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Minerva: Laurier's Undergraduate History Journal

"Owl," Palaya Qiatsuq

A curated collection of the strongest fourth-year seminar papers in the Department of History.

Pandemic Edition

This is the sixth year of our journal celebrating the best essays 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 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. This year, students had to complete their work in unprecedentedly difficult conditions as they struggled to find resources and faced the anxiety of a developing pandemic. The success of these papers is a tribute to the students, and emblematic of the resiliency of our history majors.

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

Tamara Bukva, "The Russian Avant-Garde and Socialist Realism: A Study in Continuity"

Russia, and then the Soviet Union, in the twentieth century was a site of massive and constant political, economic, and social changes. The great communist experiment was in large part a catalyst for these changes, but within the historiography one aspect of experimentation has been given less attention. In this instance I am referring to the rich and diverse development of painting within Russian and Soviet history. Russia was a major centre for the avant-garde, but just as quickly as those movements grew and flourished it seemed as if Socialist Realism replaced them. It is this presumption that I will analyze within my paper. It has long been believed that the avant-garde was immediately displaced following the inception of Socialist Realism at the First Congress of Soviet Writers in 1934. The issue with this statement is not only that it is incorrect, but it possesses a sinister implication that the switch from the 'progressiveness' of modern art to Socialist Realism indicated the low cultural standards of Soviet citizens and the Party. Instead, I maintain that the Russian avant-garde and Socialist Realism possessed fundamental similarities and therefore there was continuity between the two artistic movements. The basis of my argument rests on three points of comparison. First, within both movements there was an active engagement with consciousness. Second, there was a desire to create utopia, or a world an artist deemed desirable. And lastly, both movements constantly changed in terms of style and subject matter due to the tumultuous conditions within the Soviet empire.

To begin, I will define the artistic movements of relevance to this paper. Avant-garde is an umbrella term that encompasses a broad array of different modern art movements. The term means "advance force" in French and it refers to nineteenth and twentieth century artists who pushed artistic boundaries in both subject matter and technique in protest of the conventional standards of the art establishment.[1] The Russian based avant-garde movements I will focus on throughout this paper include: Futurism, Suprematism, and Constructivism. Futurism initially emerged in Italy and it celebrated technology and modernity in all of its forms. The key themes of Futurism are motion, dynamic energy, and social progress.[2] Suprematism emerged in the mid-1910s and the term refers to the supremacy of feeling. This does not allude to human emotion, but rather the abstract essence of objects that artists wanted to portray in a new language that consisted of basic colours and shapes.[3] The primary ambition of Constructivism was to create art with a meaningful social purpose rather than it remain a source of prestige by the bourgeoisie. Finally, Socialist Realism propagated the social role of art and thus content was the most important facet of a composition. The content depicted is largely of a thematic, artificial nature. Along this line, the movement challenged Western conceptions of art, such as formalism and the modernists' yearning for a *tabula rasa*.[4]

To begin, the avant-garde and Socialist Realism were both concerned with the issue of consciousness. For the avant-garde, particularly Suprematism, the primary objective was to transcend consciousness. According to Groys, the intrusion of technology within Europe is what fuelled this urge. Prior to this point, artists and patrons preferred realism because it captured the beauty of Nature as God created, but subsequently the societal ills caused by industrialization disintegrated the illusion and brought about declarations that God was dead.[5] Now individuals could be the masters of their own universe. Suprematists took this one step further in the realm of art. These artists sought white humanity; a nonobjective form of consciousness that is free of all hidden desire to move toward visions of one's ideal salvation.[6] Accordingly, there was no longer a single formula for how external reality was portrayed. Instead, artists rebelled against tradition and reached within themselves in order to portray the most accurate and truthful representations of outer reality. Thus, outer reality became an inner projection of the artist. Groys discusses how Suprematist artists believed that they could control, modify, and harmonize unconscious stimuli, that which formed the basis of reality,

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[1] Penelope J. E. Davies, et al., *Jansen's History of Art - The Western Tradition*, 8th ed., (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2011), 1108.
[2] Penelope J. E. Davies, et al., 964-965.
[3] Penelope J. E. Davies, et al., 968-969.
[4] Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), xiii.
[5] Boris Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism: Avant-Garde, Aesthetic Dictatorship, and Beyond,* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1992), 14.
[6] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism*, 16.

because as artists they were the only ones who understood the laws of pure form through their artistic training.[7] In fact, Suprematist artists believed that it was their duty to break down the illusory nature of reality through art because they believed that the destruction of civilization had already begun with the introduction of modern technology.

Two avant-garde artists capture these sentiments most aptly. The first is Kazimir Malevich who is the founder of the Suprematist movement. Malevich was likely inspired by the Russian philosophers, artists, and poets of the early twentieth century who returned to Christian gnostic beliefs that the spiritual world of man is synonymous with the Universe.[8] For example, Malevich believed in what he called cosmic consciousness, which is essentially his interpretation of white humanity. Nonetheless, cosmic consciousness refers to one's subconscious which, when freed from earthly constraints, manifests itself from an intuitive feeling that is one with the universe.[9] Cosmic consciousness is the only means of reaching non-objectiveness in art and Malevich accomplishes this feat in his painting *Black Square* (1915). Art historians see *Black Square* as ground zero for artistic renderings of reality. In fact some even consider the painting the end to all art. This is because of the reductionist nature of *Black Square*. The viewer is left with nothing but a black void as all possible representation is stripped away. The absence of concrete colour and form reveals the transcendental nature of the piece. *Black Square* is a testament to the nonphysical realm in that it denotes the absolute potential of existence through the limitless impression of the composition. Moreover, Malevich was working on another painting underneath *Black Square*, but when he came up with the idea for the latter he spared no time in creating it. This is a prime example of Suprematist feeling. Malevich gave way to a subconscious impulse and in doing so he demonstrates how the Suprematists managed to transcend conscious thought.

Kazimir Malevich, *Black Square,* 1915.

Wassily Kandinsky is the second avant-garde artist that exemplifies the desire to take charge of his inner experience. This is evident in his book *Concerning the Spiritual in Art* (1912) which is presented in two parts. In the first, "About General Aesthetics," Kandinsky exemplifies much of what Groys discusses in *The Total Art of Stalinism.* Specifically, Kandinsky abhors the 'nightmare of materialism' that was a direct consequence of a modernizing world.[10] Kandinsky argues that the purpose of art in his time was merely to satisfy the vanity and the greed of the artist. But what can artists do, then? Kandinsky encourages them to search deep within themselves, to their very souls, in order to represent their eternal truth in abstract, non-material terms. In turn, this would bring about a spiritual revolution.[11] Kandinsky wrote about this topic extensively in his 1910 work *Content and Form.* Here, Kandinsky argues that a work of art consists of two elements: the inner element and the outer element. The inner refers to the very emotion of an artist's soul whereas the outer is the material form of a work of art.[12] However, Kandinsky believes that beauty is an

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[7] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 17.
[8] E. F., Kovtun, *The Russian Avant-Garde in the 1920s-1930s: Paintings, Graphics, Sculpture, Decorative Arts from the Russian Museum in St. Petersburg,* (Bournemouth, England: Parkstone Publishers, 1996), 4.
[9] Kazimir Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1988), 128.
[10] Wassily Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art,* trans. M. T. H. Sadler (New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1977), 2.
[11] Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art,* 19.
[12] Wassily Kandinsky, "Content and Form," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1988), 19.

unattainable ideal, since it occurs when form corresponds perfectly to the inner feeling of the artist, therefore the one invariable law of art is the principle of inner necessity: to express one's inner voice.[13]

Wassily Kandinsky, *Multicoloured Circle,* 1921.

This is perhaps best illustrated in Kandinsky's painting *Multicoloured Circle* (1921). It stands as his most developed example of non-objectivity during his Russian period due to the use of pure geometric forms and the absence of a clear background.[14] In particular, Kandinsky's painting stands against other European abstract works of the same era that still possessed some semblance of spatial structure. Yet *Multicoloured Circle* lacks any clear tangibility which allows the geometric forms on the canvas to be dominant. It captures the Suprematist feeling as the painting represents Kandinsky's own inner reality that was free from rational laws and earthly constraints and instead gave voice to pure feeling and expression. Accordingly, Kandinsky and Malevich exemplify how avant-garde artists explored their inner realities and went beyond accepted understandings of consciousness in order to create revolutionary art.

Socialist Realist artists also grappled with consciousness, but they sought to shape a new collective consciousness that would inform the Soviet people along the Party line. However, like the artists of the avant-garde, Socialist Realist artists engaged with what they believed were the hidden essences of particular objects rather than the desire to provide accurate representations of reality.[15] Accordingly, realism has a different meaning in the socialist context than what is traditionally the case. Yet the Party largely informed artists' engagement with consciousness because the former controlled the environment and the subconscious of those who created art.[16] To elaborate, the Party never explicitly suppressed artists' expression of their inner reality, but the former expected that this inner reality fuse with the will of the Party and of Stalin.[17] Therefore, it is evident that it was a much more insulated endeavour for avant-garde artists to engage with consciousness because they were simply not interested in incorporating external influences into their art. Contrarily, Socialist Realist artists existed in an era that rejected individualism in favour of the community and expected that artists' inner realities mirrored the broader social objectives that the Party had in store for the people.

A Socialist Realist painting that exemplifies this tendency is the *Portrait of Stakhanov* (1938) by Lonid Kotlyarov. The painting pictures the miner Aleksei Stakhanov who in a single evening hewed 102 tons of coal, or approximately fourteen times his quota.[18] Accordingly, Stakhanov became emblematic of a wider movement that flourished within the Soviet Union that called for the acceleration of the workforce in order to turn the empire into a global superpower. The *Portrait of Stakhanov* celebrates the archetype of the worker-hero and several aspects of the

[13] Kandinsky, "Content and Form," 21.
[14] Clark V. Poling, *Kandinsky: Russian and Bauhaus Years, 1915-1933,* (New York: Solomon R. Guggenheim Museum, 1983), 23.
[15] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 50.
[16] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 44.
[17] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 52.
[18] Lewis H. Siegelbaum, *Stakhanovism and the Politics of Productivity In the USSR, 1935-1941,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1988), 2.

painting convey this. First, the majority of the painting is dark aside from Stakhanov's face. This, as well as the fact that Stakhanov is central on the canvas, indicates his predominance within the composition, but perhaps it alludes more broadly to his significance within Soviet society. Stakhanov's face appears strained, his hands worn and dirty, but he continues to power forward, ultimately demonstrating that a true Soviet worker never yields. His capacity to endure is so great that workers in the background simply stare in awe. Perhaps Kotlyarov painted the portrait as a metaphor that the Soviet worker was the one who would bring the empire out of the darkness of backwardness into the light of progress and modernity. Overall, the painting is a prime example of how the visions of Socialist Realist artists were inextricably linked to that of the Party. The two aimed to create a new consciousness based off of the new policies and heroes of Soviet society.

Lonid Kotlyarov, *Portrait of Stakhanov,* 1938.

Thus, it is clear that the avant-garde and Socialist Realism both actively engaged with consciousness, but is there a specific factor that ties these movements together in this regard? Through my research I found that Nietzschean philosophy influences both movements' engagement with consciousness, specifically Nietzsche's conception of the death of God. Culturally it is unsurprising that Nietzsche is regarded with such affinity in Russia given that Russian intellectuals had begun to question the existence of God in the early nineteenth century because of their belief that society was being broken down by moral transgressions.[19] On that note, many different groups within Russian society appropriated Nietzsche's concept of the will to power as a foundation for a new myth to give a sense of direction in a God-less world. There is some contestation regarding what Nietzsche meant with will to power. Some believe it is a term that describes the values he admired in his concept of the New Man. Yet much of the scholarship holds that Nietzsche meant that the world consists of various centres of power that are exerting force against one another in their fight to carry out their visions of how the world should be.[20]

As already discussed, avant-garde artists sought to transcend consciousness in order to become the masters of their own universe and so this can be understood as their will to power. At the same time, Socialist Realism, as an extension of the Bolshevik cause, was fundamentally influenced by such ideas as well. The Bolshevik Revolution sought to create a godless society in which the proletariat could finally be their own master. Many Bolshevik revolutionaries were likewise inspired by the idea of god-building which refers to the worship of a collective humanity.[21] This was meant to inspire individuals to sacrifice their lives for the revolutionary cause because the creation of a communist society would create a collective immortality, and thus no one would ever truly be dead. Moreover, Groys argues that elites who appropriated the avant-garde experience were the ones who established Socialist Realism. Specifically the concept of the will to power as art was re-purposed because it called for the end of art as representative of life and for art to instead transform life.[22] The inherently political nature of this vision is what appealed to the Party and it acted as a guideline to encourage Socialist Realist artists in their creation of a new collective consciousness. But in general both the avant-garde and Socialist Realism possessed philosophical foundations rooted in Nietzsche that influenced the movements' approaches to consciousness, and therefore there is some element of continuity between the two.

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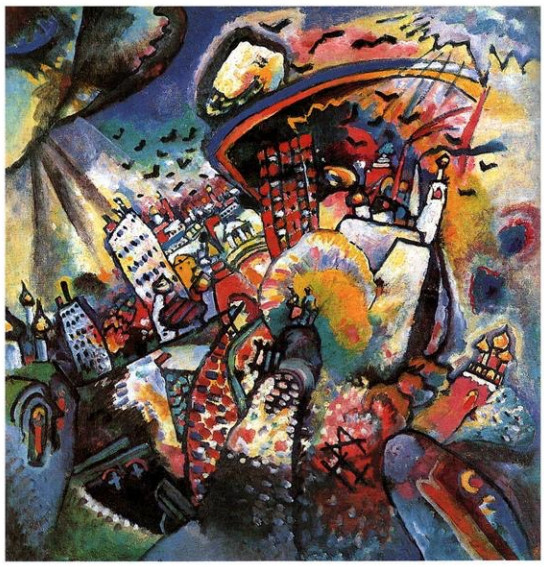
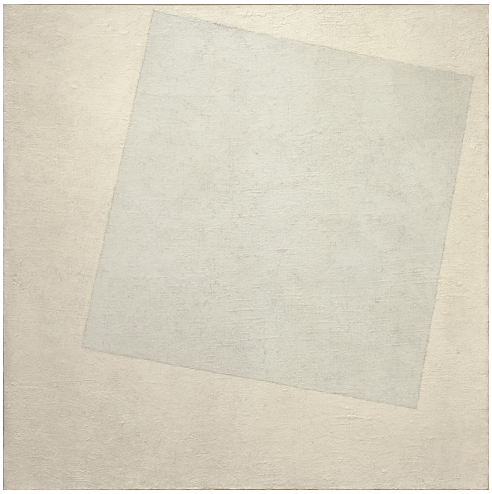
[19] Bernice Glatzer Rosenthal, *New Myth, New World: from Nietzsche to Stalinism,* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2002), 14.
[20] R. Lanier Anderson, "Friedrich Nietzsche," *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy,* March 17, 2017, https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/nietzsche/#WillPowe.
[21] Rosenthal, 80.
[22] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 36.

The second major point of comparison is that avant-garde and Socialist Realist artists both wanted to actively create utopia, or a world they deemed desirable. Richard Stites argues that social daydreaming was fully entrenched in the mental universe of the Russian intelligentsia by the mid-nineteenth century.[23] These individuals wanted to destroy the culture of the upperclass, which they deemed oppressive and unjust, and this attitude seeped into literary and artistic circles, thereby influencing future avant-garde artists. This destructive need to eliminate the bourgeoisie influence over art came to its peak during the October Revolution. This is because the revolution and the subsequent civil war represented apocalypse. The Soviet Union was essentially reduced to rubble and so artists had the opportunity to turn that chaos into beauty.[24] The term that best describes this objective is 'life-building,' or' life-creation,' which calls for blurring the line between life, (private and public conventions of a social and ritualized nature), and art, (the production of aesthetic objects).[25] Essentially, art was a tool in the creation of life.



Wassily Kandinsky, *Moscow I*, 1916.

Emblematic of the desire to create a new world out of new forms is Malevich's *White on White* (1918). Already by 1915 Malevich proclaimed that objects were no longer tangible entities, and thus art had moved toward creation as an end, rather than a means, through the domination over form.[26] Malevich's command over form is apparent in this painting as an asymmetrical white square floats aimlessly against the backdrop of another white square. There is no reference to external reality or time, but only purity which is what white signified for Malevich. *White on White* ultimately denotes pure possibility in an age where artists could construct the new emerging world.[27] In a less abstract fashion than Malevich's *White on White,* Kandinsky engaged in the creation of an ideal world around the same time with *Moscow I* (1916). The painting depicts Red Square but in a much more fantastical and dream-like way. The piece is a testament to Kandinsky's love of Russia, especially his favourite time of day which was sunset. In *Reminiscences,* Kandinsky emphasizes this when he declares: "The sun melts all Moscow into one spot which, like a mad tuba, sets one's whole inside, one's whole soul vibrating."[28] It is clear then that Kandinsky reached within himself, into the memories of Moscow that permeated his soul, to create this idyllic and unique representation.



Kazimir Malevich, *White on White,* 1918.

[23] Richard Stites, *Revolutionary Dreams: Utopian Vision and Experimental Life In the Russian Revolution,* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), 28.
[24] Groys, *Total Art of Stalinism,* 3.
[25] John E. Bowlt and Olga Matich, *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment,* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 8.
[26] Malevich, "From Cubism and Futurism," 119.
[27] John E. Bowlt, and Matich, Olga, 8.
[28] Wassily Kandinsky, "Reminiscences," in *Modern Artists on Art*, 2nd ed., ed. Robert L. Herbert (Dover Publications, 2012), 33.

Additionally, avant-garde artists sought to bring their art out onto the street in order to make it an active force in the transformation of Soviet society.[29] For example, the Futurists were highly influenced by Nietzsche's philosophy. In particular, the group subscribed to the philosopher's conception of the New Man; a man who was his own person, defined by his own values, and who refused to conform.[30] The Futurists sought a revolution of the spirit that would complete the political revolution and so they sought to create a new Soviet man, a super functional machine that had qualities Nietzsche extolled such as boundless energy, daring, hardness, and physical vitality.[31] They hoped to achieve the Futurist utopia, a modern and technologically advanced world, with a new Soviet man.

Likewise Socialist Realism actively strove to turn idealizations of utopia into reality. This is because at its core Bolshevism is deeply utopian. It took an apocalyptic interpretation of Marxism that sought a leap from the Kingdom of Necessity to the Kingdom of Freedom.[32] This is discernible in Lenin's *State and Revolution* in which he writes in two tenses: future imperfect and future perfect that correspond to a socialist and communist society, respectively.[33] *Partiinost*, or party consciousness, was one means of achieving the world described in the future perfect tense. *Partiinost* was heavily emphasized at the First Congress of Soviet Writers as the Party tasked those in attendance with educating the masses in the spirit of communism through their work.[34] Andrei Zhdanov's speech at the Congress encapsulates the objectives that the Party had in mind for Socialist Realist art. Zhdanov touched on Stalin's belief that writers were the 'engineers of human souls' and therefore they had a duty to mold the Soviet people into citizens that would help create the perfect communist utopia.[35] Initially, Socialist Realism was only applied to the literary realm, but it soon expanded to include all Soviet artists.

Additionally, the avant-garde wanted to destroy the art of the past, but the Party was not adverse to utilizing selected components of classical art in their construction of a new world. The Party essentially saw Antiquity as a utopia already realized, therefore they understood that it could be a tool used to establish utopia in the present.[36] For example, the statues of ancient Greece and Rome portrayed figures in an idealized manner that often conveyed themes of strength and bravery. Socialist Realism likewise depicts idealized archetypes, such as the hero-worker or the athlete to promote similar virtues. In particular, the cult of personality surrounding Stalin consisted of a series of archetypes. Stalin was the Soviet Union's father, a scholar, a strong leader, and so on. Aleksandr Gerasimov's *Stalin and Voroshilov in the Kremlin* (1938) is a prime example of the strong leader trope. The painting shows Stalin and Kliment Voroshilov, a Soviet Marshal, walking alongside in unity. The two look forward, as if they are looking toward the Soviet Union's bright future. This is further

Aleksandr Gerasimov, *Stalin and Voroshilov in the Kremlin,* 1938.

[29] Kovtun, 11.
[30] Rosenthal, 10.
[31] Rosenthal, 189.
[32] Rosenthal, 125.
[33] Stites, 43.
[34] Groys, *The Total Art of Stalinism,* 91.
[35] Andrei Zhdanov, "From Andrei Zhdanov's Speech," in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1988), 293.
[36] Boris Groys, "The Birth of Socialist Realism from the Spirit of the Russian Avant-Garde," in *Laboratory of Dreams: The Russian Avant-Garde and Cultural Experiment,* eds. John E. Bowlt and Olga Matich (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 194.

emphasized by the sky in the background that is beginning to turn blue after a rainstorm. The two leaders stand proud like the Kremlin and this serves as a reminder that the Soviet Union is in good hands.

Ultimately, Socialist Realism was a form of myth-making in the Stalinist era. Famines caused by collectivization and political terror plagued the Soviet Union in the 1930s, and so the empire needed this myth-making more than ever. Socialist Realism needed to create inspiring visions that would make citizens forget about their realities and to keep hope alive with the promise of a better future.[37] Socialist Realism essentially treated the future as if it was the present since paintings portrayed what reality would be like under socialism as opposed to what it was really like.[38] Ilya Mashkov's *Soviet Breads* (1936) encapsulates this point. The painting depicts an abundance of grain products from throughout the Soviet empire. It is likely meant to proclaim that the Soviet collectivization campaign was a success, however it ignores the harsh realities that this success came at the expense of millions of lives. Mashkov's painting coincides with Socialist Realist desires to portray an ideal world and within this one there is food in abundance for all Soviet people due to the empire's agricultural capabilities.

Ilya Mashkov, *Soviet Bread,* 1936.

Therefore, it is cleat that the avant-garde and Socialist Realism prioritized the creation of utopia. The main commonality that I will examine that shows continuity between the two is the fact that several movements within the avant-garde supported the Bolshevik cause, as Socialist Realism did. There is an underlying assumption that the avant-garde was a phenomenon that existed separately from Bolshevism. However, the act of creating a new world is inherently political because of the need to restructure society. Since such avant-garde thought flourished before and during the October Revolution it follows that it shared common ground with the Bolshevik cause. In particular, many movements within the avant-garde sought to carry out an aesthetic revolution alongside the communist revolution. For example, El Lissitzky, a Suprematist, stated: "into this chaos came suprematism extolling the square as the very source of all creative expression. and then came communism and extolled work as the true source of man's heartbeat."[39] Lissitzky's statement makes it clear that the aims of the avant-garde could work in tandem with those of communism.

These types of sentiments then led to the cooperation of avant-garde artists with the Party following the October Revolution. For example, the Left Front of the Arts (LEF) was a leftist artistic journal established in 1923 that promoted Productivism, a branch of Constructivism. Productivism believed that art was meant to be practical and have a social purpose and that the skills and aims of the artist needed to be focused on industrial production itself.[40] This mimics the Bolshevik cry to establish a new society in which the worker is of primary importance and the factory is the site of all creation. LEF contributed to the propagation of the Party line through the creation of posters, stage and exhibition design, and so on.[41]

There was also the creation of state art schools that linked art with politics. A prime example is the Higher State Artistic and Technical Studios, or VKhUTEMAS, established in 1920. VKhUTEMAS trained future artists in traditional artistic theory and technique, but also in metalwork, textiles, and architecture because it sought to equate art and industrial production.[42] Eventually, by April 1932, the Association of Artists of the Revolution (AKhR) subsumed all such schools and groups in order for the Party to have greater control over artistic production.[43] AKhR is an

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[37] Rosenthal, 293.
[38] Ibid.
[39] El Lissitzky, "Suprematism in World Reconstruction*,"* in *Russian Art of the Avant-Garde: Theory and Criticism 1902-1934*, ed. John E. Bowlt (New York: Thames and Hudson Inc., 1988), 154.
[40] John Roberts, "Productivism and its Contradictions," *Third Text* 23, no. 5, (September, 2009): 529.
[41] Groys, "The Birth of Socialist Realism," 203.
[42] Ksenia Nouril, "VKhUTEMAS," *Moma,* https://www.moma.org/interactives/objectphoto/schools/15.html.
[43] Matthew Cullerne Bown, *Art Under Stalin,* (New York: Holmes & Meier Publishers, Inc., 1991), 69.

important precursor to Socialist Realism because the process by which the Party asserted control through the organization was a significant factor that led to the suppression of the avant-garde. Groys, in particular, believes that political leaders were the true authors of reality into the 1930s and avant-garde artists, by their own devotion to the ideals of transformation over representation, subordinated themselves to political leaders who dictated the nature of transformation.[44] However, in doing so the artists took away their own artistic primacy and the primacy of art itself. The history of artistic groups within the Soviet Union is rather complex. Many avant-garde schools were in competition with one another and disagreed with one another's objectives. However, for the sake of my argument the existence of these schools is an important sub-point because the schools were crucial sites of interaction between the avant-garde and Socialist Realism. The schools demonstrate that both movements sought to create a new world, and movement like Constructivism and Productivism shared similar visions with the Bolshevik Party. Yet the Stalinist era saw the Party utilize avant-garde groups to their advantage and then suppress them when they were no longer useful, but not without borrowing certain themes first.

The final major similarity between the avant-garde and Socialist Realism is the fact that both movements were subject to dramatic experimentation and change. This would appear to be quite obvious in the case of the avant-garde since it consisted of a series of unique movements. Although what often goes ignored is the interaction that the different movements had with one another that then inspired adaptation. For example, movements built off of one another's theories, often further developing them to match a particular artistic agenda. Constructivism borrowed Suprematist notions of creating a new world, but unlike the latter it did not engage in mysticism. Instead, the social developments following the 1917 revolution and World War I (WWI) influenced Constructivist theory. Then, within Constructivist circles a subcategory, Productivism, branched off. The primary difference between the two was that, in the case of Productivism, the artist's role was minimized to give special attention to the factory as the site of societal transformation. This seems like a minor difference, but it drastically changes the role of the artist from an independent producer to a means to carry out technical and industrial progress.[45]

Furthermore, there was constant criticism and debate between the various avant-garde movements. All could agree that a new world needed to be the created, but many proclaimed the legitimacy of their vision at the expense of others. For example, in his work *From Cubism and Futurism to Suprematism: The New Painterly Realism* Malevich discusses the shortcomings of Futurism. Malevich applauds the Futurist's ambition to destroy the past, as well as their attention to speed which created new form and dynamism in painting. However, Malevich proclaims that Futurism is a movement stuck in the past because, rather than create pictures out of subconscious intuitive forms, they use forms of utilitarian reason to promote their visions of a technologically advanced utopia.[46] Malevich believes that Suprematism, the movement he established, was the only one capable of depicting truth because of its use of intuition in art to create free, non-objective forms. Malevich's opinion on Futurism can be aptly encapsulated with this declaration: "We have abandoned futurism, and we, bravest of the brave, *have spat on the altar of its art.*"[47]

Transformation within the avant-garde was also due to the rapidly changing conditions within the Soviet Union. For example, so many artists were initially enamoured with Futurism because of the technological breakthroughs occurring at the start of the twentieth century within Europe. Taylorism heightened these sentiments as the movement encouraged speed, efficiency, and 'industrialness' in the workforce.[48] Within revolutionary Russia, Taylorism represented a utopian ideal in an industrially underdeveloped nation where skilled workers were in short supply due to the overwhelmingly peasant makeup of the population.[49] Taylorism was a key component that led to the worship of the machine, the rhythmic revolution, and the scientization of artistic production in pre-war and revolutionary Russia.[50] In turn, these types of sentiments seemed to legitimize the ambitions of movements such as

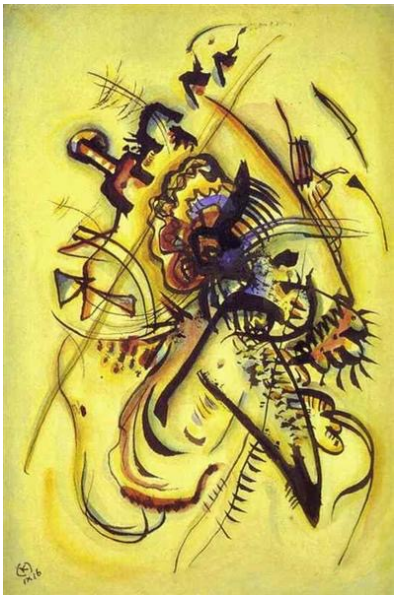
[44] Groys, "The Birth of Socialist Realism," 207.
[45] Roberts, 530.
[46] Malevich, 128.
[47] Malevich, 124.
[48] Stites, 161.
[49] Stites, 161-162.
[50] Stites, 159.

Futurism because they indicated that there was broad societal support for a more modern and technologically advanced nation.

Furthermore, one can discern the experimentation within the avant-garde by analyzing the degree of abstraction within painting as the decades progressed. Generally, artworks became more abstract as the avant-garde developed over time. The development of Kandinsky's painting style is a prime example of this trend. To elaborate, Kandinsky still remained true to aspects such as landscape and figuration at the beginning of his career. This is indicative in his painting *Improvisation III* (1909) that depicts a rider and a rearing horse in front of a yellow building. It is clear that Kandinsky is beginning to experiment with abstraction as his aggressive brushstrokes and his intense use of colour break up the landscape, but there is still some semblance of reality.[51] The painting itself is highly influenced by the Russian folkloric tradition and the rider may allude to either Saint Martin or Saint George[52] and so the painting possesses some type of narrative structure as well.

Wassily Kandinsky, *Improvisation III*, 1909.

Although by 1916 Kandinsky is fully immersed in the Suprematist movement. A painting that exemplifies the artist's heightened use of abstraction is *To a Voice* (1916). The painting is a watercolour done by Kandinsky that is based on the memory of his future wife's voice. The painting is Kandinsky's attempt to give form to sound through thick waving lines juxtaposed by various forms. For Kandinsky, sound was inextricably linked to the soul and by attempting to convey it through a canvas he was giving freedom to his inner necessity.[53] There are two versions of *To a Voice* and the final version indicates that Kandinsky re-worked the painting in several ways. Thus, while the painting is extremely experimental and abstract, it shows that Kandinsky still had a long process of meditation[54] and did not give free reign to abstraction quite yet. However, Kandinsky's *Accent in Pink* (1926) is a prime example of the artist's full immersion into abstraction. Unlike *To a Voice* the painting focuses on concrete shapes rather than free-flowing lines that represent a specific entity. Kandinsky believed that the circle represents a dynamic form and accordingly the pink circle in the upper right-hand corner dominates the canvas as it creates a diagonal view across the composition.[55] The painting likewise develops Kandinsky's theory that certain geometric shapes corresponded with a particular colour. For example,



Wassily Kandinsky, *To a Voice,* 1916.

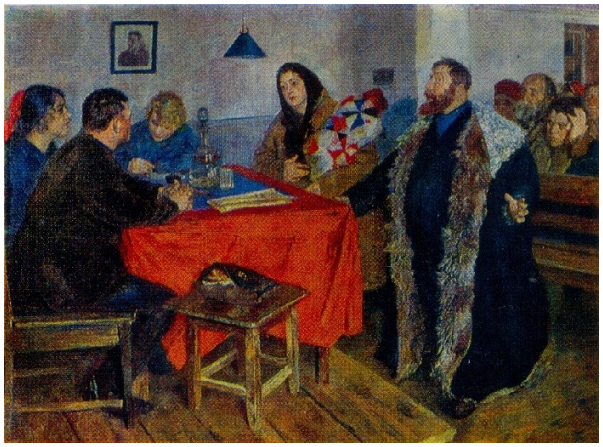
[51] Irene Masing-Delic, "*Improvisation III*, 1909," in *Kandinsky: A Retrospective,* eds. Angela Lampe and Brady Roberts (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2014), 34.
[52] Ibid.
[53] Kandinsky, *Concerning the Spiritual in Art*, 27.
[54] Christian Derouet, "*To be a Voice,* 1916," in *Kandinsky: A Retrospective,* eds. Angela Lampe and Brady Roberts (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2014), 78.
[55] Rachel Milliez, "*Accent in Pink,* 1926," in *Kandinsky: A Retrospective,* eds. Angela Lampe and Brady Roberts (Paris: Centre Pompidou, 2014), 146.

Wassily Kandinsky, *Accent in Pink,* 1926.

Kandinsky believed that the qualities of a circle were best revealed when it was blue.[56] Accordingly, *Accent in Pink* is indicative of Kandinsky's maturity as an artist in that it is reflective of his own personal ideology surrounding form. But the painting also demonstrates a greater degree of abstraction compared to his earlier works given the lack of representational qualities that the basic forms of the piece possess.

Comparatively, Socialist Realism also underwent massive change throughout its reign as the Soviet art style. Socialist Realism is generally understood as a monolithic art form, but at its very core it was dynamic and ever-changing because of its association to the Party. To elaborate, art under Bolshevism consisted of several key concepts. This includes *ideinost,* ideological content, *klassovost*, the class-dictated nature of art, and *narodnost*, a term that denotes 'the people.'[57] However, the most important concept was that of *partiinost*; the supremacy of the Party's decisions that in turn dictated the conscience of artists.[58] A consequence of *partiinost* was that Soviet artists constantly had to display their loyalty to the Party. However, conformity was no guarantee of survival given that the Party line constantly shifted without warning.[59] For example, the painter Nikolai Ivanovich produced a painting titled *Farewell to Comrade Kirov* which depicted Stalin and Voroshilov paying their respects by the assassinated politician's coffin. Initially the Moscow Union artistic council approved the painting, but by 1935 the meaning of the painting was misconstrued to make it seem like it prophesied the death of Stalin and Voroshilov.[60] Ivanovich then faced vilification before being executed. Therefore, the ever-changing agenda of the Party caused Socialist Realism to continuously change in terms of which subject matters were acceptable to depict and artists were required to keep up with these changes or else they could face fatal consequences.

Key moments and political policies within the Soviet Union's history likewise reflect this shift in subject matter. For instance, from the late 1920s into the 1930s one of the principle policies pursued by the Party was that of collectivization and as a consequence it became a dominant motif in the arts. This is evident in Boris Ioganson's painting *A Soviet Court* (1928). The painting depicts a kulak attempting to explain his greed before a people's court.[61] The kulak's wife, who is showing off their excessive amount of bread, exemplifies this greed. The painting serves to demonize the kulak and it ignores the reality that the Party exiled or executed millions of peasants on the path toward collectivization. Ioganson's painting is a prime example of *partiinost* in this regard. The moral decision as to whether the kulak is good or evil was made for him by the Party.



Boris V. Ioganson, *A Soviet Court,* 1928.

Themes espoused by the Five Year Plans, such as collectivization and industrialization, dominated painting in the 1930s, but then this shifted immediately with the outbreak of World War II (WWII). During this period, art exclusively depicted wartime motifs and its primary role was that of propaganda. For example, battle paintings were meant to inflame Soviet patriotism. Aleksandr Deineka's *The Defence of Sebastopol* (1942) is a notable example as it shows the heroic defence of the city by sailors. Deineka employs the Socialist Realist tendency to give primacy to the

[56] Ibid.
[57] Bown, *Art Under Stalin*, 25.
[58] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting,* 141.
[59] Rosenthal, 296.
[60] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting,* 200.
[61] Bown, *Art Under Stalin,* 33.

heroism of human beings within a composition, and so he portrays war as a state of hand-to-hand combat.[62] Overall, the subject matter of this era remained fixed and there was a rejection of frivolous content in painting such as flowers, landscapes, and still lifes because this type of art did not coincide with the Party line.

Aleksandr A. Deineka, *The Defence of Sebastopol,* 1942.

And then the content of Socialist Realist art fundamentally changed again in the years following WWII. The most glaring example is that art served as a catalyst for the apotheosis of the Stalin cult. Stalin's omnipotence was on full display by his seventieth birthday in 1949 given the sheer quantity of work that encapsulated different aspects of his life.[63] A major motif was Stalin as a military genius given the degree to which the Great Patriotic War was mythologized. Stalin likely never visited the front, however paintings represented him in other significant capacities. Fedor Reshetnikov's *Generalissimos I. V. Stalin* (1948) depicts the leader towering over maps, deep in thought as to how to destroy the Germans at Stalingrad as dawn breaks.[64] This portrayed Stalin as deeply devoted to the military cause and it sought to legitimize the claims surrounding his military achievements.

Fyodor Reshetnikov, *Generalissimos I. V. Stalin,* 1948.

Additionally, paintings depicted Stalin completely differently in the post-war years compared to the decade before which further reflects the substantial changes in subject matter. In the 1930s, Stalin was frequently portrayed with others and when he was presented alongside Lenin it was obvious that he was not the main character in the composition. But Stalin's separateness from and superiority to everyone else was a predominant characteristic in painting after the war.[65] This is evident in Viktor Puzyrkov's *Stalin on the Cruiser Molotov* (1949). Here, Stalin is shown with others, but he stands apart from the crowd, immersed in his own thoughts, in order to emphasize his individuality and significance. Moreover, in the post-war years Stalin was more often than not portrayed in a static manner. He no longer had to engage in activities, he simply had to be. Artists now portrayed an idea of a man that embodied all virtue, essentially this affirmed that he was a divinity.[66] *The Morning of our Native Land* (1948) is a prime example of Stalin's god-like status. According to Bown, no painting better represents the essence of Socialist Realism than this piece because every aspect of the painting conveys the promise of utopia.[67] In the painting, Stalin gazes at rich Soviet agricultural ground as the golden light of dawn breaks. In the background telephone wires, tractors, and factory chimneys signify the empire's progress.

Viktor G. Puzyrkov, *Stalin on the Cruiser Molotov,* 1949.

[62] Bown, *Art Under Stalin,* 147.
[63] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting,* 234.
[64] Bown, *Socialist Realist Painting*, 235.
[65] Bown, *Art Under Stalin,* 128.
[66] Bown, *Art Under Stalin,* 178.
[67] Bown, *Socialist Realist Art,* 237.

Stalin's proximity to these symbols of progress implicitly signifies that he was directly responsible for them. Stalin himself appears Christ-like as he is wearing all white with his hands perhaps in an *ecce homo* position.[68] Ultimately, it is clear that Socialist Realism went through constant change because the movement had to conform to what the Party wanted, and this changed constantly according to the conditions within the Soviet Union.

Fedor S. Shurpin, *The Morning of our Native Land,* 1948.

What the radical change within the two movements demonstrates is that the chaotic nature of the Soviet Union influenced both. The avant-garde began to flourish during and after WWI and the war served as a rude awakening that humanity was capable of utter devastation and that barbarism was masked by a thin veil of civilization.[69] The avant-garde also had to contend with a revolution and civil war that disrupted all aspects of life and elongated the bloodshed that began in 1914. It caused artists to question their understandings of the world and ultimately traditional civilization was unsatisfactory and needed reformulation. Socialist Realism likewise arose during a period of utter political instability. Plaguing the 1930s was a series of political purges and artists had to contend with a party line that was constantly shifting. For instance, during the Great Terror there was a purge against the formalist painting style, and the associated artists, in order to ensure the supremacy of Socialist Realism.[70] Artists thus had no choice but to conform and adapt to Socialist Realism because the consequences of not doing so led to exile or execution. Stalin's increasing paranoia further drove this and ultimately the power he held over affairs like the cultural matters of the state seemed to indicate that he was the one true artist.[71] The lack of control that artists possessed on these lines is indicative of the chaos that permeated the Soviet Union.

In conclusion, there was continuity between the avant-garde and Socialist Realism in several respects. Both movements engaged with consciousness in painting, but the avant-garde sought to transcend it while Socialist Realism moulded it as a collective entity. As well, the artists of both movements desired to create utopia, although it was a much more individualistic process within the avant-garde as Socialist Realist artists' visions were intrinsically linked with those of the Party. And lastly, both the avant-garde and Socialist Realism changed in terms of style and subject manner due to the dynamic and chaotic nature of the Soviet Union in the twentieth century. There is still significant ground to cover in terms of the historiography surrounding Russian and Soviet painting, but hopefully what this paper conveys is that the art of this region is far more complex and intricate than what is often assumed.

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[68] Ibid.
[69] Eckhart J. Gillen, "Superman in the Turbine Hall: Designs for a New World and a New Man," in *The World Art and Economy 1919-1939*, eds. Elkhart J. Gillen and Ulrik Lorenz (Bielefeld: Kerber Verlag, 2018), 20.
[70] Susan E. Reid, "Socialist Realism in the Stalinist Terror: The Industry of Socialism Art Exhibition, 1935-41," *The Russian Review* 60, no. 2 (2001): 159.
[71] Groys, "The Birth of Socialist Realism," 209.

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“The Owl,” c. 1800

Alaina Eelkema, "Women War Workers in Waterloo County During the Second World War: Continuity through Conceptualizations and Lived Experiences"

The Second World War brought with it a number of major changes for Canada as the country mobilized for the war effort. Large numbers of Canadian men left for overseas, and the home front needed to adapt to this dramatic change in its citizenry. One of the biggest responses to this change was the entrance of women into industry. In 1939, 873,000 women held employment in Canada. This increased to 1,355,000 women in 1943, and 1,394,000 in 1945 at the end of the war.[1] This took place across the country, including Waterloo County. In this paper, I will examine the entrance of women into the workforce during World War Two and the impacts that women's involvement had on industry and the women themselves, including during the postwar era. I will focus my study on Waterloo County. This area included a large population size, and a number of industries that were involved in the war effort that employed large numbers of women.[2] Therefore, this paper will be guided by the following question: What were the public conceptualizations and lived experiences of women in industry in Waterloo County during World War Two, and did they lead to a sustained change during the postwar years? This question will allow me to understand both the public and industries' reactions to the entrance of women in the workforce, and the mechanisms involved in their reaction to this change. This question also allows the lived experiences of women to be factored into this study, allowing for their own agency and experiences to be present in the analysis. Through this research question, I will be able to fit my own study into the broader academic literature surrounding women's entrance into the workforce during World War Two.

There is a rich historiography on women in industry during World War Two. This high level of academic interest derives from the fact that World War Two saw an unprecedented number of women enter into industry, particularly industries that had not been dominated by women in the prewar period. These sources have studied this phenomenon in response to the following question: did the increased number of women in industry during the Second World War lead to a change in the status of women in the postwar era, or did their status stay the same as in the prewar era? The Second World War is therefore analyzed as being either a force of change for women in the workplace, or as a mere anomaly in women's involvement in industry that did not lead to real change in the postwar era. Historians answering this question, for Canada, United States and Great Britain, can be broken up into three schools of thought. [3] The first school of thought views the involvement of women in the Second World War as a force for change that brought increased status for women in the postwar era. The second school of thought argues that there was no change in the status of women between the prewar era and the postwar era, despite the involvement of women in industry during the war years. The final school of thought rests in the middle of the first two, arguing that although there was not drastic change between the prewar and postwar years, the Second World War did provide some change in the status of women.

The earliest historiography falls into the first school of thought. These historians see the Second World War as a challenge to traditional gender roles and norms, and that this challenge led to real change in the postwar era. One historian who falls into this category is Chester W. Gregory, who argues that the war gave women a new role in the labour force, and that this new role changed their status and they became accepted into other areas of society.[4] A more contemporary historian who pushes forward this argument is Heather L. Moran, who studied the involvement of women in industry in Waterloo County. She argues that the employment records from Waterloo County directly disprove the second school of thought, and shows change in the postwar years.[5] She argues that there was a need for workers, both men and women, in the postwar years and that the decline of female workers in Waterloo County was caused by the personal choices of female workers.[6] Both of these historians point to the war as an important event in the changing of the status of women in industry.

The second school of thought concedes that the Second World War brought with it a large increase in the number of women employed in industry, but argues that this large influx of female workers did not lead to change in the postwar era and that many of these women were pushed out of industry when the men came back from the war. The most seminal work in this school of thought is Ruth Roach Pierson's *"They're Still Women After All": The Second*

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[1] Jeff Keshen, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2004), 150.
[2] Frederick Edwards, "Kitchener-Waterloo," *Maclean's Magazine*, July 15, 1940.
[3] Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich, '"Beauty and Helldivers": Representing Women's Work and Identities in a Warplant Newspaper,' *Labour*, 44 (1999): 108.
[4] Chester W. Gregory, *Women in Defense Work During World War II: An Analysis of the Labor Problem and Women's Rights* (New York: Exposition Press, 1974), xvii.
[5] Heather L. Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call: The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947," (Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002), 4.
[6] Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call," 6.

World War and Canadian Womanhood. Pierson argues that while there were gains in female employment, this did not translate into any fundamental change in the postwar era because there was a tension between women as mothers and women as workers.[7] She argues that although women were depicted as strong in some images, other messages undercut these images and led to a domestication of industry.[8] Within this school of thought, there is an emphasis on examining public images and material in order to determine the mechanisms used to moderate the change experienced during the war. Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich argue that there was a celebration of women's war work, but also a trivialization seen through the use of mixed messages.[9] Maureen Honey also argues that these public images need to be seen through the lens of the mobilization of the home front, and that women were often portrayed as being self-sacrificing, which was labelled as a feminine trait.[10] As well, Leila Rupp recognizes that there was an adaptation of public images in order to support the war effort, but that this did not challenge traditional assumptions about women and their roles in society.[11] Other historians who fall into this school of thought include Jennifer A. Stephen, Ellen Scheinberg, Ruth Milkman and Penny Summerfield.[12] This school of thought therefore provides a way of analyzing the public images and materials produced during the Second World War in order to determine whether there was change between the prewar and postwar eras.

The last school of thought provides a middle ground between the first two, recognizing both the gains made during the war as well as the limitations of those gains. Karen Anderson makes this argument, arguing that the Second World War only marked a temporary retreat from prevailing beliefs about the capabilities of women and their role in society.[13] In the Canadian context, Jeff Keshen examines oral history interviews with female war workers and argues that despite the postwar backlash that existed as a reaction to the entrance of women into industry, the experiences of individual women need to be examined as their entrance into industry led them to become more self-reliant and confident.[14] Therefore, the experiences of individual women are considered and factored into an analysis of postwar Canada.

In this paper, I will be examining whether the arguments made by scholars mentioned above hold salience when examined within the context of Waterloo County. I have chosen Waterloo County because it had a large industrial base and population size during this period. In 1939, the City of Kitchener had a population of 33,450 and the Town of Waterloo had a population of 8,623.[15] Women's involvement in the workforce increased in Waterloo County during the war years, with the proportion of women in the workforce increasing from 31% of the total female population in Waterloo County in 1939, to 38% of the female population in 1944 and 36% in 1945.[16] I will be examining the impacts of women's entrance into industry, and the extent to which the inclusion of women in industry led to sustained change into the postwar years. I will do this by drawing on three primary sources. The first primary source comes from the newsletters distributed by Sunshine Waterloo Company for its employees called *The Sunshine News*. This source consists of 20 newsletters printed from November 1942 to the end of 1945 that were used to give employees important company news. This source provides a glimpse into how a major factory in Waterloo County portrayed its female employees through both images and articles, and how it articulated its inclusion of women. This therefore provides a focused look at some of mechanisms involved in the conceptualization of women's inclusion in industry.

The second source I will examine includes articles found in the *Kitchener Daily Record*. The articles used in this paper were found through three different methods. First, through referencing Heather L. Moran's footnotes, I located seven articles that I have used in this study. The second method of finding articles came from examining the

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[7] Ruth Roach Pierson, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1986), 220.
[8] Pierson, *"They're Still Women",* 215.
[9] Smith and Wakewich, "Beauty and Helldivers," 71.
[10] Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984), 5-7.
[11] Leila Rupp, *Mobilizing Women for War: German and American Propaganda, 1939-1945* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 10.
[12] Jennifer A. Stephen, "Balancing Equality for the Post-War Women: Demobilizing Canada's Women Workers After World War Two," *Atlantis*, 32:1 (2007): 125; Ellen Scheinberg, "The Tale of Tessie the Textile Worker: Female Textile Workers in Cornwall during World War II," *Labour*, 33 (1994): 157; Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 11; Penny Summerfield, *Women Workers in the Second World War: Production and Patriarchy in Conflict* (London: Croom Held Ltd, 1984), 1.
[13] Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women During World War Two* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1981), 4.
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[15] Edward, Frederick, "Kitchener-Waterloo," *Maclean's Magazine*, July 15, 1940.
[16] Moran, "And They Answered the Call," 52.

full newspaper over a two-week period from July 26 to August 8, 1943. I chose this period because it rests within the middle of the war, and allowed me to view entire issues of the newspaper within a limited scope in order to find relevant articles. Finally, I examined the "Women's Activities" section of the newspaper from the first issue of every month from January 1940 to December 1945. The Women's Activities section consisted of one to two pages of the *Record,* and contained marriage and engagement announcements, recipes, and other articles surrounding fashion, hairstyles, and broader community news. By looking at the first of each month, I was able to examine this section through the entirety of the war and find articles that represented each stage of the war effort. The Women's Activities section also allowed me to examine articles intended for a female audience. Through these three methods, I was able to collect a large number of articles pertaining to women's involvement in industry during World War Two. These articles provide a larger scope on how the community in Waterloo County reacted to the involvement of women in industry over the war years and into the postwar years. These articles allow an interrogation of the mechanisms involved in the conceptualization of female involvement on a larger, community scale.

Finally, the last source I will be using is a series of nineteen oral history interviews completed in 1986 by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin at the University of Waterloo. These interviews are of staff members at the Dominion Woollens and Worsteds, Ltd., factory, which was located in Hespeler. The names used in the interviews – and so in this paper - are not their actual names, but pseudonyms. The purpose of these interviews was to understand how integral Dominion was to the community in Hespeler, but they also contain an investigation into female experiences during the war years at Dominion and continuing into the postwar period. While these interviews involved a larger investigation into Dominion, many of the questions pertain to what was happening at the company during the war years with a special emphasis on the experiences of women recruited from Northern Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland. The interviews include both female and male employees, and provide an intimate look at the personal experiences of men and women in industry during the Second World War. These interviews allow for personal lived experiences to also be added into an analysis of the public images coming from the Sunshine newsletters and the *Kitchener Daily Record*. While interviewees might have misremembered certain information due to these interviews being conducted in the 1980s, many events and facts are corroborated by multiple interviewees. Through the above three sources, I will be able to effectively evaluate the arguments made by earlier historians and determine which ones are most reflected in the context of Waterloo County.

Through an examination of the three primary sources listed above, I will be able to answer my research question. In this paper, I will argue that the Second World War was not a watershed moment for women in the workforce, but instead a break between prewar and postwar employment patterns. The war brought changes in many industries with the introduction of women into the workplace. The inclusion of women into the workforce was vital to maintain the war economy, and in many ways women's entry into the workforce was celebrated. However, women's work was contextualized through their involvement in the war effort and was portrayed as helping Canada win the war. As well, there were mixed messages sent to the women about their roles in society and the workplace. While the experiences of women in the textile industry were different due to the long history of women workers in the prewar era, women's participation in this industry was marked by a paternalism which carried into the postwar era. As well, their experiences illustrate that working-class women were already established in some industries in the prewar era. Therefore, while women's increased involvement in industry presented a change during the war, it did not lead to fundamental change in the postwar period.

Sunshine Waterloo Company was located in Waterloo and was founded in 1930 as a factory to create combines. Due to the Great Depression and the decreased demand for combines, Sunshine transitioned into creating automotive parts and a variety of other products, including baby carriages and roller skates. When the war started in 1939, Sunshine quickly transitioned into manufacturing products needed for the war effort. These products included bombs, landmines, army truck doors, gun mounts, and airplane parts. In order to maintain their high level of production, Sunshine began to work around the clock and became the biggest employer in Waterloo during the war years. Sunshine continued manufacturing for the war effort until the end of the war, after which it transitioned back to its normal production. In the postwar era, Sunshine manufactured both its prewar products as well as office furniture. After a number of new owners and name changes, the company was officially shut down in 1990.[17] *The Sunshine News* was edited by Gene Packman, a salesman for the company, until March 1945.[18] The last two editions in 1945 were edited by Howard Schmidt.[19] Isabel Hawke, who was a secretary for the company, provided most of the photographs, though she was not credited until December 1943.[20] Sunshine Waterloo was an important manufacturing center in Waterloo County during the war years, and provides an example of a munitions factory during this time. As well, its

[17] Waterloo Public Library, "Notes on Copies of a Newsletter from Sunshine Waterloo Company." Retrieved from: http://images.ourontario.ca/waterloo/3087424/data?n=11.
[18] Gene Packman, "The Sunshine News," *The Sunshine News,* November 1942, 6.
[19] Howard Schmidt, "The Sunshine News," *The Sunshine News*, 1945, 8.
[20] Gene Packman, "The Sunshine News," *The Sunshine News,* December 1943, 7.

status as the largest employer in Waterloo, including a large number of women, makes it a valuable company to use in exploring conceptualizations of women workers during the Second World War.

The other company that will be examined in this paper is Dominion Woollens and Worsteds, Ltd. Dominion was founded in 1928 when it bought the mill previously owned by R. Forbes, Company Ltd. It was a large operation, at one point the biggest woollens and worsteds mill in the British colonies and at one time employing almost one-third of the citizens of the town of Hespeler.[21] Dominion played a major role during the war years, producing khaki for Canada's soldiers.[22] Dominion remained open after the war years until it was bought by Silknit in 1959, and the mill was permanently closed in 1984. Dominion was a fixture in Hespeler, and was incredibly important and involved in its community.[23] In 1941, Hespeler had a population of 3500 people, and 1200 worked at Dominion.[24] Due to the fact that Dominion was a textile factory, it provides an example of women's experiences in a non-munitions factory and a factory that had already employed women in the prewar era. Dominion therefore offers a juxtaposition to Sunshine, and both companies represent the broad range of women's experiences during the war in factory work.

The major drive that brought women into the workforce came from the war effort, and the belief that the levels of production needed should be achieved through any means necessary. With the war brought the mass enlistment of men, leaving a hole in the Canadian workforce. This hole needed to be filled, and women were called upon to replace the men who had left for overseas and to produce items needed for the war. This drive for female inclusion into industry brought with it a number of programs and campaigns to tap into this employment resource and push women into taking jobs in factories. One of these programs existed in Kitchener-Waterloo, and was advertised a number of times in the *Kitchener Daily Record*. This campaign featured a program that provided intensified training in order to get women into war work.[25] This program was offered at K-W Collegiate, and gave women the necessary training for different industries in Waterloo County.[26] In an article published on June 17, 1941, the director of the program, T.H. Scott, justified the training and inclusion of women into war industry by explaining that "the demand for skilled labour is increasing daily under the growing need for war production."[27] This campaign and training program were therefore situated within the need to maintain war production at the levels needed in order to sustain the Canadian war effort. Throughout the rest of the war, a number of other advertisements and calls for female workers were made by this program in the *Record*, emphasizing the need for women to fill positions available in war industries.[28] This training program shows the drive and commitment of people in Waterloo County to provide a large enough employment base for war production.

Another example coming out of the *Record* of this need to maintain war production comes from an opinion piece published on February 5, 1942. This piece, entitled "War Work for Women," was written for the *Los Angeles Times*, but its inclusion in the *Record* reflects the decisions of the editors that this piece was important and relevant to their readership. In this piece, the author defends the inclusion of women in the workforce largely through an appeal to the importance of women in maintaining the war effort. The author writes that "total war demands total effort" and that in order to achieve maximum war effort women needed to be involved in war work.[29] Therefore, the need to maintain the total war effort was used as a justification for the entrance of women into the workforce in the high levels that they did. What becomes evident is that women's entrance into the workforce was brought on by the extraordinary demands of the war effort, and people used those demands in order to justify and celebrate the dramatic changes in the labour

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[21] University of Waterloo Archives, "Name of Creator: Dominion Woollens and Worsted Ltd." Retrieved from: https://archives.uwaterloo.ca/index.php/dominion-woollens-and-worsteds-ltd-oral-history-interviews-2.
[22] Janet Hall, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[23] University of Waterloo Archives, "Name of Creator."
[24] M. Hillis and S. Beattie, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[25] "Women Called for War Work," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* June 17, 1941. Retrieved from: Heather L. Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call: The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947," (Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002).
[26] "Women Called for War Work," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, June 17, 1941.
[27] "Women Called for War Work," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* June 17, 1941.
[28] "Women Wanted for War Industry," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, February 6, 1942; "Appeal for War Workers: Emergency Training Class Seeks Pupils," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, May 11, 1942; "The Dominion-Provincial War Training Program," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, July 30, 1943.
[29] "War Work for Women," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, February 5, 1942. Retrieved from: Heather L. Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call: The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947," (Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002).

force. Women were therefore not a permanent addition to the workforce, but joined the workforce because of extraordinary circumstances and the necessity of the moment.

While these processes were happening on a major scale throughout Waterloo County, they also manifested themselves within each of the individual factories. Sunshine Waterloo Company experienced drastic changes in its employment during the Second World War, with both an increase in its number of workers in general and number of female workers in particular. One of the major recurring features in *The Sunshine News* is "Personalities in the Sunshine," which showcased the longest-serving employees. Its first female spotlight rests on Isabel Hawke, who was hired by Sunshine in 1935 as a secretary and is identified as the first female worker at Sunshine.[30] This lack of female employees in 1935 changed during the war years with large number of female employees being hired by Sunshine, who can be seen featured in the images used throughout *The Sunshine News*. Sunshine's drive to hire female employees also caused them to hire outside of Waterloo County, with female war workers from Alberta arriving in December 1942.[31] This drive to hire women from outside of the local area shows the need for war workers during this time, and the lengths to which companies would go in order to find enough war workers to meet their production needs. Sunshine saw a dramatic change in the make-up of its employees during the Second World War, with women playing major roles in their different departments.

This drive to hire female employees also affected Dominion, despite already having a large number of women working for them before the war. Mrs. Leirsch, one of the women interviewed, started at Dominion in 1935 and recalls that the war brought an increase in the number of female workers at Dominion.[32] The company's drive to hire manifested itself in a number of different ways. The biggest was hiring campaigns in which hiring agents were sent out into Northern Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland in order to recruit women to work for Dominion.[33] A large number of the female workers at Dominion during the war years came from these locations, moving to Hespeler in order to have a factory job that was unavailable to them in their home communities.[34] Another strategy that Dominion used was hiring young women, including M. Hillis and S. Beattie, who were taken on by Dominion at 16 years old in 1940.[35] Finally, they also hired girls from a reformatory.[36] All these hiring practices point to the need for workers during the war years, and the lengths to which Dominion went in order to properly staff their mill to keep up with the demands of war production. The war brought with it incredible changes to the workforce of factories across Waterloo Region, including a drive to hire women to fill in the gaps left by a smaller male workforce.

In previous scholarship on this subject, academics studied the mechanisms through which the entrance of women into the workforce was conceptualized. One such mechanism was the celebration of women's involvement in industry, which was identified by Pamela Wakewich and Helen Smith.[37] This celebration of women war workers within companies was also displayed in *The Sunshine News*, and especially in its Department Features. In almost all of its issues, Sunshine brought a spotlight onto one of the many departments that it operated. In the January 1943 issue, for example, the smoke bombs department was featured and the editor specifically referenced the female workers in this department by writing, "our output of these smoke bombs is another tribute to women war workers."[38] The smoke bomb department had over 200 personnel, and two-thirds of them were women.[39] This spotlight on female war workers was also featured in the February 1943 issue, in which the land mines department was showcased and the editor wrote that women were doing a "swell job."[40] This department also had a majority of women workers. The language used about these women was positive, commending them for their work and celebrating their contribution to the company. Instead of hiding or downplaying the contributions of women within their company, Sunshine was showcasing how the work of women was improving their own departments.

Another way that *The Sunshine News* demonstrated a celebration of women war workers was through the images that it used. Many of them featured female war workers at their stations, completing their tasks. Instead of being stylized pictures, these photos showed the female workers in the middle of completing their jobs and as

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[30] Gene Packman, "Personalities in the Sunshine," *The Sunshine News*, May 1943, 6.
[31] Gene Packman, "Welcome War Workers," *The Sunshine News*, December 1942, 7.
[32] Mrs. Leirsch, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[33] Janet Hall, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[34] Debbie Smith, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[35] M. Hillis and S. Beattie, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[36] M. Hillis and S. Beattie, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[37] Wakewich and Smith, "Beauty and Helldivers", 71.
[38] Gene Packman, "Smoke Bombs Save Lives," *The Sunshine News*, January 1943, 5.
[39] Packman, "Smoke Bombs Save Lives," 5.
[40] Gene Packman, "Smashing the Blitz with Land Mines," *The Sunshine News*, February 1943, 5.

competent, contributing members to the factory.[41] These photos of women were used in order to showcase the different departments, and were featured alongside their male counterparts. One of the major ways images of women were used was to feature them on the cover of the newsletters. Of the twenty covers, five of them featured a female war worker.[42] Through examining the images used in *The Sunshine News*, it becomes clear that the increased number of female employees was not hidden but instead showcased. This newsletter was for the company's employees, and needed to reflect the make-up of its workforce. Women were one of the intended audiences for the newsletter, and it therefore reflected their own participation and contributions. Ultimately, *The Sunshine News* showcased its female employees and celebrated their contribution to the company through both its language and images.

Within this celebration of women war workers, there was also a contextualization of their work within the larger Canadian war effort. Maureen Honey argues that when examining public images and propaganda concerning women war workers, they cannot be taken out of the context of the mobilization of the home front.[43] As discussed previously, women's entrance into the workforce was driven by the needs of war production. This refrain about the needs of production was continued throughout the war, with women war workers continually being placed within the greater themes of patriotism and sacrifice on the home front. Honey points out that women were often portrayed as being self-sacrificing, which was considered a very feminine trait.[44] By placing women within the context of war front mobilization, they could be interpreted as a temporary part of the workforce landscape and as people who could return to their prewar roles when they were no longer needed for the war effort. These processes existed within Waterloo County, and the public images generated there during the war.

Examples of contextualizing war work within the general war effort can be found throughout *The Sunshine News*. The first newsletter issued in November 1942 begins with a letter from A.M. Snider, the General Manager of Sunshine, to his employees. In the letter, he told his employees that they were a part of Canada's "great industrial army" and that their work was needed "urgently for victory."[45] In January 1943, the first article was a call for the employees to "go all out for 1943," connecting their war production to the weapons being used to win the war.[46] This theme was continued on through the newsletters, including the January/February 1945 newsletter in which employees were told to keep working for the war effort.[47] These connections between work and the war were not just seen on a general scale, but were used specifically to discuss the women war workers. In an article about the matron-advisor for the female employees of Sunshine, the women war workers are described as having "courage" to have "stepped in to boost war production." [48] In this article, women are portrayed as sacrificing their own time in order to help the war effort. Their involvement was being seen as courageous and not an ordinary part of Canada's industrial landscape. Their courage in entering industry to boost war production was compared to soldiers who were fighting the enemy overseas. Their jobs were seen as women's contributions to the war effort on par with the sacrifices of Canadian soldiers.

One of the most significant examples of the contextualization of women within the war effort comes from a poem included in the October/November 1943 newsletter. The poem printed is called "When Lil Went On the Drills." The poem features Lily, a female war worker. The poem begins by stressing that Lily was a lady, but that she gave up being a lady in order to enter into the workforce. By doing this, the author of the poem is making the inference that working in a factory is not ladylike and that women have to shed their feminine natures in order to enter into the workforce. The poem goes on to say that Hitler was intimidated by her working on the drills and that "she's drilling for the victories that will give the Axis chills."[49] This poem celebrates the work that women provided for the war effort, but keeps that celebration within the context of the war. Lily being on the drills is stressed as only being a part of the push for victory, and a place where she would not find herself in normal circumstances. Therefore, "When Lil Went on the Drills" stands as a mixed message sent to women during the war which both celebrated their entrance into the

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[41] Gene Packman, "Our Cover Photo," The Sunshine News, January/February 1945, 7.
[42] Isabel Hawke, *Stamping Operations on straps for land mine bottom at Sunshine Waterloo Plant,* Photograph, *The Sunshine News*, cover, February 1943. See also: Isabel Hawke, *Verna Heintzman checks on completed tail assembly of Rifle Grenades manufactured at Sunshine Waterloo Plant,* Photograph, *The Sunshine News*, cover, May 1943; Isabel Hawke, *The Mighty Machine,* Photograph, *The Sunshine News*, cover, August/September 1943; Isabel Hawke, *Our Cover Girl,* Photograph, *The Sunshine News*, cover, October/November 1943; Isabel Hawke, *Myrtle Jones,* Photograph, *The Sunshine News*, cover, January/February 1945.
[43] Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter*, 5-6.
[44] Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter,* 6.
[45] A.M. Snider, "Dear Fellow War Worker*," The Sunshine News*, November 1942, 2.
[46] Gene Packman, "Go All Out for 1943," *The Sunshine News*, January 1943, 2.
[47] A.M. Snider, "Our War Effort," *The Sunshine News*, January/February 1945, 2.
[48] Gene Packman, "Matron-Advisor to the Sunshine Girls," *The Sunshine News*, May 1943, 2.
[49] Gene Packman, "Our Cover Girl," *The Sunshine News*, October/November 1943, 7.

workforce and their strength as workers, while also stressing how that work challenged their perceived femininity. Their involvement was extraordinary, brought on only by the absolute need to defeat the Nazis.

This contextualization was not only present in the newsletters, but also in the *Kitchener Daily Record*. Throughout the *Record*, women war workers were placed within the war effort and their contributions seen as part of the drive towards victory. This contextualization can be found throughout the war years, beginning in 1941. On June 7, 1941, the *Record* contains a picture of two female war workers captioned, "women play important role in defense work."[50] In an article from 1942, there was a call for women war workers due to "the patriotic necessity of the moment."[51] In both of these examples, women's contributions were placed within the patriotic drive that came with the war. Women were also portrayed as being self-sacrificing, as seen in a Canada Dry ad from 1943 that said that women were doing a "grand job *for* Canada."[52] Their work was therefore oriented towards their contributions for Canada. The mechanisms of both celebrating women's war work and placing it within the larger context of home front mobilization can be found in the public materials created during the Second World War. This contextualization within the war effort also reveals a middle-class bias in regards to Waterloo County's female workforce, with the assumption that they had not been in the workforce prior to the start of the war. This contextualization leaves out the many working-class women who had previously been a part of Waterloo County's workforce, and whose employment status the war did not change.

But the biggest mechanism used to conceptualize women war workers was the use of mixed images within the *Record* and *The Sunshine News*. In the historiography, many academics contend that public materials used mixed messages regarding women war workers. Pierson argues that some of the images showed women as being strong and capable workers, while others were used in order to keep women in the roles they had before the war.[53] Helen Smith and Pamela Wakewich also argue that company newsletters used mixed messages as a mechanism to achieve continuity between the prewar and postwar eras.[54] One aspect of these mixed messages was welcoming women into the workforce and celebrating their contributions, as explored in the Waterloo context earlier in this paper. But other messages were also purveyed throughout these materials that pointed to women not being suited for the work that they did during the war. By conveying these mixed messages, companies and the media were making it clear that women were doing something that did not fit within their traditional roles in society. These mixed messages contextualized women within the war effort, showing that women were only in it in order to ensure victory for Canada. One of the most significant examples of these messages that kept women within their traditional roles involved referring to what they were doing as a "man's job." Examples of this can be found in the *Kitchener Daily Record*. In a 1943 ad for Kellogg's, a female war worker is said to be "proud of doing a man's job producing the tools of war."[55] In describing her job in this way, the ad is making the woman seem like an interloper in a job that was not made for her and that her work went against the very kinds of workers that should normally be a part of industry.

This tactic of using words and phrases that made it seem like the women did not belong in industry can be found in other places. One example of this was a profile in *The Sunshine News* on Isabel Hawke, the first female employee of the company. Hawke was described as being a part of only a small section of women working for the company before the "feminine invasion of industry."[56] The use of the word invasion suggests that women had stormed into the industry, drastically changing the make-up of its workforce. This also happened in the *Kitchener Daily Record*, in an article from 1943 that described women workers in a shipyard in Vancouver. While this article does not describe a worksite in Waterloo County, its inclusion in the newspaper for the county meant that readers of this newspaper were exposed to the messages contained in this article. The article is entitled "Coast Women Fight Hitler By Working in Shipyards," and, in reference to one female war worker's comments on her job operating a steel machine, the author wrote that "it sounded like double-talk coming from the very pretty and very greased-up brunette."[57] Earlier in the article, the author wrote that their work was no more glamourous than "scrubbing the kitchen floor."[58] The language used by the author shows the disbelief surrounding women working in a shipyard, and demeans the work that they were

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[50] "Women Play Important Role in Defense Work," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, June 7, 1941. Retrieved from: Heather L. Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call: The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947," (Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002).
[51] "Need Women in War Work," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* August 13, 1942. Retrieved from: Heather L. Moran, "And They Still Answered the Call: The Women of Waterloo County, 1939-1947," (Masters Thesis, Wilfrid Laurier University, 2002).
[52] "She's A War Worker Too!" *The Kitchener Daily Record*, July 27, 1943.
[53] Pierson, *"They're Still Women,"* 215.
[54] Wakewich and Smith, "Beauty and Helldivers," 71.
[55] "Bandana Girl," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, August 5, 1943.
[56] Packman, "Personalities in the Sunshine," 6.
[57] Ecker, Margaret, "Coast Women Fight Hitler By Working in Shipyards," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, November 1, 1943.
[58] Ecker, "Coast Women Fight Hitler By Working in Shipyards," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, November 1, 1943.

doing by comparing it to scrubbing the kitchen floor, a domestic task. These messages created the impression that women did not belong where they were, and that their natural place was not among machines and other places of industry.

One of the largest tools used to create mixed messages surrounding women and their place in industry was to comment on their appearance. This can be found throughout *The Sunshine News*, particularly in the spotlights that they placed on different women workers. One of these spotlights was on Frances Otto, who was described as having an "infectious smile."[59] In the spotlights for her male counterparts, their appearances were not mentioned at all. In the October/November 1943 issue of *The Sunshine News*, there was an article about Olive Thacker, a 19-year old bomb welder for Sunshine. Olive was a part of a beauty contest, and the article described her as "modest" and "embarrassed," but ultimately "outwardly composed and lovely."[60] The end of the article summed her up as a "Sunshine beauty." This article was focused on Olive's appearance, and framed her contributions to Sunshine with reference to her achievements in a beauty contest. Another place where this was found was in the first issue of the newsletter from November 1942, which described a visit from some of Sunshine's counterparts in Australia. One aspect of the visit discussed was the inclusion of Sunshine "glamour" girls.[61] The jobs of these girls or their contributions to the company are not discussed, only their beauty and glamour. The term "glamour" was also used to describe the women's softball team, whose players were referred to as "glamourous gladiators."[62] In comparison, the men's softball team was referred to as the "mighty men."[63] These examples show the differences between how women and men were discussed in *The Sunshine News*.

Appearance was also used against women through the suggestion that it would be ruined through work. Within the women's section of the *Record*, there were a number of articles that advised women on how to keep up their appearances while they were on the job. An example of one of these articles was an article published on July 2, 1943, titled, "Rubber Worker Gives Her Hands Weekly Oiling." This article advises girls that in order to keep their hands "pretty" they needed to follow certain beauty regiments.[64] Having pretty hands is presented as the goal for women, and their work in industry was an impediment to reaching that goal. In an article published on July 28, 1943, women were told that in order to feel happy they needed to look their best. The example they used was of Mildred Walsh, who was described as turning out "perfect work and keeping up appearances." The article alleged that women would improve their work if they maintained their appearances, and even gave the advice that using red lipstick would make their lips less chapped.[65] This article equated the work of women to their appearance, and argued that women should keep up with specific beauty standards regardless of the demands of their jobs.

Throughout the public images and media generated during the Second World War regarding female war workers, there were many mechanisms involved in how these women war workers were conceptualized. In many ways, women war workers were celebrated as being a part of industry, but this cannot be divorced from other mechanisms that contextualized them within the war and provided mixed messages surrounding their involvement.

In the next section of the paper, the lived experiences of women will be taken into account by examining the experiences of women working at Dominion Woollens and Worsteds, Ltd. In many different ways, the experiences of women at Dominion are not comparable to the experiences of women in other war industries due to the history of female workers at the company. Due to the fact that Dominion was a textile factory, there was a higher concentration of women in its workforce because textiles were seen as women's work.[66] Janice Duke started working for Dominion in 1938, and in her interview she said that the textile mill was in many ways a woman's factory and it was the only place where women could get jobs.[67] A lot of the women who found jobs at Dominion did so because they needed money to support their families, like Alice and Theresa Watson.[68] But, the jobs at the textile factory were often low-paying and not comparable to rates made at other factories in the county.[69] Another difference between Dominion and other

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[59] Gene Packman, "Personalities in the Sunshine*," The Sunshine News*, January/February 1944, 6.
[60] "When Lil Went on the Drills," *The Sunshine News*, October/November 1943, 7.
[61] Gene Packman, "Eagles from Australia," *The Sunshine News*, November 1942, 7.
[62] Gene Packman, "Glamour on the Diamond," *The Sunshine News*, July 1943, 8.
[63] Gene Packman, "The Champs: Here are the Mighty Men," *The Sunshine News*, January 1943, 6.
[64] "Rubber Worker Gives Her Hands Weekly Oiling," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* July 2, 1943.
[65] "Look Your Best and You'll Feel Fit and Happy," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* July 28, 1943.
[66] Janice Duke, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[67] Janice Duke, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[68] Alice and Theresa Watson, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[69] George Bloomfield, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.

factories was the number of female supervisors. Sunshine, a munitions factory, did not have any female supervisors whereas Dominion had some foreladies.[70] However, these foreladies were relegated to departments that were deemed as feminine, such as those for the burling and mending departments.[71]

Despite having a longer history of female employment that continued into the postwar era, however, the increased employment of women did not affect Dominion's paternalistic attitude towards its female employees that carried on through and after the war. This paternalism was not unique: indeed, paternalism was a major part of the relationship between employers and employees, and universities and students, during this period, and this was the case at Dominion as well. [72] Paternalism allowed those with authority to use ideas of family and community to maintain gender hierarchies and morally regulate woman.[73]

The paternalism at Dominion manifested itself in a number of different ways. Dominion offered many different activities and excursions for its employees. In the prewar era, employees described Dominion as being like "a family" where they knew everyone who was working there and oftentimes multiple members of families would work there as well.[74] Dominion offered many different activities and excursions for its employees. These included a chorale society, annual picnics to Port Dalhousie, and weekly summer excursions to places such as Puslinch Lake.[75] The weekly excursions were made specifically for female employees who were recruited to work at Dominion. There was even a recreational director hired to plan activities for the women, which was held by Pat Fleishmann for six months.[76] One of the activities that Fleishmann organized was a women's softball team.[77] In her study of the Westclox factory in Peterborough, Ontario, Sangster also uses the women's softball team in order to show the paternalistic relationship between management and female employees.[78] Through government subsidization, Dominion was able to provide a number of residences for women who were not from Hespeler. The biggest of these residences were Winston Hall, which housed 160 women, and Gordon Hall, which housed 200 women.[79] Each residence had a matron, and strict rules that the girls had to follow like the institution of a curfew.[80] For the girls living in these residences, there were moral expectations that needed to be followed that were imposed by the company.

The moral expectations imposed on the girls can be found throughout their relationship with the company. In many of the interviews, both men and women allude to the moral character of the girls who were recruited to work for Dominion. The most common of these judgements came from the practice of girls sneaking boys into their dormitories at night. A male worker said that these girls were "the type to tear around."[81] Girls were also referred to as being "bad apples" and as stepping "over their traces."[82] When the girls were not acting as they were expected, they were judged and deemed not to be a good fit for the company. Throughout the war, many such women were let go and sent back home.[83] This moral test was also present during the hiring process. In his interview, Pat Fleishmann said that during the job interview process there was intense screening in order to ensure that the company did not hire any "rough girls."[84] These examples show that there were moral expectations that the girls had to maintain, and that their place at Dominion was put into question if they did not behave in a manner deemed appropriate. There was also a close monitoring of their activities, with company connections to housing allowing the company to have knowledge about their female employees' behaviours beyond just the workplace. The paternalism at Dominion therefore was not only found through the organization and implementation of different activities and outings, but also in the moral policing of female employees.

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[70] Alice and Theresa Watson, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[71] Alice and Theresa Watson, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[72] Joan Sangster, "The Softball Solution: Female Workers, Male Managers and the Operation of Paternalism at Westclox, 1932-1960," *Labour/Le Travail*, 32 (1993): 167; Keshen, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers,* 148.
[73] Sangster, "The Softball Solution," 168.
[74] Janice Duke, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[75] Elsie Alexander, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[76] Pat Fleishmann, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[77] Pat Fleishmann, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[78] Sangster, "The Softball Solution," 189.
[79] Fred Hutchings, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[80] Janet Hall, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[81] Pat Fleishmann, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[82] George Bloomfield, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[83] Mrs. Leirsch, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[84] Pat Fleischmann, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.

The paternalism that can be seen throughout the war was carried into the postwar years at Dominion. Women continued to work at Dominion into the postwar years, with their work not being interrupted by the return of soldiers.[85] However, this lack of disruption was influenced by the prewar makeup of Dominion, where women were established members of its workforce. One of the biggest examples of paternalism in the postwar period, and of the broader lack of change regarding female employees, was the number of women who quit working because they were pregnant. Most of the women who were interviewed said that the reason that they quit was because they were either married or became pregnant.[86] This practice of quitting when they became pregnant carried into the 1950s, with Joanne Evans, for example, leaving Dominion in 1954 when she was five months pregnant.[87] Continuing into the postwar era, women faced discrimination in the workplace because of their roles as mothers and wives. Therefore, at Dominion there was continuity between the prewar and postwar era that did not see a radical change in how women were treated as employees.

The postwar years saw a drop in the number of women employed in Canada more broadly, and in Waterloo County. In Canada, the number of women in the workforce dropped from 1,394,000 in 1945 to 1,089,000 in 1946.[88] In Waterloo County, the number of women in the workforce decreased from 36% of the total female population of Waterloo County in 1945, to 31% of the female population in 1946.[89] This marked a return to 1939 levels of female involvement. Moving into the postwar years, the return of soldiers had a large impact on Canada's workforce. In an issue of *The Sunshine News* published after VE Day, the company stated that returning soldiers would be given their old jobs back.[90] At Dominion, women did not lose their jobs after the war, but again this was because of the long-established female workforce that Dominion had had in the prewar era.[91]

In the *Record*, the discussion of the postwar workforce focused on the conflicts that arose out of the confrontation between women war workers and returning soldiers. Beginning in 1944, the *Record* published an article discussing what should be done regarding the gender make-up of the postwar workforce. Within the debates, people argued that women were only in industry because of the need brought on by the war effort, and that they did not have the ability to keep up with men in industrial jobs.[92] In June 1945, after VE Day, the *Record* published another article discussing the tensions emerging in industry. At the National Convention for the YWCA in Niagara Falls, there were women, including a professor from the Western Reserve University in Cleveland, advocating for women to continue in industry and be allowed the right to work. However, this was prefaced with the assertion that young mothers should leave the workforce.[93] These articles within the *Record* show that there was a confrontation between female war workers and male veterans, with some arguing that women's role in industry was only temporary and that they should step back and return to their domestic roles. Regardless, the war years did not provide a watershed for women's liberation, and was in reality a moment brought on by necessity, rather than a belief that women should be allowed into Canada's industries.

Therefore, my study breaks from Heather L. Moran's master's thesis that asserts that there was a change in the postwar era with regard to female employment. By showing the large amount of jobs available in the postwar era, Moran argues that the decline in women's participation in the workforce of Waterloo County was caused by their own personal choice.[94] However, my study reveals the different societal perceptions and attitudes that led women's continued presence in the workforce to be questioned. Moran does not interrogate what personal choice meant, and therefore does not recognize the broader societal beliefs that suppressed women's participation in the postwar era. Women were not making these choices within a vacuum, but were influenced by the societal pressures and expectations around them. While both Moran and I used articles from the *Kitchener Daily Record*, my added examination of the Women's Activities section of the newspaper allowed for a better understanding of the mixed messages and tensions that existed with regard to women's participation in the workforce. To understand the drop in women's employment in the postwar era as only a matter of personal choice neglects the role of societal understandings of women's limited place in the workforce.

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[85] Fred Hutchings, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[86] Elsie Alexander, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript. See also: M. Hillis and S. Beattie; Mrs. Leirsch; Joyce Stoddart.
[87] Joanne Evans, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript, Dominion Woollens and Worsteds Ltd. Oral History Interviews, University of Waterloo Archives, Waterloo, ON.
[88] Keshen, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers,* 150.
[89] Moran, "And They Answered the Call," 52.
[90] Howard Schmidt, "VE Day Gives Further Impetus to Products Development," *The Sunshine News*, 1945, 2.
[91] Fred Hutchings, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[92] "Vancouver Labor Argues Question of Sex Equality," *The Kitchener Daily Record*, October 2, 1944.
[93] "Urges Uphold Right to Work of Women," *The Kitchener Daily Record,* June 1, 1945.
[94] Moran, "And They Answered the Call," 6.

The two main works in the Canadian historiography are Ruth Roach Pierson's *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* and Jeff Keshen's *Saint's, Sinners and Soldiers: Canada's Second World War*. Through the use of oral history interviews of female war workers, Keshen argues that despite there being a postwar backlash against women and industry, the personal transformations of women need to be taken into account because they gained self-reliance and confidence during the war that did not allow Canada to return to the status quo.[95] Keshen focuses on the experiences of individual women, particularly during the war years. However, the oral history interviews of female workers at Dominion do not reveal this level of transformation in female workers. In fact, as seen through this paper, female workers at Dominion experienced very little change between the pre and postwar era. This lack of change is largely attributed to the prewar experiences of these women. The women workers did not start at Dominion during the war years, but already had a history of being workers there. Even the women coming from Northern Ontario, Quebec, and Newfoundland had previous experiences in the workforce.[96] These women also came from impoverished areas, and were a part of the working class.[97] Based on these interviews, Keshen's argument does not fully encapsulate the experience of working-class women. While World War Two brought an increase in the number of women entering into industry, there was already a history of working-class women in Canada's workforce. Therefore, while women who were entering into the workforce for the first time might have experienced personal transformations, Keshen's argument does not consider the experiences of women whom working was already a reality before the war. When examining the experiences of women during the war, working-class women need to be factored into any analysis. Working-class women had already gained these skills because of their long history of being a part of the Canadian workforce.

Therefore, my study falls in the school of thought that began with Ruth Roach Pierson. This school of thought argues that the Second World War was not a watershed moment for women and examines the different mechanisms that prevented large changes in the workforce from continuing into the postwar era. Through this paper, I have examined some of these mechanisms that can be seen in publicly produced documents, and how they framed women's involvement in industry. I have shown that there was an acceptance of their involvement due to the needs of the time, but there was also the use of mixed messages to prevent any real structural change. These findings are consistent with Pierson's argument. Ultimately, women's involvement in the Second World War needs to be reframed to account for both the mechanisms used by companies and media sources to conceptualize their female workers, and the experiences of working-class women who had a history of being in industry prior to the Second World War.

In this paper, I have argued that the involvement of women in industry during World War Two did not drastically alter the postwar environment in Waterloo County. I have done this through first examining the mechanisms used in public materials to conceptualize women's involvement in industry, which include: a celebration of their involvement; a contextualization of that involvement within the war effort, understood to be exceptional and temporary; and the use of mixed messages in order to maintain prewar gender roles. As well, through the example of Dominion, I have shown how despite it having a large female employment base before the war and into the postwar years, there was a history of paternalism in the company. Also, the women's experiences working in the prewar period also meant individual change caused by involvement in industry was not a part of their experiences. While the Second World War brought drastic changes to women's involvement in public life, including industry, the limitations of those changes need to be acknowledged as well. Women workers were a major aspect of Waterloo County's industrial landscape during the war, but this did not necessarily lead to sustained change moving into the postwar era.

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[95] Keshen, *Saints, Sinners and Soldiers,* 145.
[96] Elsie Alexander, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.
[97] M. Hillis and S. Beattie, interview by Dr. Kenneth McLaughlin, 1986, transcript.

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Eric Schmidt, "Beyond What We See Exploring Magic and Divination in the Ancient Greek World"

"Magic" is a highly contentious topic among ancient Greek scholars, and determining what just "magic" was to the ancient Greeks has rendered two main approaches: that scholars use their own modern concepts of magic to understand the ancient Greek concept, or that scholars try to understand magic from the ancient Greek perspective. From these two approaches, scholars have attempted to define the ancient Greek notion of "magic", and they have done so in various ways. Most of the historiography of ancient Greek magic has tended to create a dichotomy between religious practices and magic practices in order to better understand that "magic" was for the ancient Greeks. Divination was also a common practice in the ancient Greek world that invoked supernatural ("occult") forces like magic, but more directly and to achieve a different result.

This paper explores magic and divination in the ancient Greek world in order to determine how ancient Athenians conceptualized magic if they even did at all. Indeed, one cannot fully understand the Athenian notions of magic without examining the ancient Greek world, however, most of the evidence and supporting examples used are from ancient Athenian sources. By examining other scholars' work, ancient Greek literature, and archeological evidence (such as curse tablets), this paper explores the different aspects of "magic" and divination in the ancient Greek world in order to conceive a working, functional definition of ancient Greek magic and divination to determine why many scholars have created a dichotomy between magic and religion, and where divination fits in with these two concepts. This paper argues that magic, divination, and religion are all interconnected concepts and are not separate practices in ancient Athenian society. What differentiates these concepts is the type of supernatural devices used, the nature of those devices, the nature of those practices, and what is the intended or desired effect.

The practice of magic and divination (and, axiomatically, religious practices) were ubiquitous in the ancient Athenian world, where many ancient Athenians sought different means to achieve certain goals in their daily lives. For simplicity, magic consisted of five key elements: spells, potions, incantations, charms (amulets), and curses. Both *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis* demonstrate a part of what is considered ancient Greek magic: the use of (love) potions and charms, which will be discussed below. While the processes and rituals associated with magic and divination are similar, there are a few key differences between them that scholars have identified, which will be discussed forthright. However, the main issue with attempting to understand magic is determining *why* it was practiced, which has been the debate amongst scholars for decades. Indeed, there is not a single, clear definition of magic on which scholars can all agree.

Ancient Greek magic and divination are exciting topics to study due to the plethora of material that exists, albeit in fragmentary form, such as amulets and other jewelry, curse tablets, vases, figurines, and the writings of ancient authors that have survived for scholars to study, Two classical Athenian sources that have survived are *Antiphon 1: Accusation of Poisoning Against the Stepmother* and Sophocles' play *Women of Trachis*, and they offer insight into the phenomenon known as "love magic". The speech *Antiphon 1* was written about a woman accused of poisoning her husband, supposedly tricking another woman—who was Philoneos' mistress and likely a slave, according to Christopher Carey—into administering the poison.[1] Antiphon wrote the speech for the son of Philoneos' friend, who died shortly after Philoneos himself. Philoneos' mistress confessed to administering the poison under the belief that she was giving him a drug (*pharmaka*) that would restore his affection for her.[2]

In *Women of Trachis*, Heracles' wife Deianeira is concerned for their relationship when Heracles sends a young captive named Iole home ahead of him. Deianeira is concerned because while she has been tolerant of Heracles' affairs in the past, he had never brought another woman home before.[3] This was something the Greek audience would have found concerning as well, and Deianeira was worried that she would be replaced (in her own home, no less), so she grabs a love potion she has kept hidden for many years, the blood of a centaur, a potion that would restore Heracles' love for her. The centaur promised Deianeira that by using its blood, Heracles will love no other woman more than her.[4] To administer it, Deianeira covered a cloak with the love potion and gave it to Heracles. However, things did not go according to plan and the centaur blood ends up poisoning Heracles, killing him.[5]

Love Magic

The confusion that surrounds these two sources concerns the use of love potions that end up being poisons. Why would these women go to such lengths to restore their husbands' affection for them by using something that would ultimately poison and kill them? Indeed, it does seem quite puzzling that a supposedly loving wife would accidentally

[1] "Antiphon 1: Accusation of Poisoning Against the Stepmother" in Christopher Carey, *Trials from Classical Athens*. (London: Routledge, 1997), 41.
[2] Carey, 41.
[3] Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic.* (Harvard University Press, 1999), 110.
[4] Faraone, *Love Magic,* 119.
[5] Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, translated by Robert Torrance, (Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 749–806.

kill her husband. While it is difficult to garner the true motivations of Deianeira and Philoneus' mistress, they do not seem to harbour any murderous intent if one examines the practice of love magic more closely. As Faraone explains: "Greek women apparently *did* give poisons to their husbands, albeit in very small doses, in the belief that these substances would make the men love them more or become more affectionate toward them."[6] Therefore, love potions and poisons were not necessarily separate magical devices used to achieve some desired effect, but were rather—often when it came to affection and love—the same thing. Rather it is the concentration of drugs within the potion that, when taken in very small doses, can produce some resemblance of a desired effect. However, if the dose is wrong, like in *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis*, the results can be lethal, or produce extremely uncomfortable, irritating results.[7]

The problem with these two sources, *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis*, is that there is no formal or practical explanation for which supernatural force is being invoked with the love potions, and must be assumed or subsumed under an understanding of magic influenced by modern ideas and ancient Greek practices. In short, scholars assume that love potions are magic because modern ideas of alchemy and potions are labelled as magic. However, this might not be the case for ancient Athenians. They might not have seen the use of potions as supernatural or magical at all, but rather the potions achieved an intended or desired effect based wholly off practical reasons, which comes down to the ingredients and materials of the potions themselves.

Of course, being a play, *Women of Trachis* is more difficult to apply this idea of practicality since it is more fantastical in nature by using the blood of a centaur, a creature of myth, to restore Heracles' love and affection for Deianeira. Furthermore, it is difficult to know for certain if smearing a love potion on a garment was a common method of application, or if it was simply used as a narrative device of Sophocles to evoke certain emotions as the sunlight reacted violently to the centaur blood, which Deianeira discovered when she threw(?) or dropped a piece of wool coated with the blood on a patch of ground illuminated by sunlight.[8]

The practical purpose of Sophocles' use of centaur blood burning in sunlight is to show what can happen if the dose of a love potion is wrong, albeit in dramatic fashion. Nevertheless, Herecles' fate highlights the unintended consequences of an incorrect dose, which is also witnessed in *Antiphon 1*. However, this trial does not feature an accusation of magic, but rather of poisoning if Philoneos and his friend did not die of natural causes such as food-poisoning, which does not indicate that potions were magical in nature. Radcliffe Edmonds postulates in his book *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World* that magic can be characterized by what he calls "non-normative" conjuncture that amalgamates a variety of practices under the label of "magic".[9] These practices transcend the normative or natural order and can therefore be labelled as "supernatural".

The link between the labels of "magical" and "supernatural" is not always a stable one and creates some problems, however, especially when it comes to potions and other medicinal remedies that use *pharmaka*, which means "drugs" in this context.[10]According to Christopher Faraone, "magic" refers to " a set of practical devices and rituals used by the Greeks in their day-to-day lives to control or otherwise influence supernaturally the forces of nature, animals, or other human beings."[11] By comparing and contrasting this definition with Edmonds' definition of magic and applying it to *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis*, the problems associated with describing potions and drugs as "magic" becomes a little clearer. It is a contention of this paper that *some*, not *all*, drugs and potions are considered "magic", and this comes down to the user and their intent or desired effect and the extent to which the practices deviate from the traditional cultural practices of ancient Athens.

Edmonds' contention that "non-normative" practices (i.e. practices outside of the norm) are considered to be magic seems to contradict Faraone's definition of magic in that many potions do not appear to supernaturally influence intended outcomes, but it is difficult to know whether the ancient Greeks thought that the intended effect of a potion or drug was the result of supernatural means, or that the potions or drugs simply *worked* because of the ingredients thy contained. As Faraone explains, some ingredients included crushed blister beetles, which contain cantharidin, an erection-producing drug which is an irritant in small doses but could cause internal bleeding and even death in large doses.[12] There was also the use of narcotics "that were sometimes used by wives to soothe their husbands and make them more affectionate and intimate"[13] if they were in an angry or bitter mood. While centaur blood is from a fantastical creature, its use still reflects the custom and practice many ancient Athenians engaged in, and in *Antiphon 1*, Philoneus' mistress could have been giving him a drug or an herb that could cause him to become more affectionate, playful, and good natured in small doses. As Faraone explains, the unknown drug given to Philoneus when given in tiny doses,

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[6] Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. (Harvard University Press, 1999), 112.
[7] Faraone*, Love Magic*, 124–125.
[8] Sophocles, *Trachiniae*, translated by Robert Torrance, (Houghton Mifflin, 1966), 672–704.
[9] Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World*, (Princeton, Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), 14.
[10] Faraone, *Love Magic*, 7. Confusingly, the word *pharmakon* has a range of meanings: "poison," "drug," and "incantation".
[11] Faraone, *Love Magic*, 16.
[12] Faraone, *Love Magic,* 124–125.
[13] Ibid., 124–125.

could have a similar desired effect like mandrake or oleander, two herbs that would at least cause the target to appear more affectionate.[14] Furthermore, we see a range of effects depending on the dosage of the unknown drug: Philoneus died instantly since he was given the largest dose, while his friend was immobilized and died a little while later.

There was another type of remedy in the ancient Greek world: the remedy for stagnant or lacking desire or affection of one person towards another. Indeed, love and erotic magic was a common practice in ancient Athens, and many ancient sources have survived that discuss the subject. *Ancient Greek Love Magic* by Christopher Faraone provides a substantive overview of love magic in ancient Athens, and the various traditional techniques and rituals used by men and women to imbue or maintain different forms of desire (*erôs*) and affection (*philia*).[15] These techniques and rituals involved a number of spells, potions, charms, and drugs in order to achieve a desired effect.

One of the most common aspects of love magic scholars have studied is erotic magic. John J. Winkler's book, *The Constraints of Desire*, discusses erotic magic spells and remedies for *erôs* at home, the intimate practice of leading someone home to bed or a rooftop, and how these were practiced in public and in private, because *erôs* was considered a sickness and required a remedy.[16] Erotic magic mainly used binding spells as well as curses in order to achieve a desired effect. Athenians would make figurines and effigies that they would bind and torture to, in the case of a man, force a woman to desire him.[17] Indeed, erotic magic has a strong emotional engagement, although it is difficult to gauge the motive of a person behind an erotic curse, particularly a "revenge curse", although emotional engagement is not really present in conditional and binding curses.[18] In fact, a recent set of binding curses was discovered in 2003, and an article written by Jessica Laura Lamont describes how one of the tablets was aimed at a woman called Tyche, offering a well-preserved glimpse into the processes of how curses were created. Indeed, Lamont argues that curses like the ones discovered in 2003 were imbued with the capacity to shape the local deme in which they were created.[19] So too could curses determine the outcome of a relationship or a court case.

Curses, however, were not the only means to instill *erôs* in another. Radcliffe Edmonds explains the process of "drawing down the moon", a practice done by mainly magicians and witches, in order to use its power to achieve a desired effect, such as a magician using the power of the moon to instill *erôs* in the wife of his client's neighbour, sending her to his client's bed.[20] Indeed, drawing down the moon was one of the most extraordinary practices of ancient Greek magicians and witches. These examples demonstrate how magic is non-normative, how it invokes supernatural forces to achieve a desired effect, and how extraordinary the means and results of a practice as drawing down the moon.

Erotic magic designed to instill *erôs* in another, whether by curses, potions, or other more extraordinary means such as using the power of the moon, is one of the two distinct categories of Greek love magic that Faraone argues characterize love magic. These two categories, he argues in a general sense, are the rituals or spells used by men to instill *erôs* in women and those used by women to sustain or strengthen *philia* in men.[21] Indeed, the ancient Greeks understood and thought that *erôs* was not compatible with *philia*.[22] These spells that a man used were violent in nature and often emphasized fire and burning imagery that was associated with the Greek god Eros in order to encourage or entice a woman to come to bed with him.[23] Interestingly, *erôs* was treated as an illness or disease that inflicted the heart and the mind, a disease in the same realm as epilepsy or severe fevers.[24] How the Greeks treated *erôs* and epilepsy reveals insight into how *erôs* was considered to be erotic or lust spells rather than the less violent love spells.[25]

Medicine had connections to practical means, as well as religious, magical, and divine practices. One such example comes from *On the Sacred Disease*, which concerns the disease to which the title considered sacred: epilepsy. Derek Collins explains that epilepsy was considered sacred because of the conditions surrounding the ways which the disease is caused, both physical and natural.[26] He further explains that the authors of the *Sacred Disease* regarded the disease as sacred to cover up their own incompetence, and it gave them an out to blame the gods if their remedies were unsuccessful.[27] They did this further to distinguish it from other diseases (perhaps because their treatments did not

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[14] Ibid., 128.
[15] Christopher A. Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*. (Harvard University Press, 1999), 18.
[16] John J. Winkler, *Constraints Of Desire: the Anthropology Of Sex and Gender in Ancient Greece*. (London: Routledge, 1990), 85.
[17] Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 43.
[18] Ibid., 81.
[19] Jessica Laura Lamont, "A New Commercial Curse Tablet from Classical Athens." *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 196 (2015): 173.
[20] Edmonds, *Drawing Down the Moon*, 21–22.
[21] Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 27.
[22] Ibid., 29.
[23] Ibid., 45–59.
[24] Bid., 44–47.
[25] Ibid., 29.
[26] Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 33.
[27] Ibid., 34.

always work), but Collins argues that all diseases contained both divine and human components, making it difficult to ascertain any magical components in the doctors' remedies.[28]

Nevertheless, the treatments for *erôs* and epilepsy by magical practitioners reveals how they diagnosed "sacred diseases", which provides insight into the aspects of divination linked to medicine, and the rhetoric of magic Athenians used to attack rivals. As Faraone explains, *erôs* and epilepsy were considered sacred because of the belief that their symptoms were caused by hostile gods and magicians used divination to determine which of the gods were the cause of the symptoms.[29] Furthermore, Faraone argues that: "...divination, presumably followed by purificatory or apotropaic ritual—was the standard response in antiquity to the onset of violent illness."[30] The Greeks personified and described it as invasive, demonic, and hostile, whereas *philia* was never personified or described as demonic and hostile.[31]

While men had a monopoly over spells associated with erotic magic, women practiced love magic just as astutely as men, albeit in different contexts and they used different methods. Indeed, the "burning passion" and torture imagery from erotic spells is not present in the spells used for *philia*, and instead featured more benign or pleasant imagery.[32] The *philia* aspect of love magic was used to fix unstable relationships or maintain working relationships but, like *erôs* magic, *philia* spells also use binding techniques and drugs to "control" their male victims, many of whom suspected that their wives or concubines are using *philia* spells to undermine their autochthonous ideology.[33] Women did not have monopoly over *philia* spells, however, and were not only to be used on others, but also on the self, such as a man using a magical ring to increase his charisma when talking to political leaders so that his words would always please them.[34] In this sense, affection is an aspect of love magic that concerns both lovers promotes a general sense of likeability and charisma as Athenian men and women deal with relationships on a day-to-day basis in ancient Athenian society.

The love magic in *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis* is of the *philia* variety, where the women in both cases sought to restore the affection of their lover to repair their respective unstable relationships. These women's desire to achieve some semblance of control over the men in their lives' emotions demonstrates how *erôs* and *philia* magic worked similarly to binding curses or spells, for the intent of love magic, especially for women, was to control or bind a man's anger. This is because in Greek thought, as Faraone explains: "anger is closely linked to the cultural construction of masculinity" which was also connected to men's sexual desire.[35] While it is difficult to ascertain whether the potions used in *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis* were intended to control the anger of their male targets like magical rings or charms were wont to do, the women who used the potions wanted to make their lovers more affectionate.

In summation, "love magic" in ancient Athens was the use of, in very small doses, the use of *pharmaka* (poisons, drugs, and narcotics) in order to achieve a desired effect. *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis* are both about women who tried to make their husbands love them more with the use of love potions but end up killing them by giving them large doses. Both cases were unintentional homicides, but it is unclear just how common accidental deaths resulted from drug or poison overdose. The ancient Athenians were aware of the effects the drugs and herbs they used had in both small and large doses, so perhaps accidental death was not too common. Maybe it was. However, it appears that "love magic", especially when using potions and drugs, may not have been non-normative or supernatural in many cases, which are therefore *not* considered to be "magic". The case in *Antiphon 1*, at least, exemplifies this notion as there is no indication that the *pharmaka* used against Philoneos and his friend was meant to work because of supernatural means. Rather, the potion is meant to simply *work* for practical reasons based on the ingredients in the potion (at least in theory, since both Philoneos and his friend died due to an overdose). Therefore, the use of potions in the case of *Antiphon 1* is not considered to be magic. Rather, it appears to be a failed attempt to administer a drug in more of a medicinal sense rather than a magical sense.

Theories of Magic and Divination

Based on the analysis of magic in *Antiphon 1* and *Women of Trachis* and the discussion of love magic, magic in the ancient Greek world has three main criteria. First, following Edmonds' example, magical practices follow a "non-normative" approach, deviating from the norm or the traditional cultural practices of ancient Athenians. Second, following Faraone's example, magical practices invoke supernatural forces and therefore supernaturally influence the outcome of the practice. Third and finally, which will further be discussed below, magical practices achieve extraordinary results by extraordinary means which could not be achieved by traditional cultural practices to the same extent.

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[28] Ibid.
[29] Faraone, *Ancient Greek Love Magic*, 48.
[30] Ibid.
[31] Ibid., 29.
[32] Ibid., 96.
[33] Ibid., 96–97.
[34] Ibid., 103–104.
[35] Ibid., 122–123.

Almost all of the scholarly definitions offer some separation between magic and religious practices; that magic was a common, practical, and social part of classical Athenian society and culture; and that magic for the Athenians was a means of invoking supernatural forces to achieve some measure of efficacy for their efforts. Indeed, all three concepts—magic, divination, and religion—invoke supernatural forces in order to achieve a desired or intended result. Ultimately, the differences come from each scholar's own interpretation of the various references to magic in tablets, the fragmentary textual evidence of ancient authors, and a plethora of archeological evidence (vases, figurines, amulets, jewelry, and other artifacts) that offer insight into the practice of magic and divination in ancient Athens, but only a glimpse at best.

According to Robert Parker in *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, magic differs from religious practices because they are institutionalized and approved by a society, whereas magical practices are religious practices disapproved of by a society.[36] The problem with applying this idea to ancient Athenian society is that the evidence of those practices deemed to be "magical" in nature do not indicate that those practices were subject to significant social disapproval. The majority of the evidence supports magical practices, but does not contain much thought on magic itself.[37] Nevertheless, it appears that only specialized individuals such as magicians, witches, purifiers, and the like practiced magic in private, and it does not appear to be practiced collectively in an institutionalized setting, unlike religious practices. Since religious practices show up in political agenda and legislation, and magical practices do not, religious practices were done collectively by Athenians in their society, whereas magical practices were more private in their organization.

Fritz Graf's chapter, "Excluding the Charming: the Development of the Greek Concept of Magic" in Marvin Meyer and Paul Mirecki's (eds.) book *Magic and Ritual in the Ancient World*, explores the development of how the notion of magic as being separate from religion came into fruition in a very specific historical time-period, beginning with the Sophist enlightenment era in Athens and furthering in Ciceronian Rome, which Graf argues is from where the modern concept of magic comes.[38]

The Greek words *mageia* and *magos*, which came from the Persian term *magoi* for priest, would become Latin *magia* and *magus* before they were described as something that resembles modern understandings of magic.[39] Furthermore, it was around the time of Emperor Augustus when Roman society started to marginalize magic from religion and science perhaps in a political move because the reigns of Augustus' heirs were full of witchcraft accusations, a useful tool in removing rivals.[40] This development has led many western scholars who study ancient Greek magic to establish a dichotomy between magic and religion, juxtaposing these practices when the ancient Greeks did not consider magic to be that different than religion, and may not thought of magic as "magic" (especially in its modern conceptualization) at all.[41]

It is difficult to study something that did not exist as a social construct in the same sense as modern interpretations of magic, and it can be difficult to know where to start. This is particularly true when divination is also considered, for although aspects of divine practices were not considered "magic", many practices do resemble magical practices. Derek Collins' *Magic in the Ancient Greek World* is a book that explores the development explained by Fitz Graf further and lays out the groundwork for establishing a framework for understanding ancient Greek magic by examining the theories and approaches formulated by the authors of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. These authors, such as George Frazer (1854-1938), Edward Taylor (1832-1917), Bronislaw Malinowski (1884-1942), Lucien Lévy-Bruhl (1857-1959), and Edward Evans-Pritchard (1902-1973) offered mainly psychological and anthropological explanations for on the practice of magic in the ancient Greek world and comprised some of the earliest ideas on theory regarding magic in the ancient Greek world.[42] Using these theories and the theories of other authors, Collins explains how and why magic can exist in theory and in practice because, in the worlds of anthropologist Alfred Gell, the intention of a person to achieve a desired effect causes that desired effect to exist. In other words, magic exists because those who use it *believe* it exists, and a victim who believes his experiences of misfortune are because he believes himself to be the target of a figurine, which coincides with the intent of the one who made the figurine.[43]

This stigma can apply to those who practice divination as well. Indeed, magic and divination become more complicated and contradictory in practice when one looks at the actors who practice magic and divination. Many scholars explore the activities of magicians (*magoi*) who, other than the ordinary Athenians who use potions, drugs, and curses throughout their daily lives, perform magic that sometimes errs on the side of extraordinary. It is worth noting that those who performed similar feats to magicians had many other names such as purifiers (*kathartai*), and each

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[36] Robert Parker, *Polytheism and Society at Athens*, (Oxford University Press, 2007), 122.
[37] Ibid., 123.
[38] Fritz Graf, "Excluding the Charming: the Development of the Greek Concept of Magic" in Meyer, Marvin, and Paul Mirecki eds. *Ancient Magic and Ritual Power* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1995), 30.
[39] Ibid., 41.
[40] Ibid., 41–42.
[41] Ibid.
[42] Derek Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 3–14.
[43] Ibid., 48–49.

practitioner did not have exclusive practices. For example, seers could perform purifications as well as purifiers and magicians, demonstrating that there was no clear, separate community of magical practitioners in classical Athens.[44]

Magicians and Witches: Practitioners of Magic

The practice of magicians offers an interesting link between magic and divination. Sarah Iles Johnston's book, *Ancient Greek Divination*, explains how the art of divination was originally simple and natural, used by magicians as another means to access power.[45] In broader terms, divination was mainly practiced by what Johnston describes as "institutional oracles" and "independent diviners."[46] Interestingly, the spells that magicians use, which are known because of a collection known as the Magical Papyri, are divine in nature, which demonstrates how closely magic and divination were connected; the Magical Papyri provide detailed information for magicians on how to perform these spells.[47]

Other scholars, such as W.R. Halliday, also connected divination very closely to magic, as Johnston explains, and postulated "that the diviner was a sort of failed magician – the magician promises to change the future whereas the diviner, having realized that he cannot change it, promises only to predict it."[48] The problematic part of a magician's practice is that they resemble religious practices, more specifically the ritual and sacrificial aspect of the spells contained in the Magical Papyri. What makes these rituals and sacrifices "magic", according to Johnston, is the scale of the rituals and sacrifices, the small details. Magicians in Christian thought were often regarded as powerful, inhuman, and dangerous, but in ancient Athens, magicians were people who offered their services to others in order to make a living.[49] Magicians were professions that likely worked out of their own home or their client's home, where they were likely to sacrifice a small animal like a rodent instead of a large animal like a goat, or even offer a pellet composed of animal fat, incense, and other plant matter instead of an animal.[50]

Magicians also claimed to have a better understanding of the mechanisms of the divine world than the average person. For example, a magician may claim to know a "secret" name a god liked to have invoked with the intent to accomplish something which could only be achieved by invoking a god's "secret" name.[51] This could be to help a client write a curse tablet to help him win a case in court by silencing his opponent, or invoke the favour of a god to aid in an athletic contest.[52] However, someone could just as easily pray to a god themselves to invoke their favour to aid in an athletic contest, so it can be hard to distinguish between magic and religion in that sense. Radcliffe G. Edmonds in his *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World* is a very recent work that offers more of an explanation as to how magicians' practices are different from religious practices. Edmonds explains that the Magical Papyri contain not only recipes and instructions for spells and sacrifices, but also contains hymns and prayers, making it difficult again to distinguish between magic and religion, if there is need for a distinction at all.[53] Furthermore, Edmonds explains that the complexity and specifics of the ingredients listed in the Magical Papyri regarding sacrifices and rituals, and the fact that magicians employed more creativity and improvisation in the rituals they performed than others who perform what he calls normal sacrifices and rituals while still performing within the same religious ritual framework.[54]

The ancient Athenians regularly invoked supernatural forces in order to sort out some issue they are experiencing in their day-to-day lives, such as a man or women creating a love potion or spell either to restore their affections or harbour new ones, help cure sickness or an ailment, curse a political opponent with the inability to defend himself, or accuse someone of magic to explain why a pottery maker, for example, experienced misfortune when plying their craft on a day-to-day basis. For this last example, "An Accusation of Magic in Classical Athens (Ar. Wasps 946–48)" by Christopher Faraone explains how the common practice of magic in the community could provide professionals, such as actors performing in a play, with an opportunity to claim that magic used by a rival caused them to have a bad performance.[55] Faraone also explains how professionals in classical Athens would make accusations of witchcraft when experiencing misfortune, such as to explain why a vase broke in the kiln.[56]

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[44] Ibid., 49.
[45] Sarah Iles Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination* (Malden: Blackwell, 2008), 22.
[46] Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 28.
[47] Ibid., 29.
[48] Ibid., 18.
[49] Ibid., 146.
[50] Ibid.
[51] Ibid., 146–147.
[52] Ibid., 147.
[53] Radcliffe G. Edmonds, *Drawing Down the Moon: Magic in the Ancient Greco-Roman World*, (Princeton, Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2019), 169.
[54] Ibid., 182.
[55] Christopher A. Faraone, "An Accusation of Magic in Classical Athens (Ar. Wasps 946–948)." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* (1989): 154.
[56] Ibid.

Witchcraft

In terms of accusations of witchcraft, it was rare for someone accused of witchcraft to be brought to court, although belief in witchcraft was ubiquitous during the fourth and fifth centuries B.C. especially.[57] Indeed, it might seem strange that someone being accused of illicit supernatural activities when engagement with supernatural forces was a part of Athenian culture and society, but these accusations of "witchcraft" have to be carefully considered as ancient Greek scholars affirm, because the nature of the charges were different than medieval conceptualizations of witchcraft. In the case of Theoris of Lemnos, she was a witch (*pharmakis*) or magician (*magoi*) prosecuted in Athens allegedly for casting spells or incantations (*epoidai*) and using harmful drugs (*pharmaka*).[58] Both Derek Collins and Esther Eidinow discuss the problematic connotations of the terms, where *pharmaka* can describe drugs that are both harmful or healing, and may be both natural or supernatural,[59] so it is difficult to understand the nature of the charges and indeed "witchcraft" in ancient Athens. Nevertheless, as Faraone demonstrates above, accusations of witchcraft were a way to explain misfortune away.

Theoris' trial and the crimes of which she was accused provides insight into the complicated term of *pharmaka*, and acts as a case study for understanding the social processes that brought her and other women accused of witchcraft to court. Furthermore, Theoris' trial offers a glimpse both into what the ancient Athenians considered to be "magic" and how Theoris' trial and the circumstances surrounding it reflect Athenian values of democracy and their love of the courts. After the trial, Theoris and her entire family were executed, which may indicate, according to Collins, that the Athenian legal system was not as lenient as Athens claimed with respect to other Greek states.[60] Indeed, curses, spells, incantations, amulets, potions, drugs, and the like are not mentioned in what survives of the evidence pertaining to Athen's legal system.[61] Theoris' trial thus demonstrates how magic was highly complex as it was present in many different aspects of Athenian society and politics.

To understand the social processes that brought women accused of witchcraft to court, Eidinow begins by introducing three women who were put on trial in fourth-century Athens: Theoris of Lemnos, Ninon and Phryne.[62] Information about any of these women's trials is limited, but the most can be found for Theoris' trial. Information surrounding her trial comes from three major ancient sources: in a law-court speech by the fourth-century orator Demosthenes against someone named Aristogeiton; in a biography of Demosthenes, written about four hundred years later by Plutarch; and the work of a Hellenistic historian, Philochoros.[63] Such varied sources can lead to confusion, Eidinow explains, as the information provided by the aforementioned authors about Theoris and the charges made against her conflicts. In order to understand the circumstances of these trials and similar ones, it is important to attempt to assemble some details about people like Theoris from local occurrences. While many modern thoughts tend to think of "supernatural activities" as being associated with magic and witchcraft, the ancient Greeks had many terms for such activities, many of which had complex meanings involving notable ambiguity, most notably *pharmaka*.

Theoris is also called "the priestess" by Plutarch, suggesting some involvement with ritual activity, whereas Philochoros called her a *mantis*, typically translated as "seer" suggesting something to the effect of fortune telling.[64] Regardless of the term, all of them suggest some apparent involvement in activities that were supernatural. In Demosthenes' speech, Theoris seems to have been condemned for her *pharmaka* although there is no conclusive evidence that suggests the creation of drugs was illegal. Contrastingly, Philochoros presents the charge of *asebeia* (impiety).[65] Similar charges of *asebeia* were also given to the other two women studied by Eidinow—Ninon and Phryne—with similar juxtaposing terms applied to them. Eidinow goes on to explain other charges associated with the three women, and elucidates the idea that the variety of charges brought against these women is useful for revealing the kinds of accusations that would have evoked an emotional response from the jury, and this provides some insight into the social dynamics that helped to bring these women and other Athenians accused of magic to court.

The problems Eidinow faces when reconstructing the circumstances surrounding the trials of the three women at which she looks is the lack of information from local sources needed to do so, thus highlighting the problem when trying to find any information on Athenians' day-to-day practices of magic and other ritual activity. Therefore, a variety of different kinds of evidence from different places throughout the ancient Greek world are used to attempt to fill in gaps. Much of the evidence Eidinow uses to reconstruct the circumstances surround Theoris' trial, for example, comes from areas outside of Athens and from a different time period. Nevertheless, this evidence is still useful for attempting

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[57] Derek Collins, "The Trial of Theoris of Lemnos: A 4th Century Witch or Folk Healer?" *Western Folklore* 59, no. 3/4 (2000): 251.
[58] Ibid.
[59] Esther Eidinow, "Patterns Of Persecution: 'Witchcraft' Trials in Classical Athens," *Past & Present*, 208 (2010): 12.
[60] Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 137.
[61] Ibid.
[62] Eidinow. "Patterns Of Persecution: 'Witchcraft' Trials in Classical Athens," 11.
[63] Ibid.
[64] Ibid., 12.
[65] Ibid., 12–13.

to understand and reconstruct the social constructs of Athenian society to determine the processes that brought the accused women to court. Evidence such as court speeches offer a glimpse into Athenian society.

Accusations of Magic and the Role of Gossip

The hundreds of curse tablets that have been unearthed suggest that curses and accusations related to supernatural activities were a common part of everyday life for the Athenians. Many curses are from victims against those who may have poisoned them or done them wrong or caused them misfortune, but there are also a number from those accused of poisoning or using spells. These accusations of magic also reveal another social dynamic of ancient Athens: the role of gossip. Virginia Hunter's article, "Gossip and the Politics of Reputation in Classical Athens", discusses the role of gossip in Athenian society and how it affected politics. Hunter demonstrates that gossip censured individual conduct and thereby regulated community behaviour.[66] She explains that gossip penetrated deep into Athenians' lives, especially when it included talk about their families and relatives and brought aspects of public life into home life.[67]

In court, Hunter explains that accusations aimed at an opponent may appear to be immaterial to the central issue of the case largely involved aspects of his personal life and background and the personal lives and backgrounds of his friends and acquaintances in order to defame him in the eyes of the jury.[68] In the first speech of Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton*, the speaker (who is unknown, but maybe Demosthenes himself wrote the speech), seemingly accepting the verdict of Aristogeiton's trial as being guilty[69] spends the majority of his speech attacking him for his apparent "wickedness".[70] Theoris of Lemnos is mentioned as the one who sold drugs to Aristogeiton's brother, calling her a "filthy witch" in order to diminish the reputation of Aristogeiton for being associated with a witch and using her drugs to help cure his supposed fits of "wickedness".[71]

Accusations of magic, whether true or false, relate to the democratic values of Athenian society; and these social processes, whether or not the Athenians believed in a general concept of "magic", reflect how Athenians sought to win over the jury in a court by referencing things negatively that were a part of their everyday lives scholars consider to be magic, such as the use of drugs or spells (since *pharmaka* can mean both) framed in a way to diminish the reputation of an opponent to win over the jury. However, gossip played a role in these accusations by spreading suspicion about being accused of magic. A good example of how gossip plays a role in spreading suspicion can be found on a curse tablet found near the banks of the Eridanos in the Kerameikos at Athens, where a portion of the text reads "whoever gave a *pharmakon* to Hyakinthos" which suggests that the curse was prompted by suspicion of poisoning or administering drugs to Hyakinthos (whoever he was).[72]

Curses

Curses were a reactionary measure for dealing with suspicion and rumors carried around by gossip, and victims that were arraigned on engaging in supernatural activities were often blamed for the misfortune of others and were therefore the victims of curses. Zinon Papakonstantinou's article on curses, "Some Observations on Litigants and their Supporters in Athenian Judiciary *defixiones*", further demonstrates the significant role curses played in fourth-century Athenian society. Eidinow's discussion of the role of gossip can be applied to Papakonstantinou's discussion of legal curses. Akin to the curses individuals make towards women accused of *pharmaka*, for example, Papakonstantinou points out that legal curses can be directed at men and women who were targeted because of their association with someone who directed a curse at someone else in court or in society.[73] How gossip played a role in legal curses could be demonstrated if, for example, someone spreads a rumor that bodes ill for a defendant in court, it could cause that defendant to curse whomever cursed him.

The Athenians used juridical curses to ensure some sort of advantage against their political rivals,[74] whereas other binding curses were the medium through which those the subject of gossip could affirm their innocence. It is interesting to think of how binding curses in legal or other cases were cast, for they were performed orally or in conjunction with written magical texts etched on various surfaces. For instance, a curse inscribed on the lid of a lead box targets four people whose individual names are written on a figurine encased inside.[75] What is of importance is that curses were something "magical", but no one seems to have been prosecuted by the law for uttering them, only persecuted, perhaps, by others. This suggests that the citizens of fourth-century Athens did not have the same idea of "magic" as a contemporary understanding has. Furthermore, the application of curses appears to derive from socially

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[66] Virginia Hunter, "Gossip and the Politics of Reputation in Classical Athens." *Phoenix* 44, no. 4 (1990): 322.
[67] Ibid, 322
[68] Virginia Hunter, "Gossip and the Politics of Reputation in Classical Athens." *Phoenix* 44, no. 4 (1990): 307.
[69] Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton 1*, trans. By A. T. Murray, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1939), 1–3.
[70] Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton*, 5.
[71] Demosthenes, *Against Aristogeiton*, 79–80.
[72] Eidinow. "Patterns Of Persecution: 'Witchcraft' Trials in Classical Athens," 21
[73] Papakonstantiou. "Some Observations on Litigants and their Supporters in Athenian Judiciary Defixiones," 1031.
[74] Ibid., 1029.
[75] Ibid.

constructed methods and practices, whereas *pharmaka* or *epoidai* practiced my magicians or witches, for example, seem to follow a specific set of formulae in texts such as the Magical Papyri.

Legal binding curses help with evaluating avows to justice just as the curses at which Eidinow looks help to understand how the Athenians described the accounts to their misfortune. But where Eidinow and Papakonstantiou's studies differ the most is that legal binding curses were much more specific than the ones at which Eidinow looks and were not necessarily motivated by gossip,[76] but by settling scores or rivalries. Indeed, gossip was one of the prime forces behind writing curses which were one way of describing one's misfortune. The plethora of binding curses are a good place to find evidence for how the Athenians understood the intent behind their misfortune and hostility towards them could result in the use of poisons and spells. Indeed, the Greeks thought curses were intended to cause harm, but the writer of the curse only describes how one may have been wronged in a general sense. For instance, someone may believe they have been cursed because they may have been experiencing a sudden misfortune.

Katadesmoi, the Greek word for curse, or *defixiones* (Latin) as they are more commonly known, reveal much about the ancient Greek world. Legal *defixiones* can provide insight into how the Athenian legal system worked, according to Papakonstantinou, legal binding curses provide a means to understand dispute-resolution, and especially for Athenians with poor oration skills, curses provided greater influence in decided an outcome of a dispute than the traditional democratic processes.[77] John Gager's *Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World* covers the topic of *defixiones* in great detail, and adds that the collection of curse tablets provides insight into the emotional aspect of Athenian court proceedings.[78] Indeed, Gager demonstrates how curses were used in a large number of Greek societal contexts, and were used by Greeks to gain some advantage over another, such as gaining advantage in a race.[79]

Defending against curses, however, was achieved by a few different means, most notably via the use of amulets with inscriptions on them. These amulets worked similarly to curses and had a wide range of uses, mostly protection from various medical problems that were untreatable because the ancient Greeks did not have antibiotics, and unknown disasters that could lead to misfortune.[80] Furthermore, some amulets have been found that contain love stones created to attract a lover or separate them, devices meant to calm down a rival, or stones designed to cause harm to an opponent.[81] Whatever the reason for wearing these amulets, Gager postulates that, since curses were a common practice, amulets were commonly worn to protect against the effects of curses and unknown disasters.[82]

Further concerning curses and divination, Esther Eidinow's *Oracles, Curses, and Risk Among the Ancient Greeks*, explores how ancient Greeks used curses to prevent future harm, sometimes prompted by events in the past, fear, or suspicion.[83] People who made these curses wanted to shape future events in their favour, invoking supernatural forces in order to gain an advantage in the future.[84] Although curses do not appear much in ancient literature, the archeological evidence of hundreds of curses sheds light on their popularity, and upon examining the use of curses in the ancient Greek world, the one thing that links all of the different magical and divine practices together is curses.

Divination and Necromancy

Curses were also used in necromancy, as Daniel Ogden explains in *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, in the sense that they invoked the supernatural forces of the dead, such as sending ghosts at a target, or use necromancy to summon ghosts to attack entire communities, like the time when Athens was attacked by ghosts and afflicted with disease (perhaps a plague).[85] Although, it seems that the Athenians feared ghosts, and did not want to call them back once they were released, as Johnston argues against Ogden, who argues essentially the opposite.[86] Furthermore, notwithstanding how much ancient Greeks thought about necromancy, they rarely practiced it.[87] However, even if rarely practiced, Ogden argues that necromancy was the most powerful form of divination, and under certain circumstances ghosts could not tell lies, making their information invaluable for someone looking to resolve a murder case, for example.[88] This was

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[76] Eidinow. "Patterns Of Persecution: 'Witchcraft' Trials in Classical Athens," 26.
[77] Zinon Papakonstantinou, "Some Observations on Litigants and their Supporters in Athenian Judiciary defixiones" in A. Martínez Fernández, B. Ortega Villaro, H. Velasco López, H. Zamora Salamanca (eds), *Ἄγαλμα. Ofrenda desde la Filología Clásica a Manuel García Teijeiro,* (Valladolid: Ediciones Universidad de Valladolid, 2014), 1033.
[78] John Gager, Curse Tablets and Binding Spells from the Ancient World, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 116–117.
[79] Ibid., 21.
[80] Ibid., 220.
[81] Ibid.
[82] Gager, 220.
[83] Esther Eidinow, *Oracles, Curses, and Risk Among the Ancient Greeks*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), 227.
[84] Eidinow, *Oracles*, 227.
[85] Daniel Ogden, "Shamans, Pythagoreans, and Orphics" in Ogden, Daniel. *Greek and Roman Necromancy*. (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2001), 118.
[86] Johnston, *Ancient Greek Divination*, 97.
[87] Johnston, 97.
[88] Ogden, *Greek and Roman Necromancy*, 231.

because of the belief that ghosts contained unmatched wisdom compared to the living, and could be used to discredit prophecies that turned out to be false.[89]

The Greeks regularly interacted with their perceived supernatural world around them, and they used magic and divination in order to utilize and control aspects of that world to deal with things that appear to be out of their control, such as misfortune. Misfortune was commonly perceived and recognized as something ancient Athenians experienced, and experiences of misfortune especially on an individual scale are explained by some magical or supernatural interference or intervention, as demonstrated by Faraone's article "An Accusation of Magic". However, "misfortune" is not something magical itself, and is more associated with divination, another aspect of ancient Athenian life that is largely connected to magical rites and practices. Esther Eidonow's book, *Luck, Fate, and Fortune: Antiquity and Its Legacy* and Sarah Iles Johnston's book, *Ancient Greek Divination*, explore the divine aspect of ancient Athenian life and the practice of divining. In fact, a common theme among recent scholarship is *how* closely magical rites and practices are like divination practices and rites.

The ambiguous nature of misfortune is linked to ancient Greek thought and how they thought their future was determined and organized, how these structures were connected to events (big or small) and, as Eidinow argues, to experiences of misfortune.[90] Eidinow separates these experiences of misfortune into two groups, the first being caused by acts of violence by supernatural entities on Greeks, and the second being caused by acts of what she calls supernatural violence, that is violence of a supernatural nature but not done by supernatural entities, used by either individuals or communities.[91] The physical or "mechanical" causes of events are influenced, both past and present, by—as Derek Collins demonstrates in his article, "Nature, Cause, and Agency in Greek Magic"—factors that are both apparent and invisible, human and divine, as well as factors that have a direct or indirect relationship with the event itself.[92] In the case of the Athenian plague during the Peloponnesian War, Collins explains that it was the result of teleological and volitional processes: teleological because both the Athenian and Spartan prophecies were fulfilled and volitional because the Peloponnesians intended harm.[93]

In this sense, Collins is asking the question "*when* is something considered or regarded as magic?" rather than trying to answer the question "*what* is magic?". In Collins' mind, to understand ancient Greek magic one must look at the terms used to refer to a type of activity or action and the causality and agency regarding the use and application of magic, and the nature of the magical practices and objects themselves.[94] It appears that the ancient Athenians acted in response to the changing circumstances around them as they attempted to find ways to deal with everyday nuances in their lives and to contribute to Athenian society through magical, divine, or religious means which often overlapped with one another.

Indeed, magic and divination in the ancient Athenian world were highly complicated and contradictory in nature. In Robert Fowler's article, "Greek Magic, Greek Religion", he examines the Hippocratic writings of *On the Sacred Disease*, which is a collection of writings on medicine and medical practices, and explains how doctors in ancient Athens were willing to use divination, the power of dreams, and readily believed that sleeping in the sanctuary of Asklepios could cure one's sickness or disease.[95] At the same time, *On the Sacred Disease* also rejects the use of magical spells and practices on rational grounds, condemning magicians who claim to be able to cause eclipses or cause rain to fall.[96]

Conclusion

This discussion about curses, *pharmaka*, magicians and witches, necromancy, and divination, demonstrates that magic and divination were complicated processes and concepts in ancient Athens. An example of how *pharmaka* could be considered as magic, for example, since this paper contends that not all examples of *pharmaka* are considered to be magic, comes from a famous fragment from Empedocles (whom Collins calls a "religious specialist"[97]), a *kathartai* or purifier tasked with cleansing the city of Athens when a group of men were killed at an altar which, as Derek Collins explains, violated the sacred immunity granted to those seeking refuge at an altar.[98] Empedocles' fragment is as follows:

You shall learn all the remedies (*pharmaka*) that there are for ills and defense against old age, since for you alone I will accomplish all this. And you shall stay the force of the unwearied winds which sweep over the earth and lay waste to the fields with their blasts; and then, if you wish, you shall bring back breezes in requital. After black rain you

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[89] Ibid., 233.
[90] Esther Eidinow, *Luck, Fate, and Fortune: Antiquity and Its Legacy*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 6.
[91] Ibid.
[92] Derek Collins, "Nature, Cause, and Agency in Greek Magic." *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 133, no. 1 (2003): 34.
[93] Ibid.
[94] Ibid., 20.
[95] Robert L. Fowler, "Greek Magic, Greek Religion." *Illinois Classical Studies* 20 (1995): 5–6.
[96] Ibid.
[97] Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 53.
[98] Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 51–52.

shall cause drought for men in due season, and the after-summer drought causing air-inhabiting and tree-nourishing streams. And you shall bring from Hades the life force of a dead man.[99]

This passage reveals a few different aspects of ancient Greek magic. First, *pharmaka* in this case are "remedies" of some kind to essentially rejuvenate someone to appear more youthful in appearance. Now, the phrase "defense against old age" is ambiguous for two reasons: first, it is not specific about *what* aspects of old age are being referenced here, so it could mean physical appearance or for mobility, such as remedies for joint pain; and second, this phrase could refer to an actual de-aging remedy that invokes forces similar to drawing down the moon. Indeed, this passage reveals insight into how magicians and purifiers influenced and manipulated the forces of nature, such as by making it rain to yield a good harvest or to hold back the rain to cause a drought, or to manipulate the winds to blow or not to blow. Finally, Empedocles mentions the necromantic practice of evoking the souls of the dead, which was another way for magic practitioners to gather power to perform their art.

Magic and divination were common practices throughout the Greek world, but scholars have found defining magic, especially in contrast to religion, has been problematic. Many scholars within the last few decades have begun to deconstruct the dichotomy between magic and religion, prompting Dirk Obbink and Christopher Faraone in their book *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion* to say that this dichotomy is not helpful when analyzing the cultural implications of Greek *defixiones*.[100] Scholars have identified many different types of magical and divine practices, including love magic, curses, necromancy, oracles and prophecy, spells, potions, drugs, charms, medicine, and incredible feats such as drawing down the moon.

Thus, this paper comes to its definition of ancient Greek magic, based on the discussion above:

Ancient Greek magic is characterized by extraordinary activities that deviate from the traditional and socially constructed cultural practices, which stem from religious rituals, by invoking supernatural forces to influence the efficacy or intended outcome of the practice in order to produce extraordinary results that could otherwise not be achieved by traditional and socially constructed cultural practices. As such, magic has five main criteria: spells, potions, incantations, charms (amulets), and curses.

Divination is a complicated notion, but can be defined in general terms:

Divination is the practice of gaining knowledge through a variety of means—such as prophecies, dreams, oracles, and, as we saw in Ogden's book, through necromancy—in order to know what would otherwise not be known.

This paper argued that magic, divination, and religion are all interconnected concepts and are not separate practices in ancient Athenian society. Indeed, scholars have begun to present new interpretations of magic in the ancient Greek world, distinguishing it from other practices (such as religious or divine) by exploring its extraordinary implementation and ritual, while also noting the connectedness of all of magic, divination, and religion. This paper demonstrates that all of these practices are intertwined and interconnected in ways that shape and influence ancient Athenian society and culture, and perhaps they should all be considered as cultural phenomena that have many deviations, factors, and practices, but all ultimately form important social structures of ancient Athens.

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[99] "Empedocles, fragment 111" in Collins, *Magic in the Ancient Greek World*, 52.

[100] Christopher A. Faraone, and Dirk Obbink, *Magika Hiera: Ancient Greek Magic and Religion*. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991): 20.

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"The cage with the Owl," Pablo Picasso

Graeme Taylor, "Abolition Now!: Northern Black Resistance to the Southern Slave Power as an Example of Guerrilla Warfare"

Traditionally, the start of the Civil War has been defined by the Confederacy's attack on Fort Sumter in April of 1861. This was certainly the beginning of a hot war between the Union and the Confederacy, but it was not the first example of hostilities between Americans by that time. In order to better comprehend the full scale of the Civil War we must first consider that there were three main 'groups' in America prior to its initiation: the South, or the slave power; the North, trying to contain slavery; and blacks, essentially unrepresented by either of the other factions. The position of black people in this environment was incredibly tenuous; the majority of black people in America were enslaved in the South and, despite the relative freedom of the North, their population there was orders of magnitude smaller. This meant that the means of resistance available to the black population in the fight against slavery were limited; the most potentially effective weapon that blacks had at their disposal was their numbers, but without the ability to communicate and organize en masse, an essentially impossible task in the southern slave states, there was little hope of successfully wielding this weapon. While the majority of the black population in the South had limited means of resistance prior to the major fighting between Union and Confederate forces, those that did have the means to organize early were northern blacks—both free and fugitive—and their allies, and this group's actions form the basis of this paper's analysis.

This paper will argue that, while violent resistance to slavery was hardly new in the United States, the period from 1850 to 1861 saw such a dramatic increase in organized, martial resistance to southern interference by northern blacks and their white allies that it demonstrated elements of guerrilla warfare. In the decade before the official start to the Civil War, the South expanded its offensive against black Americans with the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act, which gave unprecedented jurisdiction to hunt for runaway slaves and force the cooperation of northerners.[1] In 1857, the Dred Scott decision furthered this offensive by denying the rights of citizenship to all black people, slave or free, which had the secondary effect of illegalizing their possession of arms, thus reducing their ability to form violent, organized resistance.[2] The effects of these two events were crucial to maintaining the dominance of the southern slave power in America; they had bolstered the means to hunt slaves while their ability to resist had been dramatically reduced. The unintended effect of this legislation was how well it galvanized resistance in the North; these legislative and judicial attacks on the black population, along with the individual physical attacks they warranted, merely encouraged the adoption of more radical, militant forms of resistance and provided a common enemy to unite against.[3]

In response to this offensive, as mentioned, the northern black community and their white counterparts participated in defensive actions meant to protect and preserve the free population, while also working to increase this population and deplete the slave power by smuggling and harboring more escapees. Northern blacks and their white allies formed vigilance committees whose job it was to determine when slave-catchers were imminently approaching, warn fugitives, and assist them in fleeing further north to Canada.[4] Resistance could be more direct as well, as evidenced by a number of well-organized and highly successful jailbreaks, in which entire communities stormed jailhouses and, through force, freed recaptured fugitive slaves.[5]

More than just organized responses to individual events, black people began to take proactive measures to ensure their continued ability to maintain resistance; they formed militia companies not just to foster community cohesion, but also to impart practical military knowledge and skills to northern black men that they might need to defend themselves and their communities in the future.[6] Taking into account the various organized forms of resistance engaged in by northern blacks, be it through evasion or direct confrontation, the rhetoric of prominent radical abolitionists demonstrated the importance of a dedicated and well-educated leadership corps, as well as the vital necessity of information and intelligence in the successful organization and operation of asymmetric warfare.

It is important to consider the conflict between northern blacks and the southern slave power in the context of the Civil War because it adds nuance to the history of racial conflict in America and bolsters the argument that slavery was the central cause of the Civil War. While it is certainly convenient to use the attack on Fort Sumter as the exact start to the Civil War, this event more accurately describes the Union's entry into a civil war between the slave power and northern blacks that was already ongoing. It is true that black people in the north had essentially no means of waging an offensive war against the South prior to the involvement of the Union Army, but this does not negate the fact that defensive tactics focusing on the preservation of the black population still constituted legitimate acts of war.

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[1] Chandra Manning, *What this Cruel War was Over: Soldiers, Slavery and the Civil War* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007), 15-16.

[2] Kellie Carter Jackson, *Force and Freedom: Black Abolitionists and the Politics of Violence* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 100.

[3] Jackson, *Force and Freedom*, 104.

[4] Carol Wilson, "Active Vigilance is the Price of Liberty: Black Self-Defense against Fugitive Slave Recapture and Kidnaping Free Blacks," in *Antislavery Violence: Sectional, Racial, and Cultural Conflict in Antebellum America*, eds. John R. McKivigan and Stanley Harrold (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1999), 123-124.

[5] Wilson, "Active Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," in *Antislavery Violence*, 120.

[6] Jackson, *Force and Freedom*, 99.

The popular conception of warfare is often skewed toward the offensive elements of war; ambushes, barrages, bombardments, etc. Thus it is difficult to conceive of a war between two groups in which no pitched battles were ever fought, or in which the besieged group had no recognized nationality and never formed a self-identified army. The conflict between northern blacks and the slave power was not typical, in so far as it was not a clash between two nation-states, but it can still be understood in the context of asymmetric warfare. Northern black resistance was limited in its scale but it was nonetheless persistent and surprisingly successful. By considering the decade prior to the official start of the Civil War as a prelude to total war, in which asymmetric warfare characterized a conflict between the South and blacks in the north, we can better comprehend the full scale of the conflict and recognize more clearly the involvement of black people as a belligerent group in the Civil War.

The historiography supporting this claim is a synthesis of abolitionist history and political science. There are a number of substantial works detailing the history of antislavery violence in the United States prior to the start of the Civil War. In 2010's *Border War*, Stanley Harrold demonstrates that a long period of violence over slavery occurred prior to the official start of the war.[7] This supports the idea that our traditional conception of the war is based specifically on the conflict between the Union and Confederacy, and not that this was the beginning of conflict generally in America. While Harrold's work demonstrates that outbursts of violence between white Americans over the expansion of slavery preceded the Civil War, it fails to integrate the violence applied to, and reciprocated by, black people in this same conflict. By considering the actions of northern blacks in a similar context to the combatants examined by Harrold, we can better conceptualize the genesis of the Civil War and trace its progression from scattered civil conflicts to a total war of attrition.

Historians have also demonstrated that the black community, as well as the abolitionist movement more generally, was beginning to abandon the strategy of moral suasion in the 1850s and adopting violent means more frequently. Carol Wilson, for example, in the chapter "Active Vigilance is the Price of Liberty," in *Antislavery Violence* identifies a sharp increase in racist, anti-abolition violence in the 1830s and 1840s, and the expanded powers granted to slave holders by the Fugitive Slave Act in 1850 as key factors that encouraged the formation of organized, violent resistance in the northern black community. Wilson reinforces the notion that the black community formed a distinct society, supporting the theoretical framework of this paper that identifies the North, South, and blacks as three distinct factions in American politics; Wilson demonstrates that the formation of black self-defense leagues in the '30s and '40s was a direct response to the utter lack of representation and protection from state and federal governments.[8] Wilson's work shows that the collective consciousness of the black community, especially in the north, was becoming more militant as the 1850s approached. She also demonstrates that the violence engaged in by blacks was primarily defensive in nature, made in response to southern aggression.

In the same volume, James H. Cook argues that even prominent black orators, such as Frederick Douglass, that had initially denounced violent resistance, came to recognize the necessity of applied violence. Cook describes a number of violent interactions between Douglass and anti-abolitionists leading up to an 1843 altercation that nearly saw Douglass bludgeoned to death. It was the brutality of this attack that finally forced Douglass to reconsider his ideology of non-violent resistance, and adopt a more martial tone. Cook notes, importantly, that Douglass was more than just an impressive orator; from the period of 1841 to 1850 he was personally involved in several violent altercations while trying to desegregate the Eastern Railroad, and from 1850 to the end of the Civil War he used his position as the editor of multiple newspapers to spread abolitionist rhetoric and spread information that helped slaves evade capture under the Fugitive Slave Act.[9] Cook's analysis of Douglass helps us understand the vital nature of active leadership in the successful enactment of violent resistance; the endorsement of violent means by educated black orators, as well as their active participation in such resistance, demonstrated to the greater black population that violence was a viable means of resistance despite the more pacifist attitudes of their white abolitionist counterparts.

Finally, in 2019, Kellie Carter Jackson expanded on the work of these authors to demonstrate that the use of violence was both espoused and employed by numerous black leaders, such as James McCune Smith, David Walker, Henry Highland Garnet, and Jermain Wesley Loguen. Jackson does more than previous authors to recognize the agency of radical black abolitionists in their fight to end slavery; for example, her analysis of John Brown's raid on Harper's Ferry places Brown "not as a leader of a single, anomalous event but as a follower of black revolutionary violence."[10] Jackson argues that this is demonstrated both in how the raid was perceived by white Americans that equated it with black-instigated revolutionary violence in Haiti and, more importantly, by demonstrating that Brown's primary inspirations in planning the Harper's Ferry raid were acts of violent resistance made by black people.[11] By doing this,

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[7] Stanley Harrold, *Border War: Fighting over Slavery before the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2010), 211.
[8] Wilson, "Active Vigilance…" in *Antislavery Violence*, 109, 113.
[9] James H. Cook, "Fighting with Breath, not Blows: Frederick Douglass and Antislavery Violence," in *Antislavery Violence*, 135.
[10] Jackson, *Force and Freedom*, 107.
[11] *Ibid*, 108.

Jackson is able to demonstrate the influence of black revolutionaries on perhaps the only offensive, direct action undertaken against the South prior to the start of hostilities between the Union and Confederacy. The final and most salient addition that Jackson makes to this historiography is her contention that the revolutionary intention of radical black abolitionists went beyond simply the emancipation of slaves. The true goal of these revolutionaries was fully recognized equality for black people, something denied them in both the North and the South;[12] this, again, supports the notion that black people were fighting for themselves against both the North and South, against the apathy of one and the brutal hatred of the other.

The abolitionist historiography thus shows that antislavery violence had long predated the official start of the war, that black people were rapidly organizing the means to resist this aggression through force, and that the educated leadership of the black radical abolitionist movement was both supportive and highly participatory in these acts of resistance. This historiography, therefore, demonstrates a number of foundational elements that constitute guerrilla warfare. It is necessary, now, to briefly consider the nature of guerrilla warfare so we might better identify elements of it amongst the black resistance effort.

A number of major works were written and compiled regarding the nature of guerrilla warfare in the 1970s. A number of major contemporary conflicts especially, in Vietnam, in which the full military force of the United States had been successfully resisted by a revolutionary people's army utilizing guerrilla tactics, inspired a generation of political scientists to write about the character and effectiveness of guerrilla fighters in the context of asymmetric warfare. Geoffrey Fairbairn wrote *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare* in 1974, in which he makes a number of interesting observations on the nature of asymmetric warfare that parallel the experience of the northern black resistance. As part of his discussion, Fairbairn elucidates the nature of a people's war as described by the legendary Prussian military genius, Carl von Clausewitz in 1832. Clausewitz considered it of the upmost importance that a successful guerrilla movement have a strong motivational factor shared by all of its participants; northern blacks had such a universal motivation, one that was only strengthened proportionally with the expansion of interference from southern interests. He also claims that the most successful guerrilla armies should be ephemeral in nature, only constituting for a time and dispersing when not imminently engaged in an operation; northern blacks obviously had no standing army of their own but formed large, well organized, and highly successful resistance groups to free recaptured fugitives that would immediately disband after the successful completion of a mission. This allowed resistance to be effective when needed and nearly impossible to control or attack directly. It is, however, noted that the eventual integration of bigger, standing units aught to be accomplished if large scale operations were to be undertaken; this type of development was evidenced by the northern black resistance in their formation militia companies, for example.

Clausewitz also noted that the victorious guerrilla will be acting in an auxiliary capacity to a traditional force, and that the bases of operation for guerrillas ought to be located well out of reach of the enemy; if the 'enemy' of blacks was the southern slave power, than it would make sense that the strongest displays of organized resistance were launched from northern abolitionist strongholds, far from its reach; similarly the overthrow of slavery, the eventual victory of black resistance, came only after the Union fully incorporated the available black population into its fighting force. [13] The reason it is important to consider Fairbairn's analysis of Clausewitz is because his theory of war was not only applicable to the actions of northern black resistance, but contemporary as well; Clausewitz's wife published his collected writings as *On War* in 1832. The fact that these conceptions of guerrilla warfare had already been observed seems to suggest that precedent existed to define elements of northern black resistance as a revolutionary people's movement. This is especially exemplified by Clausewitz's theory that warfare is essentially applied politics, and a means of exercising politics to only be used when peaceful options had failed.[14]

Fairbairn also makes a salient observation regarding the makeup of revolutionary movements and the importance of leadership; using the Vietcong as an example, he notes that there was, contrary to popular belief, a wide range of dedication among the rank-and-file to the ideological movement they were fighting for. Having said that, the cadres, officers that were the most dedicated ideologically, were usually educated to at least a high school level and it is they who were responsible for the most important task in maintaining the movement: recruitment. Fairbairn argues that the most crucial element of growing a revolutionary movement is recruitment prior to the start of full-blown hostilities. In the case of northern black resistance, acts of subversion toward the state like breaking free a captured fugitive, combined with acts of community service like harboring runaway slaves and enabling passages to Canada, were excellent ways of gaining support for a revolutionary movement.[15]

Other scholars have made strong but indirect parallels between the northern black resistance and contemporary guerrilla movements. In their chapter "Guerrilla Warfare: Predisposing and Precipitating Factors," Scott G. McNall and Martha Huggins identify a number of elements that tend to lead to revolutions, several of which we can observe in the northern black resistance movement. Land and wealth inequality are, when driven to extremes, a motivating factor in

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[12] *Ibid*, 158.
[13] Geoffrey Fairbairn, *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*: *the Countryside Version* (England: Penguin Books, 1974), 42-45.
[14] Carl von Clausewitz, *On War*, ed. Anatol Rapoport (London: Penguin Classics, 1982), 109.
[15] Fairbairn, *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*, 296.

deciding to join a revolutionary movement, especially when the group most affected is already a suppressed minority with little societal integration. Suppression of rights and a lack of change through peaceful means will usually force the victimized minority to adopt more violent means of resistance. Finally, the authors reinforce Fairbairn's argument that a few intellectuals with well-formulated but radical ideas can trigger the formation of revolutionary sentiments among a minority population.[16]

The general poverty of the antebellum black population in America, coupled with their relative outsider status in both the North and South fostered a growing revolutionary feeling amongst blacks. The sustained attack on black rights, even for free blacks and especially in the 1850s, and the lack of legal recourse they had at their disposal to fight these erosions discouraged their pursuit of legal protections and encouraged them to adopt extralegal, often violent means of resistance. That black leaders such as McCune Smith, Highland Garnet, Douglass, Loguen and others had espoused such violence themselves, and in fact participated in successful applications of such,[17] served only to inspire confidence amongst the general black population that such means could be effective.

When taken together, the analysis of Civil War historiography and the character of guerrilla warfare presented by this paper should demonstrate that resistance to the 'slaveocracy', to borrow a term from Jackson, was becoming increasingly organized, martialed, and radicalized in the decades leading up to the Civil War, and especially in the 1850s, and that this mobilization demonstrated numerous defining characteristics of a revolutionary guerrilla movement. Resistance came in the form of subversion and sabotage, as well as evasion and preservation of population, and the rhetoric of radical black abolitionists demonstrates both the urgency for organization and the necessity of violent resistance.

Calls to violently overthrow the institution of slavery were not new by the 1850s; in 1829, David Walker made a famous appeal to the slaves in America that advocated for violent resistance. He wrote: "Look upon your mother, wife and children, and answer God Almighty; and believe this, that it is no more harm for you to kill a man, who is trying to kill you, than it is for you to take a drink of water when thirsty." Walker finishes his appeal with a prophetic passage claiming that slavery in America will be ended by divine providence.[18] Walker's appeal was obviously highly radical in 1829, and it caused a significant amount of tension in the South where his work was unsurprisingly censored. Regardless of the fringe nature of Walker's appeal, however, it was still an early example that a revolutionary impulse was building amongst black people in the North. It is also important to note that Walker was not a former slave himself, as he was born to a free mother, yet he found it necessary to strongly urge the slave population of the south to engage in violent acts of resistance. The appeal was deemed to be too radical for the abolitionist movement at the time, a position that would not be relaxed until a couple decades later.

A similar address made by Henry Highland Garnet in 1843 called for the justified use of violence by slaves in the south. He urged the slaves to "Inform [your masters] that all you desire, is Freedom (sic), and that nothing else will suffice… If they then commence the work of death, they, and not you, will be responsible for the consequences. You had far better all die- *die immediately*, than live slaves."[19] But even fourteen years after Walker's appeal, this address was considered too radical by the National Assembly to which it was proposed and was eventually rejected following debate. Both Walker and Garnet justify their invocations of violence by ascribing to them divine assent, yet the most interesting point made in relation to this paper's argument is Garnet's observation of the real potential strength of the black population should they successfully revolt: "Remember that you are THREE MILLIONS. It is in your power so to torment the God-cursed slaveholders that they will be glad to let you go free."[20] This shows that there were already prominent black abolitionists that understood the numerical advantage blacks had to utilize if they were to successfully revolt against the slave power. It is important to note, however, that the dissent that both Walker and Garnet received in response to their respective addresses not only waned but eventually reversed by the end of the 1850s, by which time it had become apparent that all non-violent means of resistance had been exhausted.

As has been observed, violent resistance to slavery had previously occurred in isolated instances in the United States. Some resistance efforts, such as the capture of the *Creole* on its journey to New Orleans for example, were actually somewhat successful; in 1841, a slave named Madison Washington successfully commandeered the *Creole* with minimal casualties and sailed it south to the Bahamas where British law automatically freed the roughly 130 slaves

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[16] Scott G. McNall and Martha Huggins, "Guerrilla Warfare: Predisposing and Precipitating Factors," in *Revolutionary Guerrilla Warfare*, ed. Sam C. Sarkesian (Chicago: Precedent Publishing, Inc., 1975), 243-247.
[17] Jackson, *Force and Freedom*, 63-64.
[18] David Walker, "Walker's Appeal," in *Walker's Appeal, With a Brief Sketch of his Life by Henry Highland Garnet and also Garnet's Address to the Slaves of the United States of America*, ed. William Loren Katz (New Hampshire: Ayer Company, Publishers, Inc., 1984 reprint. Originally published in New York: J.H. Tobitt, 1848), 37, 86-87.
[19] Henry Highland Garnet, "Garnet's Address," in *Walker's Appeal, With a Brief Sketch of his Life by Henry Highland Garnet and also Garnet's Address to the Slaves of the United States of America, 94.*
[20] Garnet, "Garnet's Address," in *Walker's Appeal*, 96.

on board.[21] This was clearly a massive victory for Washington and his fellow slaves. but it was also not a part of any external operation or resistance movement. These types of events were also not particularly frequent.

Violent resistance to the slave power had, by 1850, become commonplace in the various borderlands between free and slave states.[22] Much of this violence occurred between slaveholders and their representatives, and fugitive slaves and the people, frequently white, that harbored them. This was especially an issue in the states through which one made passage to Canada as these were at the furthest jurisdictional reaches of the slave-catchers and, therefore, their last chance to make an apprehension. For example, by the late 1830s in Ohio, the state had been described as sort of battleground between the slave states and Canada. Importantly, the slave-catchers initiated the majority of clashes between them and fugitives, as they frequently crossed borders to free territories and invaded the homes of white northerners to make their apprehensions. [23] Slaveholders were, much like in 1861, undoubtedly the aggressors in this conflict. While these acts of interference were frequent, and frequently resisted, there was little in the way of organization, beyond a local level, in the face of slave-hunters until after the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850.

Abolitionist and black-run newspapers at the time of the 1850 Fugitive Slave Act's implementation demonstrate the urgency for organization and resistance in the face of southern incursions, whether directly or through the employment of northern surrogates. *The North Star* newspaper, for example, was edited and published by Frederick Douglass in Rochester, New York from 1847 to 1851, when the paper was changed to *Frederick Douglass's Paper*. The issues from *The North Star* in October of 1850 illustrate the feelings of northern blacks and abolitionists of both races toward the new Fugitive Slave Act. The act, as well as those tasked with enforcing it, was soundly rejected; in response to an article in *The Rochester Democrat* that claimed Orlando Hastings had been commissioned by Judge Gridley to enforce the new Fugitive Slave Act, Douglass wrote "it is to be hoped that Mr. Hastings will spurn with scorn and indignation the hell-created office [of fugitive slave catching]," saying also that, should the information from the *Democrat* prove true, they would "give due warning of our hunted people of that fact."[24] A contributor, simply credited as S. Brown, remarked about the Fugitive Slave Act: "This has truly become a land of oppression and slavery. My mind was never so much convinced of that fact until after the fugitive slave bill became a law."[25] Another contributor to the same issue, L. Tilmon, made an even more overt call for or unity amongst the black community, saying: "The crisis has come that calls for every colored man and woman to do something in their own defence. Meetings should be held in every town and county and the watch-word should be, Liberty or death."[26] These quotes clearly indicate that the black community in the North was aware of the slave power's expanded offensive and were preparing to defend themselves with organized and, if necessary, violent resistance.

The immediate response, then, to the enactment of the Fugitive Slave bill was condemnation not only of the law but also of those that were placed in charge of enforcing it. There was, as well, a new and well-founded fear of interference in major northern cities, like New York, that had not been possible before. This fear, more than anything, inspired numerous calls for unity and resistance unto death. Interestingly, Douglass' assertion that fugitive slaves would be warned not only of potential danger, but also of the personal identity of a commissioner under the act specifically to be avoided, shows how newspapers like *The North Star* functioned as a mechanism to gather and diffuse intelligence that could be utilized for evasive resistance.

Organized resistance against the Fugitive Slave Act was observed all over the North. An excerpt from *The National Era* described such an instance in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, where by the end of October, 1850, there had been nine attempted recaptures of fugitive slaves, of which only 3 were successful. The article informs the reader that their successful evasion was due to the general non-compliance of the local population with the mandates of the Fugitive Slave Act.[27] This also another example of a communication network developing in black and abolitionist papers; that the successful repulsion of slave-catchers in Pennsylvania was being extolled by a paper in Washington suggests that the editor of the *National Era* felt it necessary to expose his readership to the event, perhaps to demonstrate that it was possible to accomplish similar repulsion in Washington as well.

The October 24th, 1850, edition of *The North Star* demonstrates that this type of resistance had been solemnly sworn to in many northern abolitionist strongholds like New York, Pennsylvania, Massachusetts, and Illinois.[28] The general agreement at this time was that communities would help evacuate fugitives further north to Canada and would continue to remain incompliant with the mandates of the Fugitive Slave Act. This organized resistance would very quickly begin to display more martial qualities; in the same issue, an article detailing a massive gathering at Minerva Hall in New York mentions that the participants at this gathering resolved, among other things, to "[impend] by any

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[21] Stanley Harrold, "Romanticizing Slave Revolt: Madison Washington, the *Creole* Mutiny, and Abolitionist Celebration of Violent Means," in *Antislavery Violence*, 90-91.
[22] Harrold, *Border War*, 212.
[23] Harrold, *Border War*, 59, 62.
[24] Frederick Douglass, "Fugitive Slaves," *North Star* (Rochester, NY), October 3rd, 1850.
[25] S. Brown, "Canandaguia, Sept. 29, 1850: Friend Douglass," *North Star*, October 3rd, 1850.
[26] L. Tilmon, "New York, Sept. 28, 1850: Friend Douglass," *North Star*, October 3rd, 1850.
[27] "Fugitive Slave Law," *National Era* (Washington, D.C.), October 31st, 1850.
[28] *North Star*, October 24th, 1850.

means not inconsistent with morality…" the work of legally commissioned slave-catchers. A blurb from the *Lowell American* attached to the original article also revealed that the gatherers resolved that it was the duty of all fugitive slaves to shoot their pursuers, which the *American* suggests can be extrapolated to the right for every slave to rise up and kill their masters;[29] I am sure the supporters would have agreed with the *American*'s sarcastic retort.

Another article in this issue makes a rather humorous observation about the response of the federal government to the threat posed by black resistance; in what is clearly a facetious tone, the reader is informed that three whole companies of soldiers had been sent to guard one recaptured fugitive in the city of Detroit, to which the author resounds "[R]un the banner out over the street! Get the great gun and slap her off three several times, for the greatness of our republic!"[30] These articles suggest that organized resistance was being formed all throughout the North, and that these movements were already advocating for the justifiable application of violence in disobeying the Fugitive Slave Act. The almost taunting nature of the article describing the security around the Detroit fugitive is certainly hilarious, but it also demonstrates that the force of the resistance movement was, in fact, being taken incredibly seriously.

The details of a particularly famous fugitive slave case were widely published in October of 1851, following the rescue of a slave known as Jerry. The Jerry Rescue, as the event came to be known, demonstrated why the response of the military in Detroit might not have been as disproportionate as it initially seemed. *Frederick Douglass' Paper* described the events of the rescue in Syracuse, informing the reader that a riot of "four or five thousand people" had descended on the courthouse in which Jerry was held and, while initially repulsed, did eventually succeed in breaching his confines and spiriting him out of the city.[31] While the figures given for the initial crowd's size do seem exaggerated, it is likely that they were not overestimated by much given Syracuse's reputation as an abolitionist stronghold. While the rescue effort that successfully freed Jerry was interracial in character, its outcome directly benefitted northern black resistance the most by proving that organized, violent resistance to the slave power was both justifiable and effective. That the rescue garnered such significant popular support in Syracuse and involved such a large number of rioters suggests that the decision to employ military units in Detroit might not have been so ridiculous after all.

The Jerry Rescue was a monumental victory for abolitionists and free blacks in the north, but it was not unique in either its scale or its success. A similar episode occurred in Milwaukee in 1854, in which a man named Joshua Glover was apprehended under the Fugitive Slave Act and interned at Milwaukee County Jail. When word of the fugitive's capture had spread, a mob of several hundred people surrounded the jail and demanded Glover's release. Attempts at legal arguments were initially made but to no avail, at which point the mob forcefully breached the jailhouse, secured Glover and transported him north to Canada without hindrance.[32] The success of these two rescues, and others like them, were incredibly important because they acted as proofs of concept to northern black resistance; they proved that resistance to the Fugitive Slave Law was not only possible, but given the sheer size of the mobs that freed captured slaves, it was possible to do so while maintaining anonymity and avoiding reprisals after the fact.

Despite the moral justifications for those involved in both the Jerry and Glover rescues, their actions were, nonetheless, illegal and subversive to the authority of both state and federal governments. It is important for this paper to recognize that even prominent officials observed the revolutionary character of those that came together to resist the incursions of slave-catchers. An October 1851 article published by the Ohio newspaper *The Anti-Slavery Bugle*, revealed that Governor Johnston of Pennsylvania had declared regarding the Fugitive Slave Act: "Disobedience to the law is a revolution against the Government."[33] Interestingly, the article next to Johnston's remarks was taken from *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, the successor to *The North Star*, in which the state of free blacks in Canada was discussed. This article is important because it demonstrates two things; first, that there were 20-30,000 free blacks living in Canada at the time, and that approximately five thousand of these people arrived after the passing of the Fugitive Slave Act.[34] This may seem innocuous with regard to the revolutionary actions of northern black resistance, but it demonstrates a critical element of their strategy: population preservation. By funnelling slaves away from the South and into Canada, they accomplished two things; they depleted the power of slaveholders by enabling their income sources to flee and, at the same time, they bolster their own numbers in an area beyond the jurisdiction of American law. The strategy of stockpiling resources beyond the reach of one's enemy, and in this case resources can mean human resources, was a strategy employed by the Vietcong, for example, whereby they funnelled troops and materiel through the neighbouring countries of Laos and Cambodia beyond the stated jurisdiction of the American army.[35]

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[29] "The Fugitive Slave Law," *North Star*, October 24th, 1850.
[30] "Glorious News- Another Victory!!" *North Star,* October 24th, 1850.
[31] "The Syracuse Fugitive Case," *Frederick Douglass' Paper* (Rochester, NY), October 9th, 1851.
[32] "Arrest and Rescue of a Fugitive Slave in Milwaukee," *Provincial Freeman* (Chatham, Canada West), March 25th, 1854.
[33] "Gov. Johnston on the Fugitive Slave Law," *Anti-Slavery Bugle* (New-Lisbon, OH), October 4th, 1851.
[34] "Condition and Prospect of the Fugitives in Canada," *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, October 4th, 1851.
[35] William Rosenau, "U.S. Air Ground Operations Against the Ho Chi Minh Trail, 1966-1972," in *Special Operations Forces and Elusive Enemy Ground Targets: Lessons from Vietnam and the Persian Gulf War* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 2001), 5.

The publication of a black newspaper in Canada called *The Provincial Freeman* sheds some light on the importance of the free black population in Canada as a source of power in the fight against the slave power. The paper printed original material but, like *Douglass' Paper*, also reprinted material from other papers to further spread news of successful resistance operations. For example, an article published on December 22, 1855, tells the reader of the successful transportation of sixteen fugitive slaves to Canada by way of the Underground Railroad, saying: "All pursuit of them by slaveholders or sympathizer will be unavailing. They are beyond the reach of further oppression."[36] Stories like these provided much needed hope to maintain the morale of those that were fleeing into Canada as well as the people performing the incredibly dangerous work of ferrying these refugees from the United States.

The paper did more than just provide success stories to motivate free blacks, however, as it displayed even more subversive sentiments in other articles. In the same issue as the aforementioned story, an article entitled "Wisdom and Her Children" directly advocates for the violent overthrow of slavery and, importantly, at the hands of black people specifically. The article boldly proclaims that, "AS THE AMERICAN SLAVE HAS A WHITE CAPTOR, - SO HE HAS A BLACK DELIVERER!" and advocates for slave uprisings, saying: "the slave is a man, and if need so require, let the weapons of death teach him what he would not learn without them…"[37] It is clear from these articles that the fight against slavery was still very present in the minds of blacks that had successfully fled north to Canada.

The deleterious effects of siphoning off the black population to the north were even recognized by southern politicians. The steady depletion of the slave population, regardless of how few actually made it to Canada without being apprehended, was a source of extreme antagonism in the south and enraged the leaders of the slave power. Governor Wise of Virginia made remarks exemplary of this feeling in 1860, when he threatened to procure a force to invade the North and continue across the border into Canada to "chastise the British for harboring runaway slaves." The article of the *National Era* in which this claim was presented, makes an almost prophetic prediction of the dilemma faced by the South in a potential war over slavery; the author of the article postulates that when, not if, the final conflict between freedom and slavery occurs, the South will be unable to prevent their slaves from absconding to the North and fighting against them.[38] Wise's threat is important because it demonstrates that the strategy of population preservation was a big enough issue that the slave power had begun to advocate for the invasion of Canada to once again exert control over the free black population.

By 1851, even some interracial abolitionist groups had began to adopt more radical resolutions at their meetings, demonstrating an important shift away from Garrisonian abolitionism and the doctrine of passive resistance. For example, at a state convention of the Liberty Party in New York, 1851, a committee including the radical black abolitionist and reverend J.W. Loguen, adopted a series of resolutions pertaining to the state of slavery in America, the Fugitive Slave Act and, importantly, the topic of resistance. It was resolved by the convention, unanimously, that resistance in the form of "deadly weapons" or simply "stern refusal to obey" one's master were equally valid forms of resistance, and that the principle of resistance regardless of its scale or the form in which manifests, is the only way to "confound and conquer" the slave power.[39] The convention members' rhetoric in support of necessary resistance, up to and including deadly violence, is especially notable given their appeal to history; the convention argued that if it was unjustifiable for a slave to use violence to secure their freedom, it must have been entirely unjustifiable for the American revolutionaries to rebel against England over the relatively trivial issue of taxation. That the American Revolution was, in fact, widely celebrated in the United States caused the convention to adopt the position that recent acts of resistance to fugitive slave recapture in the Pennsylvania and Syracuse were tantamount to the battles of Concord or Bunker Hill in the Revolutionary War.

As the 1850s wore on, the speeches of prominent black abolitionists became more overt in their calls for violence, as well as their denunciations of strategies that could best be described as appeasements. For example, in 1855, Frederick Douglass published an appeal entitled "The True Ground Upon Which to Meet Slavery," in which he denounces the Free Soil movement and contends that slavery should not, in fact cannot, be contained but should wiped out completely.[40] By the end of 1855, Douglass had advanced this position to an even greater extreme, saying: "Truth and Error, Liberty and Slavery, in a hand-to-hand conflict. This is what we want; this is what we will have."[41] It had become clear to Douglass that the future of slavery in America would see either its complete dismantlement or its universal proliferation and, regardless of which eventuality came to fruition, a final conflict between a pro-slavery and anti-slavery party would be the deciding factor.

By the mid 1850s, the prophesized escalation in the conflict between freedom and slavery was even observed by the pro-slavery side. *The Philadelphia Argus*, as quoted by *Douglass' Paper*, claimed that Republicans like Senator Charles Sumner, by advocating for disobedience toward the Fugitive Slave Act, were inciting insurrection against the authority of the government. The *Argus* claimed that advocating for resistance, and the attempt at electing Frederick

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[36] "The Underground Railroad," *Provincial Freeman*, December 22nd, 1855.
[37] "Wisdom and Her Children," *Provincial Freeman*, December 22nd, 1855.
[38] "Prospective Increase of the Colored Race in the U. States," *National Era*, February 9th, 1860.
[39] "New York Liberty Party," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, October 9, 1851.
[40] "The True Ground Upon Which to Meet Slavery," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 24th, 1855.
[41] "The Final Struggle," *Frederick Douglass' Paper,* November 16th, 1855.

Douglass to Congress were "a skirmish preparatory to the grand engagement."[42] What is interesting in this passage is that the pro-slavery author predicted that the start of this conflict would arise from abolitionist aggression, deflecting blame away from the provocative incursions of the slave power into the North.

Rhetoric was not the only aspect of resistance that was radicalizing at this time, however. There is evidence that the blacks in the North were, in fact, preparing for the combat for which Douglass had been calling. By 1853, black militia companies had formed and some, such as in Providence, Rhode Island, even received allotments of weapons from the state legislature, support that had been unprecedented up to that time; concurrently, a volunteer company for blacks called "Attacks Blues" had been mustered in Cincinnati, Ohio.[43] In the same year it was argued at the Constitutional Convention of Massachusetts to permit the inclusion of blacks in the official state militia, but this motion was defeated on account of it conflicting with the constitutional interpretation of Congress' authority over the National Militia system, which specifically excluded blacks.[44] Charles Sumner advocated for black men to be allowed to form volunteer regiments that would operate independently of the National Militia, which only allowed white militiamen. Sumner argued that the constitutional authority vested in congress to form and furnish militia units would not be contradicted by the formation of black volunteer units, as these units would not have received any state funding.[45]

The endorsement of a senator such as Sumner for the creation of black volunteer militia units suggests that black resistance did occasionally benefit from the support of certain radical politicians that opposed the expansion of southern influence; that Sumner was nearly beaten to death on the senate floor in 1856 also demonstrated that white allies were subject to pro-slavery violence when they chose to align with blacks.[46] The fact that northern blacks recognized the need to organize and arm themselves in self defense was an example of Clausewitz's assertion that a successful revolutionary people's movement would eventually have to develop standing military units, despite the many obstacles black militia companies faced in forming.

The ideological motivation of the black resistance movement was never entirely consistent, however, despite its increasing radicalism in the late 1850s. Similar to the observation made by Fairbairn regarding the inconsistency in dedication amongst the general Vietcong soldiery, there existed a wide spectrum of dedication amongst the northern black resistance, and the abolitionist movement in general. In a letter to the editor, a correspondent from Ohio wrote to *Fredrick Douglass' Paper* to express their concerns about the complacency of the free black population in their fight against slavery. The author suggests that the efforts of free blacks to abolish slavery did not go nearly far enough because they stopped short of demanding equality for blacks once free. This correspondent directly calls out the hypocrisy of free blacks and their white abolitionist allies, saying: "we have held State and National Conventions and… adopted many high-sounding, and sometimes wholesome resolutions; and then have gone home to let our liberty sentiments become defunct to let our resolutions… go unperformed and unredeemed." It is the opinion of the author that free blacks exist in a sort of purgatory between the slave and the free, alluding to the three factions conception upon which this paper is based, and that this position must be elevated to total freedom and equality.[47]

Prominent abolitionist leaders also noted the growing complacency of the movement and expressed fears that the abolitionist sentiment was wearing out amongst the more moderate of its supporters. For example, Gerrit Smith, a white abolitionist that had been a vocal supporter of resistance and attended the annual Jerry Rescue celebration in Syracuse for years, decided to forgo the celebration of 1859. Smith's reasoning was that the majority of those that initially freed Jerry, especially the white contingency, had tacitly accepted the legitimacy of slavery based on their involvement with pro-slavery groups in the proceeding years. Smith declared the Jerry Rescue celebration of that year a "sham" and denounced the complacency of its supporters before declaring that: "It is perhaps too late to bring Slavery to an end by peaceable means…"[48] Despite the apparent stagnation of certain members of the resistance, it managed to maintain a dedicated following, however small, until the start of the conflict between the Union and the Confederacy.

The most ideologically dedicated members of the northern black resistance continued to advocate for violent resistance to the slave power and for the inevitable conflict between slavery and freedom to finally occur. *Frederick Douglass' Paper* was particularly overt in its calls for violent confrontation with slavery. In 1855, Douglass wrote an article in which he suggested, "Liberty and Slavery are potent antagonism…they must have final conflict."[49] Later in that same year, emboldened by the anti-slavery fighting in Kansas, Douglass concluded that open hostilities over slavery had opened and could not be closed without a total resolution to the slavery issue, once and for all. Advocating

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[42] "Frederick Douglass in Congress," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, August 4th, 1854.
[43] "Summary: Coloured Militia," *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, July 28th, 1855.
[44] "Colored Militia," *Anti-Slavery Bugle*, July 9th, 1853.
[45] "On the Colored Militia," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, July 15, 1853.
[46] "Deadly Assault on Charles Sumner," *National Era*, May 29th, 1856.
[47] "Our Correspondents: The Federal Government vs. The Free Colored People," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, March 16th, 1855.
[48] "Gerrit Smith's Letter," *National Era*, September 15th, 1859.
[49] "The Issue at Hand," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, June 29th, 1855.

for violent insurrection against the slave power, Douglass asks the reader: "If Slavery appeals to the rifle, would it be contrary to GOD's providence and the course of Justice, if she perished by the rifle?"[50]

The effect of Douglass' subversive literature, as well as the revolutionary literature of other publications was seen in the response it garnered from the southern slave power. An article in the *National Era* from December 15th, 1859, informs the reader that a law had recently been passed in Virginia that forbade the creation or possession of "incendiary" literature tending to encourage the slaves of that state to usurp their masters or form an insurrection. The law mandated a punishment of no less than five years in prison for the offence.[51] This censorship legislation was an implicit recognition of the effectiveness of black information networks like newspapers that published literature encouraging violent resistance to the slave power. But it seems as though the Virginia law was probably too little/too late in attempting to quell the abolitionist sentiment in the North, and even in the South. A year prior, the *National Era* had already reported on a growing anti-slavery sentiment being observed in slave states like North Carolina and Kentucky. The *National Era* had republished an article from the *American Missionary* in which it was revealed that a number of anti-slavery supporters were gathering at a church in North Carolina, and one of the new members was a recent convert from the pro-slavery side. While northern black probably had little to do with this development, it was an indication that the slave power was beginning to crumble from the inside, to the extreme benefit of northern blacks.

The most significant act of violent resistance to the slave power prior to the conflict between the Union and the Confederacy was, no doubt, John Brown's famous raid in Harper's Ferry, Virginia. This event served to re-galvanise support for violently overthrowing the slave power. An article published in *Douglass' Monthly*, a limited offshoot of *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, in December of 1859 mocks the state of Virginia for requiring federal assistance in quelling John Brown's attempted insurrection while advocating for the dissolution of the very Union that came to its aid.[52] While Brown himself was white, he was inspired by previous acts of resistance made by black people, especially that of Nat Turner's rebellion, and the inclusion of several black men in the raid party demonstrates the influence of black resistance on Brown.[53] What is also important to note is the reaction to Brown's raid in the south; The *National Era*, quoting from correspondence to the *New York Times*, illustrated a feeling of growing hysteria in Virginia stemming from the events at Harper's Ferry, saying: "There is no actual war between the North and South, yet the panic is no less intense. The feeling is just such as pervades a people daily apprehensive of war…"[54] While the publication was correct in saying that the North and South were not yet at war, they fail to recognize that the feeling of Virginians was anticipatory of conflict because they had just witnessed an actual act of war belonging to the conflict between northern blacks and the slave power. In other words, the feeling that war between the North and South would soon begin was entirely understandable because, in a sense, it already had, and the people of the South were finally being exposed to this ongoing conflict.

When we consider that, from 1850 onward, there was a tremendous increase in the power and offensive capability of the southern slave power in its war against northern black resistance, we can see that the defensive response displayed by the resistance constituted a sort of guerrilla warfare between the two factions. The rapid abandonment of appeasement strategies in favour of direct, violent confrontation with slavery shows that the black community saw themselves as being under attack. The efficiency with which they organized to commit acts of direct resistance, like freeing recaptured fugitive slaves, or indirect resistance, like informing fugitives that they were being pursued and providing them with escape, demonstrated the unifying nature of the expansion of southern infringements. That the educated leadership of this movement not only accepted, but encouraged and proliferated, calls for violent resistance to the Fugitive Slave Act and for the total overthrow of the slave system, indicates that this movement was highly unified; that these leaders actively participated in the violence they espoused demonstrates that they were, in fact, the most ideologically motivated members of the resistance, similar to the cadres of the Vietcong.

While the fight against the slave power was long and brutal, and caused many moderate supporters to lose faith in the anti-slavery crusade, those most immediately affected by southern aggression, i.e. black people, remained steadfastly resistant until the conflict between the Union and the Confederacy finally broke out. In addition to all of this, the numerous strategies employed by the resistance to communicate amongst itself through vigilance committees and newspapers, coupled with the extreme response by the military in the face of possible resistance actions like jailbreaks, seems to demonstrate that the actions of northern black resistance were highly martial in character. By the end of the 1850s, the abolitionist movement had largely accepted the necessity for violent resistance to the slave power and the rhetoric they employed became increasingly radical; speeches and correspondences with black newspapers from prominent abolitionist, especially black abolitionists, demonstrated that northern blacks were well aware of the fact that the future of slavery and freedom would inevitably be determined in an ultimate and final conflict. That prominent members of the slave power itself also recognized this fact demonstrated that the conflict between the South and northern blacks had escalated in the preceding decade and would eventually envelope all Americans in a total Civil

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[50] "The Physical Struggle Between Slavery and Freedom Begun," *Frederick Douglass' Paper*, December 14th, 1855.
[51] "Incendiary Publications in the Mails," *National Era*, December 15th, 1859.
[52] "Slavery vs. National Strength," *Douglass' Monthly* (Rochester, NY), December 1859.
[53] Jackson, *Force and Freedom*, 107.
[54] "The Reign of Terror in Virginia: The Remedy," *National Era*, December 1st, 1859.

War. By the eve of the war, this escalation had become strikingly apparent to the general population in the South when radical abolitionists led by John Brown attempted to spark an armed slave insurrection in Virginia, the first offensive military operation launched by northern resistance in southern territory. Thus, the period between 1850 and 1861 saw a sustained conflict between the southern slave power and northern blacks in which the south was clearly the aggressor. The substantial dichotomy in power and resources held by each side caused this conflict to display elements of a guerrilla war in which the disadvantaged side had to resort to acts of subversion and subterfuge to ensure the preservation of their population.

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"Owl," François Pompon