Minerva: Laurier's Undergraduate History Journal

A curated collection of the strongest fourth-year seminar papers in the Department of History. v. 5, 2019

Pablo Picasso, Owl (1952)

Contents

This is the fifth 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.

Cameron Baer, "Ancient World *Realpolitik*?
A Comparison of Late Bronze Age and Modern Diplomatic Paradigms,"
HI 498: The Ancient World
Supervised by Dr. Karljürgen Feuerherm

Modern international diplomacy is a complex business, beholden as it is to ever-changing events, ever-changing communications technology, and ever-changing norms and customs. One can hardly imagine the diplomatic situation faced by the peoples of the ancient world who, as Trevor Bryce notes, inhabited a world with many more and greater potential barriers to communication and shared by myriad cultures, each perceiving the other as alien.[1] That kingdoms large and small maintained apparently consistent contact, let alone discussed and negotiated their activities across the ancient Near East, is perhaps what inspires such interest in the Amarna letters, Hittite treaties, and other Late Bronze age diplomatic sources. Some academics consider these sources so significant as to represent a paradigm shift in the study of international relations–that the modern diplomatic system owes much of its makeup to the ancient world and not just early modern watersheds like the Peace of Westphalia.

The purpose of this paper is to analyze Late Bronze Age Near Eastern sources, including but not limited to the Amarna Letters and Hittite diplomatic texts, and their scholarly interpretations to determine whether and to what degree the diplomatic proceedings of the period qualify as a system of international relations predating Westphalian or other modern paradigms. The study will open with a review of previous literature and claims made for or against the Amarna Age representing such an international system, as well as the implications of this debate. It will then be necessary to define the parameters of the study; of particular importance will be to settle on what precisely is meant by "international relations system" or similar, as well as how best to establish whether or not the Amarna Age counts as such. Having decided precisely on the concept in question and a suitable list of criteria to guide the project, the primary sources and relevant academic interpretations will be consulted to determine the evident behaviour between the "Great Powers" during this period. The paper will then apply these behaviours to the definition previously decided on to conclude whether Amarna diplomacy does indeed possess the characteristics of modern international diplomacy.

Setting the Stage: Powers and Paradigms

Before reviewing the literature, the time, place, and peoples represented in the material should be outlined. The "Great Powers" or "Great Kings" referred to in studies of the Amarna or Late Bronze Age would normally include Egypt, the Hittites, Assyria, Babylon, and Mitanni, or their rulers. The power and territory of these Great Powers waxed and waned considerably and many times throughout their extensive and turbulent histories, and while all would be considered equal under this supposed ancient international accord, the availability of sources for each is not so. Therefore, this project is something of a case study approach to the question, focussing on the period when New Kingdom Egypt and the Hittite

[1] Trevor Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East: The Royal Correspondence of the Late Bronze Age* (New York: Routledge, 2003), 1-2.

Empire were predominant in the region. This still covers a considerable period, nearly the whole of the Late Bronze Age (ca. 1550-1200 BCE) by one estimate,[2] and while the study can only make a decision based on information gleaned from these two powers and their vassals, it is not unfair to assume that the sources are fairly representative of dealings with and between the other powers–indeed, this will have to be assumed until further evidence surfaces.

It is also necessary to briefly explain the Peace of Westphalia and resulting international paradigm given the prevalence of the subject in the following material. The Peace of Westphalia was signed in 1648, bringing an end to the Thirty Years' War and the European Wars of Religion. The treaties which make up the Peace are considered a watershed in international politics and diplomacy for having instituted the "new way" of international relations, which may be defined by two predominant theoretical points: that the world is divided into states which maintain sovereignty over their territories and actions therein, and that all states exist in relative anarchy with no overarching authority or means for mediation, save those decided on mutually.[3] As a result, the Peace saw the development of various practices which have become staples of modern diplomacy, including but not limited to permanent ambassadors and embassies and the accompanying diplomatic immunity.[4] These structural points and practices form the legal and procedural basis of international relations which has held sway across the world for three-and-a-half centuries; Westphalia is often viewed as the beginning of international relations.[5]

The Literature: For Amarna

Support for the Amarna Age representing a legitimate system of international relations is relatively recent, but no less widespread and fervent. In his study of the Amarna letters, Trevor Bryce applauds the "Great Kings" of the age for their "effective" and "regular" communications which allowed them to settle their grievances peacefully rather than resorting to force. He draws attention to the "highly formulaic…standard diplomatic protocol" which these kings enforced and the many formalized elements of Amarna diplomacy, such as the adoption of a *lingua franca* and the need for skilled personnel to manage the proceedings.[6] Bryce goes so far as to describe the diplomatic dealings of the time as an ancient example of *Realpolitik*–that the Great Kings concerned themselves with purely practical pursuits, and recognized that more was to be gained through communication and cooperation than through warfare, be it prestige or territorial control.[7]

Bryce is not the only author to consider the Amarna Age so significant. Other authors have cited alternative or non-diplomatic evidence to support the Amarna Age's status as the first international relations system. In his contribution to *Amarna Diplomacy*, the most significant academic study on the subject, Raymond Westbrook argues for a long tradition in ancient Near Eastern international law that included frequent use of written treaties or customary law "virtually from the beginning of written

[2] Mario Liverani, "The Great Powers' Club," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, 15-27 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 15.
[3] Anthony McGrew, "Globalization and Global Politics," in *The Globalization of World Politics: An Introduction to International Relations*, ed. John Baylis, Steve Smith and Patricia Owens, 15-36 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), 23-24; Erik Ringmar, "The Making of the Modern World," in *International Relations*, ed. Stephen McGlinchey, 8-19 (Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing, 2017), 12.
[4] Ringmar, 'The Making of the Modern World', in *International Relations*, 13.
[5] Shereen Saeidi, 'International Political System and the Westphalian Paradigm: A Call for Revision', *Digest of Middle East Studies* 15, no. 2 (2006), 11.
[6] Bryce, Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East, 53.
[7] Ibid. 2.

records."[8] He also argues that current understandings of key concepts international relations must be challenged or broadened to fully understand the Amarna Age as a viable example; the ancient "state," for example, must be understood as being based metaphorically on the household, rather than the corporate model.[9] Cultural and artistic products of the period have also been cited. Aaron Tugendhaft illustrates how texts like the Baal Cycle, found in Bronze Age Levantine sites like Ugarit, can be viewed as cultural reflections of the contemporary political landscape. The Cycle's language of cosmological hierarchy, subservience, and suzerainty as regards the main characters mirrors the material experience of Ugarit as a vassal city, a status "grounded in an international order that reflected the organization of a kin-based household."[10] Evidence such as this would suggest international relations to be ingrained in ancient Near Eastern culture long before the Amarna Age, or at least existing in a form that requires a broader understanding of international relations concepts.

Shereen Saeidi has conducted a systematic study of the Amarna letters to determine if their content could be matched to eight indicators of modern international relations originating with the Peace of Westphalia. All eight were found to be present, and Saeidi concludes that the behaviour and policies witnessed in the letters demonstrate that a "viable functioning international relations system" existed between the Great Powers of the ancient Near East, one that predated Westphalia by almost three millennia.[11] Saeidi and, in effect, his colleagues argue that Amarna represents an important development in international relations and that the ancient diplomacy must be recognized by scholars as possessing those traits that have typically been viewed as products of a modern, Westphalian paradigm.

The Literature: Against Amarna

Some authors have not been convinced of the Amarna Age's significance for international relations studies. Most vocal of these is Geoffrey Berridge, another contributor to *Amarna Diplomacy* and one of, if not the only, dissenting voice in that collection. Like Saeidi, Berridge examines the sources systematically according to seven indicators of his own. Unlike Saeidi, Berridge finds the Amarna Age lacking. Although he concedes to the claim that Amarna may represent a "'constitutive phase'" of Western diplomacy, he rejects the idea that the sources demonstrate a "sophisticated and effective mechanism" equal to the Westpahalian system as others have claimed.[12] Furthermore, in explaining the seemingly nonsensical policy of Ramesses II to continue a losing war against the Hittites, Peter Brand suggests that diplomacy could not always fulfil the "vital national interests" or "strategic policy objectives" that mattered to ancients rulers or peoples and which would be considered comparatively impractical in the modern world; if the Egyptian worldview could not accept military failure from a Pharaoh, then the Pharaoh would strive for peace with honour–and thus honour through victory–against all reasonable odds.[13] Such irrational factors governing a significant spell in Egyptian-Hittite relations stands in stark contrast to Bryce's description of the Amarna Age as ancient world *Realpolitik*.

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[8] Raymond Westbrook, "International Law in the Amarna Age," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook, 28-41 (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2002), 28.
[9] Westbrook, 'International Law in the Amarna Age', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 29.
[10] Aaron Tugendhaft, "Unsettling Sovereignty: Politics and Poetics in the Baal Cycle," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 132, no. 3 (2012): 383.
[11] Saeidi, "International Political System and the Westphalian Paradigm: A Call for Revision," 11.
[12] Geoffrey Berridge, "Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, ed. Raymond Cohen and Raymond Westbrook, 212-224 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2002), 212.
[13] Peter J. Brand, "Ideological Imperatives: Irrational Factors in Egyptian-Hittite Relations Under Ramesses II," in *Moving Across Borders: Foreign Relations, Religion, and Cultural Interactions in the Ancient Mediterranean*, ed. P. Kousoulis and K. Magliveras (Leuven: Peeters, 2007), 27-28.

There are also those who have raised cross-cultural differences as a complicating factor or question the "venerable tradition" of international laws cited by Westbrook. Emaneul Pfoh touches on cross-cultural issues in his discussion of vassals and patrons in Syria-Palestine during this period, as the Egyptians and Hittites differed in how they concluded such agreements and understood the expectations behind them, approaches and understandings which could very well have extended to diplomatic dealings between the Great Powers themselves. For example, Levantine vassal rulers expected protection and support from their patron power in exchange for their loyalty, in contrast to their pharaonic overlord who viewed the patronage relationship as one of strict obedience to his will with no expectation of reciprocation.[14] These differences could potentially seriously complicate or hinder attempts at conciliation. Moreover, Tugendhaft's examination of the Baal Cycle argues that while such cultural products may depict an "international order," they also suggest that such an order is highly unstable or does not truly exist; the actions and words of Baal, the patron god of Ugarit, rejects the supposed hierarchy between him and the other gods, and supposedly the international hierarchy of which Ugarit was a part.[15] The international order was in fact barely controlled anarchy.

Yet more authors remain cautious in assessing the Amarna letters and like sources. There are those, like Amnon Altman, who would remind that for all the sources at our disposal for this period, there are still significant gaps in our understanding of certain diplomatic proceedings.[16] Mario Liverani, another contributor to *Amarna Diplomacy*, would argue that Amarna does not represent the first potential international system. Archives of sources have also shed light on possible examples as early as the twenty-fourth century B.C.E, and although the evidence is comparatively scarce, it would suggest the prestige bestowed on Amarna texts to be excessive.[17] Liverani also raises more fundamental concerns in how the sources have been interpreted as historical paradigms have evolved. Of particular interest to him is the debate between the modernist school, which assumes the inherent similarity of human societies and shows preference for official, legal documentation, and the primitivist school, which assumes the uniqueness of all societies and gives greater credence to alternative sources[18]; these questions of the applicability of modern paradigms is echoed by fellow contributor Rodolfo Regioneri.[19] Indeed, this may be the more pressing issue in the historical field, but this paper will proceed on the basis of answering the more straightforward question of whether or not the Amarna Age represents international relations comparable to modern standards.

Setting the Parameters

If the international systems of the Amarna Age and the modern world are to be compared, it is necessary to determine what precisely is meant by an "international system" and what its accompanying characteristics would be. This proves to be the major difficulty of this study as few of the authors noted above study the Amarna sources according to the same terms or definitions. Many of the contributors in *Amarna Diplomacy* seem to address different facets of international relations–Westbrook specifically examines international law, for example–and it will likely be necessary to narrow down the parameters of the study.

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[14] Emaneul Pfoh, "Some Remarks on Patronage in Syria-Palestine During the Late Bronze Age," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 52, no. 3 (2009): 366.
[15] Tugendhaft, "Unsettling Sovereignty: Politics and Poetics in the Baal Cycle,", 383.
[16] Amnon Altman, "Rethinking the Hittite System of Subordinate Countries from the Legal Point of View," *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 123, no. 4 (2003): 741.
[17] Liverani, "The Great Powers' Club," in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 15.
[18] Liverani, "The Great Powers' Club," in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 16-17.
[19] Rodolfo Ragioneri, "The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making," in *Amarna Diplomacy: The Beginnings of International Relations*, 42-53 (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2002), 42.

As the question enters into the realm of political science, a useful first point of contact would be two recent works on the fundamentals of international politics: *The Globalization of World Politics*, and the topically titled *International Relations*. However, even these works fail to provide a meaningful definition. According to *The Globalization of World Politics*, an "international system" simply refers to "a set of interrelated parts connected to form a whole"; *International Relations* is silent on the matter. "International system," therefore, is a non-specific definition that could be applied to many times and places. A more useful starting point, therefore, may be a definition provided by Ragioneri, echoed by others, which focuses on an international *society* rather than an international *system*. This term provides some more complex criteria, namely that states interact with each other according to common norms, rules, and practices, such as agreed international laws.[20] As the argument in the literature is whether the international society of the Amarna period represents a system equal to the modern paradigm, it seems appropriate to begin with the norms established by the Peace of Westphalia.

Amarna and the Westphalian Principles

As detailed previously, the Peace of Westphalia organized modern international relations based on two points that Amarna Age powers must adhere to. To start, the ancient international stage must play host to many independent states who exercise exclusive power over their delineated territory and subjects. As touched on earlier with Westbrook, "states" can be said to exist in the ancient Near East but in the form of a metaphorical household rather than an artificial corporate entity. The state or "house" is headed by the "father," be he a Pharaoh or a Hittite king, and the relations between them are understood in familial terms, only on a larger scale; Great Kings, perceived to be equals, are "brothers," while vassal rulers are their "sons."[21] These relationships and the model they uphold are evident, as Westbrook notes, in the preamble to any number of the Amarna letters, equating the addressee with their "wives…sons…magnates…horses…chariots...countries"–anything falling under the jurisdiction of the recipient.[22] Though this changes the model by which international relations are understood, it is operationally sound as there remains the social, political, and economic entity with which to treat. Moreover, these states, even vassals, appear to have held upheld mutual sovereignty. Westbrook claims that a "doctrine of impermeability" limited the effective jurisdiction of even a suzerain ruler to his immediate household.[23] This doctrine does appear to have in reality, as even those Hittite treaties which put Hittite troops in the lands of a vassal like Amurru do so under the pretext of military alliance or protection, and do not impose direct control over local governance.[24] That these treaties–the cited examples of which are separated by roughly a century–never exercise more direct jurisdiction lend weight to Westbrook's claim that even vassals maintained their own domestic affairs, "one of the essential characteristics of a modern state."[25]

[20] Ragioneri, "The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making," in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 539; Westbrook, 'International Law in the Amarna Age', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 28; *The Globalization of World Politics*, ed. John Baylis, Steve Smith, and Patricia Owens, 539.

[21] Westbrook, "International Law in the Amarna Age," 29. Also see Ragioneri, "The Amarna Age: An International Society in the Making," 46-47.

[22] Westbrook, "International Law in the Amarna Age," 30. Westbrook cites EA 1:1-9, but most letters bear virtually identical preambles. Such familal langauge can also be found in Hittite treaties, such as the treaty between Hattusili III and Ramesses II, as translated by Gary M. Beckman and Harry A. Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 2nd ed, Writings from the Ancient World, v. 7 (Atlanta, Ga: Scholars Press, 1999), 96-97.

[23] Westbrook, 'International Law in the Amarna Age', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 31-32.

[24] Gary M. Beckman and Harry A. Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 37-39, 102-103.

[25] Westbrook, "International Law in the Amarna Age," 32.

Whether the Amarna Age reflects the second Westphalian principle, that states existed in anarchy with no pre-existing binding authority, is complicated by the religious dynamic of the ancient world. All denizens of the ancient world alike believed in a pantheon of gods, immanent and omnipresent beings whose wills and power could manifest in the world; natural disasters were the common markers of divine displeasure.[26] Apprehension over the opinion of these divine figures affected dealings between powers and might be considered a form of pre-existing authority governing interstate behaviour. This religious aspect is crucial to Westbrook's treatment of Amarna Age international law, as the gods "witness" treaties and oaths sworn in their name, to be upheld on pain of punishment; the invocation of divine witnesses is a distinct section of Hittite treaties with vassals and Egypt.[27] That said, it could also be argued that the overall dynamic is not far removed from modern practices. Though the Great Powers governed themselves by a mutual fear of divine intervention, this still did not prohibit parties from defying the gods and breaching contract if they chose to do so, as they occasionally did.[28] This mirrors the modern dilemma of compliance and enforcement. International organizations like the United Nations struggle to uphold laws and the consequences of breaking them without concerted effort from all member parties, effectively leaving power in the hands of those members.[29] The unreliable and random nature of divine punishment, while perhaps unrecognized by ancient peoples, still left them ample room for to challenge laws or treaties, but they more often than not adhered to this "international law" out of shared customs, as modern states tend to do.[30]

Partly because of this complicated and debatable dynamic, the Westphalia paradigm is an unsatisfactory point of contrast for this study. If it were decided that the ancient Near East were possessed of an effective, pre-existing governing authority, then the treaties in and of themselves would not apply to the Amarna Age. However, even if it were decided that the Amarna Age reflected Westphalia, it can be argued that the dual tenets of the Peace are too broad to make a meaningful comparison, and they could be applied to a number of societies before their creation. Ancient Roman civilization or medieval kingdoms, blurring the lines of religion and law and making use of Westbrook's "household state" (in the latter case, at least), could readily align with Westphalian principles according to the above logic and changes to terms. Indeed, the challenging of key terms may be a fundamental problem with using the tenets of the Peace as parameters, as it allows for considerable debate as to what "state" or "overarching "authority" may or may not apply to. For this reason, more specific criteria are necessary to determine the similarities between ancient and modern international relations. It is also preferential that these criteria not require the redefinition of terms such as "state" for the sake of making the most direct comparison possible.

Alternative Parameters: Saeidi and Berridge

The "indicators of modern international" relations listed by Saeidi or Berridge are the best potential alternative parameters for comparison. Saeidi's eight criteria are actors, polarity, international law,

[26] Marc Van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*, Blackwell History of the Ancient World (Malden: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 39; Westbrook, 'International Law in the Amarna Age', 31.

[27] Ugarit, Hapalla, and Mira-Kuwaliya are three such vassals in Beckman and Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 68, 73, 81-82. The Egyptian copy of the treaty between Hattusili III and Ramesses II contains the witnesses missing in the Akkadian copy, according to Mark W. Chavalas, ed., *The Ancient Near East: Historical Sources in Translation*, Blackwell Sourcebooks in Ancient History (Malden: Blackwell Pub, 2006), 248.

[28] Westbrook, 'International Law in the Amarna Age', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 31.

[29] Shazelina Z. Abidin, 'International Organizations', in International Relations, ed. Stephen McGlinchley (Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing, n.d.), 73.

[30] Knut Traisbach, 'International Law', in *International Relations*, ed. Stephen McGlinchley (Bristol: E-International Relations Publishing, n.d.), 64.

alliances, foreign policy, territorial expansion, trade, and an arms race.[31] These criteria are unsatisfactory for two reasons. Firstly, some criteria are not exclusive to the political sphere, let alone the modern political sphere. Actors can exist in an economic as well as a political sense, for example. Trade can exist domestically as well as internationally; furthermore, Saeidi fails to properly define this aspect, briefly mentioning it only in the context of foreign policy, another category in the list and entirely separate elsewhere in the study.[32] The criteria also confuse broad characteristics of international relations with the diplomatic tools to facilitate it. Foreign policy is one major aspect of a state's international relations (international trade might be another), but an alliance is a diplomatic tool to achieve foreign policy objectives.

It is the voice of dissent, then, that provides the most useful and, perhaps, the more interesting parameters by which to compare Amarna Age and modern diplomacy. Berridge's criteria are yet more specific as he specifically scrutinizes those diplomatic tools and features that facilitate international relations. These features of "sophisticated diplomacy" include diplomatic immunity, continuous contact, qualified (not necessarily professional) personnel, a guiding bureaucracy, third-party mediation, a means of underpinning agreements, and flexibility.[33] These criteria are attractive for three reasons. Firstly, they are entirely of the political or diplomatic realm with no applicability to other spheres of activity. Secondly, they can be considered exclusive features of post-Westphalia diplomacy[34] and so provide the most direct point of comparison between the ancient and modern systems. Thirdly, they highlight the working parts of the international system, and as the literature debates the significance of the Amarna Age as a precursor to the Westphalian system, it is fitting to analyze the inner workings of those systems as a measure of their comparative sophistication.

Don't Kill the Messenger: Diplomatic Immunity

The status of diplomatic immunity extended to ambassadors and envoys may be, according to Berridge, the most important feature of modern diplomacy, as it represents "a response to functional necessity in circumstances that are, at worst, life-threatening."[35] This life-threatening potential is inherent in the role of the envoy, as gathering information and communicating unfortunate news could incur the wrath of the host nation; immunity is therefore necessary for ambassadors and embassies to do their jobs.

Arguments over the treatment of envoys appear many times in the Amarna letters. The most common issue was the detainment of messengers for long periods of time; Kadashman-Enlil of Babylon complains to Amenhotep III that "when I sent a messenger to you, you have detained him for six years"–a wound made all the more grievous in light of the more amenable treatment enjoyed by Kadashman-Enlil's predecessor.[36] In fact, the detainment of messengers appears to have been common cause for diplomatic feuds spanning the reign of several kings. Akhenaten apparently continued in his father's footsteps, detaining the envoys of Kadashman-Enlil's successor, Burra-Burinya,[37] while Tusratta of Mitanni recounts the mutual detention of messengers between his kingdom and Egypt.[38]

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[31] Shereen Saeidi, 'International Political System and the Westphalian Paradigm: A Call for Revision', 25.
[32] Ibid,18.
[33] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 212-213.
[34] Ibid, 213.
[35] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 213.
[36] EA 3 in William L. Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, trans. William L. Moran, English-language ed (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 7.
[37] EA 7 in William L. Moran, ed. *The Amarna Letters*, 13.
[38] EA 29 in Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 96.

While detention of envoys is rife in the letters, the actual treatment they received from their hosts is unclear, though it is generally accepted that it not hostile in intent or effect. Bryce notes that diplomatic missions, reception and dismissal alike, involved significant formalities that could be delayed for any number of reasons, such as the unavailability of the host or preparation of a response or gift.[39] Even those few instances of apparent mistreatment that were noted by kings were often taken out of context, such as Assur-uballit of Assyria's outrage over his envoys being forced by Akhenaten to stand in the hot sun. It has been suggested that the envoys might actually have been attending a ceremony of the pharaoh's sun worship.[40]

The true test of diplomatic immunity is whether it is reliably extended to messengers of hostile nations, a test the Amarna Age does not pass. Two notable incidents account for this. One takes place between two warring vassal cities in the Levant, Byblos and Sumur; Rib-Hadda, the mayor of Gubla, complains to his Egyptian masters that he sent a messenger to open negotiations with Yapa-Hadda of Sumur, who promptly seized the man and "bound him."[41] The more extreme incident is mentioned in letters between Ramesses II and Hattusili III of the Hittite Empire. Ramesses detained two of Hattusili's messengers and had one, Zuwa, "bound up hand and foot"; Zuwa was presumably killed, as Hattusili exclaimed that "It is not right to kill a messenger!"[42] The cold dismissal of an envoy's rights by Ramesses forces even a staunch supporter of the Amarna Age like Bryce to admit that immunity meant little during this period. It is fair, therefore, to revoke the Amarna Age's diplomatic immunity.

Keep in Touch: Consistency of Contact

Berridge's primary concern with this feature is the maintenance of resident embassies at foreign courts. Such regular embassies allow for information gathering and lobbying to be carried out more effectively, immediately, and–as circumstances demand–surreptitiously.[43] Berridge would claim that such embassies did not exist in the Amarna Age; Bryce generally agrees but asserts the residential nature of at least some messengers.[44]

The main complication arises from the unclear nature of detained messengers as discussed previously. Several incidents have messengers remaining at foreign courts for years on end. Firstly, the amount of time they were detained is contestable, as it has been argued that the years spent at court (especially those examples citing upwards of twenty years detainment) are rounded or otherwise exaggerations.[45] However, the very existence of the letters bearing this information is fair evidence that envoys could be detained long-term, as new messengers would have been delivering these letters and their complaints. Secondly, the activities and capabilities of messengers is equally contested. Bryce suggests that, while they were forced to remain, envoys nevertheless enjoyed considerable freedom of movement at court, a good opportunity to gather information for later messengers.[46] On the other hand, Berridge argues that

[39] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East,* 61.
[40] Ibid, 64.
[41] EA 116 in William L. Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 191.
[42] E. Edel, *Die Agyptische-hethitische Korrespondenz aus Boghazkhöi*, vol. 2 (Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1994), quoted in Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East:* 64.
[43] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 214-215.
[44] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 60.
[45] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 215; Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 131.
[46] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 60.

detainees would be unqualified or preoccupied for such tasks, busying themselves with securing their release, likely by "fawning even more on the local ruler."[47]

Berridge also notes that, even had embassies existed, they would not have improved communication by any means. The communications technology of the age is the obvious factor. Messages would still have to be ferried from court to court, embassy to embassy, and this remained at the mercy of the man, horse, boat, or road carrying them, never mind the weather or countryside bandits.[48] There is also the more extraordinary case in which communication breaks down for no other reason than a king simply fails to comment or reply. Such is the case between Egypt and the hapless Rib-Hadda of Gubla. In a string of letters (EA 55, 73-75, and 78-79), Rib-Hadda appeals to his suzerain for support against the rising power of neighbouring Amurru, and regularly questions how the pharaoh has failed to even reply. By EA 74, the tone is decidedly panicked, Rib-Hadda begging the pharaoh: "Do not be negligent of your servant. Behold, the war of the 'Apiru against [me] is severe…I have written like this to the palace, but you do not heed my words."[49]

Amarna Age communication was governed by the technology of the time and occasional extraordinary stipulations, but the situation regarding embassies is not as clear. Though Berridge denies their existence, the evidence is open to interpretation and inference. It is not impossible that detained missions, qualified or not, adopted the role of an embassy as they languished at their host's court, handling later messengers from home who managed to escape detention; it is therefore not infeasible that embassies of a kind emerged in many courts as a result of these detentions.

The Pen is Mightier than the Sword: Qualified Personnel

The professionalism of Amarna Age diplomats is difficult to assess as many of the necessary traits mentioned by Berridge–intelligent, persuasive, literate, –are not characteristics easily conveyed through written sources. There are, however, some individuals in the letters whose being named would suggest they held a dedicated emissary position, such as Mane and Keliya, messengers of Amenhotep III detained by Tusratta of Mitanni.[50] Such individuals likely learned on the job, gaining the requisite skills and reputation as they undertook missions on a regular basis, and potentially pursuing diplomatic matters as a career (likely at the behest of the court). It has also been suggested that diplomats were drawn from the merchant class who, being involved in a trade entirely dependent on negotiation skills, were more readily equipped to parley with individuals of importance than a randomly chosen servant.[51] Outside of these learned skills, there does not appear to have been any discernible schooling or training in diplomatic matters in either case; dedicated diplomats were unofficial professionals, at best, but this need not discount their abilities, especially if they pursued or were tasked with diplomatic missions "full-time."

There does, however, appear to have been formal training for another member of the diplomatic process. The scribes who wrote the Amarna letters and other documents would have had to have a working knowledge not only of their native tongue, but the "international Akkadian" cuneiform that had become the standard diplomatic language of the age.[52] Such knowledge allowed them to accurately communicate

[47] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy:* 217.
[48] Ibid, 217.
[49] William L. Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 74.
[50] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 218; William L. Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 96.
[51] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 218.
[52] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 52; Mario Liverani, *The Ancient Near East*, 284.

their king's intended messages and avoiding misunderstandings, a crucial part of the diplomatic process. Candidates were thus subjected to a heavily regimented and arduous process of learning cryptic cuneiform symbols in dedicated schools.[53] Scribal professionalism is beyond doubt and, coupled with the informal but no less developed skills of many diplomats, speaks to a definite cadre of quality personnel tasked to all diplomatic dealings.

Red Tape in the Right Direction: Guiding Bureaucracy

Whether this growing corps of scribes and speakers was ever formed into a kind of foreign office is another matter, but one with significant evidence in its favour. The most obvious is the concerted copying, cataloguing, and collection of all diplomatic correspondence–the very process that produced the Amarna archive and others like it. Letters were often written in several languages and catalogued according to the importance of the recipient or sender.[54] A similar process occurred the Hittite treaties, such as the accord between Hattusili and Ramesses, which was taken down, transliterated, and copies exchanged for each party's records.[55] Other evidence includes the sheer number of scribes employed by Amarna Age kings. Bryce counts fifty-two scribes in the Great Temple in Hattusa, the Hittite capital, a full quarter of the staff there,[56] and it is not difficult to imagine comparable numbers in other kingdoms.

Berridge counters that much of a kingdom's foreign policy was dictated by the ruler themselves and relied on a ruler's strength of personality to put these dictates into effect.[57] Though they listened to counsel, their counsellors were few and far between. However, Berridge seems to underestimate the evolution of a large bureaucracy in light of the many duties a king had to fulfill. A great deal more than foreign policy was dictated by the king, including domestic religious or infrastructural matters. A king could only dedicate so much attention to foreign policy before circumstance required another to oversee matters in his stead. This appears to have been the reality during the ongoing conflict with Amurru in the Levant, as some letters are specifically sent by or addressed to representatives of the pharaoh, not the pharaoh directly.[58] A delegated staff would have been necessary to keep pace with events in cases when the highest authority was unavailable, and the evidence supports its existence in at least two Amarna Age kingdoms.

The Amarna Nations: Third Party Mediation

According to Berridge, mediation must involve a third party and work toward peaceful settlements.[59] The sources make it clear that such mediation did not exist to any significant degree in the Amarna Age, and certainly not between the Great Powers. The only possible mediation that might have taken place would have had to involve a suzerain managing relations between his vassals. However, no treaties or references have surfaced depicting this kind of management, and earlier examples–most notably the plight of Rib-Hadda of Gubla–have demonstrated a general policy of non-intervention on part of the Great Powers; Egypt made no attempts to aid Gubla, and no mention is made of Hittite involvement on behalf of Amurru, their vassal. Per Berridge, "the unheeded pleas of vassals" were the few abortive attempts at regional governance.

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[53] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 52.
[54] Ibid, 51-52; Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, xvii.
[55] Beckman and Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 96.
[56] Bryce, *Letters of the Great Kings of the Ancient Near East*, 53.
[57] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 219.
[58] For example, EA 96 from an Egyptian general, and EA 166 and 167 to Egyptian officials, in Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, 170, 254-256.
[59] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 220.

One potential challenge to this is the role of divine figures as a kind of mediator, touched on in earlier comparisons to the Westphalian principles. The gods "witnessed" earthly treaties and oaths sworn in their name, and fear of incurring their wrath by way of dishonouring these agreements forced compliance by custom if nothing else. However, this author is inclined to agree with Berridge's assessment that divine witnessing is more reflective of the following criterion as a means of underpinning diplomatic agreements.

Pinkie Swear: Underpinning Agreements

Berridge outlines several options for underpinning agreements, including impressive presentation, formal ratification, public ceremonies of acknowledgement, and guarantees of third-party enforcement.[60] In agreement with Berridge, this is the criterion which the Amarna Age can most easily meet. Divine witnesses and guarantees of divine punishment for oath breakers, discussed previously, would fit under these options, but the most obvious option used throughout the Near East was the signing of treaties. The treaty between Hattusili and Ramesses stands out once again. Not only was the agreement made impressive simply "by embodiment in writing"[61] and oaths to the gods, but it received special treatments which further enhanced its obligations, most notably that it was inscribed on metal (likely silver) tablets, and later applied to the walls of Egyptian temples.[62] These treatments aside, if the simple act of rendering treaties in writing fulfills the need of underpinning agreements, then the wealth of sources qualifies the Amarna Age without doubt.

Their Patterns Indicate Three-Dimensional Thinking: Flexibility

The last of Berridge's criteria is flexibility of procedure, planning for all possibilities, and contingencies for emergencies. There is some evidence regarding this, while some can be deduced. In an example at the bureaucratic level, William Moran argues that Amarna letters with vassals were not subject to the same regulations as that shared between the Great Powers; copies were rarely made, and letters rarely sent in the first place (those that survive were letters overlooked by the staff).[63] Others examples include simple tricks such as delivering a vocal message, committed to memory, rather than a written message, committed to writing, depending on its content or audience.[64] On the geopolitical scale, the non-interventionist approach of the Great Powers in the affairs of their vassals is perhaps the greatest evidence of flexibility in foreign affairs, as the pharaoh does not appear to be troubled even by the potential conquest or subjugation of his vassal under another. The motivations behind this behaviour are, of course, unclear and could be a result of real weakness or inability to react. In a best-case scenario, however, the apparent willingness to take such a political hit, perhaps in service of other goals, demonstrates that ancient rulers were men of a one-track mind, even in a world governed as much by Brand's irrational factors as rational ones.

Conclusions

The results of this study, making use of Berridge's criteria in combination with Amarna Age sources and scholarly interpretations, align closely with Berridge's own except that in addition to working agreements, flexibility of action, and qualified personnel, a bureaucratic framework also existed to facilitate international relations with rival powers. Furthermore, the existence of an ambassadorial system and resident embassies remains subject to debate, with the very real possibility that such an institution arose

[60] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 220.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Beckman and Hoffner, *Hittite Diplomatic Texts*, 96.
[63] Moran, ed., *The Amarna Letters*, xvii.
[64] Berridge, 'Amarna Diplomacy: A Full-Fledged Diplomatic System?', in *Amarna Diplomacy*, 221.

in some form in the given circumstances of detained messengers; the same can be said of third-party mediation depending on interpretations of ancient religious values.

The diplomatic mechanism of the Amarna Age does not fulfil the full criteria necessary to be compared with modern or Westphalian diplomacy, but it fulfils a great deal more than might be expected and in ways more familiar than might be expected given a time disparity of three millennia, with the countless cultural, societal, and technological changes therein, and this gives it significance in its own right. As Berridge and others acknowledge, the Great Kings and their subjects made their system work, communicating in spite of distance, language, and culture–they solved a problem that has lasted to the modern era using the tools and methods they had to hand. This relation of a universal problem and a solution unique to a given society may provide the beginning of an answer to Liverani's dichotomy between the modernist and primitivist approaches to the past.

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Unknown Artist, Athens Owl
Tetradrachm (454 BCE)

Paul Keczem, "The Legacy of Radhabinod Pal,"
HI 467: Asia in World War II
Supervised by Dr. Blaine Chiasson

Introduction

Justice Radhabinod Pal is a figure who is virtually unknown in the Western world, but in Japan and for many anti-imperialist writers he carries a higher degree of significance. Born in Bengal, India in 1886, Pal was a lawyer who became the first Indian to hold the position of vice-chancellor of Calcutta University before serving as one of the eleven judges for the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), also known as the Tokyo War Crimes Trial.[1] His controversial and lengthy judgement not only dissented from the majority opinion but found every single one of the defendants innocent. Though it was not published until six years after he wrote it with the end of the American occupation of Japan in 1952, Pal's dissent has since become famous, especially in Japan where he is viewed by many as a friend to the Japanese and even a sort of national hero. It is important to note that it is not just a fringe group in Japan who revere Pal in heroic terms, nor is this reverence a thing of the past. A prime example of the state's view of Pal is Prime Minister Abe's recent public visit to Pal's son in India in 2007 in recognition of his father's findings of Japanese leaders as innocent of their charges.[2] The dissent is most utilized outside of Japan by postcolonial and anti-imperialist writers, who continue to relate Pal's views of the world order he saw in his time to contemporary times. While Pal's dissent and later writing can perhaps be justifiably applied in a postcolonial context to highlight the many inequalities in the international community that continue to persist today, in Japan his work is used mostly as a tool by right-wing revisionist historians in an effort to distort the past and frame Japanese actions in World War II in a more positive light and by the state to promote Japanese nationalism.

Historiography

As mentioned above, Pal does not garner much attention outside of Japan. There are very few monographs that focus on his work; most of the scholarship done on the IMTFE is concerned with exploring the broader scope of the trial itself, with Pal meriting only an aside in most works. Pal's work was first published in Japan in 1952 by Masaaki Tanaka, a far-right neonationalist. A brief history of the circumstances around Pal's rise in importance in Japan will be explored later in this paper.

The first significant English language work published about Pal in the West is Richard Minear's *Victor's Justice*, published in 1971 shortly after Pal's death.[3] This book, as its title suggests, sympathizes and agrees with Pal's perception of the trial as an unjust trial of the vanquished by their conquerors. It is an attack on the legitimacy of the Tokyo trial, with Minear raising such issues as the application of retroactive or ex post facto law, the commonly disputed conspiracy charge, and the problems with designating individual responsibility in such a trial. While the book is seen as a positive contribution to the historiography of the trial, as the IMTFE had been ignored by most scholars in favour of the Nuremberg Trials, there are some serious flaws with Minear's work. It is criticized for being unbalanced

[1] Nariaki Nakazoto, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan: Pal's Dissenting Judgement at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal* (London: Lexington Books, 2016), 77, 83.
[2] Purnendra Jain, "New Roadmap for Japan-India ties" in *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 5:9 (2007), 4.
[3] Latha Varadarajan, "The trials of imperialism: Radhabinod Pal's dissent at the Tokyo tribunal" in *European Journal of International Relations* I-23 (2014), 7.

and biased, with not enough space devoted to historical problems (odd considering Minear's background as a historian). Additionally, Minear often comes to conclusions without enough evaluation of the different factors involved, resulting in an overly simplified presentation of the facts of the trial. Minear's final conclusion that the world should revert to the code of international law in place before 1945 is problematic for a number of reasons, not least because this would result in an unchecked right for sovereign states to wage arbitrary wars.[4]

While most scholarly works following Minear were dismissive of Pal and his judgement, referring to him as a Japanese apologist for example, in the 1990s some key scholars emerged who were willing to engage with Pal's work differently. Elizabeth S. Kopelman's 1991 article "Ideology and International Law: The Dissent of the Indian Justice at the Tokyo War Crimes Trial" and Ashis Nandy's 1992 article "The Other within: The Strange Case of Radhabinod Pal's Judgement on Culpability" represent some of the first works to look past previous scholarly dismissal of Pal and present a new analysis of him. Kopelman's article tries to explain Pal's opinions through his individual experiences, looking at factors like his background as a positivist legal scholar and the fact that he was a citizen of a country who had not been attacked by Japan. Nandy's article is similar in that it also looks at Pal's past experiences, this time focusing on his background in Hindu law as the biggest influence as to his disagreement with the majority judgement. This is a common pattern in the scholarship, whether the author sees Pal's work as significant or not: seeking to explain Pal's dissent through his life experiences.[5]

There are now a number of articles published about Pal and his work, most of which deal with Pal's life like Nandy and Kopelman as a lens through which to see his dissent. The other common theme is to look at how Pal's work has been distorted and appropriated in Japan, especially by the right-wing revisionists so prevalent in that nation. More recently, scholars like Adil Hasan Khan and Latha Varadarajan (who will be explored later in this paper) have begun to examine the significance of Pal's ideas outside of the Japanese context, especially his insights into the continued presence and dominance of imperialism in international politics and law.

There are still not many monographs that focus on Pal in particular. Perhaps the most significant work on Pal to date, Nariaki Nakazoto's 2016 monograph *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan: Pal's Dissenting Judgement at the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal* is a comprehensive look at Pal's dissent and behaviour at the trial, his early life leading up to his appointment, and the development of what he terms the "Pal myth" in Japan. This is not an exception to the method of analyzing Pal's past to explain his opinions, but is the most in-depth work on Pal that I am aware of. Another notable and very recent work is David Cohen and Yuma Totani's 2018 monograph *The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal: Law, History, and Jurisprudence*. While this work is not dedicated to Pal in particular and is instead a comprehensive examination of the trial in full, it offers a deep and insightful analysis of Pal's dissent and serves as an excellent guide or roadmap through it, especially important given the dissent's convoluted nature. The book is much more focused on examining the validity of his legal opinions than it is concerned with explaining how he arrived at them, unlike most of the other works discussed.

Pal's Background

This paper will also seek to provide insight into how Pal's experiences shaped his views. In order to understand how and why Pal arrived at his opinions, it is important to examine his early life and career

[4] Kurt Steiner, "MINEAR, "Victor's Justice: The Tokyo War Crimes Trial" (Book Review)" in *Journal of Asian Studies* 32 (1972), 708-709.

[5] Varadarajan, 7.

leading up to his appointment at the tribunal. In particular, the religious and colonial context in which he grew up must have played a major role in shaping his philosophy. It is often written in biographies of Pal that he was born to a poor and lower-caste Bengali family, making it that much more difficult to achieve the level of success that he reached.[6] The family's status must be further qualified however, as the Pals were elevating themselves socially and are thus seen more accurately as part of the middle class of rural Bengal. Consequently, there was room within Pal's caste for him to rise to a level befitting his potential.[7] To add to his difficulties, however, Pal's father abandoned the family when Pal was only 3 years old. As Japanese historian Nariaki Nakazoto notes, a boy with no father from a middling caste rising to the status that he did under the colonial system he grew up under is a remarkable achievement.[8]

The Pals practiced Shaktism, a denomination or tradition of the Hindu religion in which one female deity is worshipped above the others and is seen as the embodiment of the power of reality, known as "shakti." This is especially relevant in terms of Pal's understanding of Emperor Hirohito's culpability and his unwillingness to have the emperor indicted or called as a witness in the trial. Pal blended Shaktism with the enigmatic Japanese concept of "kokutai" (literally translated as "national essence") to form a view of Hirohito as an embodiment of divinity: a deity.[9] In this way, Pal bought into the Japanese national myth of its emperor and was willing to preserve his status partly for the same reasons as the Japanese.

Another major factor that heavily impacted Pal's views was the fact that he grew up in colonial India. It is significant that Pal was specifically from Bengal, as he grew up at a time in which several key political events occurred that must have played a role in shaping his beliefs, especially those relating to colonialism. One such event was the Partition of Bengal in 1905. While Indians were told the province was partitioned in an effort to improve government administration and revenue collection, the real motivation of the British was to attempt to weaken opposition to their rule. This was viewed almost universally by Bengalis as a "national insult" and generated massive backlash.[10]

Out of this fiasco came the Swadeshi Movement, an anti-partition movement beginning in 1905 that evolved into a demand for independence.[11] This movement was incredibly significant in shaping the nature of the anti-colonial movement in India for decades to come.[12] It was the first movement that altered the dynamic of anti-colonialism in that it opened political discourse to a larger diversity of people. Instead of elites playing the only key political roles, the public developed a new awareness and political consciousness and began to participate in the anti-colonial struggle.[13] Swadeshi means "manufactured in one's own country" and thus while initially activists took more moderate approaches including public speeches, political rallies, and petitions to the government, the strategies the movement utilized became more extreme, involving boycotts of British goods and education. Some of the more radical elements began to call for "Swaraj," meaning "self-rule" and "independence." This led to an impasse between the British administration and Bengal, which was only resolved when more extreme elements of the

[6]Vivek Pinto, "Justice Radhabinod Pal and the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal: A Political Retrospective of His Historic Dissent" in *International Christian University Publications, 3-A, Asian Cultural Studies* 35 (2009), 186.
[7] Nakazoto, *Neonationalist Mythology in Postwar Japan*, 80-81.
[8] Nakazoto, 81, 84.
[9] Pinto, "Justice Radhabinod Pal and the Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal," 186.
[10] Pinto, 187-88.
[11] Nakazoto, 85.
[12] Ajanta Biswas, "Sakharam Ganesh Deuskar and the Swadeshi Movement in Bengal: The Second Identity" in *Social Scientist* 33, no. 3/4 (2005), 66.
[13] Ananta Giri, "Rethinking the Politics and Ethics of Consumption: Dialogues with the Swadeshi Movements and Gandhi" in *Journal of Human Values* 10 (1) (2004), 44.

movement resorted to terrorist attacks. Despite British efforts to deal with the terrorists by force, they were forced to withdraw partition in 1911.[14]

At the time of the partition, Pal was a student at Presidency College in Calcutta. One of his friends from the school not only took part in the movement but later developed more extremist views, joining one of these secret terrorist groups. Pal's own involvement and views on this matter can only be speculated on, and due to his economic problems it is unlikely he would have taken part in such protest measures as education boycotts, but as a direct witness to the abuse of power inflicted by a colonial power it must have had a significant impact on him.[15] In the same year, Japan managed to achieve a surprising naval victory over Russia, celebrated in Bengal because of its significance as the first Asian victory over a European power.[16] It is not known to what extent these events influenced Pal's opinions, but given his later opinions and writing, it is still worthwhile to take into account the important events that happened in his formative years. Regarding the Swadeshi Movement, it is hard to imagine that the atmosphere this created did not have an impact on Pal. One contemporary historian writes of the feeling of the time: "Swadeshism during the last days of its potency coloured the entire texture of our social and domestic life."[17] Although the idea of a total universal appeal for the movement is exaggerated,[18] Pal would certainly have been aware of it and his later opinions are aligned with its anti-colonial concerns. It must be noted, however, that Pal did not take part in any of the succeeding independence movements, including the Civil Disobedience and Quit India movements.[19]

There is one night in Pal's life before the trial that is a stronger indication of Pal's personal and political beliefs. On November 5, 1945, a trial was held for three former soldiers of the Indian National Army (INA), the army that had allied itself with Axis powers. This caused widespread anger among the Indian population, who venerated the INA as a patriotic group fighting for Indian independence. This generated mass protests across the nation, including in Calcutta, where Pal was living at the time. On November 22, a student protest in Calcutta had a violent encounter with police in which one student was shot and killed. Pal first met and tended to injured protestors, then went to the scene of the incident along with a group of students. He remained with them until 3 am that morning. As vice-chancellor of Calcutta University, a prestigious and public position, it was uncharacteristic to visit a scene of violence and even more so to stay and speak with student protestors until early the next morning. Pal apparently had a significant impact on the students, though it is not known what precisely was discussed between them. These actions imply that Pal was not only sympathetic to the protest movement but also to the INA in general. It was a political risk to make such a public appearance, given his high status as vice-chancellor. Six months after this night, Pal arrived in Tokyo to assume his role as a jurist for the IMTFE.[20]

Pal's Selection

[14] Nakazoto, 85-86.
[15] Nakazoto, 86-87.
[16] Pinto, 188.
[17] A. K. Biswas, "Paradox of Anti-Partition Agitation and Swadeshi Movement in Bengal (1905)" in *Social Scientist* 23, no. 4/6 (1995), 41.
[18] Biswas, 54; Nakazoto 80. The movement was in fact exclusionary of both Muslims and low-caste Hindus. Pal's family, however, was not one of the castes persecuted by these higher-caste Hindus; as members of the Kumbhakar caste they held a higher social status than most of the population of Bengal (though lower than the elite groups).
[19] Nakazoto, 87.
[20] Nakazoto, 101-103.

Including Indian representation at the Tokyo Trial became important to the British as a means to mollify an angry and disgruntled people who had been forced to participate in and contribute heavily to a war without their consent. American consent was required for the British judicial proposal to become a reality, and after some difficult negotiations with the United States, the decision to include an Indian judge was formalized a month before proceedings on April 3, 1946.[21] There was no specific candidate in mind, but the Allies stipulated that the selection was meant to be a specific rank: a serving or retired High Court Justice. This proved difficult for the British colonial government. The War Department, the agency tasked with finding a suitable justice, was given a deadline of April 20. Their initial choices rejected the position, and the search turned frantic as the deadline approached and then passed. Desperate not to lose their opportunity to ease the political situation in India, the War Department urgently requested the chief justices of the four High Courts of India – Bombay, Madras, Calcutta, and Lahore – to contact them immediately if any judge indicated their willingness to accept the position.

On April 24, Radhabinod Pal wired a message detailing his acceptance to the War Department. One day later, three other judges also applied, among them a man who would eventually become the chief justice of the Federal Court of Pakistan. Pal beat these other applicants out by one day and his selection was officially approved on April 27.[22] At the same time his acceptance was being confirmed however, objections were being raised by a different branch of the government. The governor-general's Secretariat was the body that administered the High Courts, and was therefore miffed at not being consulted before Pal's appointment. Technically, the decision was subject to their authority. Additionally, they pointed out that Pal did not actually meet the recommended qualifications of "serving or retired High Court Justice" outlined by the Allies – Pal was an Advocate, not a Judge of the High Court and only filled in for various absences on a temporary basis. The mistake was acknowledged by the War Department, but not corrected beyond firing the officer who was responsible, and Pal's nomination went forward. He was thus not especially qualified to sit on the IMTFE, nor was he the first choice of the British. He got the position essentially through luck, good timing, and governmental error.[23]

It must be noted that there were no obvious indications prior to his selection that Pal was going to take the radical stance that he did. His judicial record suggested the opposite. Pal did not write a single dissenting opinion while serving on the High Court, despite presiding over roughly 60 cases. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that he was seen by the colonial administration as a centralist and uncontroversial judge who was therefore a safe choice for the position.[24] Indeed, once Pal's radical stance became clear, he was not supported by the Indian government. Upon learning of Pal's dissent, Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru publicly made it known that not only was he annoyed with Pal, but he disavowed any connection between Pal's words and the opinions of the Indian government.[25]

Though he arrived to the proceedings late, it was clear from the outset that Pal was going to be troublesome. He refused to sign the pledge of silence taken by the other justices; obviously he was always planning on making his judgement public. The goal of this pledge was to create a sense of unity by issuing only one judgement and keeping the other opinions and deliberations confidential, and by not

[21] Nakazoto, 6-7.
[22] Nakazoto, 7-8.
[23] Nakazoto, 8-9.
[24] Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Trial: The Pursuit of Justice in the Wake of World War II* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2008), 223.
[25] Totani, 223.

signing it Pal allowed for the public existence and later publication of his dissent.[26] He also seems to have made up his mind very early on. Pal sympathized heavily with the defense. His behaviour toward the accused was noticeably overly friendly, unlike any of the other justices: he was always extremely polite and always bowed to the defendants before sitting down. This confused even the defendants, and according to one of them, when he was asked why he behaved this way during a visit to Japan after the trial, Pal responded, "The accused were leaders of Japan and the task of the liberation of East Asia was begun under their leadership. That is why I paid them such respect."[27] Even if this account was fabricated, Pal had good reason to show his favour to some of the defendants as they had played a key role in inviting Subhas Chandra Bose to Japan, a nationalist leader Pal admired greatly. He sympathized not only with the defendants but with their arguments: just a month into his time in Japan he indicated his support for the defense's argument that the tribunal itself was illegal. One month later, Pal had already begun writing his dissent.[28]

Overview of Pal's Dissent

There are some major problems with Pal's dissent, and not just from a legal perspective. It is a long, disorganized, and tedious document riddled with unnecessary quotations. As historians David Cohen and Yuma Totani note, given the nature of the dissent most of those who revere Pal for his role in the tribunal have probably not actually read through the document itself. Cohen and Totani offer a striking example of the contradiction between the presentation of Pal as a hero and the reality of his writing: in 1966, a "Tokyo Trial Research group" published a translated version of Pal's dissent, loftily praising it as a timeless historical contribution to the public but privately noting the overuse of quotations and lack of organization, and most importantly questioning its actual significance to international law.[29]

Beyond these structural issues, the document is intrinsically flawed in that it does not follow the conventions of a dissent and fails to even take the majority opinion from which it is dissenting into account. Cohen and Totani argue that the dissent is therefore much more a political statement than it is a legal document, which is why it has attained the status it has in Japan. As they point out, Pal not only finds all of the accused Japanese innocent, but actually suggests that the Allies should have been tried in their place, likening them to Nazis.[30] The actions Pal found most revolting were the American fire-bombings and atomic bombing of Japan, which were particular events Pal felt should have been tried by the court.[31] He also referred to the dropping of the atomic bomb as the closest thing in the war to Nazi policies, therefore arguing that the Nuremberg Trial was likewise hypocritical.[32] Pal did not carry such strong opinions regarding Japanese atrocities. This is consistent with his behaviour from the moment of his arrival in Tokyo: Pal was heavily biased from the outset of the trial and had made up his mind before proceedings had even begun. He does not respond to the majority opinion because that was something Pal was never going to consider. He did not even read the judgement before completing his dissent.[33] He joined the IMTFE not with the intention to act in his role as an impartial judge, but to make a political

[26] Nakazoto, 15.
[27] Nakazoto, 15-16.
[28] Nakazoto, 16-18.
[29] David Cohen and Yuma Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal: Law, History, and Jurisprudence* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 431-32.
[30] Cohen and Totani, *The Tokyo War Crimes Tribunal*, 432.
[31] Ashis Nandy, "The Other within: The Strange Case of Radhabinod Pal's Judgement on Culpability" in *New Literary History* vol. 23, no. 1 (Winter 1992), 50-51.
[32] Lewis Barclay, "The Tokyo Trial in Retrospect" in *Strathclyde Law Review* vol. 4, no. 1 (September 2018), 3.
[33] Cohen and Totani, 433. There is one reference to the majority opinion in the entirety of Pal's voluminous dissent, in the opening sentence, which reads: "I sincerely regret my inability to concur in the judgement and decision of my learned brothers."

statement in line with his deeply rooted anti-colonialist sentiments and to popularize this statement to a public audience.

Most of Pal's dissent – about 83% – is devoted to the concepts of "crimes against peace" and "aggressive war." These were the fundamental charges the Japanese accused were faced with, and so with the goal of proving their innocence in mind, Pal focused on proving the illegitimacy of the charges. He also viewed Japanese actions as justifiable in light of Western imperialism and was therefore determined to fight against setting any legal precedent that would establish them as criminal acts.[34] Despite this emphasis, Pal was less concerned with defining and engaging with the nature of the alleged crimes themselves than he was with attacking the institution of international law itself, which he saw as a manifestation of Western colonialism.[35] He was not interested in examining the criminality of Japanese actions except by way of using their supposed criminality to indict the behaviour of the West as hypocritical and monstrous, thus delegitimizing the trial as yet another example of Western values being imposed unfairly on other nations with no intention of following through on the part of the West. Pal therefore claimed that an examination of whether Japanese actions could be constituted as aggression necessitated a likewise analysis of Western actions, or as he puts it, "the antecedent behavior of the other nation concerned including its activity in adverse propaganda and the so-called economic sanction and the like."[36]

Comparing the actions of Western nations to that of Japan in an effort to argue for the exoneration of the accused is the central premise of Pal's dissent. Pal was skeptical, to say the least, of the idea that institutions like the League of Nations were helping to restrict nations from freely engaging in arbitrary warfare by holding them legally accountable. Instead, he saw them as a method to legitimize and maintain the status quo: dominant colonial powers oppressing and exploiting weaker, less developed nations.[37] Pal believed the world was not yet in a place where international law could truly "progress" or develop. As an example of the failure and inadequacies of the League, Pal refers to an incident in which a representative of Japan called for the guarantee of equality of all nations to be one of the institution's basic principles. This was strongly opposed by the British since it "raised extremely serious problems within the British Empire" and the resolution was rejected.[38] The point Pal is making through this example is that functionally the League of Nations had not taken any steps toward resolving international power disparities and instead was reinforcing colonial hegemony. This is Pal's fundamental position in regard to the state of international law at the time: it is an illusion or deception that international law can be said to be progressing in that the international community, the developing legal institutions such as the League of Nations, and precedents set by trials like Tokyo and Nuremberg not only fail to correct the inequalities of the international order but serve to preserve and support them.

It was this perceived entrenched international injustice that led Pal to the opinion that Japan was justified in its actions during WWII. Pal argued that in seeking to create an empire for itself, Japan was just doing the same thing every other developed nation had already done before it. In Pal's view, the new legal framework that was developing was an effort to prevent other nations or colonies attempting to become nations from following in the footsteps of the existing colonial powers so as to maintain their

[34] Cohen and Totani, 437.
[35] Cohen and Totani, 440.
[36] Cohen and Totani, 444-45; Radhabinod Pal, *Dissentient Judgement of Justice Pal* (Tokyo: Kokusho-Kankokai, Inc., 1999), 131.
[37] Cohen and Totani, 445.
[38] Pal, 65-66.

dominant status.[39] Given this perspective, the IMTFE was seen by Pal as one more tool through which to achieve this. Pal believed the legal precedent it would set was dangerous to the future of the international community as he perceived its conclusions (and those of the Nuremberg Trials) to be victor's justice in disguise. The Allies' success in escaping justice in this trial could only pave the way for more injustice in the future.[40]

Pal's rejection of the charges against the defendants is directly tied to his views of the state of international law and society and consequently the "true" causes of the war: the actions of the Allied nations in the previous decades. The Japanese war effort could not be considered "aggressive" from Pal's point of view, as he believed there could be no such thing as an aggressive war in a world dominated by colonial powers. In attempting to overcome this power disparity, there was no other option for lesser, subjugated nations to pursue, according to Pal, except war. Thus, it should logically follow that there could not be any crime of conspiracy to commit aggression. However, Pal dedicates more than half of his dissent to the issue of conspiracy, in opposition to his own reasoning. This is because much like the rest of the opinion, Pal is using the conspiracy charge as an opportunity to expound upon his political leanings, not evaluating it as an impartial jurist.[41] In this vein, Pal deviates from the parameters set before him as a justice of the IMTFE and moves into a discussion of the broader international context at the time of the war. The point of this lengthy analysis is again to make the argument that Japan (and Germany) could not justifiably be tried by the Allies due to Allied actions preceding the war. Pal points to several examples he believed undermined the validity of the Allies' moral position, including "the Britanocentric economic world order," "the diplomatic maneuvers of Washington," and "world opinion on Soviet policy."[42]

Ultimately, Pal entirely rejects the premise of the tribunal, arguing that in order for it to have legitimacy and for international law as a whole to progress and evolve, a much broader consideration was needed than what was presented to the judges. Without taking the actions of the Allies into account, there could be no true justice, hence Pal's rejection of the trial before it had even commenced. He concludes his dissent with a warning of the real threat he believed the world was facing: domination by Western imperialism. To Pal, the Japanese accused did not comprise a threat to world peace but could in fact have been the method through which the status quo could have been changed.[43] This, of course, did not occur; the Allies won the war and tried the losers. While it was not within Pal's power to overturn the decision or disband the tribunal, it did give him the opportunity to make his voice heard, and he took it. He chose to eschew his responsibilities as a jurist in order to propagate his political opinions, and this must be considered when examining how Pal is presented by right-wing Japanese nationalists.

Pal's dissent deals rather confusingly and contradictorily with the topic of war crimes. Initially, he makes a point of describing the ways in which propaganda can influence and distort testimony, using the Rape of Nanking as his key example.[44] He casts doubt on the veracity of survivor accounts, questioning "if we are not here getting accounts witnessed only by excited or prejudiced observers."[45] For example, Pal looks at the testimony of Dr. Hsu Chuan-ying, one of the primary witnesses of atrocities in Nanking for the

[39] Cohen and Totani, 446-47.
[40] Cohen and Totani, 448-49.
[41] Cohen and Totani, 452-53.
[42] Cohen and Totani, 455-56; Pal, *Dissentient Judgement*, 558-59.
[43] Cohen and Totani, 456-58.
[44] Cohen and Totani, 464.
[45] Pal, 608.

trial, and posits that it is "difficult to read this evidence without feeling that there has [sic] been distortions and exaggerations."[46] He singles out one story in particular from this witness in which two Japanese soldiers boarded a boat crossing a river and began raping the young women in front of their family. As the soldiers cruelly began to demand of the old man of the family that he participate in the rape of his relatives, he jumped in the river and drowned himself. The rest of his family followed suit, and all committed suicide.[47] Pal's response to this story is to question whether we can trust the surviving witness who related the story to Dr. Hsu, a boatman who belonged to the Red Swastika society, because of his affiliation with that organization. Additionally, because of his assertion that due to their suicides the family "valued their honour more than their life,"[48] Pal speculates that it would have been impossible or at least highly improbable that they would allow the women to be raped in front of them. He goes on to accept Hsu's accounts and that of the other primary witness, John Gillespie Magee, "as instances of misbehavior on the part of the Japanese soldiers with the Chinese women"[49] but while he accepts that events occurred he is hesitant to accept their classification as incidents of rape. This is more ammunition for the Japanese nationalists seeking to downplay the horrific qualities of Japanese actions during the war, who also conveniently ignore the fact that Pal at least does not deny events of this nature occurred.

His stance on war crimes becomes confusing and muddled on the very next page of his opinion. After qualifying, downplaying, and questioning the legitimacy of survivor accounts, Pal concludes that "certainly there were atrocious misdeeds"[50] and specifically that "the evidence is still overwhelming that atrocities were perpetuated by the members of the Japanese armed forces against the civilian population of some of the territories occupied by them as also against the prisoners of war."[51] How this conclusion logically follows from the preceding section is a mystery: why spend so much time talking about the impact propaganda can have on witness testimony only to then acknowledge the atrocities he was seeking to qualify in various ways? Importantly, Pal does not spend much space acknowledging these. Of his entire opinion, there are only 10 pages that list events and locations, despite his claim to be carefully weighing the evidence in this regard. He also omits the mention of events for which he cannot make any excuses. For example, there is no mention of an important trial in Singapore in 1942. This was in relation to one of the largest Japanese massacres of civilians throughout the war, and though the trial was unable to set a precedent regarding command responsibility, it was essential to consider when examining the crimes considered by the IMTFE as it clearly established the systematic nature of the atrocities and their documentation. Pal's decision to omit any mention of the trial is demonstrative again of an attempt to diminish, qualify, or downplay the extent of Japanese atrocities.[52] Given his ambivalence and even sympathy for the Japanese in this matter, it is hardly surprising that revisionist "historians" have gravitated toward Pal in their attempts to distort and misrepresent the historical record.

Pal's Later Writing

In his later work, Pal retained his strongly anti-colonial views and focused on the continued stratification between nations and his ideas about how progress in a global sense could or should come about. In his 1960 essay on the use of force between nations, Pal wrote that if humanity is to avoid the same self-defeating cycles of national self-interest we have historically experienced – demonstrated most

[46] Pal, 606-7.
[47] Pal, 607.
[48] Pal, 608.
[49] Pal, 608.
[50] Pal, 619.
[51] Pal, 609.
[52] Cohen and Totani, 465-66.

drastically in the World Wars – we must achieve growth through a global society rather than through the individual achievements of various nations. He saw humanity's capacity for destruction as the most important issue faced by the international community and emphasized the need for a diversity of beliefs and ideologies and people who understand the power disparities between the imperial powers and other nations.[53] Instead of the path to progress Pal envisioned, he saw colonial patterns repeating themselves in a new form. Clinging to the old ideas of state-based nationalism, according to Pal, inherently means preserving the imperial order, with smaller nations peacefully conceding their sovereign status to larger powers in a "quasi-colonial relationship" as they are forced into the position of satellite states. He argues this development has only resulted in further power disparities between nations while the international community simultaneously claims to be in an "era of equality."[54]

Pal was also consistent with his condemnation of the hypocrisy of the Western powers and their unwillingness to apply their own principles to themselves. In the same essay, Pal criticizes the Americans' double standard when it came to their acknowledgement of inequalities within the Russian sphere of influence, such as the incidents in Hungary, and their refusal to make the same acknowledgements regarding their own controversial foreign policy decisions.[55] This is a similar criticism to those levied at the Allied powers in his dissent and his strong condemnation of the Americans' use of atomic bombs.[56] To Pal, any attempt at creating a truly equal international society or implementing international law in a way that is truly just must first involve a willing self-examination and prosecution of wrongs on the part of the powerful nations. Similarly, he rejected the premises of the IMTFE partially on the basis that the Allies were unwilling to prosecute any war crimes they themselves had committed. This unwillingness meant the trial was nothing more than victor's justice in Pal's view and not a just precedent on which to base future international law. In the same way, Pal argues that a world in which powerful nations do not adhere to the same standards set out for others can never be truly equal.

Post-colonial Writers

Pal's work often resonates with post-colonial and anti-imperialist writers and scholars because of his calls for reformation of the international world order and his questioning of the legitimacy of the structure of international law within that order. For example, Adil Hasan Khan, a PhD in International studies with a specialization in International Law,[57] writes of the legacy Pal has left behind and how his ideas can be applied to the modern world. Khan references Pal's notion of a "new imperialism" in which the interests of individual, powerful nations are extolled as universal values. To truly achieve these values, both Pal and Khan argue, requires sacrificing a degree of sovereignty on the part of the powerful nations. Applying this to the Tokyo Trial, such a sacrifice would entail an examination of said powers' own actions during the war. Not only were they unwilling to do this, but their actions were instead presented as integral to creating these so-called universal values.[58] To Khan, the result of the trial was the preservation of the colonial hierarchy, using the idea of universality to justify colonial rule and Western actions while criminalizing those of lesser nations. He interprets Pal as arguing that the universal value we should be

[53] Radha Binod Pal, "Renunciation of Force in Inter-State Relations" in *India Quarterly: A Journal of International Affairs* 16:4 (1960), 349-50, 354.
[54] Pal, "Renunciation of Force," 355.
[55] Pal, 356.
[56] Pinto, 184. Pal was in fact so critical of the bombings that in the appendices of his dissent he included numerous photographs of victims and general destruction of the cities.
[57] The University of Melbourne, "Dr. Adil Hasan Khan," https://law.unimelb.edu.au/about/staff/adil-hasan-khan.
[58] Adil Hasan Khan, "Inheriting a Tragic Ethos: Learning from Radhabinod Pal" in *AJIL Unbound* 110 (2016), 26-27.

striving towards is instead the criminalization of imperialism, and the pursuit of a diverse group of powers rather than a transformation of the entire world into the West.[59]

Applying Pal's work in a more contemporary sense, Khan discusses the failures and missteps of the "Third World Project." He explains that while the project's initial goals were to address the inequalities brought about by colonialism before a truly universal international community could be formed, these goals were sidelined with the emergence of the idea that technological interventions in developing societies were the path to progress. Thus, Western interventions were justified in the name of "economic growth" and Western authority displaced domestic authority, repeating the inequalities of the colonial system.[60]

Latha Varadarajan, a PhD in Political Science with a focus on international relations,[61] is another scholar who deals with Pal's work in a post-colonial sense. She argues that although Pal was not consistent in applying his views on imperialism and its connections to international law to Japanese actions, his writing is still important in that it offers insight into the imperialist world order that has only continued to develop following World War II. She agrees with Pal that the developments that have supposedly overcome these systemic problems, including the IMTFE, have not actually managed to make any progress in doing so.[62] Given these sentiments, Varadarajan contends that Pal's writing deserves attention and has contemporary significance because of the tendency of International Relations (IR) scholarship to ignore or downplay the influence of imperialism on global politics.[63]

Varadarajan uses scholar Shogo Suzuki's term "intellectual strait-jacket" to refer to the current IR scholarship, as she feels that no matter the school of thought, the dominant narrative omits any deviations from the notion of progress in international relations following World War II. While there are differences in thinking among scholars, the common thread between all of them is the argument that international law is progressive in character, particularly in reference to trials like the Tokyo trial.[64] To counter these claims, Varadarajan argues that no matter where one begins a history of international law, European colonization must be taken into account. She points to the 19th century as the origin of modern international law, explaining that it was the political realities of the time that dictated the necessity to develop a formalized legal system, namely the interest of European states in maintaining and acquiring colonies. Additionally, during this time European powers sought not just to settle colonies, but to exclusively possess them to exploit for profit. This was a new, systematic line of thinking distinct from previous colonial powers in its singular goal of extracting resources from and finding markets within lesser states. It is this new brand of colonialism that is referred to as "imperialism."[65]

Imperialism and the search for resources led not to war (initially) but to more diplomatic and civilized interactions that then formed the framework for international law. Varadarajan explains that while some IR theorists praise the "common rules" states agreed to bind themselves to, demonstrating their willingness to commit to a semblance of order, these theorists often ignore just what these commonalities were and what kind of order was being committed to. Between European states, tolerance

[59] Khan, "Inheriting a Tragic Ethos," 28-29.
[60] Khan, 29-30.
[61] San Diego State University, "Latha Varadarajan," https://politicalscience.sdsu.edu/people/faculty/varadarajan_l.html.
[62] Varadarajan, 2-3.
[63] Varadarajan, 4.
[64] Varadarajan, 9.
[65] Varadarajan, 10.

was promoted, while when dealing with non-European states attaining "civilization" was the governing principle. The international cooperation so highly praised by so many theorists was set up not to respect the sovereign rights of non-European nations but to formalize the exploitive colonial system in a way that avoided war between competing imperial powers.[66] By buying into the narrative that progress is achieved slowly through these various legal institutions, set up originally in the interests of maintaining colonial power, Varadarajan argues that scholars cannot properly engage with Pal's work, as it fundamentally challenges the foundations and direction of international law.[67]

Varadarajan is different from the Japanese right who idolize Pal. She acknowledges that there are faults in the dissent, most strikingly with his ambivalent attitude toward Japanese imperialism and war crimes. She argues that while it is reasonable to present Japanese actions in light of the Western history of imperialism and aggression, Pal's claims are unconvincing that events like the Rape of Nanking or the attempt at creating the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity sphere" were responses to imperialism rather than another, Japanese manifestation of it.[68] The value she sees in Pal's work comes from its predictive qualities in terms of the trajectory of imperialism after the war. Pal was not convinced that the tribunal represented new international ideals: he believed it was just a way to create a narrative that would allow for imperialism to continue in new forms. He feared that a form of imperialism would continue even without one nation directly ruling over another, and was especially fearful for the future of Asia. Varadarajan points out that his fears were well-founded, given subsequent U.S. involvement in Asian wars and the "empire of bases" established there.[69] Ultimately, Varadarajan sees Pal's dissent as a warning. Even if we have moved from a world of colonial possessions, Varadarajan argues that the essence of imperialism is the search for "markets, resources, and profits," and institutions like the Tokyo trial were just another method to preserve these acquisitions.[70]

The Japanese Context

Although it is easy to see why post-colonial writers continue to see Pal's work as both significant and still relevant today, the Japanese context is far more problematic. It is necessary to outline a brief history of Japanese attitudes post-WWII in order to understand why this is the case and why Pal is lionized the way he is. After the war, Japan was not involved in the liberation of their colonies and did not have to directly deal with the process; the Allies did. Additionally, the "Greater East Asia Co-prosperity Sphere" the Japanese purported themselves to be fighting for was not entirely lost due to American protection; part of it was salvaged. For these reasons, Japan has not had to fully come to terms with its imperial past, allowing for a romanticized version of it to exist in the consciousness of many Japanese among both the elites and average people. It is in this perception where the roots for revisionist history lie, and the fact that Emperor Hirohito was not tried by the IMTFE allowed the idea to bloom in the political sphere. This was aided by the American willingness to ignore the rise of the right-wing in Japanese government when it was convenient to do so. The surge of radical right-wing revisionist thinkers can thus be seen as having been embedded in the postwar structure of Japan rather than a new reaction to how the country is portrayed in the historical record.[71]

Denying the validity of the IMTFE is consequently not a new phenomenon. Already in the early 1950s, the Japanese government indicated its disapproval of the trial. Even more tellingly, only three days

[66] Varadarajan, 11.
[67] Varadarajan, 12.
[68] Varadarajan, 15.
[69] Varadarajan, 16.
[70] Varadarajan, 18.
[71] Nakazoto, 142-43.

after American occupation of Japan ended in 1952, convicted war criminals, previously treated as criminals by the state, were given military pensions and told their criminal status no longer applied to them since they were not convicted under Japanese law.[72] While Pal's dissent did not receive significant state or public attention as early as these examples, this can be explained by a number of reasons. The judgement was not read out in court, nor were the records of the trial published, and so it would have been hard for it to garner public attention despite some newspaper coverage of Pal. Additionally, Japanese publishing houses chose not to publish the dissent in the initial postwar period given the recent censorship.[73]

As mentioned above, Pal's dissent was restricted from publication by occupation authorities in Japan until 1952. The man who first published the dissent was Masaaki Tanaka, a Japanese right-wing revisionist infamous for bad scholarship and manipulative methodology, in his book *On Japan's Innocence: The Truth on Trial*, also translated as *The Argument for Japan's Innocence: The Verdict of Truth*, in which an abridged version of the dissent was included.[74] The title of this book is itself misleading, as Pal was writing about the Class A war criminals specifically and not the nation of Japan, and more importantly because the idea of "innocence" was only in the sense that Pal objected to the right of the tribunal to hold such a trial.[75] Moreover, despite Pal's instructions not to alter the text, beyond abridging it Tanaka made his own additions and added a foreword putting his own views forward.[76] Tanaka only became more deceptive as time went on, intentionally distorting more and more information to further his nationalistic agenda. He published another book on Pal in 1963 called *Justice Pal's Discussion of Japan as Not Guilty* in which he misinterpreted, invented, and omitted details from the dissent. Some significant omissions include Pal's writing on the Manchurian Incident, Japanese atrocities in the Philippines, and the Nanking Massacre. Pal strongly condemned the latter two, referring to the acts in no uncertain terms as "devilish and fiendish"; obviously Tanaka wished to avoid mentioning any criticism Pal had levied toward Japanese actions that would detract from his attempted defense of the nation. Following this book, Tanaka emerged as one of the foremost writers denying the Rape of Nanking.[77] Continuing his pattern of distorting history, he infamously manipulated the Matsui diary to serve as evidence the Massacre did not take place.[78]

The Japanese fascination with Pal is not restricted to one particular group; it extends all the way up to the state level and has not faded with time. A memorial to Pal was constructed at Kyoto Gokoku Shrine in 1997 and a statue of him was built at Yasukuni Shrine in 2005.[79] Japanese leaders are often criticized for visiting this shrine, in which several Class A war criminals are interred. In 2007, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe visited Pal's son Prasanta to honour the contribution his father had made to Japan. During the same trip, Abe also met with relatives of Chandra Bose, the nationalist leader Pal admired who was not only sympathetic to the Japanese but also revitalized the Indian National Army in an effort to achieve

[72] Nakazoto, 143-44.
[73] Nakazoto, 146-47.
[74] Nakazoto, 150. This is the shortened version of the alternate translation, which continues *or the Judgement of Justice Pal Representing India at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East*, but the part of the title I have included is most relevant to the rest of the paper. As a side note, Pal was not a representative of India but an individual jurist representing himself. This is another example of Tanaka's manipulations of the truth.
[75] Takeshi Nakajima, "The Tokyo Tribunal, Justice Pal and the Revisionist Distortion of History" in *The Asia-Pacific Journal* 9:44 no. 3 (2011), 13.
[76] Nakazoto, 152.
[77] Nakajima, "The Tokyo Tribunal," 14-15.
[78] Yoshida Takashi "A Battle over History: The Nanjing Massacre in Japan" in *The Nanjing Massacre in History and Historiography*, ed. Joshua A. Fogel (London: University of California Press, Ltd., 2000), 75.
[79] Nakajima, "The Tokyo Tribunal," 15.

an independent India.[80] The meetings with these particular individuals speak to the level of tolerance and even support Abe holds for the cause of Japanese nationalists and his willingness to publicly acknowledge it, despite any grievances toward Japan doing so could potentially cause in the international community.

Pal's Engagement with his Legacy

Pal's feelings toward his legacy in Japan seem mixed and ambivalent. Pal visited Japan a total of four times: twice in 1952, and once in 1953 and 1966. His first visit is not of particular note. His second, in October 1952, was organized by Tanaka's mentor Shimonoka Yasaburo as part of a "Welcome Dr. Pal Committee" to popularize Pal even more in Japan than Tanaka's book had done. During this visit he gave a number of speeches about the Tokyo trial and its relations to war and peace. He also visited war criminals to offer an apology that he could not do more to help them and criticize the crimes of the Allies. Additionally, Pal demonstrated his support for Japanese wartime ideology by promising to work towards an "everlasting peace built on Greater Asianism and the World Federation."[81]

Shortly before this visit, Pal corresponded with Tanaka regarding the publication of his dissent. Pal requested that the title of the book be "The Bible of Peace – by Hon R. B. Pal's Verdict at the International Military Tribunal for the Far East" and that any money made from its sale would go to the victims of the atomic bombings, who, as mentioned above, Pal was extremely sympathetic toward. Despite Pal's requests, the title *The Argument for Japan's Innocence* was maintained and the money did not actually make its way to the victims (nor was this intention made public). His next visit to Japan was six months after the publication of this work, again at Shimonoka's request. This time, Pal requested that a full version of his judgement be published; seemingly he was not entirely satisfied with Tanaka's abridged version. This was done by the end of his visit, and according to Tanaka (a dubious source at best, admittedly), Pal approved the title: *Complete Translation: The Argument for Japan's Innocence*.[82]

One of the most contradictory topics that Pal spoke about during his visit was the idea of Japan's rearmament. He advised that Japan follow India in a policy of unarmed neutrality, drawing on Gandhian ideas of non-violence but simultaneously non-cooperation. This is completely at odds with what he expressed in his dissent, in which he argued that without the right of self-defense states could not maintain their sovereignty. It is also in opposition to his actions during the visit. He met with and publicly supported Class A war criminals and proponents of Japan's rearmament despite his public speeches to the contrary. These contradictions seemingly went unnoticed in Japan, and the visit was deemed to be a success.[83]

Pal was scheduled to visit Japan again in 1963, but he cancelled at the last minute because he feared that due to the amount of Japanese people expressing their gratitude for his work he would be accused of showing favouritism toward the nation, and thus the defendants in the Tokyo trial. His last visit came three years later, in October 1966. Here he apparently indicated and clarified his opinion at the trial that Japan was not "legally" responsible for the war, leaving open the possibility that the nation was "morally" responsible. Pal's son Prasanto, who was along for the trip, informed Tanaka that the title *The Argument for Japan's Innocence* did not accurately reflect Pal's conclusions. To add to the ambiguity

[80] Jain, "New Roadmap for Japan-India ties," 4-5.
[81] Varadarajan, 7.
[82] Nakazoto, 154.
[83] Nakazoto, 160-161.

regarding Pal's engagement with his work and legacy however, a year later the Pal family distributed a book called *A Biographical Sketch* in which there is a statement that Japan was innocent of all charges.[84]

Pal was 80 years old and in ill health at the time of this last visit. He made no public political statements while in Japan but seems instead to have been saying goodbye to the nation. One night, Pal was to deliver a lecture at a conference hall, but was in too much pain to speak, and so he simply bowed to the audience. This struck the people in attendance as a particularly emotionally moving experience.[85] Pal's silence during this visit, while perhaps disappointing, was ultimately not detrimental to the agenda of the right-wing who organized his agenda. They were able, through the media, to publicize the visit and reinvigorate the spirit of Pal they (and he) had invented and cultivated. Additionally, during this visit Pal was given a symbolic decoration by Emperor Hirohito. By accepting it, Pal was in a sense indicating his own views on Hirohito's war responsibility. "The Argument for Japan's Innocence" seems to have become a more and more accurate title over time, as Pal engaged more and more fully with the right-wing elements who adored him so much.[86]

Conclusion

In conclusion, although Justice Radhabinod Pal is certainly a problematic figure in many respects, this does not mean that his work should be ignored by scholars. As a commentary on persisting international inequalities and a prescient vision of the new manifestations of the colonial order in the modern age, Pal's work bears contemporary significance, especially to those in fields related to international law and international relations. He did not, however, live up to his role as an impartial judge, and so when examining his legal opinions one must be very careful in terms of assessing their validity and modern application. He used the opportunity instead to publicly espouse his political views, which had become ingrained in him over the course of his life as a colonial citizen in Bengal, India. He witnessed a number of significant political events over his lifetime, including momentous occasions like the partition of Bengal in 1905, and these must have played a role in shaping the profound anti-colonial position he took during the Tokyo trial. The biggest problem with Pal's work is not his obvious biases, however, but how it is distorted in Japan in an effort to present Japanese actions during World War II as innocent and to inspire Japanese nationalism. Pal did not work to correct these distortions, despite his proclaimed intent to not be seen as having favoured the nation, and instead became more involved with unsavoury elements on the Japanese right over time. His visits to Japan were at the behest of and heavily influenced by these people, and despite some initial objections, Pal seems to have been mostly approving of the ways in which they were using his work, significantly including the argument that Japan as a nation was innocent of any wrongdoing. Consequently, Pal's legacy in Japan has done more harm than good and helped to revitalize right-wing groups who seek to minimalize, misrepresent, and revise the historical record. Taken outside of this context, Pal is right to point out the hypocrisy of Allied nations, who were never tried for any "war crimes" of their own. Although Pal took this idea to the extreme, suggesting the Allies should have been tried in place of the Japanese, the double standard inherent in the trial process is still a valid criticism. Additionally, his perceptions of a new, quasi-colonial world order that continued to take shape and was reinforced through supposedly progressive legal institutions are also insightful and applicable to the modern world. Overall, Pal's work deserves more scholarly attention in the West than it receives and is in need of some serious debunking in Japan.

[84] Nakazoto, 154.
[85] Nakazoto, 171-172.
[86] Nakazoto, 172-174.

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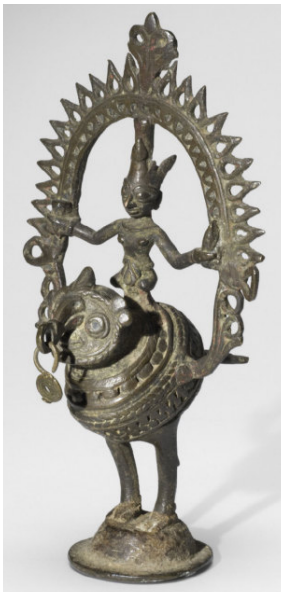

Unknown Artist, The Goddess Lakshmi
Riding her Owl (c. late 19th C)

Matthew Morden, "When Water Was Deadlier Than Bullets: The Failure of Disease Prevention During the Boer War," HI 461: War and Memory Supervised by Dr. Roger Sarty

When the Boer War began, no one in England predicted the catastrophe it would become. Having handily won the last Boer War with minimal casualties, the British assumed the Second Boer War would be just as easy a victory. But instead, the Boer War became a three-year-long brutal and costly counter-insurgency. Yet what the war became known for was not combat, but disease. Ten percent of the British army died or was invalidated by typhoid, making it the greatest killer of the war. When news of the casualty rate reached England, it provoked public outrage that triggered four royal commissions. What the commissions revealed was that the deaths were entirely preventable. The Royal Army Medical Corps (RAMC) had the knowledge, and theoretically the power, needed to effectively manage infectious disease within the army. The obvious question arising from the Boer War is thus: If the RAMC had the knowledge and technology needed to effectively manage disease, why were they not able to do so?

Although a crucial part of the military experience, the topic of disease prevention has received little attention from military historians. What attention has been devoted to the subject has been with a narrow focus that fails to address relevant structural or cultural factors impacting the spread of disease. The field has seen little development or improvement since it has received such a small amount of attention. There are no great trends to analyze, nor any major developments to make note of. Standard military histories have rarely devoted any serious attention to the issue of disease or medical care. At most, historians will devote one chapter to the Bloemfontein epidemic, which does little more then report the observations of MP Bourdett-Couts. The only significance most historians have attached to the epidemic was that it made the Boer War less popular among the British public.[1] Since the 1980's, medical historians have begun examining the Boer War. These historians have generally taken one of two approaches. The first approach has been highly specific sub 20-page articles, which generally focus on one aspect of military hygiene.[2] The second approach is a comparison between disease prevention during the Boer War and another late 19th century conflict, usually the Spanish-American War.[3] These approaches have been highly successful in producing useful epidemiological data and establishing that polluted water, flies and poor hygiene were the primary vectors for typhoid. However, such reports have never explained why British soldiers had such poor hygiene or why the army had refused to enforce simple sanitary measures. Similarly, the issue of anti-vaccination sentiments has been entirely ignored. These oversights stem from the narrow focus of most medical historians, who have failed to place disease prevention within the relevant structural and cultural context of the Victorian army. The notable exception

[1] Thomas Packenham, *The Boer War* (London: Wiedenfeld and Nicolson, 1979), 534-560. And Raymond Sibbald, *The Boer War* (London: Bramley Books, 1997), 130-145. And John Grehan, *The Boer War 1899-1902: Ladysmith, Magersfontain, Spion Kop, Kimberly and Mafeking* (Barnsley: Pen and Sword Military, 2014), 184-200.

[2] Vincent Cirillo, "Winged sponges": houseflies as carriers of typhoid fever in 19th- and early 20th-century military camps," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 49, no.1 (2006): 52-66. And Stephen A Pagaard, "Disease and the British Army in South Africa, 1899-1900" *Military Affairs* 50, no. 2 (1986): 71-76. And

[3] Vincent Cirillo, *Bullets and Bacilli* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2004) and Phillip Curtin, *Disease and Empire:* The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998)

to this is *Healers, Helpers and Hospitals* by J. C Villes. Villes' book is to the author's knowledge, the only modern medical history of the Boer War to seek systemic explanations for the RAMC's failure to manage typhoid effectively during the war. However, as Villes' book was a comprehensive history of military medicine during the Boer War, it went into little depth about the effect of culture on disease prevention.[4] This paper seeks to address past oversights by applying a war and society approach to military medicine.

As part of the war and society approach, this paper is primarily based on the Royal Commissions created to investigate the Boer War. The commissions, due to their methodology, produced a rich vein of evidence that conveys the perspective of almost every notable figure. Though a forgotten war now, the Boer War was once among Britain's most hated wars. The high casualty rate, cost and meagre achievements of the war had produced anger among both the British public and the government. In response to public and political outcry, the government approved several Royal Commissions to investigate every aspect of the Boer War. This paper is largely centered around the findings of three of those commissions, *The Commission on the War in South Africa*, *The Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, and the *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners Appointed to Inquire into the Military Preparations and Other Matters Connected with the War in South Africa*. These three commissions produced thousands of papers of interviews. The commission heads were given the right to investigate in whatever manner they pleased.[5] As a result, the commissions interviewed thousands of people ranging from patients, journalists and nurses, to the Surgeons-General, Field Marshal Roberts and most major military figure involved in the conflict. The commissions also allowed participants to give whatever testimony they wished before questioning began, ensuring all complaints held by those interviewed were given.[6] The questions themselves were focused and designed to identify any mistakes made during the conflict. The sheer number of people interviewed, and open-ended nature of the commission's testimony rules meant that the commissions are the richest and most useful sources on the Boer War.

Yet, despite their many strengths, the royal commissions were somewhat tainted by the unwillingness of some soldiers to directly address the mistakes of the military. Perhaps the best example of this reluctance was the Surgeon-General denying the RAMC was unable to effectively carry out its mandate, only to admit in the same paragraph that the RAMC required massive reforms to properly function.[7] Admitting to a mistake would have ended the careers of the commanders involved, and therefore many attempted to hide lapses and failures. Fortunately, it is easy to contrast the high-ranking testimony with that of lower ranking officers who could safely admit to major problems and mistakes without risking their career. The other problem with the commission was the interviewing of patients. Most patients were unwilling to admit to any maltreatment before the commission since they had to do so in front of doctors and their fellow soldiers. Claiming mistreatment meant risking retaliation and being seen as weak in front of fellow soldiers.[8] Fortunately, the commission interviewed several doctors and patients whose identities were protected, ensuring several people could testify without fearing

[4] J C De Villiers, *Healers, Helpers and Hospitals: A History of Military Medicine in the Anglo-Boer War,* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2012)
[5] United Kingdoms, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa. Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*. London: Wyman and Sons LTD. 1902, 4.
[6] Ibid., 6, 45, 78, 200.
[7] Ibid., 249.
[8] United Kingdoms, R*oyal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, London: Wyman and Sons LTD 1903, 49, 204, 231.

retaliation.[9] The commissions, as varied and detailed as they were, make for the best source into the issue of disease prevention.

In addition to the royal commissions, this paper makes extensive use of journalistic and biographical accounts of the Boer War. These documents are more detailed than the royal commissions but allow for less broad analysis due to their focus on the experience and particular interests of their authors. The two most notable sources are *Times History of the War in South Africa* and *The Sick and Wounded in South Africa.* Both accounts were written by journalists who were war correspondents in the South African War. Both works provided a detailed and in-depth look into military culture, something difficult to discern from other sources. While soldiers did not articulate to the royal commission why they were unhygienic, their behavior as observed by journalists provided some insights.[10] Both works were also freely able to criticize the army, since neither author faced the same threat of legal and social consequences that military officials did. As each author spent time only with one or two units in South Africa, however, their observations may have been true of only those specific hospitals or units. Thus the observations of journalist and biographical histories have been checked against secondary sources that feature broader analysis, which has confirmed that most observations were applicable to the entire army, not just specific regiments.

The two most important secondary sources are Edward Spiers *The Late Victorian Army* and *Bodily Matters* by Nadja Durbach. While neither work discusses the Boer War in great detail, they are required to understand the context and unspoken understanding of the testimony given at the royal commissions. Spiers' book treats Victorian Army culture and structure, which when combined with the commission centered on military reforms, reveals how deeply disorganized the Victorian Army was and how dismissive it was of medical reforms.[11] Durbachs' book was useful because it digests the heterogeneous Victorian anti-vaxxer movement into a single philosophy,[12] which, when applied to the royal commission on anti-vaccination, did much to explain why soldiers feared vaccination.

Before discussing the research of this paper, it is prudent to explain the star disease of the war, typhoid. Typhoid, also called enteric fever, is an infection caused by salmonella typhi. Salmonella typhi spreads through human fecal matter, either directly transferred through human contact, or through a vector such as flies, water and even dust in areas with high levels of the bacteria.[13] The bacteria can survive for weeks outside a human host, waiting for a person to consume it. Once inside a host, the bacteria migrate to the host's blood and intestines where they begin multiplying.[14] Six to thirty days after infection, hosts begin showing symptoms including fever, abdominal pain, intense headache, rash, diarrhea, exhaustion, and delirium. In severe cases typhoid can cause a series of deadly complications including dehydration, encephalitis, intestinal hemorrhaging, intestinal perforation, and brain damage from the high fever.[15] When left untreated, the infection usually lasts between four weeks and two months. The death rate of typhoid is difficult to identify, but current studies as well as 19th century studies

[9] Ibid., 269, 274.
[10] L S Avery, *Times History of the War in South Africa,* (London: William Clowes and Sons, 1900) 34.
[11] Edward M Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army 1868-1902.* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992)
[12] Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in Victorian England,* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005) 27.
[13] Gordon Cook and Alimuddin Zumla, *Manson's Tropical Diseases 22nd Edition* (Edinburgh: Saunders Elsevier, 2009), 345.
[14] Ibid.
[15] Ibid., 346.

estimate 20%-30% of typhoid patients will die without treatment.[16] While infected, typhoid patients are highly contagious, with their excrement and blood containing vast amounts of bacteria.

The RAMC entered the Boer War with a strong understanding of disease prevention. The British had spent decades fighting tropical diseases and had gained a functional understanding of how to combat illness. The greatest killers of the Boer War—typhoid, dysentery and cholera—were well known to the British. In the mid 1800s, the British had made massive breakthroughs in combatting waterborne illness. The bacterium causing most common ailments were identified and cheap, effective anti-sceptics developed to combat them.[17] Central to British understanding of disease was the "Report of the Typhoid Board," produced by the United States Army Medical Corps, documenting their experience combatting typhoid during the Spanish American War. The report, advanced copies of which were distributed to all RAMC doctors, identified the major vectors of typhoid as being water, flies, human contact, and dust.[18] The report claimed that militaries could limit the spread of typhoid by the four vectors by using a few simple and highly effective sanitary protocols. All water was to be boiled or filtered before use, netting was to be used to keep flies from accessing people of typhoid bacteria, human waste was to be burned or disinfected, soldiers were required to use toilets to limit the spread of typhoid to dust, and, finally, all soldiers were to liberally use soap and water to maintain their personal hygiene.[19] The recommendations were taken to heart by the RAMC who made the listed preventative measures a part of their medical doctrine.[20]

For cases where prevention failed and soldiers became infected with typhoid, cholera or dysentery, the RAMC turned to one of several treatment manuals. Standard treatment doctrine called for the infected to be isolated in specialized wards, thus preventing further infection.[21] Once isolated, the sick required regular nursing care to control the high fever and dehydration. A hearty protein and fat rich diet was recommended, two litres of milk and a litre of beef tea a day?, to ensure that patients stayed hydrated and nourished despite the diarrhea.[22] If fevers reached dangerous temperatures, the patient was to be given a cool bath or ice compress until it fell.[23] The treatment, while inefficient compared to modern anti-biotics, was remarkably successful. When followed correctly, fatality rates for typhoid could be reduced from ten percent to one percent.[24] The treatment regimes for cholera and dysentery were nearly identical to that of typhoid and were equally effective in reducing mortality rates.[25] The medical community's understanding of disease was by no means perfect, notably describing typhoid as having a tropical variant which it did not, but it was enough to ensure medical personnel had the tools needed to effectively manage the spread of common diseases.

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[16] Ibid., 348. And Patrick Manson, *Tropical Diseases: A Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climates*, (New York: William Wood and Company, 1898): 388.
[17] Patrick Manson, *Tropical Diseases: a Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climates*, (New York: William Wood and Company, 1898): 388.
[18] United Kingdoms, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa. Minutes of evidence taken before the Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*. London: Wyman and Sons LTD. 1902, 492.
[19] Victor Vaughan, "CONCLUSIONS REACHED AFTER A STUDY OF TYPHOID FEVER AMONG THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN 1898," *JAMA* 34 (1900), 1451.
[20] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 165.
[21] David Stewart MD., *Treatment of Typhoid Fever*, Detroit: George S Davis, 1893, 13.
[22] Ibid., 16.
[23] Manson, *Tropical Diseases: a Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climates,* 315.
[24] Stewart MD., *Treatment of Typhoid Fever*, Detroit: George S Davis, 1893, 34.
[25] Manson, *Tropical Diseases: a Manual of the Diseases of Warm Climates, 395, 430.*

Armed with a strong understanding of how to manage the spread of infectious disease, the RAMC readied itself for future conflicts. The RAMC's efforts to prepare were hindered by the rest of the British Army, which refused to allocate much needed resources to the RAMC. As a result, the RAMC entered the war understaffed and reliant on civilians. In the early 1890s, the RAMC had no reason to suspect the next war would be in South Africa.[26] However, as the RAMC mandate required them to be prepared to fight a war anywhere, they commissioned reports on the medical preparations needed for a war in South Africa. The report on South Africa proved prophetic, correctly identifying that unless the medical establishment underwent serious reforms, there would be a 10 percent typhoid rate in South Africa.[27] The report accurately predicted that manpower and transport shortages would lead to poor sanitation and make limiting the spread of disease next to impossible.[28] Realizing how woefully underprepared it was for war, the medical corps attempted to implement serious reform. The first challenge they attempted to address was their manpower shortage. The RAMC was supposed to be able to support 80,000 men, however in 1893 it could, by its own estimates, support at most 40,000 men.[29] To alleviate the manpower shortages, the Surgeon-General began requesting massive personal increases each year. Unfortunately, each year the Army responded by supplying just a fraction of the requested manpower.[30] Similarly, the Surgeon-General's requests for new mobile hospitals were denied. When the war began, the RAMC had just two stationary hospitals and one general hospital, which was woefully insufficient to support 80,000 men.[31] The denial of additional resources led Surgeon General Jameson to believe the army's unwillingness to significantly expanded the medical service was cost related. This theory was partially correct, as the current British government was reluctant to approve any large spending increase. Seeking to achieve expansion without substantial additional cost, the Surgeon-General proposed a medical reserve system, that would allow the army to levy hundreds of civilian doctors and nurses in the event of war. The proposal, despite receiving a positive initial reaction, was not implemented.[32] The RAMC nevertheless did have some success in preparing for war. In 1897, Almroth Wright invented a cheap and effective typhoid vaccine for the military, and the RAMC subsequently commissioned enough doses of the vaccine to supply the entire army.[33] To address their manpower and resource shortage, the RAMC struck arrangements with civilian hospitals to partially incorporate volunteer units into the army hospital system. The civilian hospitals would prove a godsend, being better funded and equipped than their military counterparts, likely saving thousands of lives.[34] Thus, the RAMC entered the Boer War cautiously optimistic that the civilian hospitals and typhoid vaccine would make up for their lack of resources. This preparatory period, though vital to the performance of the British medical service, has received little attention from scholars. Only Cirillo has discussed it in any great detail and his findings largely mirror that of this paper.

Medical optimism over the typhoid vaccine quickly proved misplaced, as the RAMC underestimated the power and influence of the anti-vaccination movement which, combined with the vaccine's side effects, meant few soldiers agreed to vaccination. Although every soldier was offered the

[26] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 491.
[27] United Kingdoms, R*oyal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, London: Wyman and Sons LTD 1903, 7.
[28] Ibid., 8.
[29] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 493.
[30] Ibid., 492.
[31] Ibid., 163.
[32] Ibid., 505.
[33] Ibid., 500.
[34] [34] UK, R*oyal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, 68.

typhoid vaccine for free, fewer than 5 percent were vaccinated.[35] Certainly the side effects were unnerving. Twenty-four hours following vaccination, soldiers developed a high fever, muscle pain and diarrhea. Though unpleasant, these initial reactions were ultimately harmless.[36] But to observers, it appeared as though the vaccine had given the vaccinated typhoid. Even Winston Churchill, who unlike most soldiers understood the science of vaccination, refused vaccination fearing it would kill him.[37] Underneath a specific fear of the typhoid vaccine was a cultural opposition to vaccination. Although Britain was among the first western nations to introduce mandatory public vaccination, it was also the first to spawn an organized anti-vaccination movement.[38] Much like its modern-day counterpart, the anti-vaccination movement preyed on the fear and ignorance of the public to sell junk science. The anti-vaccination movement subscribed to a general Victorian obsession with bodily integrity. The anti-vaxxers believed that pure blood was the key to maintaining good health.[39] As vaccinations introduced bacteria to the bloodstream, anti-vaxxers considered it inherently dangerous.[40] One of the movement's leaders went so far as to call mandatory vaccination "state sponsored blood poisoning."[41] The anti-vaxxer movement further posited that vaccines could not prevent disease. The only way to prevent disease was to improve the general health of the urban poor through social welfare and sanitation programs. This idea was based on miasma theory, which despite being abandoned by scientists, remained the popular understanding of disease. The theory has been reworked to incorporate germ theory by anti-vaccination leaders who argued that bacteria plus poor environments caused disease, not simply bacteria.[42] The British army proved especially receptive to the arguments of the anti-vaccination movement. Under the miasma model of disease, the only way to ensure public health was through welfare reform, which would benefit poor soldiers and their families immensely. Furthermore, the theory fit in perfectly with officers' limited understanding of disease, unlike the bacterial theory of disease which challenged popular understandings.[43]

The popularity of the anti-vaccination movements theories led to it becoming a powerful political lobby.[44] The movement grew powerful enough to challenge the British government over mandatory vaccination. The British government during the Boer War largely endorsed mandatory vaccination, but it also knew that introducing any more mandatory vaccines would promote strong opposition.[45] Some members of government also believed mandatory vaccination to be a violation of civil liberties, claiming the state had no right to regulate the bodies of the populace.[46] The British government, unwilling to risk losing its slim majority over the vaccine issue, declined the RAMCs recommendation to make the typhoid vaccination mandatory. Instead, the British Government decided that British soldiers would only be vaccinated if they requested it.[47] Without mandatory vaccination and the strong influence of anti-vaxxer

[35] R J S Simpson, *The Medical History of the War in South Africa: An Epidemiological Survey,* (London: London School of Tropical Medicine, 1911.), 152.
[36] Ibid., 154.
[37]Winston Churchill, *London to Ladysmith Via Pretoria*, London: Longman's Greens, 1990, 15.
[38] Nadja Durbach, *Bodily matters: the anti-vaccination movement in England, 1853-1907*, Durham: Duke University Press, 2005, 30.
[39] Ibid., 120.
[40] UK, *Final Report of the Royal Commission Appointed to Inquire into the Subject of Vaccination; with Minutes of Evidence and Appendices.* London: hmso, 1896, 34.
[41] Ibid., 150.
[42] Ibid., 200.
[43] Ibid., 215.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 300.
[46] Ibid., 234.
[47] Simpson, *The Medical History of the War in South Africa,* 38.

groups, most British soldiers would refuse vaccination, eliminating the best typhoid prevention tool in the RAMC arsenal. The vaccination issue is one that has received almost no attention in Boer War scholarship, featuring mainly in general studies of British attitudes towards medicine.

Without the immunity conferred by vaccination, the British army was vulnerable to disease. The greatest source of infectious disease was impure water. Despite the best efforts of the RAMC to ensure clean water was available to soldiers, they were unable to convince enlisted men not to contaminate water supplies. By far the greatest cause of death was polluted water. Epidemiological studies by historians have revealed the major typhoid and dysentery outbreaks at Kimberly, Ladysmith, Bloemfontein and Mafeking all occurred due to soldiers consuming polluted river water.[48] In some instances, the rivers became polluted through environmental factors. Flooding could dislodge fertilizer into the river where it caused bacteria to begin reproducing at exceptional rates.[49] In other cases, water supplies were infected by the fleeing Boers, who would destroy all sanitation infrastructure when fleeing a city in hopes of slowing the British Army.[50] But most of the time, water became infected by ignorance or laziness. To dispose of their waste, the British dug tens of thousands of latrines. In most cases these latrines were little more than long narrow trenches.[51] The problem with such narrow trenches was that when the summer rains came, the trenches invariably flooded. The sewage then drained with the water into the rivers, infecting them.[52] Pit toilets were little better. While they did not flood, the pit toilets often leaked their contents into aquafers.[53] Since aquafers were the major source of water beyond South Africa's few major rivers, the British quickly began running out of clean drinking water. The RAMC reported multiple incidents where they discovered supposedly clean wells had become cesspits of typhoid, dysentery and cholera seemingly overnight.[54] Even after the British left a camp, the latrines proved a dangerous source of infection. Multiple camps would be established on the same spot with no record of latrines had been located.[55] As a result, new British camps would often establish wells right next to old latrines. However, even had latrines been perfectly maintained and marked, infected water would still have been an issue. British soldiers, especially those with typhoid, were often unwilling to walk all the way to a latrine. Instead, soldiers would defecate in any depression they could find, polluting the area.[56] The RAMC tried to combat this by recommending field commanders maintain better latrines or punish soldiers who refused to use them, but few officers listened.[57] As a result of the army's poor sanitation, any water supply near a major British encampment inevitably became infected with waterborne illness.

The RAMC had planned for polluted water and had developed several ways for soldiers to purify water. Unfortunately, a combination of fuel shortages and certain operational objectives meant few soldiers boiled their drinking water. Of the water purification methods recommended by the RAMC, the most effective was boiling. Just one minute of boiling was enough to kill all bacteria present in the water.[58] However, while the British army was supposed to boil all water, except rain and well water, this

[48] Daniel Low-Beer and Matthew Smallman-Raynor and Andrew Cliff, "Disease and Death in the South African War: Changing Disease Patterns from Soldiers to Refugees," *Social History of Medicine* 17, no.2 (2004), 229-231.
[49] Ibid., 231.
[50] Leopold Avery, *The Times History of the War in South Africa,* (London: Low, Marston and Company, 1909), 391.
[51] Frederick Howland, *The Chase of De Wet*, Providence: Preson and rounds Company, 1901, 31.
[52] Avery, *The Times History of the War in South Africa, 134.*
[53] UK, *The Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 479
[54] UK, *The Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa, 84.*
[55] UK, *The Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 479
[56] Avery, *Times History of the War,* 421.
[57] UK, *The Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 479.
[58] Manson, *Tropical Diseases, 422.*

was rarely done.[59] The South African plateau had little natural fuel available owing to the arid climate, and the supply corps was unwilling to waste its limited transport capacity on logs.[60] But even when fuel could be secured, commanders marching their forces were reluctant to let soldiers stop long enough to start fires to purify water. Commanders were tasked with hunting down the Boers as fast as possible, a goal deemed more important than ensuring fresh water.[61] Even if the generals did provide time to boil water, soldiers often chose not to, preferring cold water over hot water which allegedly tasted "funny" and offered no relief from the summer heat.[62] Few soldiers were willing to accept the time, resources and loss in quality involved in purifying water through boiling.

The RAMC recognized that boiling drinking water was not always possible and so outfitted soldiers with personal filters. Yet, even when filters were provided, laziness and disregard for the importance of clean water led to many soldiers drinking infected water. The filters were remarkably effective, able to produce two liters of water in 10-15 minutes.[63] Still, the filters had one problem: due to the heavy soil content of most water supplies in South Africa, the filters quickly became full of mud and stopped working.[64] Cleaning the filters was a time-consuming task which soldiers hated doing, leading thousands of soldiers to simply stop using their filters. In addition to personal filters, each division was issued a massive filter that could produce 2000 liters per day. Unfortunately, 2000 liters equated to just .5 liters of water per man, woefully insufficient for the summer heat.[65] The RAMC attempted to secure more filters, but field commanders were reluctant to acquire more regimental filters owing to how slow they were to transfer.[66] Even when soldiers had access to clean water which required no effort, however, there was a good chance a soldier would still drink polluted water. Doyle observed that a group of soldiers drank from a fetid puddle a mere foot from a water cart.[67] Another doctor discovered that soldiers would drink water marked polluted, so long as it appeared clean to the eye[68]. Such behavior baffled doctors. Most eventually chalked such behavior up to ignorance, an issue explored latter in this paper.[69] Regardless of the actual reason, the willingness of men to drink polluted water over clean water combined with the inability of the RAMC to secure resources to supply lots of clean water, led to British soldiers willingly drinking typhoid infected water.

If a British soldier did follow protocol and restrict their water intake to clean water, they faced another virulent source of typhoid, house flies. While flies were endemic to South Africa, the Army's refusal to heed RAMC sanitation policy created ideal conditions for flies to proliferate and spread typhoid. Unlike mosquitos which transmitted disease through biting, flies spread typhoid merely by carrying fecal particles laden with typhoid bacteria. As a result, if flies could be kept away from typhoid laden feces, the threat of flies as a vector could be eliminated.[70] The RAMC knew this and implemented a program to sterilize all latrines to keep flies from accessing the toxins within. Unfortunately, the program

[59] UK, *The Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 408.
[60] Ibid., 145.
[61] Howland, *The Chase of De-Wet,* 47.
[62] Avery, *Times History of the War,* 223.
[63] UK, *Royal Commission on The War in South Africa,* 498.
[64] Ibid., 499.
[65] UK, *The Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa,* 9.
[66] Ibid.
[67] Arthur Doyle, *The Great Boer War.* (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970), 63.
[68] UK, *Royal Commission on The War in South Africa,* 159.
[69] Ibid., 504.
[70] Vaughan, "CONCLUSIONS REACHED AFTER A STUDY OF TYPHOID FEVER AMONG THE AMERICAN SOLDIERS IN 1898," 1454.

was only loosely enforced. Disinfectants were hard to come by and had to be applied constantly.[71] The MO who had little to no aid could not ensure that latrines were being constantly sterilized. As previously mentioned, people frequently defecated around the camp in unofficial latrines which were never disinfected.[72] It was almost impossible to keep flies from becoming exposed to typhoid in this manner, as house flies are naturally attracted to the smell of typhoid bacteria.[73] This attraction could result in horrific scenes wherein flies would cover typhoid patients, coating every inch of skin, including the inside of the throat.[74] Once flies became covered in typhoid, they still needed to transmit the bacteria to people, and this was commonly done by contaminating food. As Colonel R.J Simpson of the RAMC remarked, flies "have been traced from the latrines to the cook-house and ration station.... No conception of the vast number of flies can be formed by ordinary experience; it was common to see the inside of tents black with them, and so was the food, if not protected by sacking."[75] Mess hall cooks were completely unconcerned by the risk of contamination. Although they had mesh meant to keep insects out of the mess hall, it was rarely used.[76] Without proper enforcement of sanitation policy, the British ensured flies would spread typhoid.

Hypothetically, the risk of food being contaminated with typhoid was flies was minimal, as each individual fly carried only a minuscule number of bacteria. Dozens of typhoid carrying flies needed to deposit the bacteria on food for it to acquire the minimal infectious dose.[77] Unfortunately, the British army caused a massive explosion in the fly population. The British imported hundreds of thousands of animals for transportation service, which they worked to death.[78] While alive the animals produced millions of pounds of waste that proved ideal environment for fly populations. When dead, the animals' corpses served as the perfect breeding ground for flies.[79] These conditions allowed the normally manageable house fly population to explode into swarms that could black out the sun. Soldiers reported that the swarms were so thick that they could not even open their mouths in camp without swallowing flies.[80] The RAMC tried to address the issue proposing major sanitation protocols to burn waste and corpses destroying the flies' breeding grounds and food supply, but the programs were deemed a waste of resources and never approved. [81]With billons of flies able to freely access typhoid bacteria, the giant swarms became a major vector of typhoid. Had the British followed RAMC policy to control fly populations or their access to typhoid bacteria, their impact as a disease vector could have been reduced.

The RAMC was aware as early as December 1899 how disastrous flies and polluted water were to the army's health. The RAMC took what steps it could to ensure sanitation, however the army had stripped the RAMC of the power and resources to do so. Unless the RAMC could secure the support of enlisted men and officers, a herculean task, ensuring sanitary camps was impossible. Prior to the Boer War the task of camp sanitation fell to the Sanitation Officer (SO). As the name implies, SOs were

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[71] UK, *Royal Commission on The War in South Africa*, 473

[72] William Burdett-Coutts, *The sick and wounded in South Africa : what I saw and said of them and of the Army medical system.* London: Cassel and Co, 1900. 18.

[73] Vincent Cirillo. " 'Winged Sponges': Houseflies as Carries of Typhoid Fever in 19th-20th Century Military Camps," *Perspectives in Biology and Medicine* 49, no1. (2006), 58.

[74] Burdett-Coutts, *The sick and wounded in South Africa*, 24.

[75] Simpson, *The Medical History of the South African War,* 126.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Cirillo, "Winged Sponges," 60.

[78] UK, *Royal Commission on The War in South Africa*, 318.

[79] Ibid., 320.

[80] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa,* 78.

[81] Simpson, *Medical History of the South African War,* 126.

responsible for the development and implementation of sanitation policy. Following the Nile Expedition, the British Army abolished the SO position, believing that the Medical Officer, with years of medical training, should be more then capable of handling the "minor" task of sanitation.[82] What the British government failed to grasp was that sanitation was a full-time job. SOs had to manage latrines, kitchens, cleaning, water supplies and maintaining infrastructure. The SOs' duties were not difficult, but they were time consuming and labour intensive.[83] The MO, who was responsible for caring for the sick and wounded, as well as securing supplies and completing several hours of paper work a day, had little time left in the day for managing sanitation.[84] The only help provided for the MO were a few orderlies, who were needed for nursing duties and managing the infirmary. When faced with the choice of preventative or curative medicine, MOs always chose the latter.[85] Even those MO's who found time to practice sanitation, found themselves fighting an uphill value. Surgeon-General Jameson explained the problems MO's faced as "Tommy does not understand [sanitation] because he is not taught it, and he is not taught it because the officer looks askance and regards it as just a fad."[86] As the quote suggests, the average British soldier was incredibly unsanitary. Handwashing, although technically required by army doctrine, was never practiced. The washing of clothing, especially by recovering typhoid patients, was likewise almost never done. On average a soldier would only clean themselves and their clothing every few weeks, woefully insufficient in such a disease rich environment.[87] Every doctor had a horror story, be it healthy soldiers sharing blankets with typhoid patients or bathing in rivers downriver of a sewage outlet pipe.[88] MOs tried to enforce sanitary standards, but they had no official power over soldiers. As a result, the MOs turned to officers for help. It was entirely arbitrary whether an officer would listen to his MO or dismiss his complaints entirely. Officers simply did not care about sanitation, especially since sanitation was not officially their problem.[89] Despite the efforts of the RAMC to address the sanitation crisis, unless the MO could secure the aid of soldiers and officers who cared little about sanitation, the RAMC could not succeed in enforcing sanitation standards.

With the RAMC facing high disease casualties from poor sanitation, they realized that treatment would be key to managing disease. However, treatment required transportation to move supplies and resources. Unfortunately, the RAMC found itself the victim of army policy, which left it without enough transport and supplies to effectively deploy its treatment capabilities to mange the spread of disease. Well before the Boer War began, it was decided by the British army not to provide the RAMC with its own transport. The British believed that a single unified transport corps serving the entire army would be far more efficient.[90] The RAMC protested the decision, claiming their transport needs were far greater than the unified transport corps could meet.[91] The fears of the RAMC were vindicated in South Africa, where the RAMC found itself with frequent transport shortages. Part of the problem was that South Africa was barely industrialized and had just a single rail line from the ports to the interior. With such limited infrastructure, the transport corps faced the difficult choice of choosing what shipments needed to be moved quickly. Invariably, shipments of arms and ammunition were given priority over supplies for the

[82] UK, *Royal Commission on The War in South Africa, 497.*
[83] Ibid.
[84] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa,* 40
[85] Ibid., 60.
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[87] George Henty, *With Roberts to Pretoria: A Tale of the South African War,* (New York: Shribner's Sons, 1901), 59.
[88] Ibid., 121.
[89] J C Villers, *Healers, Helpers and Hospitals: A History of Military Medicine in the Anglo-Boer War.* (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis), 2012. 112.
[90] Ibid., 64.
[91] Ibid.

RAMC.[92] The transport corps reasoned that winning the Boer War quickly was more important than ensuring field hospitals were always kept fully supplied. There logic was understandable, especially given that high ranking field commanders, not the Surgeon-General, were required to be given priority for supply orders.[93] The RAMC was able to use the rail-line, operating several hospital trains, but their access was far too limited to address their transport needs.[94]

The transport corps recognized the shortage of rail and imported 150,000 oxen and 70,000 donkeys just for transport.[95] In theory, so many beasts of burden should have alleviated supply issues. However, the army immediately ran into several issues of their own creation. Although donkeys could easily survive on forage in European campaigns, the grass of the South African interior was too nutritionally poor to support domestic equines.[96] This meant to sustain donkeys on a march, the British had to bring a massive amount of feed, which greatly reduced the resources a donkey could carry. Oxen could theoretically survive on the grazing of South Africa, but they required far more water then was available in the interior.[97] Oxen imported from Europe, were also unused to the heat of the South Africa interior and quickly became exhausted. Neither of these factors concerned the transport corps who worked their draft animals until they died. 70,000 Oxen died in South Africa largely from overwork or starvation. Equines fared even worse, with a life expectancy of six weeks, commonly dying from starvation or exhaustion.[98] Such wastage of animals was incredibly and entirely preventable. But with such massive death rates, there were not enough animal to alleviate the transport issues of the RAMC. Without transport, there was no way for the RAMC to utilize its full capacity. The RAMC would be unable to move patients from overcrowded and undersupplied hospitals to hospitals just 40km away which were sitting empty.[99] This proved especially disastrous at Bloemfontein. Lord Roberts destroyed his own supply lines through mismanagement, leaving the RAMC unable to move patients or supply its field hospitals during one of the war's worst epidemics.[100] By denying the RAMC control over their own transport and mismanaging the army's transport, the British Army crippled the ability of the RAMC to utilize its full operational capacity and its ability to effectively treat outbreaks of disease.

Effective treatment, though ignored by most accounts of disease management, is crucial to limiting the spread of disease as it ensures patients are less likely to spread their infection. Likewise, poor treatment can result in hospitals becoming sources of infection. During the Boer War, the quality of treatment received by patients, was almost entirely dependent of the quality and quantity of nurses available at a hospital. Of the available nurses, professional female nurses were the best, but also the least common owing to sexist military policy regarding the deployment of women. During the Boer War there were three major groups of nurses, the most capable of which were the professional nurses, women with a three-year degree from an English nursing school, and trained in all the fundamentals of medicine and caring for patients.[101] The most important lesson imparted on female nurses was the importance of their role. Professional nurses knew that everything they did was to save lives and that if they failed to

[92] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 400.
[93] Avery, *Times History of the South African War,* 525.
[94] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 142.
[95] Ibid., 139.
[96] Ibid., 145.
[97] Ibid., 134.
[98] Ibid., 139.
[99] Bourdett-Coutts, *The Sick and Wounded in South Africa,* 24.
[100]UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 141. and Henty, *With Roberts to Pretoria,* 158.
[101] Caroline Adams, "Lads and Ladies, Contenders on the Ward—How Trained Nurses became Primary Caregivers to Soldiers during the Second Anglo-Boer War." Social History of Medicine (2017): 3.

carry out their duties, people would die. Their lifesaving ethos, combined with the challenge of nursing school, insured female nurses were among the most capable and dedicated medical professionals.[102]

Nurses were used extensively during the Boer War and expected to handle every possible task involved in running a hospital from administration to washing bedpans. The hours were long, with 12, 24 and even 36-hour shifts being common, but most nurses met the challenges of the harsh conditions, earning near universal acclaim from doctors. Not a single doctor interviewed in any royal commission on the Boer War had something negative to say about their nurses. Frederick Treves stated that without his nurses, his hospital would never have been able to function.[103] Such statements were far more then mere hyperbole, British records indicate that hospitals with the highest ratios of female nurses to patients had the lowest casualty rates and the lowest typhoid infection rates.[104] By providing skilled and capable care, as well as working hard to ensure hospitals remained sanitary, nurses limited the spread and impact of disease.

Yet, despite universal recognition by the RAMC, the army limited the number of female nurses. The army struggled to believe that female nurses, no matter how highly skilled they might be, could possibly be better than the much cheaper and, more importantly. male orderlies.[105] The attitude even extended to doctors who praised female nurses, as many tempered also insisted male orderlies could be equally effective.[106] This sexist belief led to a nursing shortage made worse by the army's refusal to deploy nurses near the front. The army had a standing policy that due to the barbaric nature of Africans, women were not allowed to be deployed near the front for their own protection.[107] Ignoring the racism of the policy for a moment, the policy was non-sensical as the Boers were white and deemed by the army to be too civilized to threaten doctors and nurses. Why the British kept the policy they knew to be foolish in place was something never adequately explained in the royal commissions.[108] However, as this paper discusses later, it may have simply been due to the self-contradictory nature of army bureaucracy. Regardless, the policy of limiting the number of nurses and keeping them away from the front ensured a shortage of female nurses that resulted in lower quality treatment.

The RAMC was forced to rely on orderlies and, in truly desperate times, convalescents. Orderlies made a poor replacement for nurses. Having at most minimal training, and a general disdain for their jobs, orderlies provided sub-par care and spread disease. Since nurses could not serve near combat areas, all front-line nursing and most communication line nursing fell to orderlies. Orderlies were regular soldiers recruited straight from the ranks and given a six-month course. An orderly's training focused less on treatment and medical theory and more on how to do basic sanitation.[109] However, without the underlying medical theory to make it clear why sanitation was important, orderlies were far less concerned with cleanliness than professional nurses.[110] Many a nurse complained about having to regularly confront orderlies who failed to sterilize medical equipment properly.[111] In one particularly disturbing case, an orderly used the same uncleaned thermometer for every patient in the ward. Since

[102] Ibid., 7.
[103] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 143.
[104] Ibid., 498.
[105] Georgina Pope, "Nursing in South Africa during the Boer War 1899-1900." *The American Journal of Nursing* 3 no1. (1902): 12.
[106] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa*, 496.
[107] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, 72.
[108] Ibid.
[109] Adams, "Lads and Ladies," 8.
[110] Ibid.
[111] Sister X. *The Tragedy and Comedy of War Hospitals*. (London: John Murray, 1906) 18.

several of the patients had typhoid, the disease quickly spread to those in the ward who were uninfected.[112] In another case, an orderly failed to use chemical infectants on a load of laundry. Since the blankets had belonged to typhoid patients, the new patients issued the blankets quickly became ill.[113] While such stories were common, there were also many cases of orderlies who performed at a similar level to nurses. Perhaps the reason for discrepancy between orderlies and nurses was not simply a matter of ignorance but commitment. Unlike nurses who volunteered and knew what they were getting into, most orderlies were forced into the task unwillingly.[114] Men who had signed up to kill Boers and become heroes instead found themselves washing bedsheets. Add in the fact orderlies were poorly paid and it becomes obvious why they were so poorly motivated compared to nurses.[115] Few orderlies were willing to rigorously followed basic sanitation protocol, resulting in sixty five percent of orderlies at one field hospital contracting typhoid, which they spread to others.[116] It appeared the lack of a nurse's attitude was the key problem with orderlies; as one doctor noted, most people simply lacked the temperament needed to be a nurse.[117]

Even worse than orderlies were convalescents, being inexperienced disease carriers. Convalescent patients used as nurses had no training, no experience with sanitation, and were not yet fully recovered from their own illness or injury. Perhaps unsurprisingly for people with such little knowledge and motivation, convalescents made poor nurses and could provide neither proper treatment nor ensure good sanitation.[118] Convalescents also carried the threat of spreading disease themselves. Typhoid is still contagious even when symptoms have receded. The RAMC paid the price for using typhoid convalescents when after introducing them at a convalescent camp, hundreds suddenly came down from typhoid they contracted via their caregivers.[119] Without the training, motivation or temperament to be nurses and by being active sources of disease, it was likely the use of convalescents encouraged rather than inhibited the spread of typhoid. However, the demand for manpower within the RAMC was so great that at several points during the war, 50 percent of caregivers were convalescents.[120]

Given a modern understanding of medicine and hygiene, it is difficult to comprehend the poor hygiene of soldiers and utter disregard for the danger of disease displayed during the Boer War. To the average British officer, however, the disease casualty rate was not exceptional and therefore not a matter of concern. Following the war, the public was outraged to learn that over 70, 000 British soldiers suffered from typhoid and dysentery during the war. Yet, when asked to explain the high number of infected soldiers, Lord Roberts and several other field commanders were confused, believing the numbers to be low.[121] The discrepancy between civilian and military attitudes was due to wildly different frame of reference when it came to disease. The British civilian authorities were using typhoid rates from the French and German armies, which had managed to reduce typhoid casualties to one fifth of British levels during the Franco-Prussian war.[122] The British military by contrast, compared the Boer War's 10

[112] Ibid., 22.
[113] Pope, "Nursing in South Africa during the Boer War 1899-1900," 14.
[114] Adams, "Lads and Ladies," 16.
[115] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 169.
[116] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, 82.
[117] Ibid., 77.
[118] Sister X. *The Tragedy and Comedy of War Hospitals*, 22. And Adams, "Lads and Ladies," 13 and UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa 400.*
[119] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa,* 230.
[120] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 165.
[121] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 384, 93, 476, 403.
[122] Ibid., 482.

percentinfection rate to that of previous 19th century English campaigns. In the Mahdist War, the last major British war preceding the Boer War, British forces suffered a 15 percent typhoid infection rate. During the Second Anglo-Afghan War, 16 percent of British forces died of disease, particularly typhoid. Even the otherwise bloodless Fourth Ashanti War saw 50 percent of British soldiers get sick from malaria and waterborne illness.[123] From those experiences, British officers could perhaps be forgiven for believing typhoid was not a serious problem during the Boer War. When medical officers approached field officers and claimed radical changes to military policy were needed to prevent the spread of disease, field officers could dismiss their proposals as unnecessary owing to a rate of infection that was already low compared to recent campaigns.

Moreover, many officers simply did not understand, given their previous experience, that there was anything to be done about the spread of disease. While germ theory was accepted by the medical community, most high-ranking British officers subscribed to an older environmental theory of disease that held disease was largely unpreventable. In every campaign the British had ever fought in their history, disease had been the greatest killer of soldiers.[124] Every single officer knew this and had been forced to accept it as a fact of life. When officers spoke of disease, it was as a natural disaster completely out of man's control. The military attributed disease rates to the health of the nation where a campaign took place. Some climates such as Europe, which had lower typhoid rates, were healthier than the desert or tropical climates of Africa.[125] The idea of environmental theories of disease was an outdated one, originating in the early 19th century, but it was the theory that the British army taught its officers until the 1880s. The senior officers, raised as they were in environmental theory, failed to grasp changes in medicine wrought by germ theory.[126] One colonel went so far as to attribute the Bloemfontein epidemic to the heavy rains exposing the naturally toxic soil of South Africa.[127] Within the environmental theory of disease framework, sanitation was irrelevant to maintaining health. If the water in South Africa was causing people to get typhoid, it was not because of the Army's pollution of the water. Rather, water made people sick because South African water was naturally toxic for the British.[128] The supposed logic of senior officers was reinforced by the Boers' ability to avoid illness. Since the Boer had adapted to the tropical climate, they were no longer plagued by the endemic illness. In reality of course, the reason Boers rarely became ill was they knew to avoid polluting their water sources and rarely gathered in sufficient numbers for disease to reach epidemic levels.[129] Regardless, the comparatively low rate of typhoid infection and the environmental theory of disease meant experienced British officers had framed typhoid in a completely different way than the RAMC. When the RAMC came to the officers and told them sanitation was needed to protect the army from disease, the senior officers could ignore them, content in their knowledge that typhoid levels were both low, and ultimately outside the control of man.

Enlisted men, like their officers, lacked a framework to truly grasp the warnings of the RAMC. The average British soldier had grown up malnourished and in poverty, in a world where deadly disease was a normal part of daily life. The average enlisted British soldier was poor, uneducated and from a major urban center. Soldiering did not pay well in 1899, and only those who were passionate to serve their

[123] Philip Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 223.
[124] Ibid., 225.
[125] Ibid., 227.
[126] Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 102-103
[127] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 226.
[128] J C Villers, *Healers, Helpers and Hospitals: A History of Military Medicine in the Anglo-Boer War*. (Pretoria: Protea Boekhuis, 2012), 134.
[129] Ibid., 226.

nation or financially desperate, such as the urban poor, saw the military as a good career path.[130] The physical condition of enlisted men was generally poor. More than one third of volunteers during the Boer War were rejected for failing to meet minimal medical standards.[131] The number becomes more shocking given that the medical standards used in the Boer War were far lower than those of any modern military.[132] The problem was that the urban poor, who formed the basis for the British army, lived deeply unhealthy lives. A rapidly growing economy in the late 19th century had led to high inflation which outstripped wage increases. As the average purchasing power of the working poor fell, they were forced to move into smaller and more cramped homes. These cramped homes, combined with the poor diets necessitated by high food costs created ideal conditions for the spread of disease.[133] While tuberculosis was the most famous poverty disease, dysentery, typhoid, scarlet fever, whooping cough and other highly contagious diseases thrived in urban centers. While typhoid had begun its decline into relative nonexistence in Great Britain during the 1890's, it was still a common ailment and a major cause of in mortality in all regions.[134] Every British soldier almost certainly knew someone who had suffered from typhoid, cholera or dysentery; assuming they had never contracted the illnesses themselves. For the average British soldier, deadly disease was a normal part of daily life, an attitude reflected in their interviews with doctors. When interviewed about matters of sanitation, enlisted men showed genuine confusion as to why doctors were so concerned over the rates of illness during the war, further suggesting epidemics were deemed normal.[135]

Sanitation was an alien concept to most enlisted men. In poor households everyone needed to provide. While child labor laws kept children in school instead of coal mines, no such protections existed for teenagers. The average Britain had a grade school education.[136] Their education would have been focused almost entirely on basic reading, writing and mathematical skills. Without science education, children never learned about the importance of good hygiene and its relation to disease prevention.[137] Instead, the only source of medical knowledge for most Britons would be traditional knowledge. Although the miasma theory of infection was rejected by doctors in the late 1800s, it was still commonly found in the literature of the working class.[138] The continuation of the miasma theory was partly due to the work of the healthcare reformers seeking to eliminate incorrect beliefs. To try and explain germ theory to people ignorant of basic biology, reformers portrayed visible filth as the source of disease.[139] The simplified version of germ theory was certainly easier to explain, but it meant that soldiers began to believe that clean was the same as healthy. This meant that when the enlisted men entered the Boer War, sanitation was an alien concept. For their entire lives the soldiers had lived in filth and squalor, knowing disease was a natural part of life and that visible filth caused disease.[140] They could not understand when the RAMC told them that clear river or spring water was unsafe and needed to be boiled. The men could clearly see that the water was clean, so how could it possibly be a threat to them?[141] Likewise, when doctors told men that they had to put in extra effort to prevent disease, the men would dismiss the

[130] Ibid., 112.
[131] Ibid., 12.
[132] Ibid., 68.
[133] Ibid., 434.
[134] Ibid., 418.
[135] UK, *Royal Commission on the Care and Treatment of the Sick and Wounded in South Africa*, 44, 46, 48, 52, 54
[136] Almeric, *Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration,* 205
[137] Ibid., 201.
[138] Ibid., 123.
[139] Nadja Durbach, *Bodily Matters: The Anti-Vaccination Movement in England, 1853-1907*, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005), 187.
[140] Almeric, *Report of the Inter-departmental Committee on Physical Deterioration,* 307.
[141] UK, *Royal Commission on the War in South Africa,* 479.

warnings. The men had spent their whole lives living in squalor and believed disease was a natural part of life, why should they change their behavior now to try and eliminate the unstoppable? The enlisted men ignored the RAMC for the same reason as their officers, they simply lacked the frame of reference to understand why sanitation was important.

The RAMC faced a greater challenge than trying to communicate with men who did not understand modern medicine and hygiene. British army bureaucracy was so decentralized and army culture so tribalistic that implementing the reforms desired by the RAMC was nearly impossible. One of the major problems faced by the RAMC was its lack of influence over army policy. During the 1890's and early 1900's, the secretary of state's War Office council was responsible for developing and implementing army policy. Unfortunately for the RAMC, the director-general of the RAMC was not allowed to attend meetings.[142] Without a presence at the war council meetings, it was impossible for the surgeons-general to implement reform. Instead, the surgeon-general needed to find an advocate for the RAMC from among those who could attend meetings. Unfortunately, no other senior officer wanted to accept responsibility for an entire branch of the armed forces in addition to their own duties.[143] Adding to the challenges of introducing medical reform was the lack of a central leader. During the 1870s, Secretary of War Edward Cardwell had implemented major reforms, chief among which was to subordinate the commander-in-chief to the secretary of War. Demoting the commander-in-chief itself was not a problem—the other major European powers had done the same thing without encountering major issues—but it was executed poorly. By removing the executive power of the commander-in-chief, Cardwell had inadvertently left the position, and the army, without clear executive power. The reforms also redefined the powers of the secretary of War, the adjutant-general and the quartermaster general. The poorly defined powers and responsibilities led to intense infighting over executive authority.[144] In other cases, reforms which all parties supported went unimplemented simply because each party believed the others were responsible.[145] The RAMC fell into this gap. The RAMC was a new entity whose place within the army structure had never been well established. Who, if anyone, was responsible for managing reforms proposed by the RAMC was never determined.[146]

Further adding to the internal confusion impeding medical reform was the deeply ingrained regimental system of the British Army. One of the reforms Cardwell had refused to implement was general service, in which there was common army-wide administration of personnel and their career development. In the Boer War, British units were still responsible for their own recruitment in regions over which they had exclusive authority, and the training and promotion of personnel.[147] The problem with such a regionalized service was that it promoted a highly individualist unit culture. As each unit represented a particular geographical area, they developed unique regimental cultures based on their common experience. While this may have been great for unit comradery, it did not engender a sense of national military unity.[148] Regimental commanders resented the incursion of RAMC officers. RAMC officers were outsiders who did not understand the unit nor its history. Attempts by the RAMC to reform

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[142] Ibid., 502.
[143] Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 38
[144] United Kingdoms. *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa : presented to both Houses of Parliament by command of His Majesty*, (London: Wyman and Sons LTD, 1903), 45.
[145] Ibid., 230.
[146] Ibid., 340.
[147] Edward Spiers, *The Late Victorian Army,* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1992), 131
[148] UK, *Report of His Majesty's Commissioners appointed to inquire into the military preparations and other matters connected with the war in South Africa,* 256.

battalions through hygiene and sanitation regulations were viewed as an attack on the unit's culture by an outsider.[149] Accepting reforms urged by the RAMC would be an admission that the local regimental culture was flawed, something no regimental officer wanted to admit.[150] Many units resisted RAMC reforms as an attack on their independence and efficiency. The Cardwell Reforms had accidently crippled the power and influence of the RAMC by leaving them without official power, while also perpetuating a regimental system hostile to medical reform.

This paper has addressed a major gap in current Boer War medical historiography. The literature has been content to treat disease prevention as a purely medical issue, while in actuality it was a medical, logistical, and social issue, and of profound importance to the conduct of military operations. The medical issue has been well discussed and the academic consensus is reinforced by this paper. The British soldiers were an entirely unsanitary group, who refused to follow even the most basic of sanitary protocols. Soldiers freely drank and bathed in polluted water despite numerous warnings from medical authorities. Soldiers were, similarly, willing to ignore their own personal hygiene, denouncing soap and latrines as unimportant. These behaviours meant that soldiers were highly vulnerable to typhoid. Officers, as noted by nearly every scholar of the Boer War, were unwilling to enforce sanitation protocol, allowing their soldiers to continue their disease spreading practices. What scholars have failed to note is that officers actively helped spread disease. Field officers often pitted military objectives directly against medical objectives, a contest in which military objectives always won out. Such competition manifested in crippling supply shortages for the RAMC and the disregard for the development and use of proper sanitation equipment and infrastructure. This paper has also concurred with scholars of nursing that good nursing was vital to disease management but limited in availability by army policy. The number of skilled and dedicated female nurses was restricted by sexist policy in favour of untrained and non-dedicated orderlies and convalescents who contributed to the spread of disease. A subject not discussed by any author save for Cirillo was the logistical challenges that confronted the RAMC, constantly denied the manpower, transportation, authority and resources needed to effectively carry out their mandate.

Even Cirillo, however, does not explain the root cause of the RAMC's limited influence, which was social and structural. The powerful effect of the anti-vaccination movement has not been discussed in the medical history of the Boer War, only in general medical histories. Similarly, no scholar has shown how adherence to miasmic and environmental theories of disease led officers and enlisted men to largely dismiss sanitation as an ineffective fad they could ignore. Nor, has any scholar discussed how soldiers and officers through their pre Boer War experiences normalized filth and high disease rates, which led them to believe that sanitation was not needed during the Boer War as the high disease rate was acceptable. But perhaps the most interesting discovery of this paper was that the RAMC was unable to implement reform because the British army structure made medical reforms nearly impossible. The RAMC had no official voice in army policy, no clear executive authority who was responsible for it and faced an army culture that was hostile to any external reform. These discoveries are not exceptional nor are they true discoveries. The conclusions of this paper are nearly identical to those made by the British following the Boer War. The Boer War for all its failures taught the British army crucial lessons about military medicine. The lessons taught would lead the British to reform their army, ensuring the RAMC averted medical disaster during the First World War.

[149] Ibid., 278.
[150] Ibid., 291.

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Emotion is characterized by contradiction, and the confusion of love can often be one of the guiltiest parties, due to the intensity of its feeling and the profound consequences that may arise for a love gone awry. This is a theme seen repeatedly in Renaissance love literature, in which the text oscillates between a condemnation of love as dangerous or detrimental and the exaltation of love as a vital feature of the human experience. Rather than a simple contradiction, though, the notions of love presented in literature are reflective of the Renaissance as a whole and its gradual establishment in the wake of the Black Death, as the contrasting ideas expressed are mirrored more largely in the mindset and social landscape of the period. This paper will argue that the narrative contradiction of a simultaneous warning against and exaltation of physical human love in fifteenth-century Italian narrative reflects the inherent contradictions of a period in flux, specifically the post-Plague social and moral emphasis on mortality as well as transition from medieval to Renaissance thought.

This paper will first examine the nature of the Black Death and its impact on late medieval society to understand the ideas of mortality and *memento mori* that carried into and shaped the Renaissance world. It will also examine key humanist thinkers to establish an ideological framework from which one can examine the nature of Renaissance love, the contradiction and transition of which will be discussed through evaluation of popular notions regarding impermanence, immortality, and Eros. Additionally, it will look at the social realities of fifteenth-century Italy and the importance of social order to demonstrate the impact of love on civic affairs and its consequential characterization. Finally, it will examine the manifestations of love in three key narrative texts—Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *The Two Lovers*, and Masuccio Salernitano's tale of Ganozza and Mariotto—to argue that the inherent contradictions are in fact the product of transition in the wake of the plague and encapsulate both the shifting mentalities and social realities of the period.

A Culture of Death: The Post-Plague World

One of the most infamous historical epidemics is the Black Death of 1348 that, in an approximately two-year span, decimated the population of Europe and shaped the very nature of the coming Renaissance world.[1] An outbreak of the bacteria *Yersinia pestis* and combination of pneumonic, septicemic, and bubonic plague strands, the disease spread rapidly throughout the European continent and left upwards of 35 million dead in its wake.[2] Due to its highly contagious nature and ease of spread by human contact, the plague moved quickly inland away from the ports where it originated—and where

[1] Wendy Orent, *Plague: The Mysterious past and Terrifying Future of the World's Most Dangerous Disease* (New York: Free Press, 2004), 99, 111.

[2] Joseph Patrick Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2006), 6; Orent, *Plague*, 86.

its predecessors were confined[3]—"penetrating deep into the cities and countryside."[4] Such severe devastation had never and has not since been seen at the hands of an epidemic; the profound destruction of class, order, and daily life struck deeply into the fabric of society. The consequences of the Black Death were seen in all aspects of the medieval world, most significantly the increased emphasis on social order and the cultural fixation on death's inevitability.

A major effect of the Black Death is seen in the social landscape of post-Plague Europe. Due to the mass decimation of the population, society was in constant flux. One major consequence for Europe's socio-economic landscape was the increased social mobility as a result of depletion of the labour force. While all were at risk of the pestilence, poor workers were the most vulnerable.[5] As a consequence, the working class saw a severe decline in population and therefore an intense demand for labour; this demand gave lower classes more purchase in society since they could demand more wealth and rights by raising the cost of labour.[6] The effect was a steady accumulation of wealth by those providing these services and the eventual expansion of a wealthy middle class.[7]

While this was clearly beneficial for the masses, society as a whole was faced with the reality of a rapidly changing world. The plague had effectively reorganized the rigid social structure of medieval Europe and the response was renewed emphasis on restoring social order in the wake of its decimation.[8] This reestablishment of structure and order would maintain not only the validity of the class system but also ensure their new world could sustain itself as well as—or better than—the old world. This is seen especially in the increased importance of marriage as a way of both repopulating the continent and, through its unique ability to establish a couple's—and by extension their families'—social identity, legitimating a family's place in society.[9] The significance of these changes and the overall increased preoccupation with re-establishing and maintaining order in society reveal the profound effect of the Black Death in creating the social landscape from which the Renaissance would soon emerge.
While the aforementioned physical and social changes wrought by the fourteenth-century plague were profound, so too did the epidemic have a profound psychological impact on survivors and future generations. Death in the medieval world carried a public element even before the mass devastation in 1348 since illness and death were often dealt with in the home.[10] Giovanni Boccaccio's discussion of custom before the plague notes specifically that "relatives and neighbours of the dead man [gathered] together with those closest to him in order to mourn."[11] Thus, family members and friends would have borne witness to the harsh reality of human mortality through their loved ones' illness and eventual passing.[12] Further, the lack of entirely effective treatments or medical services meant that the process of dying by illness or injury was often not only arduous and long, but also gruesome and vivid.[13] Death then

[3] Orent, *Plague,* 86.
[4] Orent, *Plague,* 119.
[5] Richard Goldthwaite, "The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption," *Major Problems in the History of the Italian Renaissance,* ed. B. Kohl and A. Smith (Toronto: 1995), 66.
[6] Goldthwaite, "The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption, 66.
[7] Goldthwaite, "The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption 66.
[8] Richard Goldthwaite, "The Preconditions for Luxury Consumption, 66.
[9] Sharron T. Stroccia, "Gender and the Rights of Honor in Italian Renaissance Cities," *Gender and Society in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Judith C. Brown and Robert C. Davis (London: Addison Wesly Longman Limited, 1998), 43.
[10] Stephen Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Stephen Perkinson (Maine: Yale University Press, 2017), 18.
[11] (102 Decameron 326)
[12] Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 18.
[13] Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 17.

was deeply known and understood by medieval people through the frequency of others' passing;[14] this open exposure to death would have offered contemporaries frequent reminders of their own human impermanence, a notion that echoes the Renaissance ideas expressed in *memento mori*.[15]

Though medieval society was well-acquainted with death prior to the advent of the 1348 plague, the Black Death took its already public element and created a spectacle. In years unaffected by epidemic, death remained not only a vital part of the collective human experience, but also a moment of holy devotion and farewell through burial practices. As Michael Neill states in his 1997 book, funeral rites "represent a traditional society's last line of defence against mortality."[16] This ceremonial behaviour was developed from widespread "desire to provide order at a time of relative chaos" but "[in] plague time, every element of this comforting regularity disintegrated."[17] As Boccaccio describes, as the death toll mounted what once was a time of united mourning with "a funeral pomp of candles and chants" became a solitary ordeal overseen by gravediggers rather than companions.[18] With the fatalities of the epidemic numbering to approximately one third to one half of the medieval population, the rapidly growing mass of dead bodies eventually obscured even these modified burial practices in favour of far more practical mass graves.[19] Death occurred alone or publicly on the streets, corpses were tossed outside in heaps, and bodies were stacked on planks to be dumped in communal graves.[20] The Black Death effectively removed the aspect of individuality in death by cancelling personal identity and committing one's body alongside their contemporaries, regardless of status.[21] Dying as a whole became more than a facet of daily life: it threw daily life into a chaos of daily death.[22] This inescapable epidemic was an ever-present reminder of mortality for its witnesses that carried into the Renaissance through the minds of the survivors. This remembrance shaped the cultural landscape of the following centuries to enable contemporaries to cope with their lasting psychological trauma.

The clearest manifestation of the Black Death's psychological impact is the cultural and artistic movement of *memento mori.* Literally "remembering [that you are] to die,"[23] *memento mori* emerged with the advent of the Renaissance and offers an idea of the prominent space that mortality and death occupied in the post-plague mindset.[24] Though pervasive as a mentality, this idea is seen most clearly in Renaissance art, such as paintings and luxury goods, that mixes images of living humans alongside images of skeletons or deteriorating corpses. According to Elizabeth Morrison, such images had the effect of "forc[ing] the mind to face what it naturally wishes to shy away from, its own annihilation,"[25] since the side-by-side placement of imagery of life and death made one acknowledge the intrinsic link between

[14] Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 16.
[15] Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 18.
[16] Michael Neill, *Issues of Death: Mortality and Identity in English Renaissance Tragedy* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1997), 18.
[17] Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death,* 65.
[18] Giovanni Boccaccio, "The Black Death in Florence," *Course Package – HI102: The Central to Late Middle Ages, 1100-1450* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 188.
[19] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 375, 18-19.
[20] Boccaccio, "The Black Death in Florence," 188.
[21] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 5.
[22] Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death, 3.*
[23] Perkinson, "The Ivory Mirror," 26.
[24] Anne Collins Goodyear, "Foreword," *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Stephen Perkinson (Maine: Yale University Press, 2017), 7.
[25] Elizabeth Morrison, "The Light at the End of the Tunnel: Manuscript Illumination and the Concept of Death," *The Ivory Mirror: The Art of Mortality in Renaissance Europe*, ed. Stephen Perkinson (Maine: Yale University Press, 2017), 103.

the two.[26] Thus, *memento mori* captured the complex Renaissance mindset that sought a balance between the earlier ecclesiastical focus on afterlife and the present focus of living well.[27]

Though *memento mori* was a largely Northern European phenomenon, the pervasive knowledge of one's humanness and mortality spread throughout Europe. In Italy, rather than the memory of death, emphasis was placed on memory of the self. Samuel Cohn argues that this is seen especially in post-plague testaments that demonstrate a greater emphasis on memorializing and immortalizing oneself on earth than on preparing for death.[28] While Morrison argues the *memento mori* concept was not seen fully manifest until the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries, Italy was, as with much in the Renaissance, ahead of its time and reveals this shifting mindset as early as the second outbreak of pestilence in 1363.[29] Testaments from various Italian cities of different socio-economic backgrounds reveal a steady increase in commissions and requests that would serve to establish a legacy or symbol of one's family or lineage through posterity.[30] In Italy, then, *memento mori* functioned, as Cohn states, as a "cult of remembrance" in which the response to remembering that one is to die manifested in efforts to immortalize oneself on earth, thereby retaining personal or familial identity far beyond death.

With the ideas of *memento mori* and this 'cult of remembrance' emerging in the wake of the plague, one may better grasp its manifestation in both society itself and its cultural production. The preoccupation with one's mortality and the permanence of death shifted to the Renaissance emphasis on living a 'good life' in the face of their mortality, to ensure a form of impermanence of the self, whether that be the ascension of the soul or lasting earthly memory. This is most clearly seen in Renaissance humanism and its ideas of human nature and human life that, as will later be shown, are revealed in both social realities and narrative tales.

The New Jesus is Man: The Shift from Theology to Humanism

As discussed, the mass destruction of the Black Death saw a shift in overall perceptions of mortality. In addition, there was a marked difference in the mindsets of the medieval and Renaissance periods, also as a consequence of the fourteenth-century plague. The medieval period, for instance, was characterized by an almost complete faith in the Catholic Church as key to people's salvation. This preoccupation is seen most clearly in the Christian obsession with the afterlife and the state of the soul, which provides an explanation for the reliance on methods such as the purchasing of indulgences to limit the soul's time in Purgatory and ensure eventual admittance to heaven.[31] In this context, this apocalyptic vision of the Black Death might have been most easily understood within the context of the Christian Day of Judgment, making the plague itself a divine response to the sins and vices of humanity.[32] However, while Renaissance people retained a great devotion to the Catholic Church, clergy members faced laymen's distrust and disillusionment due to their inability to save the lives of plague victims.[33] Additionally, the plague highlighted the flaws in the clerical system, including for instance the lack of necessary qualifications for their role and accountability to local parishioners, many of whom fled the

[26] Morrison, "The Light at the End of the Tunnel," 102.
[27] Goodyear, "Foreword," 8.
[28] Samuel K. Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death: Six Renaissance Cities in Central Italy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 17-18.
[29] Goodyear, "Foreword," 7; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death,* 20, 17.
[30] Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death,* 22.
[31] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 38.
[32] Neill, *Issues of Death,* 42; Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death,* 122.
[33] George Huppert, *After the Black Death: A Social History of Early Modern Europe - Second Edition* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1998), 148.

plague rather caring for their sick.[34] As confidence in the Church waned, their ability to maintain control became increasingly tenuous;[35] as a result, theology and Church doctrine, though still crucial, fell secondary to the growing humanist culture. The state of one's self instead became a more human, natural concern, with a greater emphasis on living well than dying well.[36]

True to its title, humanism reflected a social and intellectual mindset that focused on human nature and the natural world as well as turning inwards to personal contemplation for a higher moral purpose. Increasingly, late medieval scholars searched for answers in Classical sources to their physical and moral dilemmas; humanism was born from this context of classical appreciation with roots in Greco-Roman literature, allowing it to straddle the line between theology and practical studies.[37] While its primary spiritual concern manifested through ethical or moral philosophy, it was more broadly interested in "the exploration of man's nature" through human experience and personal experimentation, often with a basis in Platonic ideals of beauty and higher beings.[38] These humanist thinkers viewed the world as an amalgamation of 'ensouled' objects and beings that, united, would link to a higher spiritual realm.[39] The 'good life,' then, was achieved through acknowledgement and appreciation of the natural world as well as the place of man within it.[40]

This key cultural concept of the Renaissance world—especially Renaissance Italy—first emerged in the late thirteenth century but is more widely attributed to Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374).[41] Though not the first ever humanist, Petrarca, or Petrarch, was arguably the first to culminate humanist thinking into a clear, cohesive system of belief and behaviour.[42] Disdaining the scholastic medieval world for its perceived barbarism and uncivilized nature, especially when compared to Antiquity, Petrarch and other early humanists aimed to fashion the emerging Renaissance with the style and sophistication of the classical ancient world.[43] This resulted in an active revival of classical texts and mores as a method of establishing the new world as one rooted in the achievements of the distant past.[44]

With this growing classical revival, it is unsurprising that the period also saw a resurgence of Greek philosophers like Plato as authoritative in moral dilemmas. For Petrarch and succeeding scholars, ethics and morality were of paramount concern to humanist thought and often interpreted through Neoplatonism, the reintroduction of Platonic philosophy of the natural world.[45] Plato's theories hinged on the idea of a universal world soul in a supreme spiritual realm that granted smaller souls to all people and objects in the human world.[46] The universe itself consisted of a series of 'levels' of knowledge and

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[34] Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death, 130.*

[35] David Herlihy, *The Black Death and the Transformation of the West*, ed. Samuel K. Cohn, (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997), 66.

[36] Brian P. Copenhaver and Charles B. Schmitt, *A History of Western Philosophy: 3 - Renaissance Philosophy* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), 167.

[37] James Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy*, ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 32.

[38] Jill Karaye, "Moral Philosophy," *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 306; Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 289.

[39] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 288.

[40] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42.

[41] Paul Oskar Kristeller, "Humanism," *The Cambridge History of Renaissance Philosophy*, eds. Charles B. Schmitt and Quentin Skinner (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988) 127.

[42] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 27.

[43] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 27.

[44] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 27.

[45] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 30.

[46] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1935), 17, 19.

beauty that, by use of their granted free will, humans were called to advance through until the union of their immortal soul with the Supreme.[47] Knowledge for one's spiritual advancement was found in the beauty of the natural world, as therein resided a higher truth that could reveal the secrets of the world soul.[48] Man was especially important because it gave a metaphysical link between the different worlds, since man himself was inherently both human and divine.[49] Despite this, Renaissance Neoplatonism was unique in that it focused less on the accumulation of knowledge or truth and instead prioritized the ethics of the self.[50] Thus, the Neoplatonic concept of nature's true beauty and eventual union with a Supreme Being instead provided a point of reflection to achieve higher moral ground.

The emphasis on human nature and the self is made especially clear in Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's *Oration on the Dignity of Man*. Written in 1486, the *Oration* outlines Pico's answer to the quintessential humanist question of man's worth, arguing that humanity was empowered through God's gift of free will to achieve a higher self.[51] His work functions on the premise that God created Adam, unlike other living creatures, without a designated purpose on earth; instead, with his freedom of choice, Adam—and humanity as a whole—"could elect either a lower bestial existence or a higher life of divinity."[52] Despite its publication at the end of the Quattrocento when secular humanist principles had taken a firm hold in society, Pico's text, it must be noted, retains medieval emphasis on freedom and nature as having a religious and theological basis; however, as William G. Craven points out, despite the spiritual implications of the *Oration,* Pico's ethical principles and intellectual conceptualization of "the duality, but not dualism, of mind and nature" encapsulate true Renaissance humanist thought.[53] For example, his note that God placed man "at the world's centre so that [he] mayest from thence more easily observe whatever is in the world"[54] reflects the growing focus on both self-meditation and meditation on nature through emphasis on man's role as an observer. Further, Pico comments, "whatever seeds each man cultivates will grow in maturity and bear in him their own fruit," remarking once again on the power of human nature to decide its own ultimate nature. The significance of this response is that it embodies the aforementioned spirit of ethical self-improvement that Neoplatonism prized as a way of achieving ultimate union with the Supreme who, in this Christian context, was God.

Neoplatonism and these natural, self-focused ideas soon came to eclipse the medieval favoured Aristotelianism in terms of intellectual spiritual authority since Platonic ideals were better suited to the changing Renaissance landscape. As discussed by James Hankins, Petrarch's humanism in particular stressed the concept of the 'good life' of virtue and happiness, a mentality that more closely embodied the post-plague obsession with their earthly pursuits and immortalization in retaliation against the Black Death's devastation.[55] The function of this Neoplatonism was, as stated, not "the philosophical search for truth" but achieving a greater moral purpose.[56] Aristotle was condemned, then, not only for the accused

[47] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, 19.
[48] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 288.
[49] Karaye, "Moral Philosophy," 311.
[50] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42.
[51] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 166.
[52] Copenhaver and Schmitt, *Renaissance Philosophy,* 167.
[53] William G. Craven, *Giovanni Pico della Mirandola: Symbol of his Age - Modern Interpretations of a Renaissance Philosopher* (Geneva: Librarie Droz, 1981), 12.
[54] Giovanni Pico della Mirandola, "Excerpts from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's 'Oration on the Dignity of Man' (1486)," *Course Package - HI310: The Italian Renaissance* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2018), 94.
[55] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42; Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death,* 19.
[56] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42.

"triviality, uncertainty, and impiety"[57] of his teachings, but also—and perhaps more importantly—for lacking a clear moral guide on achieving this goal of leading the 'good life.' As Hankins states, "Aristotle's ethical writings are brilliant … but they do not make us better."[58]

To better understand the contemporary moral significance of humanism, one may turn to Petrarch's own writings, which anticipate the Neoplatonism of the following century. One of Petrarch's arguably most studied publications is his self-critique, the *Secretum*, a fictional dialogue with Saint Augustine overseen by Truth during which they discuss Petrarch's moral flaws and failings. Written in 1342-3, the text lacks the post-plague mentality of later works but is highly effective still in communicating the nature of early Renaissance humanism because it outlines a clear moral guide to ethical improvement. Petrarch is labelled "a wasting man" who is "locked in the prison of the flesh" due to his vices and unhappiness.[59] What follows is an examination of Petrarch's specific vices, such as pride, earthly love, and desire for worldly glory and discussion of how he may release himself of their hold on his soul: reflection on his mortality and solitary meditation. This is especially clear when Augustine states that Petrarch was "never so well off as when [he was] wandering alone and carefree in the hills,"[60] thereby revealing the importance of introspection, solitary leisure, and nature to the ascent of one's soul.

It would be incorrect to argue that Renaissance humanism, as Petrarch's writing may imply, necessitated the removal of oneself from the public sphere to retreat into quiet, private reflection. This idea that separation leads to the soul's salvation was a typically medieval Christian notion; however, Petrarch's writings are vital to understanding the nature of early Renaissance humanism.[61] Still, Petrarch's fixation on morality and virtue in one's life, not solely as a method of assuring one's admittance to heaven but more as a means of personal betterment, encapsulates the developing Renaissance mindset. Though as with Catholicism a principal focus of humanism was salvation of the self, it no longer relied solely on piety, charity work, or gifts to a local parish. Neoplatonism also reflected this shift since, rather than advocating for external moral assistance from the Church and religious authorities—as was the case in the medieval period—it encouraged introspection and self-reflection during life; moral improvement of the soul, then, came from the self and meditation on the self.[62]

<u>The Distraction of Pleasure: Physical Love from Petrarch to Ficino</u>

Since the Renaissance was a period of major philosophical and intellectual changes, one must also examine the more practical impact of this shifting, transforming mindset on Renaissance behaviour. Such a 'practical' impact includes the state of and interpretation of human emotion, namely the meaning of love. Largely reflective of the major shifts towards and in humanist thought, Renaissance perceptions of love reveal a contradiction between being a worldly distraction or a celebration of true humanity. These contrasting ideas manifest frequently in literature of love as first a celebration of the desire and affection between two lovers but ending with an admonition of their irrationality and impracticality. The rewards are often fleeting, while the consequences are often fatal and permanent.

[57] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42.
[58] Hankins, "Humanism, Scholasticism, and Renaissance Philosophy," 42.
[59] Francesco Petrarca, "Secretum," *Course Package - HI310: The Italian Renaissance* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2018), 12.
[60] Petrarca, "Secretum," 14.
[61] Cohn, *The Cult of Remembrance and the Black Death,* 19.
[62] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, 17.

The contradictions of love in narrative are mirrored by wider conflicting opinions regarding human love and physical desire. As discussed, Petrarch's path to moral improvement necessitated solitude and contemplative leisure free from impermanent earthly distractions. Petrarch, then, is more firmly situated alongside the late medieval theological ideal of a true devotee—to knowledge and morality in this case as it was for clergy members to God—must forsake worldly pleasures, including human love and desire, as it provides only a diversion from moral spiritual betterment.[63] In his writings, though, this idea frequently proves an obstacle as Petrarch was himself 'distracted' by his love for his muse Laura de Sade. While his *Secretum* uses Saint Augustine's responses to express the moral consequences of tethering oneself to the impermanent human world through love of another, Petrarch's self-defence in the *Secretum* and discussion of Laura in his *Canzionere*, a collection of love poems, reveal a love based on admiration of virtue. In this regard, love, while an impediment to moral betterment, may be justified if the love is for another's soul.

This idea of love as a distraction is seen especially in Book Three of the *Secretum,* a major focus of which is his adoration of Laura de Sade. Here, Saint Augustine admonishes Petrarch for being distracted by his love of her mortal body when he should more fully commit himself to his personal meditation. The language used to describe Petrarch's love is immediately telling of its supposed danger. Augustine refers to such love as "utmost madness"[64] since "…you bid farewell to reason and to awareness of truth."[65] Already, love is linked to the utter abandonment of rational thought, which is a vital tool for the ascension of the soul since reflection occurs through reason. Further, Petrarch "will be ashamed that [he] tied [his] *immortal* soul to a *mortal* body;"[66] the opposition of the immortality of the soul in relation to the impermanence of the body that love adores reinforces the Petrarchan notion that love is a tether to the earthly world.[67] Further, despite Petrarch's insistence on the purity of his love for Laura's soul, Augustine asserts that his youthful lust reflects a joint admiration for both her body and soul and as such "[she] has distracted [his] mind from the love of the Creator… and has turned it to the love of the creature."[68] This connection to Petrarch's moral deterioration and his love of Laura is reiterated later when Petrarch admits the two began simultaneously.[69] Overall, as Augustine explicitly states, Laura "has prevented [him] from developing;"[70] thus, despite being an utterly human emotion in this emerging humanist context, love was found to be a detriment to the real appreciation of the world that would eventually unite one's soul with the Supreme God.

It is interesting to note the success of Petrarch's rebuttal regarding the type of love he feels. Petrarch repeatedly argues that his love of Laura is a love of her soul and her virtue, thus void of "…anything base, lewd, or culpable."[71] It is clear, then, that he believes his love to be honourable and aligned with the humanist appreciation of true beauty he claims already to love. Augustine's response does not admonish this form of love; rather, he criticizes the physicality of Petrarch's adoration since it distracts from love of God. Instead of loving God as one should, Petrarch "[loves] the Creator only as the artificer who made that beautiful body."[72] The lack of disagreement on the love of a soul being an

[63] Anthony F. D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy* (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2004), 13.
[64] Petrarca, "Secretum," 20.
[65] Petrarca, "Secretum," 20.
[66] Petrarca, "Secretum," 20. Emphasis mine.
[67] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, 178.
[68] Petrarca, "Secretum," 22.
[69] Petrarca, "Secretum," 23.
[70] Petrarca, "Secretum," 22.
[71] Petrarca, "Secretum," 21.
[72] Petrarca, "Secretum," 21.

honourable, permitted love underscores the importance of mortality, or immortality, in understanding the nature of love. While above Petrarch is shown to have deteriorated morally due to his attraction to Laura's impermanent beauty and his consequential love of the divine in only mortal terms, if his love was truly of Laura's immortal soul it may have strengthened his connection to the Supreme immortal being. Though this in part does reflect the Christian emphasis on the soul as the true self and meaninglessness of the body, it also anticipates a later Neoplatonic interpretation by Marsilio Ficino, in which spiritual ascension could be found through virtuous admiration of a soul.

Petrarch's claim of love based on virtue is reiterated to an extent in the love poems of his *Canzionere,* thus reiterating the *Secretum.* However, analysis of Petrarch's poetry also betrays a sensual, 'pagan' admiration of Laura in addition to his spiritual exaltation of her character.[73] In his introduction to the *Rime sparse,* Robert M. Durling notes that though Petrarch's love as a whole takes an almost spiritual tone to extol Laura's virtue and beauty, he at times falls prey to a supposedly baser physical yearning that frequently leads him to misery.[74] Despite its focus on Laura, Petrarch's poems do little to reveal Laura's character beyond the fact that he loves her, and brief mentions of her behaviour that follow "the conventional ideal of ineffable courtesy and unconquerable virtue."[75] In this regard, one can see Petrarch's emphasis on Laura's divine worth as an object of his affection. However, the majority of the *Canzionere* reveals Petrarch's profane desire through his admiration of Laura's physical beauty, with references to her "'golden tresses,'" "'angelic breast,'" and "'fair limbs.'"[76] Thus, Petrarch's love cannot be pardoned as strictly a love of Laura's soul. It is due to the *Canzionere*'s physical focus that Anthony Mortimer argues that the collection of poems "[exemplifies] the transition from the spiritual Christian Middle Ages to the sensuous pagan Renaissance."[77]

Mortimer's claim has merit since it is precisely this mingling of physical and divine attraction that highlights the contradiction present even in these early years of humanism regarding popular views of love. However, it would be incorrect to argue that Petrarch, then, embraced this physical love since his *Canzionere* also reveals discomfort with the sensuality of his attraction. For instance, in Poem 134 he laments his inability to find peace or fulfilment on account of his love, likening his emotion to a jailer who will neither release him, nor completely trap him.[78] He also explicitly laments that "I love another, and myself I hate."[79] It is clear that Petrarch finds his love for Laura detrimental to his own wellbeing, so he fixates on the negativity in his experience of love, which more closely reflects the *Secretum* and love as a distraction from self-betterment. In this regard, it may more accurately be said, as Durling argues, that "it is the psychology of the lover that is the central theme of the book."[80] As such, the *Canzionere* may be seen as an exploration of the destructive power of intense pagan love.

While Petrarch's humanism as a whole is found throughout much of the fifteenth-century, his views on love were subject to constant development. Coluccio Salutati's (1331-1406) Civic Humanism and

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[73] Anthony Mortimer, "Introduction," *Petrarch: Selected Poems*, trans. Anthony Mortimer (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 3.

[74] Robert M. Durling, "Introduction" in *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The* Rime sparse *and Other Lyrics,* trans. and ed. Robert M. Durling (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1976), 19.

[75] Mortimer, "Introduction," 4.

[76] Quoted in Mortimer, "Introduction," 4.

[77] Mortimer, "Introduction," 3.

[78] Francesco Petrarca, "CXXXIV," *Petrarch: Selected Poems*, trans. by Anthony Mortimer (Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1977), 65.

[79] Petrarca, "CXXXIV," 65.

[80] Durling, "Introduction," 7.

views on love with regards to the state are one example of such adaptation and modification. Like Petrarch, Salutati believed love was a dangerous distraction to the improvement of the self; however, rather than acting solely as a moral impediment, love was also harmful to one's focus on civic duty. These ideas are especially clear in his letter to Peregrino Zambecarri, in which he admonishes him for the "foolish, false, mad love"[81] of a woman named Giovanna. He begins by suggesting that his correspondent shift his earthly love of Giovanna to a divine love of Mary, since contrary to Zambecarri's assertion, being in love and being firmly tied to Christ are "opposites that contradict each other."[82] This emphasis of dichotomy between profane and divine love alongside the notion of love as a foolish madness reiterate the Petrarchan notions of love as dangerous and distracting.

Despite their similarities, however, Petrarch's humanism stresses that true moral improvement can only be achieved through reflective solitude, while Salutati calls for a balance between introspection and active life. His arguments, forming the basis of the Civic Humanism that would become more pronounced in following years, stated that the "contemplative life is better…yet it must be mixed with action."[83] In his same letter condemning mortal love, Salutati urges Zambecarri not to seek total solitude but instead to devote himself to civic activity for the benefit of the state.[84] Salutati's ideas anticipate a greater social anxiety of the Renaissance world, the primacy of re-establishing and maintain social order—which will be discussed in greater detail—but more importantly, they reflect the shifting mentality of society. While love was still a condemnable distraction, the consequences of its distraction were secular and mortal, and the solution was not solitary spiritual reflection, but an active 'good life' that would benefit the individual and the state.

Regardless of the prescribed solitude or active life, popular notions of love denote the Christian influence of the late medieval period in their condemnation of physical pleasure or desire and emphasis on the detriment of love to the one's self. Love here was meant to be sacred and directed towards God, with love between humans being an inferior form.[85] Further, despite its enjoyment, the sensory physical pleasure of profane love was considered sinful and grounds for damnation, which reflects, in a sense, the danger to the self and soul that Petrarch expresses in a moral capacity.[86] With the increasing secularization of society and growing focus on humanity, this quasi-religious opposition to the "sins of the flesh" gradually was eclipsed by more progressive forms that better encapsulated humanist culture. This is seen most clearly in a growing acceptance of love in its physical form, insofar as love could point to a higher spiritual purpose or achievement, best understood through the idea of Eros, a love based in passion and desire. While John M. Rist defines Eros as primarily as a pure human passion towards a supreme being,[87] it is more generally characterized by a tendency to fill and "overflow" from an individual, making it reflective of the wider social and narrative themes of humanness, overpowering emotion, and loving exaltation.[88] Thus, Eros may be interpreted as the sensual physical desire or pleasure between humans through appreciation of earthly beauty and pleasure, which found purchase in the growing acceptance of humanity and human sensation. Thus, increasingly, moral philosophy and

[81] Coluccio Salutati, "Excerpts from Coluccio Salutati's letter to Peregrino Zambeccari (1398)," *Course Package - HI310: The Italian Renaissance (*Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2018), 29.
[82] Salutati, "Excerpts from Coluccio Salutati's letter to Peregrino Zambeccari (1398)," 29, 30.
[83] Salutati, "Excerpts from Coluccio Salutati's letter to Peregrino Zambeccari (1398)," 34.
[84] Salutati, "Excerpts from Coluccio Salutati's letter to Peregrino Zambeccari (1398)," 32.
[85] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, 117.
[86] Nesca A. Robb, *Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance*, 117.
[87] John M. Rist, "The Good, The Forms, and Eros in Plato," *Eros and Psyche: Studies in Plato, Plotinus, and Origen* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1964), 39.
[88] Rist, "The Good, The Forms, and Eros in Plato," 37.

humanist culture found a place for human nature in all its manifestations, including human emotion and sensation, two key aspect of the human experience.

These Erotic ideas are what were later adapted by Marsilio Ficino for his 1484 *Commentaries on Plato's Symposium.* In this essay, Ficino rejects the previously held notions of physical and desire's danger to the self, and advocates instead for a conceptualization of love as both spiritual and physical that fits more firmly within the socio-cultural context of late fifteenth-century Italy. In the text, Ficino discusses the existence of two Venuses, or powers of love: Heavenly Venus, the innate love of God, and Vulgar Venus, through which heaven imbues earth with divine soul.[89] As Hankins points out, Ficino's conception of love connects both physical and metaphysical through his conceptualization of the immaterial soul as deeply bound to the physical body.[90] But what is especially interesting is Ficino's statement that both Venuses are 'praiseworthy,' implying that earthly love is not inferior to divine love, for while Heavenly Venus allows one to "contemplate beauty," vulgar Venus allows one to "propagate it."[91] Since this 'beauty' is more accurately defined as the divine virtue of humans, even if one loves physically, Ficino argues, one loves the aspect of God existing in the physical body.[92]

The significance of Ficino's ideas is better understood when considered from the earlier humanist perspective. The intrinsic connection Ficino establishes between the divine and profane poses a stark contrast to earlier ideas of love, as it links the soul to a physical object of affection rather than, as earlier thinkers had, emphasizing a strict separation between the two. Furthermore, rather than finding danger in love itself, Hankins notes that the principal danger of love for Ficino is the loss of the soul through unreciprocated love, in which a portion of oneself is given to another to never be returned.[93] This aligns with Catherine Conroy de Paulo's analysis of Ficino's conceptualization of the ascent of the soul, in which she argues the soul's "chronic restlessness" to reunite with God is caused by the multiplicity of the body and duality of the soul, and the distractions of the body in its "desire to be loved and to love."[94] Ficino embraces Erotic physical desire and attraction, arguing that if proper care is taken to protect a lover's soul, physical attraction can lead to higher divine unity through the experience of pleasure, which itself is rooted in the mind.[95] Ficino is unique because he combines earlier humanist notions with the growing acceptance of physical love in his own time, placing "contemplation onto the foundation of love"[96] These notions are reflective of a wider Neoplatonic interpretation that had begun to take hold, in which love—being defined as a desire for God's beauty within them—was a legitimate method for attaining ultimate spiritual union with the divine.[97] Despite the earlier sinful, distracting nature of physical pleasure, this form of intimacy was now seen as an essential first step to reuniting one's soul with God, as in order to attain "true beauty beyond our world [we] must start with love on earth."[98] Due to this intersection of Neoplatonic spiritual love of the soul with the sensual physical love seen in the medieval tradition of

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[89] Marsilio Ficino, "Excerpts from Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* (1474)," *Course Package - HI310: The Italian Renaissance* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University, 2018), 88.
[90] Christopher S., Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," *The Cambridge Companion to Renaissance Philosophy,* ed. James Hankins (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 88, 89.
[91] Ficino, "Excerpts from Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* (1474)," 89.
[92] Ficino, "Excerpts from Marsilio Ficino's Commentary on Plato's *Symposium* (1474)," 93.
[93] Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," 90.
[94] Christine Conroy de Paulo, "Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic Ascent of the Soul in Relation to His Augustinian Notion of Friendship," *Confessions of Love: The Ambiguities of Greek Eros and Latin Caritas*, eds. by Craig J. N. de Paulo et al. (New York: American University Studies, 2011), 82.
[95] Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," 90.
[96] de Paulo, "Marsilio Ficino's Neoplatonic Ascent of the Soul in Relation to His Augustinian Notion of Friendship," 83.
[97] Karaye, "Moral Philosophy," 353, 354.
[98] Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," 90.

courtly love literature, Ficino's ideas took strong hold in the Renaissance world after its publication.[99] It is this rapid popularity that may explain the narrative contradiction found in Renaissance love stories: despite the widespread acceptance of the aforementioned spiritual love, the appreciation of Ficino's connection to medieval profane love could suggest a yearning for and continued popular belief in those ideals. For this reason, one may understand the simultaneous admonishment and exaltation of physical love throughout fifteenth-century narratives as a reflection of the competing notions of official thought and popular belief.

Necessary Sacrifice: The Importance of Arranged Marriage

As has been established, the shifting mindset of Renaissance thinkers made love itself a shifting concept, a change or contradiction that is—as will be demonstrated—reflected in narrative literature of the fifteenth century. However, while popular mentalities were in a state of dynamic change, the social reality for much of the Quattrocento presented an almost homogenous agreement: love is dangerous to social order. As aforementioned, the devastation and social reorganization caused by the Black Death served as a reminder not simply of mortality, but specifically of the greater social consequences of mass mortality; as a result, survivors placed a renewed emphasis on repopulating and re-establishing order in western Europe.[100] Marriage was key to this reestablishment of order since it was seen to embody the social stability of the individual and as such acted both as a model for and helped to facilitate the stabilization of the broader society.[101] For much of the fifteenth century, though, marriage was an arrangement made exclusively on the basis of practicality and familial obligation, while love was considered to only exist outside of the marriage bed, in either extramarital or pre-marital affairs.[102] Love, then, threatened the stability of marriage and society since those facing the impractical 'distraction' of love would be less willing to accept an arranged marriage to another, regardless of the familial benefit.[103] The widespread fear of disorder and social disintegration was thus deeply bound to a fear of love, since the very act of loving could impede and unravel the careful construction of ordered society.

Marriage was crucial during the post-plague years for numerous reasons, but principally for its ability to establish and strengthen the burgeoning Renaissance society. As previously discussed, the mass devastation of the plague eliminated nearly one half of the European population and effectively dismantled the rigid medieval hierarchy.[104] Marriage, then, was most obviously beneficial to restoring society in the wake of the plague through the act of procreation, which would help to repopulate the continent.[105] More importantly, though, marriage was a marker of one's own and one's family's place in society; for this reason, it was vital that marriage matches were made in the best interests not of the bride and groom, but of their respective families. The men and women of Renaissance Italy were "conditioned by long-standing social norms to recognize that familial rather than personal interests governed marriage.[106] As such, a successful marriage match was strong enough to bring profit to both lines for generations and "[expedite] strategies for social advance, exchanges of material resources, and the

[99] Celenza, "The Revival of Platonic Philosophy," 90.
[100] Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death*, 6.
[101] N.S. Thompson, *Chaucer, Boccaccio, and the Debate of Love: A Comparative Study of* The Decameron *and* The Canterbury Tales (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 225.
[102] Gabriella Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape: Forms of Love in the Renaissance," trans. Anne Jacobson Schutte, *Historical Reflections*, 41, no. 2 (2015): 57.
[103] Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape," 57.
[104] Byrne, *Daily Life during the Black Death*, 6.
[105] D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 23-4.
[106] Stroccia, "Gender and the Rights of Honor in Italian Renaissance Cities," 44.

circulation of both [married] persons and reputations."[107] The old Italian proverb "'Tell me whom you marry, and I'll tell you who you are'"[108] suggests just how crucial this was to social establishment—it was through these marriage gains and network connections that one's own identity as an individual in society could be defined.

While the primacy of arranged marriage and love's absence were not new, it is interesting to note the differences seen in life after the plague. A major example is the desire to create closer local alliances through marriage, as opposed to the earlier desire to establish far-reaching connections. Janie Smith notes the late fourteenth century as a turning point in marital focus, due largely to the increasing social and political hardship.[109] Smith explores this change further through her analysis of early Renaissance Genoa, which reveals more Genoese families to be closing their connections rather than expanding networks outwards due to the social fragmentation and fear of threats made to familial power.[110] The example of the Doria clan in 1397 exemplifies her argument through their endogamy, or marrying from only a selected group, since marriage to an uninvolved or unsympathetic bride could result in the groom's debts and acts being made public and thus affecting his reputation.[111] The women these men married, then, became crucial pawns in establishing ties of kinship to sympathetic, supportive families. Additionally, the Renaissance saw a growth in opportunities for women following the labour shortages of the plague and a consequential rise in female agency.[112] Anthony D'Elia argues that fifteenth-century wedding orations reveal an emphasis on a "mutually beneficent friendship;"[113] this is significant because it raises women to a similar status in the marriage relationship as her husband. Smith also suggests that women had a degree of autonomous agency as wives, since one needed a "trustworthy and capable woman because she might have authority in family affairs."[114] Since parents were dependant on the good will of their children after marriage, it was especially important that the bride was both sympathetic to the groom's family affairs and capable of handling family business. If the bride lacked any of these features, the groom risked exposure and social censure. As such, arranged marriage was important also as a way of controlling and maintaining one's social reputation and ensuring the best interests of the husband and his family since women had the power to expose them.

This introduces another central point of the Renaissance mindset: the notion of honour. Honour was in many ways a governing principle for behaviour both publicly and privately, and the importance of this quality also arose in marriage and marriage agreements. Honour itself was the main index for evaluating a man's worth and relied heavily on his greater social reputation.[115] A major part of this includes marrying the 'right kind' of woman, both in terms of status—which should be equal to his or higher—and her purity. A female, on the other hand, was measured based on an index of shame, and

[107] (Jennifer Mara DeSilva, "'Personal Rituals': The Office of Ceremonies and Papal Weddings, 1483-1521, in *Marriage in Premodern Europe: Italy and Beyond*, ed. Jacqueline Murray (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2012), 51; Stroccia, "Gender and the Rights of Honor in Italian Renaissance Cities," 43.
[108] Quoted in qtd. Stroccia, "Gender and the Rights of Honor in Italian Renaissance Cities," 43.
[109] Smith, "Keeping it Together," 124.
[110] Smith, "Keeping it Together," 124.
[111] Smith, "Keeping it Together," 123-4.
[112] D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy*, 8.
[113] D'Elia, *The Renaissance of Marriage in Fifteenth-Century Italy, 7.*
[114] Smith, "Keeping it Together," 124.
[115] Gianna Pomata, "Family and Gender," *The Short Oxford History of Italy: Early Modern Italy 1550 to 1796,* ed. John A. Marino (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 201.

how closely she reflected the typically female ideals of chastity, constancy, temperance, and piety.[116] Thus, marriage was also crucial to the maintenance of one's personal and familial honour, and a well-arranged match especially important to ensuring one's reputation remain intact.

Marriage as a whole, then, meant far more than joining two individuals and their families: it provided a symbol of honour and order and demonstrated the primacy of good social conduct. Renaissance people's fixation on order and the adherence to social norm offers further explanation for the perceived dangers of love since such forceful emotion, as both Petrarch and Salutati initially warned, could distract from one's personal and civic responsibility. Once again, since love was thought to exist only outside of marriage, the object of affection was not subject to the same careful choice and arrangement as a traditional marriage would be. The danger is clear when one considers this lack of parental decision: one may love someone unsympathetic to their family, or someone of a lesser social order, or someone shamed and dishonoured, all of which would prevent the person from fulfilling their civic duty to affirm social order and stability. Despite the growing importance of love for spiritual ascension as expressed through Ficino's Neoplatonic ideals, love in society was still considered detrimental. Thus, love posed a threat beyond even the moral or spiritual consequences already examined, as it was also a danger to established order and tradition, two major preoccupations of the Renaissance world.

The Narrative Looking-Glass: Manifestations of Love in Literature

Thus far, the shifting mindsets and social realities of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries have been examined to establish the contradiction in perceptions of love. While major humanist thinkers reveal a gradual shift from strict condemnation of earthly love as a moral impediment to acceptance of physical pleasure as a step toward eventual spiritual union, the social landscape maintained such a strict preoccupation with social order that love remained dangerous. This conflict between mentality and reality, all as a consequence of the post-plague emphasis on mortality, is seen reflected in Renaissance narrative love stories. The stories that will be examined include Boccaccio's *Decameron*, Piccolomini's *The Two Lovers*, and Salernitano's "Ganozza e Mariotto" because all three are tales of illicit love that ends in death for one or both parties. As such, these narratives highlight the association between love, society, and discomfort with mortality at their respective times of writing while also, when looked at together, revealing the confusion and gradual change of a period in transition.

Love in Giovanni Boccaccio's Decameron

To understand the tradition of love narrative and establish the shift in perception in the aftermath of the plague and the advent of the Renaissance, Boccaccio's *Decameron* (1353) provides a necessary starting point. A collection of short stories told by a group of seven women and three men fleeing the plague is a crucial point of departure for any analysis of the social landscape of the early Renaissance. The text is particularly important for this evaluation of love and its many forms since it encapsulates the shift from a medieval to Renaissance mindset, especially in its presentation of physical love. As noted by Simon May, love in the medieval period, as seen in the popular courtly chivalric romances, was characterized by both lustful adoration and divine exaltation.[117] These ideas manifested in the Renaissance through the aforementioned Neoplatonic concept of Eros with its connotation of sensual

[116] Jennifer A. Cavalli, "The Learned Concert: Learning, Piety and Female Political Authority in the Northern Courts," *After Civic Humanism: Learning and Politics in Renaissance Italy*, ed. Nicholas Scott Baker and Brian Jeffrey Maxson (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2015), 175.

[117] Simon May, *Love: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 99.

passion.[118] Since the *Decameron* was written shortly after the plague's end, it retains these typically medieval themes of courtly love but also anticipates the notions expressed by early humanists in the early years of the Renaissance.

Louise George Clubb's article on the forms of love in the *Decameron* is key to its evaluation as a transitional work. Clubb explores four types of love in Boccaccio's tales but focuses primarily on the sensual, physical love that is more overtly present in his text. While Boccaccio's conception of love does maintain aspects of the virtuous courtly admiration also present in medieval romance, Clubb argues that as a whole Boccaccio presents love as inextricable from the physicality of the body, which more closely aligns with the typical lustful devotion of a medieval love story.[119] However, despite his emphasis on love in terms of human sensuality, Clubb states that Boccaccio's concept of love is still bound by the limitations of human nature.[120] In this way, Boccaccio permits both virtuous and physical forms of love since "love which debases and love which ennobles are both possible within the limits he sets on human nature."[121] Though this idea may not, then, reflect the frequent admonishment of love and lust by early humanists, it aligns with the Renaissance humanist emphasis on human nature and free will and thus can anticipate future beliefs and forms of love.

The transitional nature of Boccaccio's work is seen also in the individual texts themselves. These tales frequently reflect the centrality of physical beauty and the unrelenting strength of love—or lust—but lack the later cautionary tone of falling prey to love's danger. However, Boccaccio's love stories at times do reveal the post-plague preoccupation with mortality and the danger of love in relation to death. This is especially clear in the story of Lisabetta who falls in love with the manager of her family's trading establishment and, after he is murdered by her brothers on account of their affair, hides his severed head in a pot of basil. In a 2014 article, Guido Ruggiero analyzes the function of this pot of basil as a memento of Lisabetta's lost love, which traps her in a state of perpetual sorrow.[122] Upon realizing her lover is dead and retrieving his severed head, Lisabetta "shut herself in and cried bitterly, weeping so profusely that she bathed it thoroughly with her tears, and … [planted] a thousand kisses all over it."[123] When her neighbours begin to notice Lisabetta's strange behaviour and that she "was losing her looks … her eyes had become sunken in her head,"[124] her brothers take away the pot of basil. Lisabetta immediately falls ill, begging her brothers to return the pot until they abandon her, and she eventually dies of lovesickness.

The key takeaway from Lisabetta's story is the danger of such devotion to impermanence, or mortality. The severed head can be seen to act as a symbol of mortality and the impermanence of love; the consequence of Lisabetta's fixation on this impermanence, then, is her own mortality. As such, the text can be seen as reflective of the Petrarchan emphasis on the 'good life' as one that turns from the temporary earthly world to reflection on the eternal divine. Though perhaps it is not love that is the source of Lisabetta's pain but rather the loss of love, the association of impermanence with both her love and life re-affirms post-plague anxieties and anticipates the growing culture of humanism and its focus on immortality. Lisabetta's eventual death also reflects the destructive power of impermanence—also attributed to love itself—to one's self and soul. Furthermore, her brothers' abandonment of her and

[118] Simon May, *Love: A History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011), 130.
[119] Louise George Clubb, "Boccaccio and the Boundaries of Love," *Italica*, 37, no. 3 (1960): 189.
[120] Clubb, "Boccaccio and the Boundaries of Love," 188.
[121] Clubb, "Boccaccio and the Boundaries of Love," 195.
[122] Guido Ruggiero, "Getting a Head in the Renaissance: Mementos of Lost Love in Boccaccio and Beyond," *Renaissance Quarterly* 67 (2014): 1167.
[123] Giovanni Boccaccio, *The Decameron*, trans. and ed. Wayne Rebhorn (New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 2016), 138.
[124] Boccaccio, *The Decameron,* 139.

neighbours' awareness of her debilitated state reveal this destructive power through its affect on her personal social stability through loss of the central familial unit and unfavourable reputation. Thus, though the *Decameron* does not explicitly express the same ideals of Renaissance thinkers and later Renaissance texts, it is key in establishing late medieval post-plague precedent and anticipating the mindset of years to come.

Love in Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's The Two Lovers

A text that perhaps best demonstrates the conflicting ideas of love in Renaissance narrative is Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini's *The Two Lovers* (1444). Published in the mid-fifteenth century, the novella was produced in the midst of this highly transitional period and as such can be seen as both demonstrating the established dangers of love and anticipating the growing acceptance of love in relation to humanity. As with many love stories of the time, the tale centres on a secret illicit affair, in this case between the German knight Euralius and Lucrece, the beautiful, virtuous wife of an Italian noble. In his text, Piccolomini is able to reveal the destructive force of love that does not follow the standards outlined by moral or secular authorities. Though their affair remains secret and therefore their honour remains intact, Euralius' rationality eventually triumphs and the two separate to prevent any further consequence;[125] however, since neither is able to let go of their love for the other, Lucrece dies and Euralius lives on in misery. Thus, the story links the late medieval narrative tradition of profane sexual desire and physical beauty to the humanist context of love as socially and morally damaging through exploration of both personal and greater social consequences of the lovers' affair.

To understand the contradiction apparent in *The Two Lovers,* it is crucial first to understand the type of love presented in the text. The story is one of a deeply profane love rooted primarily in physical attraction and the untameable flames of lust, as it is their admiration of each other's beauty that begins their mutual obsession and their sexual engagement that furthers it. In her 2015 article, Gabriella Zarri examines the depiction of physical love in *The Two Lovers* through the primacy of the sense of sight, arguing that the eyes were a vehicle through which Renaissance people could understand Eros love.[126] As Zarri states, the love between Euralius and Lucrece is one based "solely in eyes seeking pleasure,"[127] thus revealing a love purely rooted in admiration of impermanent physical beauty—the very form of love that early humanists such as Petrarch and Salutati condemned. These themes harken to the medieval courtly love tradition, as discussed in reference to the *Decameron.* The text is unique in its erotic nature and its detailed, unabashed descriptions, especially considering the surrounding humanist context that viewed physical or profane love as immoral. Rather than principally morally condemnable, the lovers' affair is presented more as dangerous to one's health and detrimental to one's social status. These ideas thus highlight the changing fifteenth-century landscape through continuing the early Renaissance warnings against physical love and the ultimate consequence of death, and re-introducing the primacy of the sexual experience, which links to later ideas of physical love as both permissible and encouraged.

Despite the implied acceptance of physical love, a major feature of the text is its depiction of love as violent or destructive, which underscores the narrative contradiction of love. Frequently, Piccolomini refers to love as a form of madness, a deathly sickness, or a violent master. This is seen especially in his narration of the lovers' affair, in which the narrator laments, "O, insensible breast of a lover! O blind thought. O hardy and unfearful heart."[128] The connection to a lack of rational and physical sense

[125] Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape," 51.
[126] Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape," 67.
[127] Quoted in Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape," 56.
[128] Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers: The Goodly History of Lady Lucrece and her Lover Euralius,* eds. Emily O'Brien and Kenneth R. Bartlett (Ottawa: Dovehouse Editions, Inc., 1999), 144.

characterizes love as a governing thought and enemy to reason. This is expounded in the characterization of love as "an universal reigning mischief"[129]—'reigning' implying its power of control—and remark that Euralius, in the throes of his passionate love, was "Neither [to] law nor fear [beholden], to no shame…subject."[130] As discussed, honour and reputation were of paramount concern to Renaissance people to facilitate the re-establishment of social order, which also depended on rationality to maintain one's social place. The insensibility of love that ruled the mind to the point of eliminating shame or care for honour reveals the direct threat that love posed to one's place in society. This presentation of love as all-consuming and detrimental reflects earlier Petrarchan ideas of love as a distraction from personal improvement. However, while early humanists feared the obstacle that love presented to personal moral betterment, the highly social focus of the text aligns more closely with Salutati's Civic Humanism and the importance of active duty to the state as well as the uniquely Renaissance post-plague preoccupation with re-establishing social order.

The true threat love posed to social order is perhaps best seen in Lucrece and Euralius' first physical encounter, for which Euralius was forced to sneak into her home disguised as a porter. The text highlights especially the extreme difference in status between Euralius and the figure he is to impersonate, noting his virtue and connection to the Emperor to highlight the grave sin that a man of such a position should be "among such rascal people."[131] By trading his purple clothing for sack cloth, "he dissembleth his own face and, of a master, he is become a servant…."[132] Here, Euralius is seen actively lowering himself and his position for the sake of love's physical consummation, an action that, in the context of the Renaissance rigid enforcement of and obsession with hierarchical social order, would have been seen as a major social transgression. In fact, so irrational are Euralius' actions that the narrator likens him to an animal—"…by love, so is the mind of man thereby changed, that little he differeth from a beast"[133]—a comparison that would have held even greater significance in the humanist culture that exalted man for the free will and rational mind that set him apart from all other creatures. These ideas bear a strong connection to Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's emphasis on man's true value as being the capacity to decide his or her own nature through use of rational will;[134] as such, through eradication of this rational will, Euralius' love undermines the very trait that made humankind so significant. Thus, the depiction of love in the text highlights contemporary social anxieties and further the notion that love is destructive to oneself and one's place.

Even given the explicit warning against love as dangerous and distracting, it is interesting to note that this admonition follows a more social than moral justification. In this way, while the message is similar, the values extolled run counter to some earlier Renaissance and humanist interpretations that focused on the concept of ethics and moral living as a path to divinity. This may be seen to reflect the shifting nature of the Renaissance itself that, with the growth of Civic Humanism and strengthening of society years after the plague's devastation, came to focus increasingly on living well in the mortal world. The highly erotic nature of the text and emphasis on physical consummation, though dangerous and not entirely condoned, may also suggest the growing acceptance of the place of sexuality and physical desire in a relationship.

[129] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 143.
[130] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 144.
[131] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 144.
[132] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 144.
[133] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 145.
[134] Pico della Mirandola, Giovanni, "Excerpts from Giovanni Pico della Mirandola's 'Oration on the Dignity of Man' (1486)," 94.

Though *The Two Lovers* was published nearly a full century after the plague and as such reflects the ideals of a more firmly established Renaissance tradition, the notions expressed are still placed within the pre-existing framework of *memento mori*. As previously noted, the idea of mortality was intrinsically bound to the idea of impermanence, and thus the sin of love being at its core a fleeting concern that tethered the lover to Earth. This idea of impermanence is found in Piccolomini's text through frequent mentions of love's fleeting pleasures, especially when compared to the lengthy heartbreak or profound consequences that accompany it. For instance, when Euralius is hidden from Lucrece's husband during their first encounter, he contemplates both the personal and social consequences of their affair, noting that love's "joys be comparable to smoke…."[135] He reiterates this idea during their second encounter, stating, "Alas, how long business [is love] and how short be the pleasures."[136] These comments are crucial since they fixate primarily on the mortal or social consequences of love rather than emphasize the temporariness of beauty and love as distractions from the immortal divine. For instance, Euralius is particularly distraught by the thought that he may lose the Holy Roman Emperor's favour should his affair be discovered. Therefore, Euralius' major concerns are not with a sort of moral diversion from eventual union with the Supreme, but rather the highly mortal and—in early humanists' eyes—similarly impermanent fears regarding personal reputation and status.

Despite being mortal or earthly concerns—highly reflective of the growing focus on leading the 'good life' on earth—these ideas are intrinsically linked to the fear of mortality, seen through consideration of the consequences. This is especially clear in an earlier comment by Euralius that "pleasures [of love] be short and the dolours infinite."[137] The idea of being infinite or unending also ties to the idea of eternity or immortality, with the consequences being as boundless as they are endless. The juxtaposition, then, of these impermanent mortal pleasures against profound, life-long consequences suggests a continued social anxiety surrounding the fleetingness of life. The difference here, though, is that the anxiety now manifests as Renaissance people's preoccupation with social order. Love is a small joy in an already short existence, whereas a social transgression may affect one forever, both during life and in legacy beyond death. This fixation of legacy and immortality through memory connects once again to Samuel Cohn's aforementioned post-plague cult of remembrance in response to the plague's devastation. The concern with mortality, then, was neither death itself nor some form of moral inadequacy, but instead the quality—and social state—of life lived, which could, as Cohn suggests, carry through remembrance for years following.

Furthermore, the lasting primacy of mortality is seen also in the lovers' ultimate fate, which carries a profound message for social behaviour. As has been discussed, there is a frequent association with love and death or dying, especially in Renaissance literature, with death frequently being a consequence of an impractical affair. This is clear in *The Two Lovers* through Lucrece's inability to let go of her love for Euralius. When Menelaus boards up Lucrece's window and prevents their continued meeting, Lucrece rapidly falls ill, only to be revived by Euralius' presence. While one may interpret this scene to suggest a saving power of love, it more likely is a message of caution against such all-consuming love that puts one's life at risk. Lucrece in this regard represents the danger of falling in love, which here is the prioritization of love over all else, including—and especially—duty to the state. This is particularly significant when one remembers that Lucrece is already married, and though Menelaus is passive and aging, Lucrece's social duty remains to her husband. Since marriage was seen as culmination of stability—

[135] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 147.
[136] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 156.
[137] Piccolomini, *The Two Lovers,* 147.

especially in contrast to the fickle instability of love, which had no place in the marriage bed[138]—and had the power to both reflect and create wider communal order, Lucrece's neglect of her husband is tantamount to blatant disregard of her social responsibility.[139] Lucrece's failing health is a symbol of her mortality, which comes as a consequence of her deep love for Euralius—love, thus, has made her weak and dependent, and prevents her from fulfilling her far more vital marriage duties.

The fixation with immortality and mortality can be simplified to the idea of a long life well lived against a short life wasted. This is most apparent in the fates of the two lovers. Eventually, Euralius' rationality triumphs and he ends their affair. As noted, Lucrece falls ill due to their separation and, as she is unable to let go of their love, she eventually dies in grief. In contrast, Euralius, though he remains in misery over his lost love, devotes himself fully to his duty to the emperor and is eventually given a suitable wife. Thus, love has prevented Lucrece from being able to continue to morally improve herself and to socially re-establish herself, while Euralius' reason and ability to move on is rewarded with the more socially 'correct' action of marriage. As such, the fixation on love's impermanence is detrimental in that it also prevents one from being able to view a greater picture of their life and place in society; Lucrece's life is cut short, as was her temporary love, but Euralius' life not only continues on account of overcoming his impermanent love, but is shown to improve. *The Two Lovers* thus is seen to highlight the contradiction of love in the changing Renaissance society through its retention of early concerns of mortality, impermanence, and the distraction of love in a way that better reflects the growing civic, earthly focus of the fifteenth century.

Love in Masuccio Salernitano's tale of Ganozza and Mariotto in Il Novellino

The final narrative to be examined is the tale of Ganozza and Mariotto in Masuccio Salernitano's *Il Novellino* (1483), a likely predecessor, as Nicole Prunster states, of William Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*.[140] In this story, Mariotto, a nobleman "as upright as he was handsome,"[141] falls in love with Ganozza, a young woman of a prominent Sienese family and the two marry in secret so that they may act on their desire free from the public censure that would result from an illicit affair.[142] Shortly after, Mariotto murders a fellow citizen during an argument and is exiled from the city, leaving Ganozza alone to repel her father's attempts at arranging marriages while keeping their relationship secret. She resolves to fake her death with a potion so that she may reunite with Mariotto in Alexandria where he stays with his uncle. Mariotto, though, receives notice of Ganozza's death and, unaware of Ganozza's plan, returns to Siena where he is executed by the state. Ganozza is taken in by Mariotto's uncle and admitted to a convent where she dies of heartbroken grief.

With the dual deaths at the end of the novella, the connection once again between love and mortality is made clear. What is interesting here, though, is that rather than their deaths being a consequence of their foolish love, as is the case of Lucrece in *The Two Lovers*, Mariotto and Ganozza make the active decision to die *for* their love. The notion of mortality here is not one focused on death as punishment, but instead on death as the alternative to an unfulfilling life. The active desire of both Mariotto and Ganozza to lose their lives rather than lose each other implies that the true tragedy of the

[138] Zarri, "Eyes and Heart, Eros and Agape," 56.
[139] Thompson, *Chaucer, Boccaccio, and the Debate of Love,* 225.
[140] Nicole Prunster, "Introduction," *Romeo and Juliet Before Shakespeare: Four Early Stories of Star-Crossed Love,* ed. Nicole Prunster (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 1-2.
[141] Masuccio Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," *Romeo and Juliet Before Shakespeare: Four Early Stories of Star-Crossed Love,* eds. Nicole Prunster (Toronto: Centre for Reformation and Renaissance Studies, 2000), 20.
[142] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 20.

tale is not their erroneous love but rather the loss of the beloved, which Salernitano characterizes as an extreme indescribable sorrow.[143] The text as such may be seen as reflective of the shifting views of love towards the end of the Quattrocento when love itself no longer posed the same dangerous distraction as earlier humanists had claimed but had begun to be seen as a crucial aspect of the human experience.

The difference between this tale and that of Lucrece and Euralius can further be understood by examining the significance of social order within the text. Unlike Lucrece and Euralius' adulterous affair, Mariotto and Ganozza's relationship is fostered only within the confines of marriage. The narrator makes the importance of this explicit in stating their reason to wed, which was "so that if by some misfortune their enjoyment were forbidden, they would be shielded from all censure."[144] This point is crucial since it stresses that, despite their love being secret, Mariotto and Ganozza took all the necessary precautions to preserve their honour while behaving within the socially permitted space of marriage. Salernitano even notes outright that theirs was a "to a degree licit love…."[145] Furthermore, the marriage is shown to have been between equals, as Mariotto is characterized as an honourable and upright citizen and Ganozza as the virtuous daughter of an eminent citizen.[146] Through establishing themselves in marriage and only then acting on their love, Mariotto and Ganozza act in accordance with their civic duty to maintain communal order. As such, their love is both morally and socially acceptable since it neither distracts from their civic responsibilities nor promotes greater transgression as was the case in *The Two Lovers.*

What is perhaps most significant for demonstrating the change in perceptions of love in Ganozza and Mariotto's story is the message of the text. Salernitano introduces his story by asking the Lord Duke of Amalfi, to whom his work is dedicated, to judge "which of the two loved more fervently."[147] He then concludes his text by comparing the lovers' deaths to argue that while the uneducated may find Ganozza's love to be stronger due to her sacrifice in faking her death, she was motivated by the desire to find Mariotto alive; thus, Mariotto, who returned to Siena believing Ganozza to be dead and knowing he would be executed, expresses a greater capacity for love.[148] The message, then, is not a warning against love, but instead that a man's love is greater. This focus is significant because it suggests not simply the misogynist notion that a woman's love is inferior but more importantly that there is a reason to compare capacities for love. By establishing Mariotto as loving more strongly, Salernitano suggests that there is a pride to be found in being the superior lover. This notion poses a sharp contrast to earlier fears of love as damaging and detrimental as it reveals a new importance of love and emotion. These ideas, when considered alongside the text's reaffirmation of social stability through love within marriage, demonstrate the later fifteenth-century focus on the value of love and its function within the 'good life' on earth.

Conclusion

As has been demonstrated, love's manifestation in Renaissance narrative was characterized by contradiction. While texts at times extolled love as virtuous and human, or emphasized the centrality of physical love and desire, they at the same time frequently admonished love for its impermanence, which distracted from self-improvement and civic duty. The devastation wrought by the 1348 plague resulted in a pervasive concern with mortality, that manifested in both the mindset and social reality of the period.

[143] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 24.
[144] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 20.
[145] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 20.
[146] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 20.
[147] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 19.
[148] Salernitano, "Novellino (novella 3)," 25.

Humanism and Neoplatonism were characterized by an emphasis on the moral state of the immortal soul as well as the nature of humanity, which manifested in an emphasis on reflective introspection. These ideals revealed a post-plague anxiety surrounding mortality through their disdain for the impermanence of earthly love and beauty but grew to focus more firmly on the human experience and living well—and loving well—while alive. The disintegration of medieval society resulted in an active effort at re-establishing order, most significantly through marriage as it represented both personal stability and more generally the stability of the state. This connected to the shifting mindset of the period through similar emphasis on the danger of love in premarital or extramarital relations.

Once again, the narratives of the late fourteenth and fifteenth centuries reflect the contradiction of a society in flux after profound devastation. The *Decameron* highlights the early stages of this contradiction through its medieval emphasis on physical lust alongside the destructive nature of impermanence and mortality, of which love itself is emblematic. The themes anticipated in this early text are found fully manifest in *The Two Lovers*, which oscillates between utter condemnation of love as destructive madness for its detriment to the social stability of the individual—and, by extension, the state—and an emphasis on sensuality and the highly natural flames of lust. The text thus encapsulates the transitional nature of the mid-fifteenth century that combined early humanist ideals of love and mortality with the emerging acceptance of Eros and emphasis on mortality in society and memory. The tale of Mariotto and Ganozza reveals the establishment of physical love within the framework of social acceptability to demonstrate the growth in acceptance of Eros and increasing social stability.

Overall, the ideas presented in this paper, though many-sided and manifold, represent key features of the Renaissance itself. The inherent contradictions in acceptable versus condemnable love expressed in this paper capture the spirit of the period and its other oppositional yet deeply connected concepts: immortality and mortality, beauty and virtue, the self and the state. Through these themes, it makes especially clear the effort of Renaissance people to not simply re-establish society, but to *create* a society, both in the image of the past and as a window to the future. It is here that one truly comes to realize the meaning of "rebirth."

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Albrecht Dürer, The Little Owl
(1506)

Ben Wagner, "Nothing So Cruel as Memory: The Forgotten Spanish Influenza Pandemic in Kitchener/Waterloo,"[1] HI 497: Plagues and Peoples

Supervised by Dr. Kandace Bogaert

Introduction:

While the Spanish influenza pandemic resulted in nearly 100 million recorded worldwide deaths, its origins are often widely disputed. Scholars including Mark Osborne Humphries and Kandace Bogaert have postulated that the virus itself was present amongst the Canadian military before the fall of 1918, and thus the beginning of the pandemic writ large.[2] Janice Dickins-McGinnis asserts that the disease arrived in North America as a result of infected troops returning en masse on troop ships after the First World War, drawing on the example of *HMS Araguayan* and the 175 confirmed cases amongst the soldiers on board.[3] The popular origins of the pandemic are reflective in its name, as many believed it originated from the Iberian nation of Spain. This, however, is a misnomer, as the moniker was only bestowed upon the disease as a result of Spanish war neutrality and the lack of press censorship.[4] The pandemic was also said to have originated in China, as previous outbreaks of infectious diseases had been sourced from the Middle Kingdom and other Asian nations.[5] Ultimately, the point from which the disease originated adds little to the overarching historiography on the subject, as the resulting devastation is of greater importance than the place from which it stems.

Alfred Crosby's 1989 book *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918* attempts to determine why the deadliest pandemic in human history has evaded the collective historical memory, and the nature of society that allowed this to be the case. He notes specifically of the *Reader's Guide to Periodical Literature* published during the pandemic years, arguing that the publication had only eight inches of column space devoted to influenza as opposed to twenty for Bolshevism and thirteen for baseball.[6] Crosby also discusses the attitudes of contemporary politicians toward influenza and their tendency to nearly avoid the issue in its entirety and instead focus on the war effort and the resulting peace process.[7] The end of the First World War can be at least partially attributed to the lack ofresonance within the collective consciousness, as Canada's War Measures Act provided for "censorship and control and suppression of publications, writings, maps, plans, photographs, communication, and means of

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[2] Kandace L. Bogaert. "Military and Maritime Evidence of Pandemic Influenza in Canada During the Summer of 1918." *War and Society*. Vol. 36 (1) February 2017, 46-47.

[3] Janice Dickins-McGinnis. "The Impact of Epidemic Influenza: Canada, 1918-1919." *Historical Papers 1977,* 122.

[4] Richard Collier. *The Plague of the Spanish Lady: The Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919.* (New York: Athaneum Press, 1974) 7.

[5] Mark Osborne Humphries. "Paths of Infection: The First World War and the Origins of the 1918 Influenza Pandemic." *War in History*. Vol. 21 (1) 2013. 64.

[6] Alfred W. Crosby. *America's Forgotten Pandemic: The Influenza of 1918.* (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press, 1989.) 314.

[7] Ibid, 314.

communication."[8] This censorship campaign extended to the majority of the Allied nations, and severely limited the amount of information available to the public, as the publications in nations like Ireland were regularly subjected to extremely strict screening processes.[9] Much like the somewhat trivial nature of the explanations for the origins of the pandemic, the actions of national and international censorship boards or organisations are insufficient in determining the reason for which the influenza pandemic of 1918 and 1919 is largely forgotten.

An excellent summary of Spanish influenza historiography was composed by Howard Phillips and appeared in the journal *Social History of Medicine* in 2014. In his article, entitled "The Recent Wave of Spanish Flu Historiography", he outlines the extremely recent developments within the greater historical literature concerning Spanish influenza and the relatively new emphasis on the 1918-1919 pandemic. Phillips also notes of the increased public interest in the pandemic, citing the discrepancy between internet searches for 'Spanish influenza epidemic' and 'flu epidemic history'.[10] Phillips posits that the drastic increase in pandemic historiography can in part be attributed to the rise of the sub-fields of social, urban, and environmental histories.[11] The introduction of these fields allowed for the study of subjects traditionally dismissed by the academic community. Phillips connects the rise of new historical disciplines, and the subsequent increase in Spanish flu historiography, with the series of epidemics that occurred in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, specifically AIDS and SARS.[12]

Phillips' analyses of Spanish influenza historiography are supported by Magda Fahrni and Essylt W. Jones' book *Epidemic Encounters: Influenza, Society, and Culture in Canada, 1918-1920.* Fahrni and Jones promote the contributions of Canadian scholars to the larger historiography on the subject, explicitly emphasising publications concerning the disease as it affected aboriginal populations.[13] Fahrni and Jones also discuss the emphasis of local history concerning Spanish influenza, arguing that it is now impossible for any scholar studying the subject to ignore the local context, as the absence of co-ordinated federal or provincial health apparatuses stipulated that all policy and response efforts were organised locally.[14] The level of detail in the Canadian historiography is believed by Fahrni and Jones to have greatly contributed to the development of Canadian social history, as well as shed light on the personal experiences of those who survived the pandemic.[15]

In terms of the practical steps taken by local officials, an excellent model for public policy regarding the influenza epidemic can be found in the 1922 report from the New York City Board of Health; it outlined a twenty-two-step system to mitigate the spread of the disease.[16] The Board of Health emphasised isolation and extreme cleanliness as well as discouraged certain established social conventions, due to their tendency to spread infection. Places wherein large crowds congregated were closed or the opening hours were staggered, and communities that were particularly affected by influenza were made to display

[8] Jeffery A. Keshen. *Propaganda and Censorship During Canada's Great War.* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1996) 65.
[9] Ida Milne. *Stacking the Coffins: Influenza, War, and Revolution in Ireland, 1918-1919.* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2018.) 19.
[10] Howard Phillips. "The Recent Wave of Spanish Flu Historiography." *Social History of Medicine.* Vol. 27 (4), 2014, 790.
[11] Ibid, 791.
[12] Ibid, 791.
[13] Magda Fahrni, Essylt W. Jones. "Introduction." in *Epidemic Encounters: Influenza, Society, and Culture in Canada, 1918-1920.* ed. Magda Fahrni, Essylt W. Jones. (Vancouver/Toronto: University of British Columbia Press, 2012.) 8.
[14] Ibid, 9.
[15] Ibid, 10.
[16] See Appendix 1.

markers denoting them as such.[17] The pandemic dominated public consciousness even after the disease itself had largely abated, demonstrating the devastating nature of influenza.

Local Effects of Influenza: The Case of Kenora

In order to gain a deeper understanding of the effects of the pandemic and the potential resulting loss of interest, it is necessary to narrow the focus from the national and international context to one of a local persuasion. Nicole Marion and Joseph Scanlon's 2011 article "Mass death and Mass Illness in an Isolated Canadian Town: Coping with Pandemic Influenza in Kenora, Ontario, in 1918–1921" examines in great detail the effect of deadly disease on the town of Kenora, Ontario, and provides an excellent model with which to examine the effects of the disease in the Kitchener/Waterloo region. Marion and Scanlon make note of the actions taken by the local Board of Health to close all schools, theatres, churches, public libraries, and other places where large groups of people were known to congregate, in an attempt to quell the spread of the disease.[18] The actions taken in Kenora reflect the protective measures instituted throughout the infected regions of Canada.

Marion and Scanlon also discuss the role played by the war in the construction of press coverage, particularly as it related to reports of overseas casualties.[19] In their attempts to document the extent of the pandemic in Kenora, they draw upon the local reporting of the *Kenora Miner and News* and the extent to which traditional layouts were altered to reflect the public desire for information on war casualties and other updates from the front as well as the exploits at home.[20] The traditionally reserved structure of the *Kenora Miner and News* became nearly exclusively devoted to obituary reporting, whether from overseas or from influenza at home.[21] The sheer amount of obituaries that were published as a result of the influenza pandemic constantly reminded the inhabitants that the spectre of pandemic disease was present in their community, as there were 36 influenza deaths recorded in November 1918 alone, amounting to more than one per day.[22]

The systematic and chronological approach chosen by Marion and Scanlon provides an excellent model upon which this paper will be based. The Kenora example and the sources consulted will mirror those consulted for this project, as this paper will examine newspaper coverage from the time as well as council minutes from the local and provincial boards of health in order to determine the level of discourse concerning the influenza epidemic and the extent to which it was present in the public consciousness. Alongside these factors, this paper will attempt to determine some of the potential reasons why the pandemic of Spanish influenza remains a relatively obscure topic of historical study and largely forgotten amongst the global civilian population. In addition to official documents and publications, this paper will examine personal correspondence of prominent local individuals, including diary entries and letters, to determine the personal impact of the Spanish influenza on individuals and the community.

[17] Municipal Sanitary Precautions during Epidemic of Influenza: Rambling Thoughts of a Civil Engineer," by Dr. Wm. Paul Gerhard, reprinted from Municipal and County Engineering, April and May 1922. RG 10-163-0-119. Archives of Ontario. Toronto, Ontario, Canada.

[18] Nicole Marion. Joseph Scanlon. "Mass Death and Mass Illness in an Isolated Canadian Town: Coping with Pandemic Influenza in Kenora, Ontario, in 1918–1921." *Mortality*. Vol. 16 (4) November 2011, 328.

[19] Ibid, 328-329.

[20] Ibid, 327-328.

[21] Nicole Marion. Joseph Scanlon. "Mass Death and Mass Illness in an Isolated Canadian Town: Coping with Pandemic Influenza in Kenora, Ontario, in 1918–1921." *Mortality*. Vol. 16 (4) November 2011, 331.

[22] Ibid, 331.

An excellent summary of the epidemic's local effects is also given by Niall Philip Alan Sean Johnson in his 1993 Master's thesis *Pandemic Influenza: An Analysis of the Spread of Influenza in Kitchener, October 1918*. Therein, he provides detailed lists of all individuals who passed away as a result of influenza both overall and the time period in which the epidemic was strongest.[23] His findings describe the age, occupation, and home address of 127 individuals who contracted and ultimately succumbed to influenza. The data provided demonstrates the far-reaching effect of influenza alongside its indiscriminate nature. More specifically, it exemplifies the way the disease sickened those from all economic and social backgrounds. Individuals employed in some of the most dominant companies in the City of Kitchener, including the Dominion Tire Company and the Kaufmann Rubber Company became ill, alongside simple carpenters, clerks, and letter carriers.[24]

The Heart of Public Information: Local Newspapers and the Spanish Flu:

In his famed *Encyclopédie*, French philosopher Denis Diderot promoted the idea that "all things must be examined, debated, investigated without exception and without regard for anyone's feelings."[25] This holds true for events which can be considered traumatic, including international conflict and mass devastation. The Spanish flu epidemic is no exception, as both the *Kitchener News Record* and *Berlin Daily Telegraph* demonstrate. Coverage of the epidemic begins in September of 1918, following a simultaneously optimistic and grim outline. On 7 September 1918, the *Berlin Daily Telegraph* proudly boasted that the city was free of contagious diseases, noting that the only instance of disease in the region consisted of one sole case of diphtheria was reported in early August and resolved on the twenty-seventh of August.[26] Ironically, this level of optimism is misplaced, as the newspaper begins to cover the epidemic in great detail as it became more prevalent in the region.

A mere two weeks after the sanitary inspector's report which declared the city free of contagious diseases, the *Daily Telegraph* reported the presence of influenza in the province of Ontario and the methods that were to be discussed as potential solutions to the epidemic, as well as providing context in the form of the American example.[27] This publication of the arrival of Spanish influenza The article itself describes the symptoms of influenza in detail, emphasising the onset and gradual worsening of the person's condition. The article outlines the sudden onset of symptoms that included chills, severe headaches, weakness, and a "general feeling of malaria."[28] The article also cites the opinion of the Provincial Officer of Health Colonel J.W.S. McCullough, who noted that Spanish influenza resembled ordinary influenza.[29] This description implies that officials believed an inherent biological and epidemiological difference separated the virus that caused the pandemic from that which caused previous cases. The presence of the disease in the municipality was also met with some skepticism regarding severity, as McCullough outlined the prognosis for individuals stricken with flu. He discerned that according to established medical knowledge, that an influenza patient would be well within four days

[23] Niall Johnson. "Pandemic Influenza: An Analysis of the Spread of Pandemic Influenza in Kitchener, October 1918." (Master's Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1993.) 188.

[24]Niall Johnson. "Pandemic Influenza: An Analysis of the Spread of Pandemic Influenza in Kitchener, October 1918." (Master's Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 1993.), 196.

[25] Denis Diderot. *Encyclopédie*. (Paris: Royal French Press, 1791.)

[26] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "City is Free of Contagious Diseases: Report of Sanitary Inspector Presented to Board of Health." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*. 7 September 1918, 2.

[27] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Influenza is Prevalent Here: Provincial Health Authorities Issue Warning to the People." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*. 19 September 1918, 4.

[2828] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Influenza is Prevalent Here: Provincial Health Authorities Issue Warning to the People." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*. 19 September 1918, 4.

[29] Ibid, 4.

of registering a fever, after a period during which the patient's temperature would steadily rise.[30] This somewhat lackadaisical and cavalier attitude toward an emerging contagious disease may partially explain the lack of emphasis on the 1918 influenza in both contemporary historiography and in the broader historical memory.

Shortly after the publication of the less than serious article on the arrival of influenza to the City of Kitchener, the *Daily Telegraph* again reports on the presence of influenza, subsequently describing it as an enemy that had 'invaded' the city and surrounding area.[31] The tone of the article's text is somewhat problematic, as it details the fact that every recorded case of influenza in the region was being attended to by medical professionals and thus "none of them were serious enough to warrant alarm."[32] Despite these claims, the article's title characterises the disease in a manner that most likely would have provoked some concern, as it employs the same terminology one would use to describe an enemy's attack. Given the contextual example of influenza's impact on the United States and the previous reports that drew on the impact of the epidemic in the United States, the nonchalant attitude of officials in Ontario is particularly noteworthy, as well as a potential explanation for why the influenza pandemic of 1918 remains in the dustbin of history.

The relaxed tone and content of the initial articles in the *Daily Telegraph* are quickly refuted through an examination of its coverage of the disease as the pandemic continues. In early October 1918, its tone clearly becomes much more sombre, emphasising the sheer level of havoc being wreaked by Spanish influenza.[33] According to the *Daily Telegraph*, the disease was so prevalent in Kitchener that "there is not a department of business in the entire city which has not been affected."[34] The increase in serious coverage of Spanish influenza in the *Daily Telegraph* is coupled with an attempt to increase public awareness of the disease. As the epidemic wore on, articles concerning influenza were quickly moved from the inside pages of the newspaper to page one, eventually occupying most of the space on the front page.[35]

By contrast, coverage in the *Kitchener News Record*, although following a similar pattern and attitude to that of the *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*, was much more sporadic in nature. The coverage within the *Record* begins nearly identically to that of the *Telegraph*, with an article detailing the symptoms, causation, and virology of *baccilus influenzæ*.[36] In the following issue, the newspaper begins an attempt to mitigate the resulting panic by promoting a home remedy that was described as a "sure cure for the flu". The cure consisted simply of "a piece of crushed garlic and a little pepper in a small glass of whiskey."[37] The construction of this article can be viewed as largely reflective of the prevailing attitudes toward the epidemic at its outbreak, as it only briefly mentions the epidemic and places it in a location in which it is

[30]Ibid, 4.
[31] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Spanish 'Flu' Invades City: Some Cases of Aggravated Nature Being Treated by Physicians." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph.* 30 September 1918, 3.
[32] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Spanish 'Flu' Invades City: Some Cases of Aggravated Nature Being Treated by Physicians." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph.* 30 September 1918, 3.
[33] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Influenza is Not Abating: Many Suggestions Being Received by Health Authorities of City." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph*. 7 October 1918, 1.
[34]Ibid, 1.
[35] Kitchener Daily Telegraph. "Board of Health Will Be Backed by City Council in Dealing With Epidemic." *Kitchener Daily Telegraph.* 10 October 1918, 1.
[36] Kitchener News Record. "Spanish Influenza: Department of the Provincial Secretary, Provincial Board of Health." *Kitchener News Record.* 1 October 1918, 3.
[37] Kitchener News Record. "A Sure Cure for the Flu." *Kitchener News Record.* 2 October 1918, 9.

relatively obscured by other local news stories. Coverage remains relatively scarce as the epidemic wears on, limited to only a few isolated obituaries until 23 October 1918, the issue that began to take the epidemic seriously, comparing it to the casualties wrought by World War I.[38]

The hidden nature of the *Kitchener News Record*'s coverage of the epidemic is further demonstrated by the front page of the 2 October 1918 issue. Whereas the coverage in the *Telegraph* was extremely prevalent by this point in the epidemic, the *Record* instead chooses to ignore Spanish influenza in favour of the military on a greater scale than the *Telegraph*. The front pages of the *Record* devote nearly all the space to events in the First World War, including the Middle East and Turkey.[39] This type of coverage occurs again on the eleventh of November 1918, the day on which the war ended. Considering this was the time in which the epidemic was also at its strongest, it seems strange that coverage of the epidemic in its entirety was abandoned.[40]As opposed to the *Telegraph*, which seems to report on the First World War and the influenza epidemic in equal measure, the *Record* seems to ignore Spanish influenza in favour of the more positive coverage of the end of the First World War and the internationally significant events of the Russian Revolution and the Paris Peace Conference.[41] The increase in serious coverage of the epidemic coupled with the strategically placed location thereof demonstrates that Spanish influenza was becoming more than a simple nuisance and transforming into an extremely dangerous disease. However, the uneven coverage of the epidemic on the part of both the *Kitchener Daily Telegraph* and the *Kitchener News Record* may explain the lack of resonance of the Spanish influenza epidemic in the collective memory.

The Official Response: The Boards of Health

Along with the constantly developing coverage of Spanish influenza in local newspapers, the dangers of the disease were quickly addressed by municipal and regional boards of health. The amount of time devoted to influenza response increases as the epidemic worsens, mirroring the coverage in the local newspaper. The City of Kitchener Board of Health begins discussion of Spanish influenza in earnest in early October of 1918 and convened a series of special meetings to address the resulting danger. On 7 October 1918, the Board of Health determined that it was necessary to close all public spaces, including schools, churches and theatres.[42] The influenza epidemic warranted an increase in the number of meetings held, as the minutes from the board demonstrate. Meetings were held within two days of each other on alternating weeks, discussing possible preventative measures including the opening of hospitals specifically designed to isolate and care for influenza patients.[43] Whereas the meetings conducted before the arrival of Spanish influenza were devoted to other matters alongside disease prevention and status, the prevalence of the flu pushed the discussion of all other matters aside.

Spanish influenza was also addressed by the City of Kitchener Board of Health in the summary of its monthly expenses. The report commissioned on 20 November 1918 details the amount to be paid by the board in the form of accounts payable. Most listed expenses for the month of October relate to the

[38] Kitchener News Record. "Influenza Worse Than Hun Bullets: Claiming More Victims than the Battlefields of Europe-Disease Can Be Prevented." 23 October 1918, 2.
[39] Kitchener News Record. "Damascus Has Been Captured by the British." *Kitchener News Record.* 2 October 1918, 1.
[40] Kitchener News Record. "Johnny Will Come Marching Home Again: Hostilities Cease at Eleven A.M. Paris Time." *Kitchener News Record.* 11 November 1918, 1.
[41] Kitchener News Record. "Russia Anxious for Seat at Peace Table." *Kitchener News Record.* 22 November 1918. 1.
[42] City of Kitchener Board of Health Minutes, 7 October 1918. 2-1/48/2. City of Kitchener Municipal Archive, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.
[43] City of Kitchener Board of Health Minutes, 9 October 1918. 2-1/48/2. City of Kitchener Municipal Archive, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.

existence and payment for services including nursing, drugs, patient transportation and the care of the ill members of individual families.[44] Alongside expenses for traditional patient care, money was set aside for the repayment of service providers tasked with disinfecting public transportation and other places where the illness may have been transmitted.[45] Considering the emphasis placed on influenza by the City of Kitchener Board of Health, the disease seemed to have maintained a place in the collective public consciousness. It must also be stated that the board of health minutes after November 1918 seem to report what may have been the end of the local epidemic. During the meeting held on 28 December 1918, the board moves to recognise the efforts of various individuals in the treatment of patients and the awareness campaign "during the recent epidemic", implying that the great threat of influenza had passed by that point in time.[46]

However, contrary to the city of Kitchener's board of health, the regional board does not discuss influenza in any detail, if at all. Instead of influenza, the Region of Waterloo board of health, encompassing the townships of Woolwich, Elmira, and other small communities outside of the city proper focus their meetings on the 'nuisance' of garbage collection and the issues relating to disposal thereof on the part of local farmer A.B. Campbell.[47] Other topics covered included the establishment of a 'fair price council' in order to regulate the prices of goods and services during the last months of the war.[48] The nearest mention of the potential impact of influenza on the smaller regional communities consists of commemorations of previously deceased council members, but the specific circumstances of their deaths are not mentioned. Despite this, the township of Elmira city council was required to replace multiple members in the period of the influenza epidemic.[49] It may not be fair to assume that these individuals fell victim to Spanish influenza, but the coincidental nature of the timing of their deaths and the local peak of the epidemic should not be ignored. The nature of the council meetings in the township of Elmira and other small communities demonstrate that the pandemic was far worse in larger cities or towns in comparison to smaller, rural communities. This may explain the propensity for the influenza epidemic to be largely forgotten in the minds of the local public. Additionally, it may be viewed as a microcosm of the global reaction to the pandemic.

Personal Connections: Prominent Local Correspondence

The local effects of Spanish influenza and its ability to devastate the local populace is also evidenced by way of correspondence between prominent local businessmen and influential groups. Locally speaking, most mentions of Spanish influenza amongst prominent individuals occur within the Breithaupt family's personal written letters and journals. In a detailed letter from Emma Lillian Breithaupt addressed to her sister Rosa, the former stresses the impact of influenza on her family, noting that "Edward, Father, and Mother" all had pneumonia as a result of having contracted influenza.[50] Within the context of the letter, the disease itself is treated as an ever-present danger, as Breithaupt emphasises the continued updates

[44] City of Kitchener Board of Health Minutes, 20 November 1918. 2-1/48/2. City of Kitchener Municipal Archive, Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.
[45] Ibid.
[46] City of Kitchener Board of Health Minutes, 28 December 1918. 2-1/48/2. City of Kitchener Municipal Archive. Kitchener, Ontario, Canada.
[47] Township of Elmira Council Minutes, 30 October 1918. Series 4-1, 4-1/79/3. Region of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[48] Township of Elmira Council Minutes, 18 October 1918. Series 4-1, 4-1/79/3. Region of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[49] Township of Elmira Council Minutes, 14 October 1918. Series 4-1, 4-1/79/3. Region of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[50] Emma Lilian Breithaupt Correspondence (1184-1951). 2.11.3-1. University of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.

she receives regarding the reporting of new cases and flu deaths.[51] Spanish influenza affected the Breithaupt family so severely that Emma Lillian describes the desperate attempt by some of her family members to obtain a vaccine by travelling to Hamilton, Ontario, a journey that lasted multiple days.[52] In her subsequent letters, she maintains that only Louise had been vaccinated, as John "did not care to be."[53]

The correspondence between Emma Lillian Breithaupt and her sister Rosa also makes note of the effort put forward by the former's healthy family members in caring for those that were ill. Emma Lillian commends "Aunt Corina and Uncle John" as well as "Catherine" and "Aunt Caroline" all of whom had spent considerable time caring for others within the family.[54] The devotion of nearly an entire letter describing the impact of Spanish influenza on a personal scale indicates the level of contemporary discourse on the subject outside the realm of official publications.

The impression made by Spanish influenza on the Breithaupt family is also documented by family patriarch William Henry (W.H.) Breithaupt in his daily journal. He describes the effect of Spanish influenza on his business operations as the proprietor of the city's rail car service, observing that the local board of health required the workers to "wash cars every night with soap instead of fumigating", a process that would ensure the continued cleanliness of all spaces where multiple people would congregate.[55] This policy of public avoidance is further referenced in his 28 October 1918 journal entry, wherein he briefly discusses his inability to attend the morning's church service due to the prevalence of influenza.[56] Evidence that the pandemic had become increasingly dangerous is also documented by W.H. Breithaupt, who indirectly illustrates the effects of influenza on local infrastructure by writing an entry detailing the city's request for his rail car service to be used in the transport of food, supplies, and personnel in order to care for the infected at the local hospital.[57]

Further, albeit much briefer, mentions of influenza amongst the Breithaupt family are also made by the family matriarch, Emma Alvarene Breithaupt. In a letter addressed to her daughter, she expresses her grief in finding out about the flu's effects on her family.[58] Emma Alvarene's letter details her and her family's reliance on the Lord for guidance during the particularly trying time of the epidemic and her recommendation that the infected members of her family seek medical attention immediately. Emma Alvarene's religious views are further connected to the pandemic in her written recitation of VIII Romans XXVIII, during which she ascribes responsibility for the suffering and death due to Spanish influenza as predicted by the Bible.[59] Namely, that there was inherent in the presence of the pandemic a lesson to be learned about individual purpose and loyalty under duress.[60]

Conclusion:

In summary, the 1918 influenza pandemic is now considered the deadliest outbreak of disease in human history, claiming between 50 million and 100 million victims. The disease itself was personified as the

[51] Emma Lilian Breithaupt Correspondence (1184-1951). 2.11.3-1. University of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Ibid.
[54] Ibid.
[55]William Henry Breithaupt Diaries (1857-1944). 2.2.2-23. University of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[56] William Henry Breithaupt Diaries (1857-1944). 2.2.2-23. University of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[57] Ibid.
[58] Emma Alvarene Breithaupt Correspondence (1860-1925). 2.7.3-2. University of Waterloo Archive. Waterloo, Ontario, Canada.
[59]Ibid.
[60] Ibid.

'Spanish Lady' which author Catherine Arnold attributes to humanity's desire to reckon with or make sense of the immense suffering on a subconscious level.[61] The disease spared no nationality or societal class, as the infected ranged from prominent diplomats and other elites to the lowest income earners and manual labourers. Despite the evocative language used to describe the pandemic, the deadliest outbreak of disease in human history has not resonated within the public consciousness and collective memory as other diseases have. For example, the public outcry and subsequent official reaction to diseases like HIV/AIDS in the late twentieth century and the response to outbreaks of typhoid fever and cholera in the early twentieth century. Comparatively, the pandemic seems to be more accentuated in the local context as opposed to the national context.

Perhaps another explanation lies within the detailed medical developments that have occurred since the outbreak of the pandemic. The vaccine was developed in the decade after the outbreak ended and became widely available in the aftermath of World War II.[62] The vaccine itself is considered a quasi-miracle of modern medicine. The principle of the influenza vaccine lies in their use of an inoculated form of the virus injected into the patient, activating the immune response after two weeks. After this point, the individual's immune response is triggered more quickly upon encountering the live virus, and thus the disease does not result in a threat to the person's life. The World Health Organisation promotes the necessity of the vaccine, arguing that it was essential for infants, elderly, and individuals with compromised immune systems to actively seek the vaccine as early as possible. The vaccine itself was developed shortly after the pandemic began, although the explanations as to where the first effective vaccine emerged are a source of relative controversy. Some argue that it was mainly developed by the British military after Spanish influenza devastated London.[63] The subsequent widespread availability of the vaccine has transformed influenza from a regular (but still extremely deadly) nuisance into a simple winter distraction, resulting in the coinage of terms like "flu season" and the casual round-tossing of the term as a relatively light-hearted and simple virus with a standard set of stages.

The efficacy of the vaccine has increased tremendously since its introduction in the first decade of the twentieth century. An article on the effectiveness of the vaccine references a series of studies that demonstrated "four of the six civilian studies showed a significant protective effect of the vaccines for reducing influenza case fatality rates."[64] However, the article also notes that the most comprehensive study consulted did not suggest that the newly-developed vaccine could protect against the disease.[65] The lack of a scientific consensus may have contributed to the disease's public image of that which was potentially deadly. Additionally, the limited availability of the new vaccine resulted in increased demand and accusations of price-gouging on the part of pharmacists and physicians.[66] However, in the years that followed the pandemic, the vaccine's efficacy has increased dramatically. The United States Center for Disease Control's detailed records of vaccine statistics for the year 2018 determines that vaccines

[61] Catherine Arnold. *Pandemic 1918: Eyewitness Accounts from the Greatest Medical Holocaust in Modern History.* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2018) 17.
[62]Grace L. Chen, Kentra Subbarao. "Live Attenuated Vaccines for Pandemic Influenza." in *Vaccines for Pandemic Influenza* ed. Richard Compans, Walter A. Orenstein. (Atlanta/Berlin: Springer Press, 2009) 113.
[63] Michael Bresalier. "Fighting Flu: Military Pathology, Vaccines, and the Conflicting Identity of the 1918-1919 Pandemic in Britain." *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences.* Vol. 68. (1). 2013, 88.
[64] Yu-Wen Chien et. al. "Efficacy of Whole-Cell Killed Bacterial Vaccines in Preventing Pneumonia and Death During the 1918 Influenza Epidemic." *Journal of Infectious Diseases.* Vol. 202 (11) 1 December 2010. 1643.
[65] Ibid, 1643.
[66] John M. Eyler. "The State of Science, Microbiology, and Vaccines Circa 1918." *Public Health Representative.* Vol. 125 (3) 2010.

designed to guard against influenza A and B were extremely effective, with only eleven percent of vaccinated individuals contracting influenza.[67]

The concentrated impact of the influenza pandemic on local communities, along with the number of prominent individuals from each that were affected, may have resulted in an increased level of awareness and coverage of the epidemic itself. As Catherine Arnold demonstrates in the construction and layout of her book, Spanish influenza was incredibly pervasive and affected nearly every group of people on the planet, from military to mechanic, CEO to caretaker. Even though Spanish influenza wreaked absolute havoc on the entire globe, the subsequent developments by modern medicine have changed humanity's collective attitude toward the disease and has distorted the necessary view of the virus.

Appendix:

1. *Anti-Spitting Ordinance:* Pass an anti-spitting ordinance, making spitting in public places or on the street a punishable misdemeanour. Provide an adequate force of sanitary inspectors, or policemen of the sanitary squad, to enforce the ordinance.
2. *Placards Regarding the Use of Handkerchiefs:* Put up placards, printed in large letters, in public buildings, on prominent street corners, on public squares and in public conveyances, warning the public that there must be no "open" or unguarded coughing or sneezing, and recommending the use of a handkerchief or some suitable substitute […]. Make it a misdemeanour to do this in public without covering up mouth and nose with a handkerchief or paper napkin.
3. *Use of Suitable Substitute for the Handkerchief:* Urge the use of strips of cheese cloth, or cheap muslin, or of paper towels or napkins, in place of handkerchiefs, and recommend destroying them after use by burning, this being vastly better than sending infected handkerchiefs to a public laundry. Put such warnings in the daily press […].
4. *Prohibit Common Drinking Cups and Roller Towels:* Common drinking cups and roller towels should be strictly prohibited. Where they still exist, their use should be avoided.
5. *Visitors to Sick in Hospitals:* Permit no visitors to the sick in city hospitals. Where an exception to this rule is granted, the visitor should be made to wear a suitable new face mask.
6. *Placard Houses:* All houses where influenza has occurred should be placarded with red cards, printed in bold-faced type.
7. *Funerals:* All public funerals should be prohibited. Attendance at home funerals should be limited.
8. *Hand Shaking/Moistening Fingers When Touching Articles:* The advice of the Health Commissioner of Chicago to refrain from hand-shaking during the epidemic appears to be sound. The practice of moistening the fingers by the lips when counting bills or turning pages of library books in public reading rooms, or when wrapping up articles in packages should be avoided. Kissing, as a matter of course, should not be indulged in.
9. *Limit Hours of Work:* Limit the working hours in department stores and in factories. Prohibit advertised 'bargain sales' as being apt to draw large crowds of shoppers. Enforce the early closing of other stores, such as barber shops and shoe-cleaning establishments.
10. *Distribute or Stagger the Traffic:* Lessen the danger of transmission of disease through the overcrowding of cars. A very excellent measure, designed to distribute the traffic during the morning and evening rush hours, was introduced in 1919 by the Health Commissioner of New York. It consisted of

[67] Center for Disease Control. "Influenza Vaccine Effectiveness for All Vaccine Types, Influenza A and B." Center for Disease Control. <https://www.cdc.gov/flu/professionals/vaccination/effectiveness-year/2017-2018.html> Accessed 26 March 2019.

arranging for slightly varying hours of opening not only for large stores, factories, and the offices of large corporations, but also of theatres and other places of amusement.

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Unknown Artist, Wise Owl Graffitti, Toronto (c. 2016)

Brendan Williams, "The Evolution of Persuasion: Chinese Propaganda Poster Art From the 1950s," HI468: Chinese Revolutions Supervised by Dr. Christina Han

Introduction

The topic of my seminar research is on Chinese propaganda posters during China's Maoist era between 1949-1976. From the portraits of Chairman Mao in a god-like form to the idealized representations of workers and farmers in the new China, propaganda was a vitally important tool in persuading the Chinese people to the communist cause and solidifying support for the government's revolutionary policies. Propaganda posters from the first decade of Communist rule form a distinctive style within the history of Maoist propaganda, and better understanding these posters can reveal how China received propaganda and how its people interacted with and were shaped by them. This work begins by examining the ideological framework which operated through and necessitated the use of propaganda posters. The historic changes in ideology and style can then be understood in the changes made from pre-communist art and propaganda images to those found in communist-era posters. The messages and themes of posters created during the 1950s will also be examined, with their emphasis on galvanizing national unity through political campaigns, the idealization of life in a socialist society and promoting mass economic campaigns for development all being key features of the state's efforts to consolidate its control over mainland China. Such propaganda images and messages helped to form an ideological foundation for the Chinese people, most of whom engaged with this propaganda in both reception and active participation as a sign of loyalty. The themes and styles of these 1950s posters are then compared to those which became prominent during the Cultural Revolution, demonstrating a radical political shift in the themes of propaganda posters and societal changes which took place during the late 1960s. My argument concludes with an assessment on Chinese people's perception and interaction with propaganda posters, revealing nuanced way of understanding people's lived experiences from this time.

Historic Influences on Chinese Propaganda Posters

When examining the history of propaganda posters created in Maoist China, it is necessarily important to understand some of the ideological framework that informed the makers of poster art. Given the deep and complex ideas behind Marxist theories and critical artistic theories, this section on ideology will attempt to be as brief as possible. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP), who founded of the People's Republic of China in 1949, takes its ideological legitimacy from a Marxist-Leninist worldview, whereby the essence of the communist movement is a class struggle whereby the revolutionary masses are organized to fight for national power against the reactionary classes such as the bourgeoisie. For this struggle, the masses must achieve the right level of class consciousness, the development of which can only be reached under the leadership of the Communist Party, who hold the highest level of class consciousness.[1] Thus, with the interests of the people belonging to the Party and the need to educated the masses on class consciousness, it was this vanguard that would defeat the capitalist-imperialist class.[2] Coming from this basic understanding of communist theory, the CCP sought to propagate its values and ideals to the Chinese masses, with its specific ideals to be expanded on in the following section.

[1] Frederick T. C. Yu, *Mass Persuasion in Communist China* (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1964), 11.
[2] Ibid., 13.

Especially under Mao Zedong, the CCP would add a uniquely Chinese approach to classic Marxist-Leninism for their rule of China. The changes had to take into account China's historic and geographical context in order to apply Marxism to China. Chinese communism placed class struggle in terms of 'contradictions' between revolutionaries and their primary and secondary enemies in terms of feudalism, capitalism and imperialism.[3] In order to effectively win over allies and eliminate enemies, it is necessary to form a 'united front' between the leading revolutionary proletariat and other social groups in tactical cooperation so as to achieve long-term revolutionary goals. The four main groups which made up China's united front, according to Mao in 1949, included the 'fundamental leading force' of the working class, their 'firm ally' in the peasant class, the 'reliable ally' of the petite bourgeois, and the temporary ally with the national bourgeois, all under the vanguard leadership of the Party.[4] In terms of propaganda, it was thus essential to lift the working class to a high level of class consciousness for them to assume the leading revolutionary role, and to educate the peasants on struggling against the landlord class and subordinating them to the proletariat. Persuasion was also necessary to ensure continued revolutionary support from both the petite bourgeois, consisting of small merchants, professionals and especially educated intellectuals, and the national bourgeois, considered imperialism's enemy, all while ideologically struggling against the bourgeois.[5] On the part of the peasantry, Mao did believe that, given China's pre-PRC lack of industry and hence a sizable proletariat, the peasantry were important in the struggle against the Guomindang government and the Japanese invaders.[6] However, once in power, with the working class as the leading revolutionary class through development, the peasantry had to be reminded that the CCP's land reforms did not make them the leading revolutionary class.[7] This 'reminder' via indoctrination would come in the form of propaganda that could be made cheaply and widely accessible to this mostly illiterate class; posters that could visualize abstract Party doctrine.[8] Furthermore, one of the unique principles of the CCP that impacted the creation and dissemination of propaganda was its theory of 'mass line.' According to the 1956 Party Constitution, mass line is the Party's duty to "analyze, systematize, summarize and consolidate the opinions and experiences of the masses, to transforms them as the policy of the Party and then, through propaganda, agitation and organization, to the masses as their own guide to thinking and action."[9] Within this policy, mass line sought to ensure that the Party's work methods and policies originate from, and go back to, the masses themselves, so that the Party creates policies that seemingly represent mass democracy but really expresses what the Party actually desires.[10] It would be policies and ideals inspired by this 'mass line' which the Party would convey through the medium of propaganda posters. Coming from this basic understanding of communist theory in the Chinese context, the CCP sought to propagate its values and ideals to the Chinese masses to further its revolutionary struggle.

Within the context of Chinese communism, the most important officially sanctioned theoretical basis for the CCP's artistic and cultural work came from written and spoken word of Mao Zedong himself. The most authoritative source on the subject of art, literature and culture, guiding forces behind the creation of propaganda art, comes from Mao Zedong's *Talks at the Yan'an forum on Literature and Art* from May of 1942. During his talks, Mao states that the aim of the CCP is, "to ensure that revolutionary literature and art follow the correct path of development and provide better help to other revolutionary

[3] Mark Chi-Kwan, *China and the World Since 1945: an International History* (New York: Routledge, 2012), 5.
[4] Yu, *Mass Persuasion*, 20.
[5] Ibid., 21-22.
[6] Chi-Kwan, *China and the World*, 5.
[7] Yu, *Mass Persuasion*, 21.
[8] Stephan Landsberger, "The Rise and Fall of the Chinese Propaganda Poster," in Anchee Min, Stephan Landsberger, and Duo Duo, *Chinese Propaganda Posters: From the Collection of Michael Wolf* (Kölm & London: Taschen, 2003), 16.
[9] Yu, *Mass Persuasion*, 16.
[10] Ibid., 15.

work in facilitating the overthrow of our national enemy and the accomplishment of the task of national liberation."[11] He also adds that literature and art must "fit well into the whole revolutionary machine as a component part, that they operate as powerful weapons for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy."[12] It is here that Mao Zedong outlines a specific purpose for art in a communist China, one that serves the interests of the party. Mao's words indicate that the primary purpose is to serve as a tool for political indoctrination of the masses, arousing their support for socialist ideals and directing their anger towards class enemies. This necessitates uniformity in art and literature in their adherence to the fundamental communist ideology.

Mao Zedong further stresses that art and literature must "serve the people," which is done by extension through serving the CCP.[13] In such a way, proletarian art is not "art for art's sake," but a vital aspect of the socialist cause that forms an important piece in the revolutionary machine.[14] Artists personal desires and private creativity had to be put aside for being 'petty bourgeois' in order to use their skills to engage in propaganda work with the masses, whether it be creating worker-agitation songs, conducting peasants in group singing, or drawing posters and wall newspapers.[15] From this understanding, art necessarily serves the purpose of political propaganda, and this requires the service of both professional and ordinary artists to create certain images for certain goals. An example of this can be seen in figure 1, which showcases one type of poster narrowly focused on galvanizing support for the socialist development of China in the First Five Year Plan. This reorientation of artistic creativity to suit the ends of the CCP form the basis for the propaganda machine which printed out untold millions of poster images for mass consumption. It is not a stretch to make that, especially with waning Soviet influence on China's independent ideological development, that Mao's talks at the Yan'an Forum became the infallible law of the Chinese art world for nearly three decades.[16] The ideological foundations of the new Chinese communist state and the combined influences from external and internal developments in China led to a unique communist doctrine, one that would permeate all propaganda poster art along with their political messages and slogans. Hence, Chinese propaganda posters during the communist era have to take into account some of the foundational principles of Maoist ideology in order to understand their style, symbolism and messages.

Figure 1: An Lin, "For projects of vital importance, quality is number one - Ensure to make the quality of construction projects better, quicker, cheaper and safer," 1953. Source: IISH Collection, BG E12/362, chineseposters.net.

From both an ideological and practical standpoint, the experiential influence of the Soviet Union must not be underestimated in its influence both on the ideological nature of the CCP and on their style of mass propaganda. Soviet socialist realism, developed and formalized under

[11] Mao Zedong, "Talks at the Yan'an Forum on Literature and Art, May 1942," in *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, (Last modified 2004, Marxists Internet Archive, accessed Tuesday, January 22, 2019, https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/mao/selected-works/volume-3/mswv3_08.htm.

[12] Mao, "Talks at the Yan'an Forum."

[13] Harriet Evans et al., *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), 29.

[14] Mao, "Talks at the Yan'an Forum."

[15] Yu, *Mass Persuasion*," 61.

[16] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 179.

Joseph Stalin's reign, was the official standard for Soviet art and literature adopted as party doctrine in 1934. Socialist realism was, from official Soviet sources, a way of displaying, "a historically concrete presentation of reality in its revolutionary development."[17] The utility of this artistic style is inseparable from the political indoctrination of the working class with the spirited truth of socialist victory over capitalism. However, socialist realism depicts not only the ideal but also the ongoing process towards that ideal, namely a presentation of rapid productive growth, progress and the continuing class struggle against reactionary forces until class distinctions are eliminated. Figure 2 provides a good example of Soviet socialist realism, with its idealistic depiction of Soviet peasants working in the field seeking to inspire them to increase their productivity and showcase a future classless society. Lastly, socialist realism was intended to direct all literary and cultural production in service of the Party, and to endow the nation and its people with a socialist identity.[18] Following the model of Marxist-Leninism, posters serve to heighten class consciousness through educating them on the virtues of socialism. In its practical influence on Chinese propaganda art, this connection is extensively clear in the first decade of communist rule, as Soviet-style socialist realism was endorsed by the state as their primary artistic standard. In 1951, Zhou Yang (1907-1990), cultural and ideological spokesman for the CCP, sanctioned Chinese artists to adopt socialist realism as "the highest criterion for all our literary and artistic work and criticism."[19] On an ideological standpoint, the CCP had formally adopted the Soviet model as an example for artists to emulate within the Chinese context. Soviet influence would have contention with China's traditional painting and artistic techniques and styles, a synthesis of which would help create uniquely Chinese styles.[20] The artistic inspiration from socialist realism is visible in Chinese art, and designers like Ding Hao (see figure 3) would show this in their work, taking note of the styling of the people in the foreground of construction. Both the Sino-Soviet alliance of the 1950s and the

Figure 2: Unknown Designer, "Increasing the Yield is the Main Goal of Agriculture," 1952. Source: sovietposters.com.

Figure 3: Ding Hao, "Study the Soviet Union's advanced economy to build up our nation," 1953. Source: IISH Collection, BG E15/334, chineseposters.net.

[17] Young Ji & Victoria Lee, "Recording Capital: Socialist Realism and Maoist Images (1949-1976) (PhD diss., Duke University, 2014), 58.
[18] Young & Lee, "Recording Capital," 57-58.
[19] Kuiyi Shen, "Publishing Posters before the Cultural Revolution," Modern Chinese Literature and Culture Vol. 12, No. 2 (2000): 180.
[20] Julia Frances Andrews, *Painters and Politics in the People's Republic of China, 1949-1979*, (American Council of Learned Societies, Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 3.

early PRC idolizing of the Soviet Union are depicted in posters like these. Furthermore, a number of Chinese communist artists and writers were educated in the Soviet Union, and thus received instruction on socialist realism and persuasion techniques. Soviet modelling was also supported in the education of Communist Party cadres and supporters with the works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin and a number of other Soviet writers, with very few articles from Chinese Communists included in the early years of communist rule.[21] Before the codification of Mao Zedong's works as the Party's sacrosanct texts, much of the political ideology which related to propaganda came from Soviet-inspired ideas on socialist realism and Marxist theory of class struggle. Through the Chinese emulation of socialist realism and the direct experience Chinese artists had being educated in the Soviet Union, the influence of Soviet socialist realism makes for a major inspiration for Chinese posters.

Following an understanding behind the ideology and purpose behind the use of propaganda posters, the following section will briefly examine the historic use of propaganda art and commercial image making before the PRC. One of the major domestic influences on communist Chinese propaganda poster art came from a combination increasingly popular woodblock new year's prints and Republican-era commercial printing. From the late 19th Century and into the early 20th Century, there came a shift in the handcrafted production of New Year's paintings, hand-coloured woodblock prints for ritual and celebratory display, as urban centres began producing such prints in greater volume than their traditional rural origins.[22] In both urban and rural centres, New Year's pictures depicted lively and vividly colourful images covering aa wide range of themes, such as seasonal celebrations, daily life activities, scenes from historical stories and dramas, and other current events.[23] These traditional woodblock New Year's prints were both common and widespread across China, as people hung them in their homes, shops, houses and restaurants in both towns and villages during the Spring Festivals. The use of these woodprints would become especially common during the 20th Century processes of modernization and urbanization, especially the adoption of urban-based printing technologies of mechanized lithography that would help to further commercialized image-production in China.[24] The change in printing technologies allowed for greater production quantities of printed images that could be widely disseminated across the country.

Figure 4: Li Hua, "China Screams," 1936. Source: IISH Collection, BG E12/362, Aphelis.

In the context traditional image-making of New Year's prints and modern mechanized mass production techniques of the 20th Century, the communist movement would enter in and provide a driving force behind the politicization of image production in China. During the 1930s, there would arise a new woodblock movement led by revolutionary artists who sought to give

[21] Yu, *Mass Persuasion*," 38.
[22] James A. Cook et al., eds. *Visualizing Modern China: Image, History, and Memory, 1750-Present* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2015), 12
[23] Cook et al., eds. *Visualizing Modern China*," 70.
[24] Ibid., 12.

pictures a utilitarian social purpose. These artists sought to product powerful images dripping with serious emotion through sharp black-and-white contrasts, inspired by German and European graphic art, in order to promote and affect social and political change.[25] The work of Li Hua (figure 4), a famed woodcut artist from before 1949, would show images of a tied and blindfolded man defiantly roaring against his enslavement on the eve of the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945). Many of these woodcut artists, however, were not fully aware of the peasant's own desires and ideals, and this became apparent as peasants were unfamiliar with the western-inspired styles.[26] The efforts of revolutionary artists would have them adopt rural folk forms of art common in the New Year's prints for their political cause.[27] With the communist guerillas based in China's rural regions and lacking much of the modern mechanized printing technology available in the cities, using New Year's woodblock printing allowed for copying and production of communist propaganda more effectively. Figure 5 showcases the more colourful designs of woodblocks, showing off a synthesis of Western and traditional Chinese styles to promote training within the communist militia, that would form a basis for Maoist art. The design of more colourful images and depictions of life in positive forms adopted from New Year pictures helped to solicit support from peasants who were more familiar to these artistic styles than the Western-influenced black and white woodcuts.[28] As the communist armies relied entirely on peasant support and recruits, their propaganda techniques had to appeal to this illiterate population base in order to secure regional power.[29] The woodblock and woodcut prints would become less widely used during the first decade of the CCP's power, as it worked to consolidate and centralize propaganda production styles and techniques into a standard of socialist realism. Their recovery and come back during the Cultural Revolution will be covered later, showing a unique distinction with art from the 1950s.

Figure 5: Yan Han, "Develop Dynamiting in the Militia," 1944 (1970s reprint). Source: Landsberger Collection, BG E13/379, chineseposters.net.

The 1930s would see the beginning of the political image publication on a wide-spread scale, and though the communists would develop the most effective forms of propaganda, other factions in China's years of conflict would also weaponize such production for visual propaganda. It would reach a zenith during the Second Sino-Japanese War (1937-1945), where propaganda would become part of nation efforts to support the war effort on either side of the conflict. Posters made for the cause of the Nationalist government include a poster made in 1937 calling for people to "swear to defend the nation to the death" depicting a uniformed Nationalist Army soldier standing defiantly with rifle in hand.[30] On the other side of the conflict, the Japanese and their Chinese collaborators would also produce

[25] Chang-Tai Hung, "Two Images of Socialism: Woodcuts in Chinese Communist Politics," *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, Cambridge University Press, Vol. 39, No. 1 (1997): 37.
[26] Ibid., 54.
[27] Evans et al., *Picturing Power*," 30.
[28] Hung, "Two Images of Socialism," 36.
[29] Ibid., 30.
[30] Landsberger, *Chinese Posters*, 28.

Figure 6: Jin Meisheng, "The gift of Qingdao Yuchun" 1930s. Source: https://www.worthpoint.com/worthopedia/authentic-chinese-advertising-1874129177.

propaganda, and would especially contain anti-communist themes showing off the heroism of Japanese soldiers and peace-loving Chinese people.[31] For the communists themselves, they would create very successful visual tools in coloured woodblock prints for the recruitment of the peasantry to the communist cause through their ability to arouse social consciousness of the view and present a critical stance on social issues plaguing China at the time.[32] During both the anti-Japanese war and civil war, the CCP would effectively combine economical black-and-white woodblock print with traditional New Year's Print models to produce more colourful and appealing images.

One further influencing factor on the post-civil war production of propaganda poster art would come from the commercial printing and publishing industry of Nationalist China. The base for China's publishing and printing industries were primarily located in Shanghai, where artists and designers worked in commercial industries to produce appealing images for advertising, marketing and calendar posters. The typical calendar girl design style from 1930s Shanghai, created by the likes of Jin Meisheng (figure 6), is but one example of commercial production of images for a consuming audience. Many artists in Shanghai would receive much of their training and experience in commercial enterprises that dominated China's urban areas. With the communists obtaining control of Shanghai's commercial publishing industry after 1949, the party would now possess the necessary tools for the modern mass production of propaganda posters.[33] What was most important for communist poster production was the retention of talented artists who, willingly or not, worked for the new authorities in the PRC. The designers of commercial calendars would be quickly incorporated into various party and government organizations responsible for producing posters and would put their techniques of attractive yet realistic visualization to use.[34] A notable example

Figure 7: Xin Liliang, "New view in the rural village" Source: IISH Collection, BG E12/527, chineseposters.net.

[31] Ibid., 31.
[32] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 178.
[33] Ibid., 178.
[34] Landsberger, *Chinese Posters*," 6.

coming from Xin Liliang, a commercial advertising designer based in Shanghai, would demonstrate the mixed styles in the form of clean peasants who look like Shanghai calendar girls working in the fields (figure 7). The incorporation of these former commercial artists and designers into the communist propaganda machine would have an impressive influence on the early designs and styles of poster art in the 1950s, some of which would continue to see stylistic choices comparable to pre-revolutionary prints combined with the socialist realism incorporated from the USSR.[35] Some of these print styles and choices would also stand in contrast to productions made during the Cultural Revolution, which would seek to cut off all pre-revolutionary influences from its propaganda images.

Major Features of Propaganda Posters, 1950s

The following section will present an overall assessment and analysis of the major themes and messages presented through the medium of Chinese propaganda posters from the 1950s. The main and recurring themes and messages to come from these posters include galvanizing support for political campaigns and national unity, idealizing the life of workers and peasants, and promoting mass economic production. To understand how the CCP viewed its propaganda experience during this decade, one Shanghai editor, penning the authoritative *Ten Years of Propaganda Posters*, said the following:
The propaganda poster is an art form filled with militancy and mass character that directly serves politics, production, the workers, peasants, and soldiers. It is a powerful tool of the party's propaganda agenda. It carries out the mission of publicizing and agitating for political movements and economic production. Propaganda posters, with their simple, lively forms and bright, powerful images, as well as their high-volume printing and circulation throughout the whole nation, publicize the principles and policies of the party and government to the multitude of the masses. This unique form of art, the propaganda poster, enables the policies of the party and government to open the door to the hearts of the people and inspire their utmost efforts.[36]

The political nature of the propaganda poster is very much highlighted in this text. The potency of the posters lays in their ability to agitate the Chinese masses into action, either for the purposes of various political campaigns being waged in support of the Party or in condemnation of perceived enemies of the revolution. Combining the ideological principles of "Mao Zedong Thought" (Maoism) with the experience of the Soviet Union as a fraternal socialist ally, they would help realize Chairman Mao's ideas regarding literature and the arts.[37] On the posters themselves, the extract presents a standard image of how an effective poster should look, combining simple to understand physical forms and slogans with bright colours and powerful imagery in order to convey their messages to the masses. These depictions not only showed socialist realism ('life as it really is') but also idealism ('life as it ought to be') in their attempt to portray the future in the present moment.[38] The 'mass character' of these posters refer to their ability to be widely received and understood by the worker and peasant masses, who are inspired by the militant and aggressive features of the posters to either become more productive in their work or to support mass campaigns. Propaganda posters, then, serve their purpose of promoting Mao's ideas on the standards that art in order to serve the interests of revolutionary activities.

[35] Andrews, *Painters and Politics*, 3.
[36] Kuiyu Shen, "Propaganda Posters in China," in Stephen R. Landsberger & Marien Van Der Heijden, *Chinese Posters: the IISH-Landsberger Collections* (München: Prestel 2009), 4.
[37] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 178.
[38] Landsberger, "The Rise and Fall," 16.

Figure 8: Zhang Huaijiang, "Sing about victory! Sing about our beloved nation!" 1954 Source: Landsberger Collection, BG E15/589, chineseposters.net.

The first main message of propaganda posters to be examined serve the purpose of promoting political movements and national unity. Throughout the whole Maoist era, the CCP carried out numerous political campaigns designed to strengthen support for the new government through popular participation of the people and promote their engagement with official Party doctrine. One of these early political movements included the Resist America and Aid Korea Campaign during the Korean War (1950-1953). This campaign was designed to solicit support for the Chinese war effort both at home and in Korea as Chinese soldiers battled against 'American Imperialism' on the battlefields.[39] Posters made during this time reflected both the strength of the Chinese People's Liberation Army (PLA) in asserting China's new power in the world in addition to solidifying domestic support for the new government at home. In the poster depictions of the conflict (figure 8), the People's Volunteer Army (PVA, the name for PLA soldiers who fought in Korea) is depicted as being strong and victorious in successfully defeating the U.S. military on the battlefield. Such depictions serve to showcase the new-found strength of the PRC through visuals of military romanticism which depicted the conflict to the Chinese public as a great struggle against foreign invaders.[40] Further to this point, such posters served to showcase the brotherhood and friendship between the Chinese people and Korean people in their common struggle.[41] Presenting the conflict in the view of an international struggle against imperialism would provide the Chinese people with a common enemy, against which they could unify around the new communist government in support of the struggle. On the domestic front, the Resist America and Aid Korea Campaign also contained within it a public health campaign that sought to put forth new social policies in the framework of ideological struggle (figure 9). Due to reports linking American biological warfare in the war spreading diseases to domestic epidemics, the campaign sought to promote a mass inoculation and sanitation effort in order to promote both public health and the benefits of the new socialist state.[42] For this political campaign, a dual purpose was served in promoting to the Chinese people a new and powerful image of their country abroad in directly combating the U.S. enemy, and in the Party-state's ability to protect the people

Figure 9: Ye Shanlu, "Everybody must take precautions against epidemics to smash the germ warfare of American imperialism!" 1952. Source: Landsberger Collection, BG E13/964, chineseposters.net.

[39] Ji & Lee, "Recording Capital," 258.
[40] Ji & Lee, "Recording Capital," 41.
[41] Ibid., 260.
[42] Chinese Posters, "Patriotic Health Campaign (1952)," accessed March 30, 2019, https://chineseposters.net/themes/patriotic-health-campaign.php.

at home from this enemy. Finally, the existence of a foreign threat made the creation of national unity all the easier to accomplish. After decades of conflict and division, one of the main efforts of the CCP would need to involve the creation of national unity for all of China. This unity would be of all Chinese people of all ethnicities, whether they be from the majority Han or one of the many minority people living in the country (figure 10). Creating solidarity among the Chinese people was an important task of propaganda during the 1950s, which would promote unity of the whole Chinese nation and end the regional divides.[43] With mass participation in political campaigns, the goals of the Party could be met in order to galvanize united support for their rule over the whole of China.

Figure 10: Yang Junsheng, "Long Live the great unity of all the peoples of the whole nation" 1952. Source: Landsberger Collection, BG E15/355, chineseposters.net.

The other major purpose of propaganda posters created during this time was to showcase an idealized image in the lives of worker and peasants. As previously stated, propaganda posters use their imagery and depictions of life in order to showcase and ideal image of life, both attempting to be idealistic on what this life looks like but also grounded in realistic depictions of the revolutionary classes of people.[44] In propagandistic format, workers are shown to be dedicated and proud in the work that they contribute in the reconstruction of the formerly war-torn China (figure 11). These types of posters showcased realistic yet larger-than-life figures that embodied the spirit of the Chinese working class, glorifying their work in rebuilding the nation and promoting the narrative of individual self-sacrifice for greater collective good of the people.[45] These types of images served to both embolden and inspire the Chinese masses with the ideals of the new socialist society, and also to present them with role-models on how they should determine their actions and self-image in this New China. In viewing images of good communists doing their duty for the revolution, such as becoming cadre workers who would go to the countryside in order to help develop and work

*Figure 11:*Ding Hao, "We are proud of participating in the founding of our country's industrialization" 1954. Source: IISH Collection, BG E16/17, chineseposters.net.

[43] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 184.
[44] Landsberger, "The Rise and Fall," 16.
[45] Landsberger, "The Rise and Fall," 16.

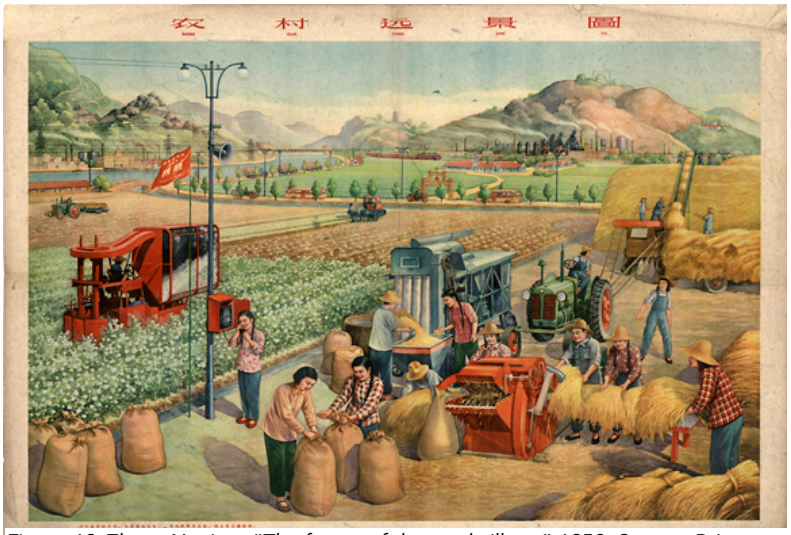

Figure 12: Zhang Yuqing, "The future of the rural village" 1958. Source: Private Collection, PC 1958-014, chineseposters.net.

alongside the peasantry, many Chinese youth would look up to these images as examples for them to follow.[46] As such, posters provided to the Chinese people, especially the youth, examples of hard-working people they could view with pride and who's devotion to the communist ideals set out in Maoist ideology presented in their bright colours and loyal Party slogans set them as the standard for revolutionary life and work. It would be the subtle promotion of the Party's ideology in the slogans and pronouncements that came with the posters that viewers would take in and internalize on a subconscious level.[47] The idealization of workers on posters, then, also served the function of ideological indoctrination, since they could visualize what the new and prosperous socialist society that would evolve into communism would ideally look like for China. Figure 12 also showcases this type of idealization, as the new collective life of the 'liberated' peasantry show a new and modern village life. The introduction of modern mechanized farm equipment, electricity, and telephone wires in the forefront to a distant billowing of smoke from factories showcase the ability of the CCP to bring forth prosperity and the power of labour to create the surplus needed for socialist industrialization.[48] This type of rural prosperity shown on propaganda posters is meant to demonstrate to the rural masses the bright and materially abundant socialist future that they are supposed to enjoy in both the present and the future. From these visuals, despite their idealism being disconnected from the harsh reality of many peasants, they served to promote a future ideal that their current sacrifice will bring for the whole of China. From the ideal images depicted on posters of workers and peasants, the actual workers and peasants of China are meant to be inspired, indoctrinated and motivated into loyalty to the revolution and increasing productivity.

The subject of productivity leads to the next major theme of 1950s Chinese propaganda posters: the promotion of mass economic campaigns. During the first decade of communist rule in the PRC, national reconstruction and industrialization were major priorities of the state in order to create a new socialist China. By 1953, the CCP had managed in several years to rebuild much of the war-torn

[46] Xiaomei Chen, "Gorwing Up with Posters in the Maoist Era," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* by Harriet Evans et. al. (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), 106.
[47] Landsberger, "The Rise and Fall," 16.
[48] Ji & Lee, "Recording Capital," 12.

infrastructure and orient the population towards mutual cooperation not known for decades.[49] Decades of conflict had left the country badly devastated and the new central government's ability to bring order to the country had earned it vast support. Propaganda posters would become useful in promoting China's First Five-Year Plan (1953-1957), inspired by the Soviet Union's economic model. With the building a socialist state-planned economy focused on industrialization and establishing agricultural cooperatives, the creation of professional poster design teams would become an important feature in standardizing poster production and conveying Party ideology.[50] These posters would serve to promote increased productivity of workers in factories and peasants in villages in order to meet the goals set out in economic plans. The most ambitious of these mass economic movements, and the most disastrous of them, would be the Great Leap Forward (1958-1961). Also known as the Second Five-Year Plan, the Great Leap was indented to intensify the speed of industrialization and productivity. Some posters from late 1958 would show early efforts to rapidly increase steel production with backyard furnaces in which various metals are ideally melted into steel but really melted into low-quality metal (figure 13).[51] With Mao's pronouncement to "aim high, and achieve greater, faster, better, and more economical results in building socialism," in May 1958, the campaign would rally the masses. The plan involved radical collectivization of production into vast People's Communes and mobilization of labour to rapidly increase steel production.[52] Despite the disaster of the plan, propaganda posters would be widely produced to promote and showcase the benefits of the plan. Posters would showcase CCP expectations for rapid growth in industrial production and plentiful harvests from the People's Communes, showing off an abundance of goods and foods (figure 14). These

Figure 13: Tian Yuwen, Zhu Zhangchao, "Blast furnaces rise in level ground releasing red rays everywhere" 1958. Source: IISH Collection, BG E16/191, chineseposters.net.

[49] Shen, "Propaganda Posters," 6.
[50] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 182.
[51] Chinese Posters, "Great Leap Forward," accessed on April 10, 2019, https://chineseposters.net/gallery/e16-191.php.
[52] Zhu Tao, "Building Big with No Regret," in *Red Legacies in China: Cultural Afterlives of the Communist Revolution* by Li, Jie, Enhua Zhang (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Asia Center, 2016), 60-61.

types of images would be produced in vast numbers during this massive campaign that would have catastrophic consequences for tens of millions of Chinese. Despite apparent shortages of paper, it was during the Great Leap that poster production reached its highest volume in the 1950s. The Beijing People's Fine Arts Publishing House reported that it published 214 designs and issued 11.34 million copies in 12 months between 1958-1959, which was two-thirds of its total production since 1950.[53] The role of production in the use of propaganda posters was thus a major focus of Chinese poster art. Such designs for enhanced production reached their zenith during the Great Leap campaign.

Comparisons with Cultural Revolution Posters:

With the major categories of themes and messages for propaganda posters being examined from the 1950s, the following section will provide comparative analysis on their distinction with the iconic posters of the Cultural Revolution (1966-1976). This massive and chaotic social upheaval in modern China's history would see a mass movement from below that would strive for mass power and a higher power struggle that sought to harness this mass movement to consolidate positions of influence.[54] Begun by Mao Zedong, these efforts sought to correct what was perceived as deviation from perceived 'capitalist roaders' who sought to undermine the socialist society and restore capitalism in the PRC while demobilizing the people from mass participation, seeing the revolution as a singular past event rather than a process needing constant renewal.[55] Given the chaotic and violent nature of the Cultural Revolution, especially in the first few years, it would be important and useful to briefly review some of the key characteristics of the propaganda posters made during this era.

One of the major points of divergence from posters made in the previous decade come from the very style of Cultural Revolution posters. It can be easy to view posters made during this time as being hegemonic and dominated by singular stifling of creative thought and exercise. Former Chinese artists from this era, such as current dissident artist Yan Zhengxue, are not wrong in their views on only being able to paint Mao and propaganda works, but that doing "the same thing over and over, it was like hell."[56] Indeed, the creative freedom of artists from this era was certainly constrained in what they could depict in their work. Many artists among countless other innocents would suffer terrible fates, even for work they had previously done. Among a notable example of different style getting artists into trouble included the famed work of Ha Qiongwen in his "Long Live Chairman Mao" design (figure 15). Ha would face criticism and denouncement from

Figure 14: Jin Meisheng, "The vegetables are green, the cucumbers plumb, the yield is abundant" 1958. Source: IISH Collection, BG E11/992, chineseposters.net.

Figure 15: Ha Qiongwen, "Long Live Chairman Mao" 1959/1964. Source: IISH Collection, BG E12/605, chineseposters.net.

[53] Shen, "Publishing Posters," 195.
[54] Petras, James. "The Chinese Cultural Revolution in Historic Perspective." Journal of Contemporary Asia, Vol. 27, No. 4 (1997), 449.
[55] Ibid., 446.
[56] William Wan, "Chinese artist recounts his life, including the one time he painted 'X' on Mao's Face," Washington Post, June 2, 2014 https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/worldviews/wp/2014/06/02/dissident-artist-measures-life-in-prison-paintings/?noredirect=on&utm_term=.702f442899b9.

Red Guards during the Cultural Revolution for this work, as it did not fit with ideological puritanism in its depiction of a 'bourgeois'-styled woman in a soft pink background rather than images of workers or a prominent place for Mao.[57] Such images would stand in sharp contrast to the styles promoted during the height of the Cultural Revolution (figure 16). Depictions as these fit well with the mantra of the era, in which everything old and perceived as non-revolutionary was to be destroyed along with the Four Old's – old ideas, old customs, old culture, and old habits.[58]

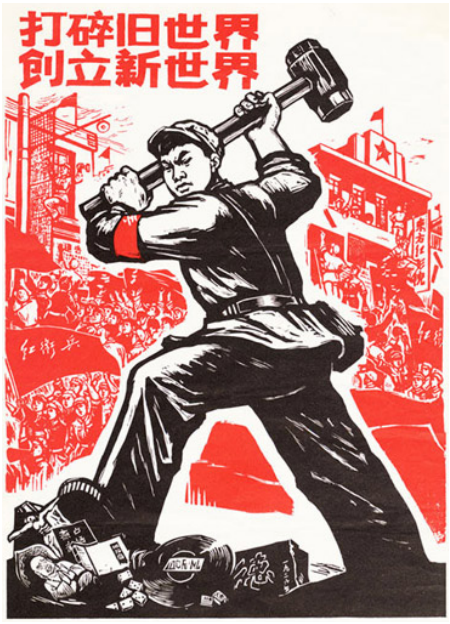

Figure 16: Unknown Designer, "Scatter the old world, build a new world" 1967. Source: IISH Collection, BG D29/184, chineseposters.net.

What is notable as well from posters made of this style was a seeming return to artistic styles of woodblock prints made in pre-1949 Communist areas. The black and white colouring combined with simple red additions is reminiscent of CCP propaganda made against the Guomindang and Japanese (compare to figure 5). Such posters seek to provide a call-back to a time of idealistic purity in China's communist history and a return to its roots in order to defeat the perceived current enemies of the revolution. This attempt to restore a form of ideological purity during these first chaotic years may also stem from a desire of new propagandists to distance themselves from styles associated with artists who formerly worked in Shanghai's commercial industry. The work of individuals and collaborations between them was a common part of posters designed in the 1950s era. Famed figures like Jin Meisheng (1902-1989) previously worked paining calendar posters for Shanghai's commercial press before continuing work under the new communist government.[59] The work of these individuals, previously associated with the former business world of Shanghai, would face criticism during the height of the Cultural Revolution. Cultural Revolution posters would often be the work of collaborative teams rather than individuals, even including ordinary workers.[60] This era would further lead to works of collective and armature design of poster art. Collective production served to put into practice part of Maoist ideology of 'mass line,' whereby art would be produced from the masses and to the masses and would proliferate heavily during the Maoist era.[61] Combining the ideological foundations of Maoist principles with practical methods and aims of mass production of propaganda, would have the creation of propaganda poster art form a significant feature in the Cultural Revolution.

[57] Landsberger & Van Der Heijden, *Chinese Posters*, 121.
[58] Anika Burgess, "The Art of Chinese Propaganda Posters: A glimpse inside the collection of Shaomin Li, artist and dissident," *Atlas Obscura*, February 23, 2018, https://www.atlasobscura.com/articles/chinese-propaganda-posters-cultural-revolution-shaomin-li.
[59] Chinese Posters, "Jin Meisheng," accessed April 12, 2019, https://chineseposters.net/artists/jinmeisheng.php.
[60] Patricia Powell and Joseph Wang "Propaganda Posters from the Cultural Revolution," *The Historian*, Vol. 59, No. 4 (1997): 791.
[61] Christine I. Ho, "The People Eat for Free and the Art of Collective Production in Maoist China," *The Art Bulletin*, Vol. 98, No. 3 (2016): 355.

Figure 17: Unknown Designer, "The working class must exercise leadership in everything" 1970. Source: Landsberger Collection, BG E13/859, chineseposters.net.

Further to this point of divergence between the posters of the 1950s with the Cultural Revolution was the centrality of the Mao cult. The launching of the Cultural Revolution partially served Mao's purpose in consolidating his power and support among the people of China, and as such propaganda was necessarily changed in order to reinforce his central image and power in China's revolution. This personality cult would be demonstrated and enforced in propaganda art published during this era, in which the face of Chairman Mao would feature prominently in posters along with copies of his 'Little Red Book' (figure 17). The consolidation of the Mao cult forms an important feature in this era's posters being expressions of power and revolutionary romanticism.[62] These types of depictions would serve to push to the forefront the intense importance of ideological conformity that would mark the Cultural Revolution apart from previous eras. Contrast with the revolutionary zeal presented in portraits of Chairman Mao can be found in more calm and peaceable images of China's good life and happy people (figure 18). Such posters would remain in circulation even after the Great Leap, and served the interests of promoting stability and calm prosperity of China's new life, and the depiction of beautiful women was often part of this wave of posters, further harkening back to the era of Shanghai-inspired poster art.[63] Posters are capable of being read both affirmatively and subversively, allowing for both clear understanding and ambiguous interpretation at the same time.[64] The ability of poster art, hence, to change so drastically in a matter of a few years, where once the former establishment of propaganda is faced with ridicule from a new political era, makes for a unique comparison between posters of this time. Thus, from the comparison between posters of the 1950s and Cultural Revolution posters, in their composition, style, and political messages, a distinction is formed between the different styles of each era.

Figure 18: Li Mubai, Jin Xuechen, "Man works hard, flowers are beautiful" 1962. Source: IISH Collection, BG E16/47, chineseposters.net.

[62] Robert Benewick, "Icons of Power: Mao Zedong and the Cultural Revolution," in *Picturing Power in the People's Republic of China: Posters of the Cultural Revolution* by Evans et. al (Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers Inc., 1999), 124.
[63] Chinese Posters, "Intervening Years," accessed on April 12, 2019, https://chineseposters.net/gallery/theme-05.php.
[64] Barbara Mittler, "Popular Propaganda? Art and Culture in Revolutionary China," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 152, No. 4 (2008): 474.

Conclusion

To conclude and reiterate, propaganda posters from the first decade of CCP rule contain a distinctive style within the overall history of Maoist propaganda, and these posters have shown capable of revealing how China received propaganda and how its people interacted with and were shaped by it. The influences of pre-1949 commercial and woodprint styles within China, the ideological influences of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the definition of and necessity for propaganda and art and the influence of the Soviet Union showcase diverse influences on the making of 1950s poster art. From here noted stylistic distinctiveness can be understood in the types of messages and themes posters created during the 1950s. Their emphasis on mass political campaigns promoting unity and struggle, the idealization of the lives of workers and peasants, and the galvanization of support for mass economic movements all being key features of the state's efforts at consolidating its control over mainland China. Such propaganda images and messages helped to form an ideological foundation for the Chinese people, and their engagement with these posters through mass campaigns served to induce their ideological indoctrination. The themes and styles of these 1950s posters in comparison to those which became prominent during the Cultural Revolution demonstrated how changes in artistic styles and the rise of militant internal struggle in the framework of a Maoist cult contend with pre-Cultural Revolution works. Further efforts could be made in comparing early communist posters with those that became standard in the 1950s, in a manner that could reveal how early propaganda posters swayed many Chinese people to their revolutionary cause. In revealing nuanced way of understanding people's lived experiences from this time, this work hopes to present a focused approach onto a particular era of propaganda posters from Mao's China, and provide some illumination onto how people would have witnessed the evolution of the visual world around them with the changes happening in their lives.

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Unknown Artist, Wine vessel in shape of owl (c. 13th/12thC BCE)