone marvelled at the courage and heroism of the maiden" (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1561-2, trans. Collard and Morwood). Through this seemingly passive form of heroism, Iphigenia manages to take on a courageous and important role in ancient Greek society and myth.

It makes sense, then, that the *arktoi* play the role of the she-bear at the Arkteia festival. In doing so, they are taking on a similar role to Iphigenia. In fact, the ritual of the Arkteia at Brauron can be interpreted as a sacrificial ritual akin to the one that is present in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis,* and other associated ancient literature that features Iphigenia's character and story. Robert Garland elaborates on the myth behind the Arkteia, noting that Artemis initially demanded the sacrifice of a virgin to divert the plague, but was tricked into accepting a ram disguised as a she-bear instead.[58] Garland goes on to describe the Arkteia as "a re-enactment of the substitute sacrifice performed in Artemis' honour".[59] The *arktoi* at Brauron play the role of the she-bear who has been killed

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[52] "Introduction," in *Iphigenia at Aulis Vol. 1: Introduction, Text and Translation,* ed. Christopher Collard and James Morwood (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2017), 11.

[53] Rehm, *Marriage to Death,* 140.

[54] Robert Garland. "Children in Athenian Religion," in *The Oxford Handbook of Childhood and Education in the Classical World*, ed. Judith Evans and Tim Parker (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013), 215.

[55] Mary R. Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986), 95.

[56] Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth,* 95.

[57] Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth,* 95.

[58] Garland, "Children in Athenian Religion," 215.

[59] Garland, "Children in Athenian Religion," 215.

unjustly in order to placate an enraged Artemis, and they live to tell the tale because of their compliance and their adherence to public duty. They play this role of the murdered she-bear willingly. In this way, the role of the *arktoi* at the Arkteia mirrors the martyrdom of the heroine Iphigenia. This re-enactment of self-sacrifice present in the Arkteia festival, while seemingly passive in nature, may actually be a way for ancient girls and women to take on an active role in society, to assert their own importance, and to mediate the often conflicting values and expectations of the ancient world. The *arktoi* are undoubtedly the heroines of the Arkteia, saving Athens through their self-sacrifice, and demonstrating their adherence to cultural values such as public-duty and the construct of marriage.

Aeschylus, Iphigenia, and the *Arktoi*

The tragic play *Agamemnon,* the first in a trilogy of plays known collectively as the *Oresteia,* was written by the famous ancient tragedian Aeschylus in the fifth century BCE. The opening of the play features the emotional scene of Iphigenia's sacrifice, but it differs considerably from the story that is presented in Euripides' *Iphigenia at Aulis* and *Iphigenia Among the Taurians.* In many earlier forms of the myth, including the version found in Euripides' play, the goddess Artemis substitutes a deer for Iphigenia, and allows her to live.[60] In *Agamemnon,* Iphigenia is actually sacrificed to Artemis, and her life is not spared by the goddess.[61] Indeed, she receives no mercy at all. Lefkowitz suggests that this is a more primitive form of the myth of Iphigenia, and that Aeschylus was able to highlight certain important messages by utilizing it. This includes emphasising the consequences of the taking of human life, even when that killing may appear to be ethically justified in terms of a 'greater good' mentality.[62] While this change to the story does in some ways distance Iphigenia from the bear-ritual of the Arkteia, removing the link of animal sacrifice, a close textual analysis may reveal even deeper connections.

The connection between Iphigenia and the *arktoi* of the Arkteia at Brauron is made even more clear in *The Agamemnon* through the use of language and symbolism*,* particularly when combined with a passage from Aristophanes' comic play *Lysistrata*. In this passage, the chorus of elderly women provides an overview of the rituals that they participated in as young girls growing up. They explain to the audience: "when I was ten I shed / my saffron robe for the Foundress, being a bear at the Brauronia" (*Lys*. 642-3).[63] Many scholars, including Sourvinou-Inwood and Stinton, connect this passage to an excerpt from the *Agamemnon* detailing Iphigenia's removal of robes prior to her sacrifice, arguing that the ritual act that was performed by the *arktoi* at the Arkteia festival in which robes were donned or shed, was actually a re-enactment of Iphigenia's 'shedding' of her robes at the beginning of this play.[64] The corresponding passage in the *Agamemnon* has been traditionally translated as: "And she, as she let fall to the ground her saffron-dyed raiment, smote each one of the sacrificers with a pitiful arrow from her eye …" (*Ag*. 239-40, trans. Fraenkel). The alternative translation of this passage that is supported by Sourvinou-Inwood involves the word 'shedding' in the place of 'let fall to the ground', thus linking it closely to the passage from Aristophanes' *Lysistrata* that also describes the removal of clothing as 'shedding'.[65] However, it is important to note that the entire *Lysistrata* passage regarding the stages of Athenian girlhood has been dismissed by some scholars as a "fictitious cycle serving the comic needs of the play".[66] Therefore, the true validity of this passage in terms of identifying the connection of Iphigenia to the Arkteia, or for providing any information on the festival at all, is questionable.

Whether or not this passage from Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* reads 'shedding' or 'let fall to the ground', the connection to the Arkteia festival at Brauron still appears clear. The 'saffron-dyed raiment' that is worn by Iphigenia in this play (*Ag.* 239-40, trans. Fraenkel) bears a striking resemblance to the *krokoton himation,* a saffron coloured wrap, that was either donned, or shed, by the *arktoi* at the Arkteia.[67] This 'shedding' also has symbolic

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[60] Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth,* 95.
[61] Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth,* 95.
[62] Lefkowitz, *Women in Greek Myth,* 95.
[63] As cited in Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess,* 27.
[64] Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," 11.
[65] Stinton, "Iphigeneia and the Bears of Brauron," 11.
[66] Connelly, *Portrait of a Priestess,* 27.
[67] Ferrari, *Figures of Speech: Men and Maidens in Ancient Greece,* 171.

significance in *Agamemnon* that would transfer well to the purposes of the Arkteia festival. According to Rehm, Iphigenia's 'metaphoric undressing' signals the beginning of her transition from an innocent maiden to a bride of death.[68] The saffron dyed article may even be symbolic of a 'bridal veil' in this sense.[69] The *arktoi* at the Arkteia undergo a similar transition to Iphigenia and other virgin martyrs: the transition from girl to woman, maiden to bride, and the removal or donning of the *krokoton himation* takes on additional meaning if interpreted in this manner. Of course, the inclusion of a removal of robes by Iphigenia may have simply been an innovation on the part of Aeschylus, perhaps for symbolic reasons. Indeed, Euripides makes no mention of Iphigenia's clothing, or lack thereof, upon her sacrifice in *Iphigenia at Aulis,* merely noting that she wears a garland upon her head (*Iphigenia at Aulis* 1566, trans. Collard and Morwood)*.* Regardless, the brief passage regarding Iphigenia's sacrifice in *Agamemnon* can work to further connect Iphigenia to the cult site of Artemis at Brauron and the Arkteia itself.

The theory regarding Iphigenia's sacrifice in *Agamemnon* and the ritual of the Arkteia, supported by Sourvinou-Inwood and Stinton, among others, is also heavily dependent on the fragments of *krateriskoi* found at the cult site of Artemis at Brauron. These fragments of pottery depict both naked and clothed girls participating in ritual. As has been demonstrated in this paper already, the various states of undress depicted on these vase fragments can be interpreted very differently. For example, as determinants of age[70], or even as a marker of a legendary non-historical time period.[71] The nude girls and those that are clothed can be found on several pieces of pottery, and could potentially be interpreted as depicting a removal, or at least changing, of clothing at the Arkteia. If it is assumed that a shedding or changing of one's clothing did occur at the Arkteia, then the symbolic connection between Iphigenia and the *arktoi* at Brauron is strengthened. Interestingly, neither Ferrari's or Perlman's alternative theories regarding these *krateriskoi* completely debunk Sourvinou-Inwood's hypothesis. Perlman's argument that the varying degrees of dress depicted on the vases merely represent two different age groups is not completely aversive to Sourvinou-Inwood's theory.[72] The younger *arktoi* under thirteen may have been permitted to 'shed' their robes during the festivities, while the older *arktoi,* aged thirteen to fourteen, were not. Likewise, Ferrari's assertion that these fragments depict a mythical Arkteia does not void the fact that the *krokoton himation*, and its associated nudity, were, at least in symbol and myth, an important part of the Arkteia festival and the role of the *arktoi* there*.*

It is also worth noting that the animal sacrifice connection that exists between the Arkteia festival and the more sympathetic variations of Iphigenia's story in which she is replaced by an animal, such as *Iphigenia at Aulis,* still exists in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon,* only in a more subtle and symbolic manner. While Iphigenia is not replaced by an animal in *Agamemnon* as she is in *Iphigenia at Aulis,* there is still an allusion to animal sacrifice in the text. In order to silence Iphigenia and to prevent her from placing a curse upon her own house at the time of her sacrifice, she is bound and gagged by her captors. In this dramatic moment, she is described as being like an animal wearing a 'bit' in certain translations.[73] In this same passage, Iphigenia is also described as being held "like a kid above the altar" (Ag. 235, trans. Fraenkel). The use of the term 'bit', and the direct comparison of Iphigenia to a young goat ready for sacrifice, together create the imagery of an animal sacrifice within the play, despite the fact that Iphigenia's body is never physically replaced by that of an animal. These small details correspond with the imagery of animal sacrifice that is inherent to the Arkteia festival, with the young girls 'acting the she-bear'. Overall, it seems quite plausible that the passage detailing Iphigenia's sacrifice in Aeschylus' *Agamemnon* alludes to the Arkteia festival. The *arktoi* may actually have been imitating Iphigenia in their undressing, a ritualistic act that likely held considerable symbolic meaning.

An examination of all three of these tragic plays featuring the mythological figure of Iphigenia reveals that both Aeschylus and Euripides closely associated Iphigenia with the cult site of Artemis at Brauron, the Arkteia festival, and the *arktoi*. Whether or not this association is evidence of Iphigenia's actual worship at Brauron, or

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[68] Rehm, *Marriage to Death,* 50*.*
[69] Rehm, *Marriage to Death,* 50*.*
[70] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 122-4.
[71] Ferrari, *Figures of Speech,* 175.
[72] Perlman, "Plato 'Laws' 833c-834D and the Bears of Brauron," 122-4.
[73] Rehm, *Marriage to Death,* 50.

merely a result of the similarities that existed between the story of her sacrifice and the myth behind the Arkteia, remains a matter of uncertainty. However, it is clear that Iphigenia's connection to the Arkteia festival is more than just a similarity between myths. It is a connection of immense symbolic importance, indicating a mediation of Artemis' harsher qualities, and highlighting important values of ancient Athenian society in regards to women and girls.

Iphigenia, The Arkteia, & the Lives of Women and Girls in Ancient Athens

As has been discussed previously in this paper, Artemis acts as both a virgin goddess of the wilderness and a kourotrophic fertility goddess in ancient Greek mythology.[74] This creates a strange dichotomy for ancient women, who cannot truly fulfill both of these ideals within one lifetime. One cannot remain a chaste virgin and give birth, nor can they run wild and free while also acting the part of a dutiful wife. The strict expectations and ideals surrounding women in ancient Athens are made clear in Xenophon's "How to Train a Wife". The trait that the speaker, Ischomachus, values most in his 'perfect' wife is her complete obedience and compliance in everything from the running of the household to her beauty regimens.[75] As such, the conflicting ideals that Artemis represents are simply not attainable for most ancient Athenian women who would have likely spent most of their time indoors, or at least within the feminine sphere, performing menial tasks and interacting primarily with other women.[76] It is important to consider how these two drastically different ideals may have been reconciled and understood by ancient citizens.

The story of Iphigenia and the festival of the Arkteia work together to bridge the gap that Artemis' conflicting nature creates. This is made particularly clear in Perlman's discussion of the meaning and symbolism that lies behind the Arkteia. Perlman's assertion regarding the symbolism of the bear highlights its ferocity as a positive, even admirable trait. In ancient scholarship, it was commonly argued that she-bears made good mothers because of the wild ferocity with which they protect their cubs.[77] Perlman cites Aristotle, who wrote: "She-bears are unusually fierce both before and after cubbing. In fact, bears, like leopards, are somewhat unusual in that the females of the species are as brave as the males. While it is difficult to catch a pregnant bear, bears with cubs are particularly clever in flight. When chased, she-bears push their cubs before them and then turn upon their pursuers".[78] According to Perlman, the ferocity of a she bear's motherly instincts is one of the traits that make them such an appropriate symbol in the cults of Artemis.[79] It also makes them well-suited as mascots of the Arkteia festival, seeing as it is a coming-of-age ritual that anticipates marriage and childbirth. While women may be 'tamed' through the acts of marriage and childbirth, their role as mothers in some ways demands a hearkening back to their wild, 'untamed' selves. Like the she-bears so sacred to Artemis, ancient Athenian women had to be brave throughout pregnancy and childbirth, and protect their offspring with a determined vengeance. Therefore, the Arkteia festival reveals that there was room, if only a little, for fierceness and strength in the lives of ancient women and girls, despite an equally powerful emphasis on marriage, compliance, and fertility.

Despite the fact that Iphigenia finds heroism through the act of self-sacrifice, she is still a strong female heroine who in many ways manages to escape the traditional gender roles of the ancient world. In *Iphigenia Among the Taurians,* Iphigenia participates quite actively in her own escape from Tauris, deceiving Thoas and essentially saving her brother Orestes and his friend, Pylades. Athena then grants her sanctuary at the cult site of Artemis at Brauron, where she will "die and be buried", presumably as an unmarried virgin priestess (*Iphigenia Among the Taurians* 1460-6, trans. Carson) It is evident in Euripides' text that Iphigenia remains a maiden, and she shows incredible agency in most ancient depictions of her character. While Iphigenia is never actually 'tamed'

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[74] Leger, *Artemis and Her Cult,* 93.

[75] Xenophon, "How to Train a Wife," 10.9.

[76] David Cohen, "Seclusion, Separation, and the Status of Women in Classical Athens,"
 Greece & Rome 36, no. 1 (1989): 3-9.

[77] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 112-4.

[78] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 113.

[79] Perlman, "Acting the She-Bear for Artemis," 122-3.

through marriage, she is still given a role as a protector of women and children by Euripides at the end of *Iphigenia Among the Taurians.* Iphigenia remains stagnant in the role of maiden, much like Artemis herself, but still provides a service to mortal women who may not have the freedom or power to do the same.

This role of Artemis, and her priestess Iphigenia, as a comfort to women and girls, is most evident in the Arkteia as a coming of age ritual, but can also be identified in the offerings left at Brauron and other cult sites. Votive offerings dedicated to Artemis have been found at all of the major cult sites in ancient Greece; extensive inventories of these objects can be found in the appendix of Leger's work.[80] These offerings consist primarily of clothes, jewellery, pottery, sculptures, and reliefs, and were left at the sanctuary of Artemis at Brauron year-round, not just during religious festivals, or on special days.[81] Ekroth argues that these offerings represent a more private level of spirituality than that of the Arkteia and other religious festivals.[82] This is evident in the fact that most of the votive child statues depict boys, and were likely dedicated to Artemis by women hoping to protect their valuable male offspring.[83] These votive offerings highlight Artemis' function as a protector and comforter of both women and children. Perhaps women looked to Artemis, Iphigenia, and the cult site at Brauron for support and comfort in times of distress and uncertainty: to ease their anxieties before marriage, the uncertainties of pregnancy, and the pains of childbirth. Women and girls may have seen themselves, and their life journey from virgin to mother, in the conflicted natures of Artemis and her priestess, Iphigenia. The figure of Iphigenia, more relatable than that of Artemis, and transitional rituals such as the Arkteia, may have provided comfort to women during difficult periods of transition such as puberty, marriage, childbirth, and parenthood.

Examining these two ancient mythical figures in conjunction with Brauron's Arkteia festival suggests that the ultimate purpose of Artemis' cult, at Brauron and elsewhere, may in fact have been simply to aid the transition from girlhood to womanhood, and to ease the pains of being a female in the ancient world. Iphigenia's trials through her near-sacrifice, struggles with duty, and unexpected heroism speak to the complex expectations and life stages of young girls and women in ancient Athens. The story of Iphigenia and the cult of Artemis at Brauron are also necessary reminders that women in the ancient world can not be labelled as any one static thing. Indeed, the transition from girl to woman in ancient Athens was confusing and complex, filled with a myriad of contradictions. As young girls, they likely enjoyed some freedom and 'wildness' so to speak, and as women they found agency in other areas of their lives, perhaps through their children, or in their worship. The various stages of the lives of girls and women in the ancient world are interwoven with both active and passive roles; they are all at once wild and tamed, complacent and rebellious, timid and brave. Despite these small revelations and conclusions, there is still much to be learned about the cult site of Artemis at Brauron, the Arkteia, and Iphigenia's connection thereto. At this time, there is no way to know for certain if Iphigenia had any real historical presence at Brauron outside of the literary sources. While scholars, such as Venit and Ekroth, often connect Iphigenia to material evidence that has been found at Brauron, this material evidence, such as the relief of the gods and various offerings, are ambiguous in nature. It is also uncertain what exactly took place at the Arkteia, how old its participants were, or what exactly the *krateriskoi* that are connected to the Arkteia depict. Uncertainties aside, the cult site of Artemis at Brauron, its Arkteia festival, and the mythical heroine Iphigenia were clearly important in the lives of the girls and women of ancient Athens and are deserving of further study and scholarly attention.

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[80] Leger, "Artemis and her Cult," 160-173.
[81] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigeneia," 112.
[82] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigeneia," 112.
[83] Ekroth, "Inventing Iphigeneia," 112.

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