HiPo: The Langara Student Journal of History and Political Science

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Marylin Jung

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A LETTER FROM THE EDITOR IN CHIEF

Welcome to the first issue of *HiPo: The Langara Student Journal of History and Political Science*. My name is Marylin Jung, and I am the Editor-in-Chief of this annual academic student journal. I started this journal with the goal in mind of providing undergraduate students with the opportunity not only to publish their own work, but also to gain experience in running an academic journal as editors and peer reviewers. I am excited to share with you the amazing papers from our students on various topics. We have papers discussing serious issues such as the American Civil War, and a possible reform of the Canadian Senate; papers looking at different aspects of the ancient, medieval and early modern world as well as of the Muslim world; and fun papers such as a fictional account of the invasion of Manchuria, and a self-reflection on the history of photography. I hope you will enjoy this issue as much as I did!

Last, but not least, I would not have been able to do this without the support of the History, Latin, and Political Science Department, and an amazing team. I want to thank all of them for their dedication and enthusiasm.

MARYLIN JUNG
Editor-in-Chief

A LETTER FROM THE DEPARTMENT CHAIR

It is my pleasure, on behalf of the Department of History, Latin and Political Science, to introduce this inaugural edition of the *HiPo*. Our department is especially pleased that this journal, designed to inspire and recognize academic activity beyond the classroom, is written and edited by students. We are confident that it will serve as an example of their dedication and commitment to the writing process, and may encourage some students towards a career in writing or academia that may otherwise have not been contemplated.

To the *HiPo*, best wishes for a long and successful future.

PAUL PROSPERI
Department Chair
History, Latin and Political Science

A FUSION OF CULTURES AND THE RISE OF GYNAECOLOGY IN THE HELLENISTIC WORLD

CHEYENNE JANKOLA

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the stylization and content of the statuette of a childbirth scene, and the impact of Hellenistic medicine on the statuette. However, there has been no research published before about this statuette. This paper focuses on Cypriot culture from the Chalcolithic period until the Hellenistic period, and the increasing popularity of using portraiture to connect oneself to power in Ptolemaic culture. Also, this paper will examine the rise of gynaecology and recognition of midwifery in the Hellenistic period due to the change of political structures, because it is likely that it caused the statuette to be portrayed realistically. This paper aims to explore how the impact of the fusion between the Cypriot and Ptolemaic cultures resulted in an individualized childbirth scene, as well as how the rise of gynaecology and midwifery affected the realism of the statuette.

Ancient Cyprus is known to have had a distinct culture and artistic style separate from the Greek or Near Eastern cultures, even throughout the rule of the Achaemenids until 333 BCE.[1] An aspect of ancient Cypriot culture from the Chalcolithic to the Archaic period was its votive statuettes to one or many goddesses, which displayed themes of fertility.[2] However, Alexander the Great's defeat of the Persians in 333 BCE began the increase of influence of Greek culture in Cyprus.[3] After the *diadochi*, the Ptolemies ruled Cyprus from 312 BCE until the Romans acquired it in 58 BCE.[4] Material culture in Cyprus was impacted as a result of the change in the social and political structures.[5] Additionally, Ptolemaic Egypt

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[1]Papantoniou, "Cypriot Autonomous Polities," 169.
[2]Swiny, "Prehistoric Cyprus: A Current Perspective," 185.
[3]Papantoniou, 170.
[4]Papantoniou, 170.
[5]Papantoniou, 190.

influenced the Hellenistic world through its research in medicine, specifically its increased interest in women, gynaecology and childbirth.[6] Thus, in Ptolemaic Cyprus there was a change in art as a result of the political changes and the rise of Hellenistic medicine.

A limestone statuette of a childbirth scene is currently in the Metropolitan Museum of Modern Art (Figure 1).[7] The subject of the statuette is a pregnant woman after she has given birth, reclining on a small bed. At both ends of the woman are aids, perhaps midwives, who have helped her give birth. The pregnant woman's labour is likely recent because of her swollen belly and exposed breasts. The aid standing on the right side of the woman is still supporting her and the aid on the left side is kneeling between the pregnant woman's legs. The left side aid may be a midwife because she is holding an object in her arms, which is likely the newborn baby. The statuette's depiction of a childbirth scene with the aids is realistic because it illustrates the vigour and recentness of labour.

The statuette was found by Luigi Palma di Cesnola in 1870 at the Sanctuary of Golgoi-Ayios Photios, in the region of Athienou in Cyprus.[8] The Metropolitan Museum of Art purchased the collection from Cesnola in 1874-1876,[9] and the museum dated the statuette to have been made between 310-30 BCE. The Sanctuary of Golgoi-Ayios Photios was a sanctuary for Apollo during the Hellenistic period; however, there were votive statues found that were dedicated to female goddesses.[10] The statuette was likely made as a votive offering in thanks for a successful birth because of the placement of the scene immediately after the birth, in which the mother and child are both shown. The statuette may have also been a votive offering because it was found at a sanctuary, with multiple other votive offerings on the site. These other votives were of males, females, children, and notably *kourotrophoi*, which depict seated women holding children, suggesting that there was a custom to dedicate votives pertaining to fertility and rites of passage at the sanctuary.[11]

To determine the reason for which the statuette is presented, we have to consider two cultural contexts: Hellenistic Ptolemaic culture and traditional Cypriot culture. Archaeologists have found several votive figurines in Cyprus from the Chalcolithic period which depict women in labour,[12] as well as figurines that depict women with swollen bellies, who may have been pregnant.[13] Additionally, archaeologists have

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[6]Grant, *From Alexander to Cleopatra,*155.
[7]"Limestone Statuette of a Childbirth Scene," The Metropolitan Museum of Art, sculpture.
[8]Hermary and Mertens, *The Cesnola Collection of Cypriot Art*, 14.
[9]Hermary and Mertens, 13.
[10]Hermery and Mertens, 18.
[11]Hermery and Mertens, 176.
[12]Swiny, 185.
[13]Bolger, "Figurines, Fertility, and the Emergence," 368.

found throughout Cyprus inscriptions to a "Great Mother" from the bronze age until the Classical period.[14] The figurines and the inscriptions about a female goddess, depicting themes of fertility and motherhood, suggests ancient Cypriot people prominently worshipped fertility goddesses from the Chalcolithic period until the Classical period. Then, due to exposure to Archaic and Classical Greek culture in the 6th century BCE, Cypriot culture began to be influenced by Greek culture.[15] During this period, there is evidence of the first epigraphic record of the Greek gods on Cyprus, which implies that the worship of them began at this time.[16] This contact with Greek religion caused the fertility goddesses of Cyprus to be syncretized with Aphrodite.[17] Goddesses of fertility and sexuality were of immense importance to traditional Cypriot culture, and this cultural tradition carried on into the Classical period, despite Greek prominence.

When the Ptolemies ruled Cyprus, Hellenistic culture became dominant on the island. Three new cities were established in Cyprus by the Ptolemies, and several sanctuaries were discontinued due to political strife.[18] Also, because of the change in political structure at Cyprus, why and how the Cypriot people made dedications at the sanctuaries was affected. There was an increased importance in private commissions of votive statues, likely because of the influence of the new kingdom's political structure, which used dedications of statues and monuments to demonstrate personal power.[19] To do this, personalized features were depicted on Ptolemaic votive figurines to directly connect the devotee to power.[20] These new attitudes towards portraiture and material culture affected how people made dedications and votaries; rather than the dedication symbolizing the worshipper, the dedication was made to explicitly depict the worshipper through personalized features. These Hellenistic votary figurines adhered to the Ptolemaic models of portraiture, but still upheld Cypriot traditional style.[21]Also, the interest in individualized material culture reflects an increasing fixation with personal and general experience in the Hellenistic world.[22] Therefore, material objects in Ptolemaic culture were in fact personal, as well as realistic in their style in order to convey individualized features.

This childbirth statuette looks the way it does due to the influence of two cultural contexts, the traditional Cypriot and Ptolemaic cultures. The statuette's content matter was influenced by the traditional Cypriot culture because of its depiction of

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[14]Young, "The Cypriot Aphrodite Cult," 23.
[15]Papantoniou, "Cypriot," 170.
[16]Papantoniou, "Cypriot," 170.
[17]Papantoniou, "Cyprus from Basileis to Strategos," 46.
[18]Papantoniou, "Cyprus," 43-46.
[19]Smith and Plantzos, *Companion to Greek Art*, 123.
[20]Papantoniou, "Cypriot," 190.
[21]Papantoniou, "Cyprus," 45.
[22]Pollitt, *Art and Experience in Classical Greece*, 143.

a childbirth scene. It has been established that fertility and labour were important aspects of traditional Cypriot culture, so the decision to display an explicit childbirth for a votary suggests a revival of Cypriot traditions, despite the change in cultural and political structure. From the Ptolemaic culture, is its vividness, and personal experience of the subject. Additionally, the statuette's adherence to the Ptolemaic style and Cypriot culture suggests that the devotee was adapting to Ptolemaic rule within a Cypriot framework.[23] Thus, the statuette reflects the influence of two cultures, and likely depicts a compromise between the two cultures in the new political structure.

The statuette of a childbirth scene is Hellenistic not only because of its fusion of two cultures, but also because it represents the increased importance of research in the Hellenistic period. The statuette's vivid depiction of a childbirth scene corresponds with the specialization in women's health and childbirth, as well as the rising recognition of female medicinal figures during the Hellenistic period.

The practice of medicine during the Classical period was done primarily within religious contexts, such as in healing cults, especially at the shrine of Asclepius in Cos.[24] A famous Greek physician during the Classical period was Hippocrates of Cos, who is known for his *Hippocratic Corpus*. The *Hippocratic Corpus* consists of medical treatises that all vary in style and content, suggesting that they could have been written by several authors between the fifth and first centuries BCE, and were then compiled by the tenth century CE.[25] During the Classical period medical understanding was more theoretical than scientific.[26] The Hippocratic doctrines from this period that discuss women's health are exemplary of this, due to the amount of inaccuracy within them. For example, the theoretical disease of hysteria proposes that the womb is an animal, and it often wanders around women's bodies.[27]

In the Hippocratic doctrine, *The Diseases of Women*, the doctor never examines nor has any personal experience with the female patient, and instead a female assistant examines the patient or the patient examines herself. [28] A reason for the doctor's uninvolved approach may be that the Hippocratic doctrines claim that because women did not suffer the same diseases as men, they must not be treated or cared for like men.[29] Additionally, there is little written about childbirth within the Hippocratic doctrines, which may be because men were not involved in the process

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[23]Papantoniou,"Cyprus," 45.
[24]Grant, 155.
[25]Archer, Fischler and Wike, *Women in Ancient Societies,* 102.
[26]Dillon and James, *Companion to Women in the Ancient World*, 124.
[27]Dillon and James, 113.
[28]Dillon and James, 109.
[29]Dillon and James, 106.

of labour.[30] Thus, how the Hippocratic Corpus viewed and dealt with women suggests that during the Classical period there was a lack of interest in discovering how the female body worked in an accurate and involved approach.

In the Hellenistic period there was a shift in scholars' approach to medicine due to the accessibility of new sources and evidence, because of the political changes of the kingdom state. The kings of the early Hellenistic period invested more money into research and knowledge, especially in Ptolemaic Alexandria, which contained the Library and Museum of Alexandria.[31] The Ptolemies invested in research and information to enhance the prestige of their kingdom, and aimed to rival other Hellenistic kingdoms, as well as Athens.[32] In order to compete with other kingdoms, they supplied their researchers with criminals so they could perform vivisection and dissection to further their information on anatomy.[33] The Ptolemies also acquired the Hippocratic library of Cos, and had it moved to Alexandria, presumably to enhance their library's fame.[34] This contrasts from the Classical period because city states did not invest in research, which Plato notably complained about.[35] However, although the Hippocratic doctrines were still being written during this period, this paper focuses on the rise of physicians in the Hellenistic period who practiced outside of the Hippocratic tradition. Ptolemaic Alexandria had many noteworthy physicians, such as Erasistratus of Ceos and Herophilus of Chalcedon, both of whom were prominent in the third century BCE.[36] Due to the rise in opportunities offered to physicians at Alexandria, there were advances in their study of medicine and anatomy because they could base their knowledge on observation rather than theory. It is probable that their research had impacted Hellenistic culture, which includes Ptolemaic Cyprus. There are inscriptions that convey that there were cults to Asclepius and Hygieia at Cyprus, which may have disseminated medical information.[37] Thus, it is likely that the rise in medical knowledge at Alexandria had influenced Cyprus, especially because it had established medical cults.

The change in medical approach in the Hellenistic period also caused an increased curiosity in women's health and medicine, which contrasts from the Classical period. An explanation for this increase is the general interest in human anatomy, which was more accurate and involved. The main text from this period that dealt with women's health was Herophilus' treatise on midwifery, in which he attempted

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[30]Rhodes, *A Short History of Clinical Midwifery*, 3.
[31]Grant, 151.
[32]Longrigg, "Anatomy in Alexandria," 455.
[33]Longrigg, 457.
[34]Rhodes, 6.
[35]Grant, 151.
[36]Longrigg, 455.
[37]Papantoniou,"Cyprus," 48.

to debunk former theories about the uterus, but this has since been lost.[38] Yet, are there only fragments of this treatise from other authors, predominantly Soranus of Ephesus. Although Soranus lived the in second century CE during the Roman period, he studied medicine in Alexandria and wrote about and referenced Hellenistic scholars.[39] Soranus is often referred as the first gynaecologist in known history because of his accuracy and engaged approach towards women's health.[40] Soranus wrote a treatise, *Gynecology*, and frequently referenced Herophilus, such as when he confirmed Herophilus' conclusion that ovaries are similar to testes.[41] In his treatise, he disagrees with the notion that the womb is an animal and that it wanders within the female body, which greatly differs from previous male assumptions about the female body.[42] Additionally, he often criticized other scholars for their ideas about female anatomy. There is also evidence within his treatise that suggests that he performed vaginal examinations and that he was involved in assisting with childbirth.[43] This implies that physicians were more involved in women's health rather than only theorizing about it, which is significant because women were beginning to be treated for their health more accurately. Additionally, because Hellenistic physicians began to treat women, this may have affected how Hellenistic society perceived women's health, and thus likely affected the realism of the statuette.

There was a rise in legendary and historical professional medicinal women in the fourth century BCE, which suggests that there was a rise in recognition of women in medicinal roles compared to the Classical period. It is likely that there were midwives and medicine women prior to this period, but there are no surviving records about them.[44] A known legendary figure from the Hellenistic period was Agnodice of Athens, who studied under Herophilus, and she is often described as the first female physician.[45] Historically, Aspasia of Athens from the fourth century BCE wrote treatises on gynaecology and possibly provided better care for her patients than Soranus.[46] Additionally, Flavius Aetius from the fourth century CE quoted her more than Soranus when he discussed gynaecology, which suggests that she may have had more authority on the subject than him.[47] The rise in legendary and historical female medicinal figures suggests that female physicians and midwives had more recognition in the Hellenistic period compared to the Classical period. Thus, the increased recognition of women in medicinal roles may have

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[38]Most, "Callimachus and Herophilus," 193.
[39]Rhodes, 6.
[40]Rhodes, 6.
[41]Soranus, *Gynecology*, I.12.
[42]Soranus, I.6-11.
[43]Rhodes, 6.
[44]Dillon and James, 122.
[45]Grant, 201.
[46]Dillon and James, 123.
[47]Dillon and James, 123.

influenced the statuette's depiction of the two aids in the childbirth scene, who likely were midwives or physicians.

The limestone statuette of a childbirth scene was made and dedicated in Cyprus during a period of drastic political change, that resulted in the altering of dynamics in society, material culture and medicine. It also affected the social conduct between the Cypriot and Ptolemaic cultures, which influenced material objects and often made them a mixture of both cultures. Additionally, the change in political structure impacted research in medicine, and also caused physicians to value involved research. This led to male physicians acknowledging women in medicinal professions because of their skill and experience pertaining to gynaecology. This suggests that the development in medicine and acknowledgement of midwifery caused the statuette to be portrayed more realistically. Thus, this statuette is important for understanding the shifting dynamics of the Hellenistic period because of its influence from midwifery and women's health, as well as the fusion of cultures.

FIGURES

Figure 1: "Limestone statuette of a childbirth scene." 310 B.C.E-30 B.C.E
H. 16.5 cm; W. 25.1 cm.
The Metropolitan Museum of Art.
Accession no. 74.51.2698
https://www.metmuseum.org/art/collection/search/242249

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MATILDA OF CANOSSA

MARYLIN JUNG

Matilda of Canossa, Countess of Tuscany, was born in 1046 to a noble family in northern Italy. She could have ended like so many other noble women during her time, as a simple tool with which to form marriage alliances between leading houses. However, with the support and mentorship of her mother, Matilda became a ruler in her own right.

Matilda was not only in full control of her own estate, she also commanded her own army and kept additional territory in Italy. In addition, she had close ties to the pope himself, Gregory VII. Matilda managed her monetary, military, and political assets in such a cunning way that she rose to be one of the most influential women of her time. The two most important rulers of the time, the Holy Roman Emperor and the pope, fully recognised Matilda's value as an asset, and found themselves with either a powerful ally or a powerful enemy in her.

Matilda of Canossa, Countess of Tuscany, daughter of Margrave Boniface III of Tuscany and Beatrice of Lorraine, was an 11th-century Italian noblewoman related through her mother to the Salian Dynasty, the reigning line of Holy Roman Emperors at the time. Through unfortunate events, her father and her remaining siblings all died, making Matilda the only heir to her father's vast economic and material resources. Matilda ascended to her position during a time when the church and the Holy Roman Empire were in a state of upheaval. A conflict for supremacy had arisen between the aforementioned parties, in which each side claimed to be the highest authority in earthly and heavenly matters. Matilda played a decisive role in the way that she provided the church, and more precisely Pope Gregory VII, with military, monetary, and political support against the Holy Roman Emperors Henry III, Henry IV, and Henry V. Thanks to the support of her mother Beatrice, an alliance with Pope Gregory VII and the church, and her own ambitions and aspirations, Matilda ascended to be one of the most powerful women of her time.

In medieval times, the ideal for women was one of marriage, family, and obedience. This was an ideal that Beatrice of Lorraine, a strong woman herself, did not wish for her daughter. After the death of her first husband, and two of her three children, she married her cousin Godfrey III of Lorraine, a disgraced feudal ruler who had lost his estate due to a conflict with Henry III.[1] She defied the emperor and married without the consultation, or consent, of Henry III, a move that only few would dare, even less a woman. Beatrice appears to have chosen Godfrey III strategically, as their reign was chronicled as one of equal status shared by both parties, meaning that Beatrice's choice of husband helped her both to avoid control by an overambitious spouse, and to ensure the security of her estate from the emperor, as both appeared to have entered this political marriage by mutual agreement.[2] Beatrice realized that to secure Matilda's future independence from imperial control, Matilda would have to marry, a political move that Beatrice probably did not wish for her daughter, even less so when it required Matilda to be betrothed at the early age of 8 years old.[3] Matilda managed to evade her stepbrother, Godfrey IV, until she was about 23 years old, and severed ties when it became clear that Godfrey IV wanted to control her.[4] Beatrice knew she had to find a different way to secure Matilda's position as sole ruler over her estate, and knew she would not find it with the emperor. Instead, she turned to Pope Gregory VII. Beatrice, together with Godfrey III, were staunch supporters of the church, and had forged contacts with high-ranking clergy from early on.[5] Matilda had been present at important religious meetings, had accompanied her mother on travels to Rome, and was even related to one of the previous popes, Stephen IX, through her stepfather Godfrey III.[6] After Godfrey III's death, Beatrice was sole regent, and in preparation for Matilda's future succession trained her in the administration of her estate.[7] They reigned as mother and daughter, and Beatrice made sure to prove her and Matilda's indispensability to Gregory VII.

Pope Gregory VII realized early into his papacy that Emperor Henry IV would not be his ally, as the latter was opposed to Gregory VII's ideas of papal reform; Gregory's proposed reforms would effectively rob Henry IV of his control over several relevant issues, such as the election of the pope by the emperor, and even his own throne, if Gregory VII's claim that the pope could depose of the emperor if needed was accepted.[8] After the failed attempt by Gregory VII to mold Henry IV to his own vision through his influence on the emperor's mother, Agnes, the pope

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[1]Cowdrey, *Pope Gregory VII*, 296.
[2]Skinner, *Women in Medieval Italian Society*, 137.
[3]Smith, "Art of Inventing," 6.
[4]Smith, 6; Cowdrey, 130.
[5]Robinson, *Papal Reform*, 10.
[6] Skinner, 137; Robinson, 10.
[7]Cowdrey, 297.
[8] Smith, 9.

realized that he needed someone else to be his hand in worldly matters.[9] Through Beatrice's clerical contacts, Gregory VII knew of the former and the vast economic, political, and military resources that would sooner or later pass into Matilda's hands. Seeing Matilda's precarious situation as a lone female feudal ruler in patriarchal medieval Italy, Gregory VII knew that they could be of use to each other.[10] While it may appear as if each acted mainly out of a concern for the well-being of the other party, it becomes clear that both used each other to their own advantage. Matilda willingly lent her support and material resources to the papacy, in return for protection from any unwanted male and/or imperial interference. That Matilda always managed to keep the upper hand in her dealings with Pope Gregory VII becomes clear when one considers the following example: Matilda's estranged husband, Godfrey IV, had asked for Gregory VII's help in winning back his wife, in return offering military support against Henry IV. Gregory wanted the much-needed additional troops, despite knowing that he would be forcing Matilda under the control of her husband, and agreed to the proposal.[11] When asked by Gregory VII to reconcile with Godfrey IV, Matilda refused, a well calculated decision, since she knew that Gregory VII needed her and would have to submit to her decision.[12] Gregory VII knew this as well, and had assured her of his continued support, no matter what the outcome, in an earlier letter.[13] Even though Gregory VII's and Matilda's connection cooled off after Beatrice's death, Matilda continued to help Gregory VII, and the church in general, out in times of need.[14] In 1082, when Rome was under threat of attack by Henry IV's troops, Matilda ordered the melting-down of the church treasure of St. Apollonio to provide monetary support for the city's defense.[15]

When Godfrey IV eventually died Matilda became free to marry again. This was a welcome opportunity for the newly-elected Pope Urban II, who had maintained close ties to this foremost asset against the imperial threat. Urban II wanted Matilda to marry Welf of Bavaria, a strategic choice aimed at combining both Matilda's and Welf's material resources and control over the route over the Alps, through upper Italy, to Rome.[16] Matilda only consented knowing she had no other choice, as her estate was under threat of seizure by Henry IV.[17] Knowing that Welf was only 17 at the time, she did not see him as a danger to her independence.[18]

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[9]Cowdrey, 298.
[10]Cowdrey, 298.
[11]Cowdrey, 130.
[12]Skinner, 137.
[13]Gregory VII, *Register*, 180.
[14]Gregory VII, 306.
[15]Cowdrey, 301.
[16] Blumenthal, *Investiture Controversy*, 123.
[17]Skinner, 138.
[18]Skinner, 138.

While it might appear as if Matilda only used the church for her own personal gain, she also acted as a patron. During her reign, Matilda founded several monasteries, which was not only a display of religious fervor but also meant as financial support for the church, as Matilda made sure these monasteries were located in strategic places that pilgrims would visit and make donations at, as Matilda had also initiated the transfer of relics to them.[19] Matilda also "provided liturgical books" to monasteries in her estates, and "sacred vessels" used in liturgical celebrations.[20] She ordered the distribution of "giant bibles" to facilitate access to the complete works, and "commissioned biblical studies."[21] Throughout her life Matilda continued to give donations and gifts to the church.[22] Matilda sought not only to use the church when necessary, but also to give back when she could. She may have grown up in the world of political power struggles and alliances, but her patronage speaks to the human, and religious, side of Matilda.

Matilda proved to be as able and cunning as the men who faced her. She managed to keep her independence, as seen in the case of her dealings with both of her husbands and the Holy Roman Emperors. Under the guidance of her mother, who groomed her to be resilient, smart, and independent, she learned to be a successful ruler, establish her dominance, and form powerful alliances to secure her position in the long run. In doing so, she quickly turned into one of the church's greatest assets, and consequently into one of the Holy Roman Empire's greatest adversaries. While it may initially appear as if Matilda solemnly fought out of religious fervour for the independence of the church from imperial control, and the reformation of the church by pope Gregory VII, it becomes clear that she did so in return for her autonomy from any external forces, and did so quite successfully, being one of the few female rulers to do so. However they tried to restrain or control Matilda, she managed to find a way out, or around her opponents. Every time it appeared as if Matilda had to give in to the other party, she always managed to gain an advantage for herself in the process, as can be seen with her final submission to Henry V. While this might appear as a concession to failure, Matilda was in return crowned Imperial Vicar and Vice-Queen of Italy by Henry V in 1111, a last hoorah for Matilda before her death in 1115.

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[19]Cowdrey, 297; Skinner, 139.
[20]Cowdrey, 302.
[21]Cowdrey, 302.
[22]Skinner, 139.

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GOTHIC ARCHITECTURE AND EMBELLISHMENT: A LUMINOUS SHIFT TOWARDS DIVINITY

MARINA ZHEKOVA

The grandeur and elegance of Gothic institutions exhibit an astounding contrast from the heavy, compact and dim personality of Romanesque cathedrals. The combination of structural elements such as flying buttresses, cross-ribbed groin vaults and pointed arches enables Gothic architecture to become taller, broader and brighter than has ever been seen before. An emphasis on the use of stained glass also emerged in tandem with the concept of "divine light", alongside the accommodation of increased traffic from urban centres and pilgrimages. In addition, the proliferation of scholasticism, which involves philosophical thinking about religious concepts, and humanist values had a profound impact on the composition and character of sculpture as well as architectural embellishment of Gothic cathedrals.

During a time of great urbanization and economic prosperity the magnificent and monumental Gothic cathedrals flourished across Europe. Born out of the "predominantly rural and monastic"[1] Romanesque tradition, Gothic architecture and decoration reflect the style's great influence beside admirable innovation. The new interpretation of religious institutions and their embellishment demonstrate the change in people's spiritual needs and attitudes as a result of urban growth along with the popularity of humanist values stemming from scholasticism.

The architecture and embellishment of the Gothic period owe a great debt to the earlier Romanesque era for providing a model for the application of building forms and formulating a cohesive visual syntax. However, through the combination of particular structural components and sculptural development an entirely different demeanor emerges when observing the façade and interior of a 12th century cathedral. In contrast to the previous style's heavy, musty and dark atmosphere,

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[1]Davies et al.,"Gothic Art," 247.

Gothic art implemented an advanced understanding of building techniques allowing for a lighter structure and brighter interior. For example, the incorporation of flying buttresses as part of cathedral structures was one of the elements which granted the introduction of more stained glass windows because of the superior delegation of weight. Evident in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres (Fig. 1) this architectural component administers the distribution of downward thrust from the nave vault to the outside of the building producing the lightweight appearance of the interior. Accordingly, the clerestory is given the structural freedom to expand to match the height of the pointed arches in the nave arcade facilitating the integration of larger windows and a brighter ambience. The rose and lancet windows are also able to became larger and more elaborate reflecting the importance of the concept of "miraculous light"[2] emphasized by cathedrals of the Gothic period. Abbot Suger expresses this conviction in the prolific application of stained glass windows in the Abbey Church of Saint-Denis (Fig. 2), through which he believed light transforms into "the Light Divine, a revelation of the spirit of God."[3] This type of embellishment remains stylized and flat while relaying biblical narratives, demonstrated by the *Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière* (Fig. 3) window at the Cathedral of Notre-Dame at Chartres, however a greater psychological impact was made on the viewer because of the monumentality of Gothic stained glass windows. The addition of a triforium also strengthens the flood of interior light in tandem with the larger clerestory windows and visually bolsters the impression of a lightweight structure. Cementing the spacious atmosphere is the employment of a cross ribbed nave vault, first used inside the Durham Cathedral (Fig. 4) in England. This architectural technique produces a reduction in thickness, weight and downward thrust resulting in slender walls and the ability to build higher in conjunction with flying buttresses. Moreover, the piers which extend from the ribbed construction, along the walls and down to the floor accentuate the height and vertical continuity of the structure, in contrast to the interior horizontality of Romanesque cathedrals. The progression from round to pointed arches is also responsible for this atmospheric effect. To elaborate, the advanced weight distribution ability of the pointed arch allows the architectural element to "reach any desired height regardless of the width of its base"[4] facilitating taller structures and narrower bays. This emphasis on the verticality of Gothic cathedrals also reflects the attitude that taller buildings mean a closer relationship to God and the Kingdom of Heaven. The combination of these fundamental components: the pointed arch, ribbed nave vault, and flying buttresses in Gothic architecture accentuate the "growth of Mariology"[5] in the pursuit of a brighter, soaring and increasingly elegant edifice that carries a more feminine appearance. This tendency is clearly exhibited in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres; a holy temple

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[2]Davies et al., 258.
[3]Davies et al., 249.
[4]Davies et al., 248.
[5]Davies et al., 259.

dedicated to the Virgin Mary and housing the remains of a tunic she is rumoured to have worn. In addition, to better display important relics such as the Virgin's tunic, the Gothic apsidal chapels were opened up to appear as if they were one cohesive unit instead of existing in separate Romanesque *apsidioles*. This architectural innovation also assisted the management of traffic flow throughout cathedrals, because it created a second ambulatory and a wider space for visitors to walk along. The growth of urban centres, increase in population and decline of monasticism also made the transformation of this Romanesque feature necessary. Therefore, creating religious architecture on a larger scale became essential in order to accommodate the urban population as well as any travelling pilgrims. However, the desire to build taller and grander churches and cathedrals also escalated as a result of competition among the individual communities in the regions. In order to attract visitors and pilgrims, exquisite, monumental and awe-inspiring structures were crucial alongside prestigious holy relics. An exhibition of the urban community's prosperity and piety, these religious buildings served as a source of economic benefit for the people as well. The circulation of "divine love"[6] also emerged from the emphasis on venerating the Virgin Mary in some of these Christian temples and encapsulates the more humanistic attitude of the Gothic era.

The sculptural decoration on the façades and interiors of cathedrals echo this philosophy in their subtle naturalistic features. For example, while the abundantly carved tympanums and archivolts of the Romanesque era remain a part of most structures, the presentation of the prominent Last Judgement scene has been altered to fit Gothic values. To illustrate, the contrast between the anxiety-inducing scene from the Book of Revelation represented in the tympanum relief of the Cathedral of Saint-Lazare at Autun (Fig. 5) and the welcoming promise of salvation by Jesus during the same biblical event above the entrance of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Paris (Fig. 6) is immense. The tortures exercised upon the souls residing in Hell are no longer displayed as a spectacle to inspire horror in the faithful; a more earthbound interpretation of a procession of figures towards their spiritual destination is shown above Gothic portals instead. The influence of humanism during the Gothic era can also be observed in the jamb statue of St. Theodore (Fig. 7) in the south transept portal of the Cathedral of Notre-Dame in Chartres. In comparison to the three other saints in the group the figure of the knight demonstrates subtle classical contrapposto and less stylized drapery while signifying the reintroduction of youthful characters in sculpture. The carving of the entire group also indicates the progression towards free-standing sculpture, since the figures are not fully integrated into the architecture as relief but appear as if they can be removed and attached at will. In fact, the *Virgin of Paris* (Fig. 8) which is a sculpture "carved in the round"[7] represents the culmination of the tendency towards three-dimensional works of religious art. A subtle "S" curve and naturalistic

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[6]Davies et al., 259.
[7]Davies et al., 265.

drapery are evident, similar to St. Theodore, however the crucial aspect of humanistic values presented in the artwork is that the Virgin and Christ Child exhibit an earthly mother and child relationship. This is embodied by the naturalistic interpretation of the child-like body of Christ playing with his mother's veil, seemingly reaching towards the lily she is holding in her other hand. The Virgin has also been likened to a secular queen because of the incorporation of a crown on top of her head instead of a halo proclaiming her divinity. This decision reflects the inclusion of secular kings and queens among Biblical characters in locations such as the façade and rose window of the Notre-Dame in Paris as a result of the proliferation of humanist attitudes.

Consequently, the Romanesque tradition was reinterpreted during the Gothic era in an innovative fashion resulting in tremendous transformation. The brilliance of "divine light" and the majesty of spacious interior architecture are prominent outcomes of the combination of Romanesque elements to satisfy the spiritual and practical needs of urban communities. Gothic sculptural embellishment and decoration also flaunts the progression from rigid and apprehensive to naturalistic and humanist forms.

FIGURES

Figure 1: Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chartres, France
(from the south)

Source: TTaylor, "Chartres Cathedral." Photograph. 2005.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chartres_Cathedral_000.JPG
(accessed January 10, 2018)

Figure 2: Apse, Abbey Church of
St. Denis, Paris, France.

Source: Pierre Poschadel. "Saint-Denis (93), basilique Saint-Denis, abside." Photograph. 2014.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Saint-Denis_(93),_basilique_Saint-Denis,_abside_3.jpg (accessed January 10, 2018)

Figure 3. *Notre Dame de la Belle Verrière* (detail)
Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chartres, France, ca. 1170.
Stained-glass window.
Approx. height (4.27m).

Source: Vassil. "Vitrail Chartres Notre-Dame" Photograph. 2009. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Vitrail_Chartres_Notre-Dame_210209_1.jpg (accessed January 10, 2018)

Figure 4. Nave, Durham Cathedral, England. 1093 – 1130.

Source: Oliver-Bonjoch. "Durham Cathedral. Interior." Photograph. 2010. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Durham_Cathedral._Interior.jpg (accessed January 10, 2018)
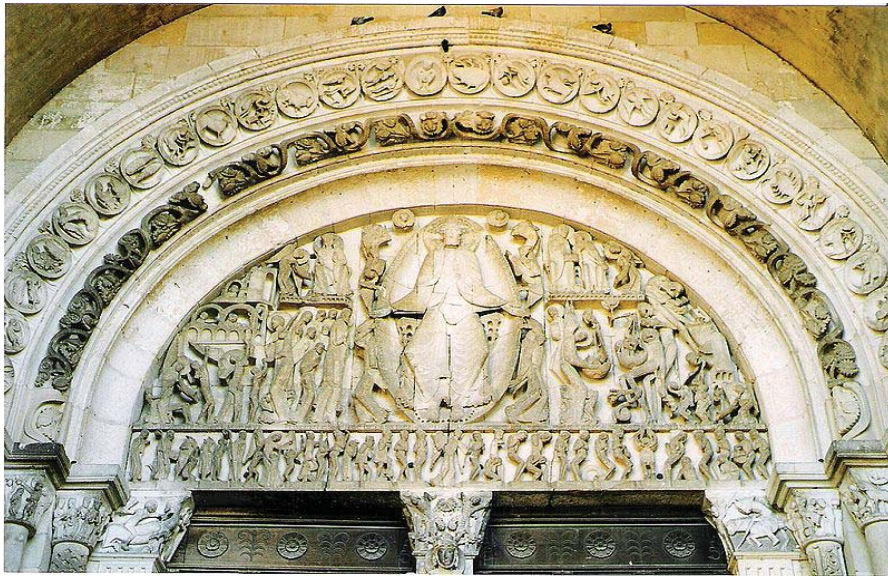
Figure 5: Gislebertus, *Last Judgement* tympanum,
west portal, Cathedral of Saint-Lazare, Autun, France. ca. 1120-35.

Source: Lamettrie. "Tympanum of the cathedral St. Lazare in Autun,
Burgundy, France." Photograph. 2005.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Autun_St_Lazare_Tympanon.jpg
(accessed January 10, 2018)

Figure 6: *Last Judgement* tympanum, central tympanum above the portal
of the west façade, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, France.

Source: Philippe Alès. "Notre-Dame de Paris Tympanum of the Last
Judgment." Photograph. 2013.
https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Notre-
Dame_de_Paris_Tympanum_of_of_the_Last_Judgment.JPG (accessed January 10, 2018)
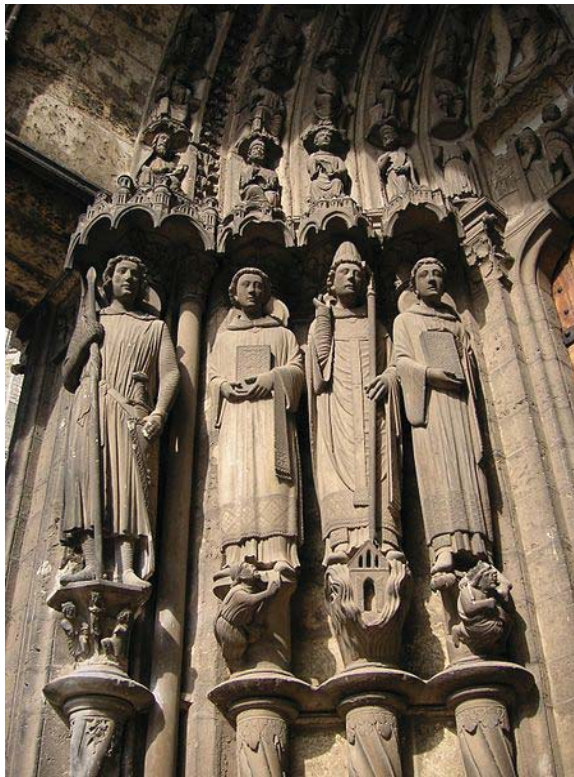
Figure 7: Jamb Statues, South Transept Portal, Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Chartres, France. ca. 1215-20. Stone.

Source: TTaylor. "Medieval Sculptor." Photograph. 2005. wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Chartres_cathedral_023_martyrs_S_TTaylor.JPG. (accessed January 10, 2018)

Figure 8: "Virgin of Paris," Cathedral of Notre-Dame, Paris, France. 14th century. Stone.

Source: sailko. "Notre Dame de Paris, statua della nostra signora di Parigi." Photograph 2009. https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Notre_dame_de_paris,_statua_della_nostra_signora_di_parigi.JPG (accessed January 10, 2018)

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HOW DID SWEDEN'S MILITARY EVOLUTION UNDER GUSTAVUS ADOLPHUS II CREATE BATTLEFIELD SUCCESS

EMERZON ZUNIGA

The "Lion of the North," Gustavus Adolphus II, created the true northern lion by systematically reforming Sweden's military system in the 17th century. The changes that he made to the Swedish military led to their success on the battlefield against larger forces, such as the Holy Roman Empire. These reforms would later contribute to Sweden's victory during the Thirty Years War.

An army is a group of fighters suited for battle on land; however, the attributes that define a winning army go far beyond persons suited for battle. A successful army needs discipline, tactical flexibility, professional officers, high morale, and esprit de corps. During the 17th century, Swedish monarch Gustavus Adolphus II was inspired to reform the Swedish military after being influenced by Roman tactical manuals and the advancements of the United Provinces' citizen army. These reforms would later grant the Swedish military victory on the battlefield until his death in 1632. Adolphus II recognised that that his military need to be flexible and powerful; to do this he needed to maximize the offensive capability of his forces and utilize the technology available. Eventually, his reforms improved his military's discipline and esprit de corps.

Gustavus Adolphus II created a professional soldiery and officer corps that had the discipline and esprit de corps to win battles. Adolphus II was a religious man who envisioned himself as the protector of Protestantism. He went to a war, the "chief object of which [was] to free [his] oppressed brothers in faith from the clutches of the pope."[1] Moreover, he was the protector of important ports and trading centers

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[1] Robinson, *Readings in European History Volume II*, 207.

along the Baltic Sea. In order to protect his religious brethren and territory he envisioned a unified Protestant army. This contrasts with the common employment of mercenary forces who were diverse in origin, religion, and loyal only to their pay. To achieve the professional force that Adolphus II envisioned he expanded Sweden's old levy system, turning it from a national draft into a more volunteer orientated recruitment system.[2] The new system allowed professional soldiers to develop their craft, as well as their identity through regular pay and drills; it was also easier to establish a genuine sense of esprit de corps in a professional army. Furthermore, Adolphus II integrated mercenary companies into the Swedish military. He was able to hire the mercenaries for extended periods of time, as well as holding them to the same standard as his national soldiers; this increased the army standards, which led to an increase in discipline, and personally motivated well-trained soldiers. Adolphus II demanded that the officer corps was properly educated in the art of war; he also required the officers to improve their martial prowess, and study military history and Roman tactical manuals. This change gave officers the independence they needed to be more flexible and resilient.

The effect of the reforms can be seen in Adolphus II's confidence in his country's military ability. In 1630, when addressing the military class, Adolphus II proclaimed that the military spirit of the Goths of antiquity had "shone forth again in your manly behaviour, your unfailing courage" that their descendants would revere their "might at arms, and great conquests."[3] Furthermore, he sought decisive battles, suggesting that he had confidence that his army was superior. Adolphus II's reforms were able to showcase his army's true effectiveness when the professional officers were able to win the battle of Lutzen after losing their monarch. The effects of Adolphus II's reforms are further exemplified in the discipline, unity, and desire to fight displayed by the ethnically diverse Swedish army which was a result of his efforts to unify the army into a cohesive fighting force. Improving the officer professionalism, army unity, and cohesion helped win the Swedes battles before and after Adolphus II's death; however, it was his changes to the army's tactical structure that made it a weapon of annihilation.

The changes Gustavus Adolphus II made to his army's tactical structure maximized its mobility and offensive capability. The shift to a more offensive and mobile army was a response to the mostly defensive fighting styles of the time, which were Tercio infantry formations and the cavalry caracole. In 1631, The Tercios at the battle of Breitenfield were roughly fifteen hundred man, strong muskets, and pike diamonds; it was a massive formation that was incredibly difficult to break, yet it was very slow to maneuver and lacked offensive capability.[4] In the caracole, cavalry acted as skirmishers, shooting and retreating in ranks to maintain regular

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[2]Weigly, *The Age of Battles*, 6.
[3]Robinson, 208.
[4]Paul, *Masters of the Battlefield*, 277.

fire. Both these formations were hampered by the primitive quality of firearms they employed as their primary offensive weapons and the over-complexity of their firearm drills. Sweden was able exploit the weakness of their contemporary opponents by reforming the military's tactical structure. Their units were able to increase their mobility by imitating the flexibility and unit size of the Roman cohort which consisted of roughly five hundred men. This proved crucial in the battle of Breitenfield. Military historian Russel Weigly notes that because of the increased flexibility and discipline of Swedish forces they had "a capacity unparalled since the Romans to react promptly to battlefield emergencies."[5] Standing in stark contrast to the Imperial Tercios — which were too slow to exploit the opportunity created by the Saxon route — the Swedish forces could fill in the gaps of their line faster than the Imperials because of their unit size. Adolphus II took the Swedish army through several reforms to make it more capable on the offensive. Primarily, the use of mass pike charges and the triple line single salvo of musket fire, the "Swedish Salvee," delivered shock infantry tactics.[6] The Swedish cavalry increased its effectiveness by combining pistol fire with a direct sword drawn cavalry charge. On both the left and right flanks of the battle of Breitenfield, the effectiveness of Adolphus II's military reform is illustrated. On the left flank, the use of repeated pike charges and mass volleys slowly drove the Imperials back. While the decisive stroke of the battle was a cavalry flank that captured, and turned the Imperial guns on Imperial Tercios and drove into the rear of the Imperial army. Historian Paul K. Davis stated that "the victory was one of the maneuverability of the Swedish units vs the size and weight of the tercio."[7] He further stated: "Conversely, it was a victory of the weight of Swedish firepower."[8] Adolphus II was able to effectively increase the Swedish army's mobility and firepower by reforming its tactical structure, giving them a decisive edge on the battlefield. Considering the circumstances that the Swedish military had to face at Breteinfield and Lutzen, it is remarkable that Adolphus II was able to successfully defeat armies commanded by experienced commanders, such as Tilly, the Imperial commander at Breteinfield having started his military career roughly 60 years prior, in 1574. The Imperial armies of Breteinfield and Lutzen were comprised of veteran commanders, yet both were defeated by the significantly more mobile and powerful Swedish forces.

Gustavus Adolphus II's reforms stressed the development of professionalism, mobility, and offensive power, which resulted in victories at Breitenfield and Lutzen. His smaller, more flexible infantry formations could deliver more powerful strikes, eventually leading to the Swedish army's victory at Breitenfield. Gustavus Adolphus II has been described as the "Lion of the North," he was perhaps more

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[5]Weigly, 22.
[6]Plant, "The Swedish System."
[7]Paul, 295.
[8]Paul, 295.

telling the creator of a "Northern Lion," a quick, sharp clawed animal that was the Swedish army.[9] The foundation that Adolphus II laid out has become the most basic principles that define the victorious from the defeated. Professionalism, mobility, and offensive capability are the hallmarks of an effective army. The blitzkrieg, which specializes in fast and powerful attacks by aircrafts, tanks, and artillery working in combination is a striking example of the changes Adolphus II introduced to the military. This tactic soon became Swedish military's blueprint for success.

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[9]Merriman, *A History of Modern Europe*, 153.

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ABBASID CULTIVATION OF IRANIAN DISSENT IN KHORASAN

Behnam Fayyadh

This paper looks at how the cultivation of dissent towards the ruling Umayyad dynasty among the native Iranian population of Khorasan was immensely beneficial to accomplishing the goals of the Abbasid revolution. It is argued that the conquest of Khorasan by the revolutionaries was accomplished through a skillful clandestine propaganda campaign by the Abbasids, which culminated in simultaneous popular uprisings that overwhelmed Umayyad forces in the region and forced them to capitulate control of Khorasan. These popular uprisings then allowed the core of the revolutionary Abbasid forces to build a solid base and consolidate their power in Khorasan, without having to suffer any significant losses. The paper looks at how the Abbasid propaganda seized on the grievances of the local Iranian population living under Umayyad rule, and how it used these grievances as a means of conquering Khorasan without having to risk significant losses to their relatively outnumbered armed forces. The causes of the resentment of local Iranian populations of Khorasan towards the Umayyads are briefly addressed, as is the form of propaganda that the revolutionaries may have used to cultivate and organize popular uprisings, based on primary source accounts of speeches by leaders of the revolutions. Secondary sources are also used to shed light on how significant the underlying grievances of the Iranian population towards Umayyad rule may have been in facilitating support for the Abbasids' quest to conquer Khorasan and ultimately overthrow the Umayyad dynasty.

The Abbasid Revolution that began in 747 CE in the Khorasan province of the Umayyad dynasty would undeniably change the course of Islamic and Near Eastern history in a profound way, and as a result has been the subject of intense scholarly debate in the modern era. Much of the current debate focuses on the ethnic and linguistic character of the military force used by the Abbasids against their Umayyad enemies, and the civilian uprisings in the Umayyad province of Khorasan where the revolution began have arguably been neglected or overlooked as a less

significant factor in the ultimate success of the revolution. It can be argued that the relative ease with which the Abbasids were able to conquer the Khorasan province was largely due to the fact that they had the tacit support of the local population, who had risen up in revolt against the Umayyad garrisons in the major urban centres, and this in turn allowed the Abbasids to amalgamate their army and form a base from which to launch further offensive operations against the Umayyads. The conquest of Khorasan was achieved through a vigorous and persistent propaganda campaign by the Abbasids, which was principally aimed at addressing the socio-economic, socio-political and ethnically driven grievances of the Iranian population under Umayyad rule. By harvesting the resentment of the Iranian masses, and converting it into an organized armed revolt against a dispersed and numerically inferior Umayyad Arab army stationed in Khorasan, Abu Muslim and his Abbasid patrons were able to wrest control of Khorasan without incurring significant losses. This in turn allowed the movement to consolidate power and swell their ranks, before marching west to face the mainstay of Umayyad forces, in what would become the critically decisive battles of the Abbasid revolution. The subsequent success of the Abbasid revolution, and resulting destruction of the Umayyad dynasty, can therefore be explained in part by the resentment caused by discriminatory Umayyad policies towards the Iranian population of Khoarasan, and the neglect of government officials to address these grievances sufficiently.

The principal complaint of the Iranian population living under Umayyad rule, which led to vehement opposition and the most serious grievances, was economic in origin.[1] The imposition of the *jizyah,* or the poll tax, in addition to the *Kharaj,* or what is commonly understood as the land tax continued from the Sassanid system, had a crippling effect on the Iranian peasantry, who were already being taxed relatively heavily under the Sassanids.[2] The *dihqans,* or Persian land owning aristocracy in charge of collecting taxes for the Umayyad governors of Khurasan, were undoubtedly guilty of pressuring the peasantry too much by demanding both the *jizyah* and the *kharaj*, most likely because they were paid for their services by taking a share of the taxes collected.[3] Even though the *dahaqin* actively discouraged conversion,[4] many Iranian peasants began to see conversion as a way to relieve themselves from the burden of heavy taxation.

In the year 700, a great number of Iranian peasants converted to Islam, and travelled to Iraq to submit to Allah in front of the Umayyad governor al-Hajjaj ibn Yusuf al-Thaqafi, from whom they demanded to be exempt from paying the *jizyah*.[5] He sent them back to Khorasan without any such agreement, and did not even recognize

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[1]Guzman, "The 'Abbasid Revolution," 235.
[2]Guzman, 237.
[3]Guzman, 233.
[4]Guzman, 236.
[5]Guzman, 231.

them as Muslim, mostly due to his understanding of the economic impact it would have on the Umayyad treasury. [6] The Umayyads had attempted to pacify Khorasan before by promising to remove the burden of *jizyah* from the Iranian *mawali*- the term used for non-Arab converts to Islam-, but had to rescind their order as a result of the severe strain put on the treasury as a result of the huge influx of converts to Islam.[7] This decision proved disastrous in terms of stirring up dissent, and culminated in a series of serious revolts that broke out in Sughd from 728-729.[8] Ancient sources clearly list the complaints of the *mawali* about being charged the *jizyah* even after converting, to the last Umayyad governor of Khorasan, Nasr ibn Sayyar, who told the aggrieved *mawali* that he would collect their *jizyah* from non-Muslims.[9] Even though the grievances of the Iranian Khorasani peasants were originally almost exclusively economic, they would evolve into something much larger, which now involved socio-ethnic dimensions, and a general feeling of discrimination at the hands of the Umayyad governors of Khorasan. Having failed at being granted an exemption from the *jizyah* through conversion to Islam, the only way to become liberated from the burden of heavy taxes seemed to be violent revolt.[10] The Abbasids used these grievances and anti-Umayyad sentiments to great effect in their persistent and clandestine propaganda campaign in Khorasan, by promising the Iranian population relief from heavy taxes, as well as something infinitely more valuable: inclusion into the government and equality under the banner of Islam.

One indicator which may suggest that the grievances of the Iranian population were not entirely economical, was the enthusiastic willingness with which the *dihaqin* were to join and support the Abbasid revolt. The clandestine campaign of anti-Umayyad propaganda aimed at harvesting dissent, is believed to have started around 718, and persisted up until 747 when Merv fell to the Abbasid revolutionaries.[11] This means that by the time the Abbasids were ready to make their opposition to Umayyad rule public, the Iranian population, both peasantry and aristocracy, had been thoroughly indoctrinated against the Umayyads.[12] Even though the Persian aristocracy and the bureaucratic elite were playing increasingly important roles within the Umayyad administration, they nevertheless still suffered the degradation and disabilities of their *mawali* status.[13] This made them perfect targets for the Abbasid propaganda, which emphasized the equality of Muslims regardless of ethnicity and ancestry.[14] The Abbasids could not have accomplished

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[6]Guzman, 231.
[7]Moshe, *Revolt*, 28.
[8]Moshe, 28.
[9]Al-Tabari, *The History of al-Tabari,* 1688.
[10]Guzman, 235.
[11]Guzman, 244.
[12]Agha, "Abu Muslim's Conquest," 341.
[13]Arjomand, "Abd Allah Ibn al-Muqaffa," 12.
[14]Kennedy, *The Prophet*, 126.

the conquest of Khorasan with such relative ease without the tacit consent, and enthusiastic enrollment of the Persian land owning aristocracy into the revolution, which was a direct result of a generation of propaganda aimed towards ethnic Iranian sentiments.

The underground and clandestine nature of the revolutionary movement from its outset up until the time it was made public, means that records of the Abbasid propaganda, and their call to *da'wah,* or the mission, are not readily available. Clear insights into what their propaganda would have looked like during the generation or so spent fomenting resentment and dissent towards the Umayyad rule within the local Iranian population of Khorasan, can be gained by looking at speeches and attitudes of the revolution's leaders after their position was made public. Qahtaba ibn Shabib gives a glimpse into how the Iranian resentment of being conquered and ruled over by foreign Syrian Arabs was harvested, in a speech that he gives to rouse the men of Khorasan, before they are to engage the largest Umayyad Syrian force they had encountered to date.[15] He references how the land of Khorasan had belonged to their forefathers, and how it had been conquered by the race of the prophet, clearly referencing the Arabs, and how their land and women were taken while their children were enslaved.[16] He goes on to say that the Umayyad governance has become oppressive and caused the local population to fear them as a result, and that the men of Khorasan now have the opportunity to exact vengeance and punishment upon their unjust oppressors, and in turn reclaim the lands of Khorasan which belonged to their forefathers.[17]

Abu Muslim, the charismatic quasi-legendary leader of the Abbasids in Khorasan who is credited with organizing the Iranian masses in Khorasan against their Umayyad rulers, also exhibits a main principle of Abbasid propaganda, which claims that the Khorasanis are justified in their attempt to rid themselves of Umayyad rule by any means necessary, as a result of the oppression they have suffered. When the delegation of Nasr bin Sayyar makes accusations of atrocities committed by the Iranian population through their massacre of the Umayyad forces in Nasa, Talaqan, Marw al Rudh, Amul and Zamm, Abu Muslim responds by saying that while he did not instruct these acts, he cannot blame the perpetrators as they were a community that was targeted for oppression and bloodshed.[18] Through the study of these passages, among many others, it becomes easier to form a picture of what the Abbasid propaganda aimed at the Iranian population may have looked like, and how this propaganda was instrumental in cultivating a powerful organized revolt that would spell the end of Umayyad rule in Khorasan and beyond.

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[15]Al-Tabari, 2005.
[16]Al-Tabari, 2005.
[17]Al-Tabari, 2006.
[18]Agha, 344.

Merely harvesting resentment and using it to incite random acts of revolt, would not have been nearly enough to dislodge a powerful, well disciplined, experienced and organized Umayyad army and government in Khorasan. Orchestrating the dissent into an organized armed uprising and timing the revolts perfectly would be instrumental to the success of the Abbasids, a task that was carried out immaculately by Abu Muslim. The conquest of Khorasan was not achieved by marching armies, but rather through the careful orchestration of local eruptions, which in turn allowed the Abbasids to keep their armed forces fully intact before facing off in pitched battles with the Umayyads down the road.[19] This was achieved through Abu Muslim's organizational ability to engulf the entire region in one simultaneous blaze, by having the Iranian masses use their numerical superiority to crush dispersed Arab contingents at one time all over the districts of Khorasan.[20] The simultaneous occurrence of revolts in so many districts at the same time, would not allow the Umayyads to gather their dispersed forces and therefore be able to put down any of the insurrections effectively, which in turn allowed Abu Muslim and the Abbasid army to capture Merv, the capital of Khorasan and seat of the Umayyad governor, without any bloodshed.[21] Khorasan was therefore conquered without any major pitched battles, which in turn allowed the Abbasids to consolidate their power and recruit many new fighters into their relatively thin ranks, allowing the Abbasids to be able to effectively challenge a numerically superior Umayyad army further down the road.

The seeds of resentment to the Umayyad rule in Khorasan were planted by the Umayyads themselves, in the form of their ethnically discriminatory practices towards the local Iranian population. Skillful Abbasid propaganda over the course of a generation, aimed at fostering the sentiments of the disgruntled Iranians, watered and cultivated these seeds into a powerful atmosphere of opposition to Umayyad rule. This opposition was then carefully organized, and when the time was right, deliberately ignited into a simultaneous revolutionary eruption throughout Khorasan that overwhelmed the Umayyad troops stationed in the province, thereby allowing the Abbasids to conquer Khorasan with minimal losses to their main fighting force. The relative ease with which the Abbasids managed to conquer Khorasan was due in no small part to the tacit support of the local Iranian population as a result of their opposition to Umayyad rule and their aspirations of social equality, and it was this base of local partisans allowed them to consolidate their gains and solidify the foundation of their revolution. It can therefore be argued that the discrimination suffered by the Iranian population of Khorasan, at the hands of their Umayyad rulers, can be directly cited as one of the most significant factors in the success of the Abbasid revolution and consequent destruction of the Umayyad dynasty.

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[19]Agha, 344.
[20]Agha, 345.
[21]Agha, 345.

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A Subcontinent Apart:
Cross-Cultural Interactions Between
India and the Muslim World During the Abbasid Era

ETHAN SYMONS-FERRARO

Mountains and rivers mark the boundary between the Indian subcontinent and the rest of Asia. During the Abbasid era, economic activity flourished in India's port cities since Muslims sought works that could not be found in the Islamic world. Culture was not the only thing influenced by India's relationship with Muslim nations. The Muslims' influence can be observed in the Urdu language, a composite of Persian, Turkish, Arabic, and multiple Indian dialects, and traditional Hindu temples that display Persian and Arabic influences in their architecture.

Rivers and mountain ranges mark the boundary between the Indian subcontinent and the rest of Asia; creating a cradle for a cultural and ethnic population distinct from the nations that surrounds it. While there had been many forays into India by the great empires of the Classical era, with both pre-Achaemenid Persia and the Macedonians under Alexander holding territory in northern India for brief periods of time,[1] India has always been Asia's unreachable prize — with mountains, climate, or strength of arms repelling would-be conquerors.[2]

Despite India's relative isolation it still managed to spread its influence beyond its borders with sea-based trade routes reaching as far as Borneo and Java.[3] The Indians' outward reach expanded greatly from the 8th century as Hinduism spread across the subcontinent, and the cities became economic hubs. Large numbers of the rural population migrated to cities built around great temples, leading to a rapid wave of urbanization. This was also an era of relative peace between the Indian kingdoms, allowing the people living in the Indian subcontinent to focus on

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[1]Farrokh, *Shadows in the Desert*, 20.
[2]Ali, *Islam in India*, 56.
[3]Bennison, *The Great Caliphs*, 6.

economic growth and trade.[4] This flourishing period in India's history coincided with the peak of the Islamic Golden Age, during which time the Caliphate under the Abbasids sought works and teachings not found in the Islamic wold so that they could be translated in Bagdad.[5] Thus, interaction between the Caliphate and India was inevitable, especially with the Caliphate's dominating trade in the Indian Ocean and the Silk Road. The question is: what form did it take, and how did these interactions shape the two cultures?

To fully understand the relationship between India and the Caliphate, one must examine the history the two powers shared, both in the form of Indo-Arab relations prior to the rise of the Caliphate, and the cultural and economic ties between India and Sasanian Persia which the Caliphate inherited from conquering Iraq and Iran.[6] An examination of the Muslim-held Sindh region of India, modern-day Pakistan, will also be held for a view of a more direct, forceful melding of the two cultures.

The first subject is difficult to fully examine since written records of pre-Islamic Arabia are rare. That said, the mercantile networks of old Arabia were well-documented — with trading centers built throughout the desert,[7] linked by caravan routes to transport goods the coastal settlements brought from across the peninsula. Between legitimate trade and inter-tribal raiding and banditry, goods from abroad could change hands multiple times and cross the entire peninsula. This system would be the forerunner for the later Caliphate, which was built on a very urban basis in comparison to previous civilizations in the region so that they could encourage a steady flow of goods across the vast empire. This trade network also facilitated the flow of culture and ideas. However, migration to the peninsula was scarce in frequency and number, leaving the inland areas of the peninsula isolated.[8] The tribal culture of early Arabia was built along its own lines, with the foreign influences that would shape Arab culture and fascinate the Muslim scholars of the Caliphate in later years.

The Abbasids are featured more prominently in written works that concern the Indian-Persian cultural ties that where present during this era. Their capital, Baghdad, was built in the ancient Persian heartland to provide easy access to India's ports.[9] The advisor to the early Abbasid caliph, Al-Mansur, even used the prospect of trade with India as a selling point when the new capital's location was being decided; highlighting the benefits the merchants of India could bring to their

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[4]Friedmann, *Islam in Asia*, 31.
[5]Bennison, 183.
[6]Farrokh, 287.
[7]Bennison, 4.
[8]Bennison, 6.
[9]Weit, *Baghdad: Metropolis of the Abbasid Caliphate*, 10.

western neighbors.[10] It is unsurprising that the Abbasids strove to maintain a close relation with India since the Abbasid dynasty were heavily influenced by the Persians — they did, after all, occupy traditional Persian territory. This continuity with the fallen Sasanian Empire brought with it control over Sasanian trade networks of which India was an integral part. The Sasanians even kept large numbers of Indian elephants and mercenaries as part of their core army,[11] indicative of the close relations between the two civilizations. Supporting this hypothesis are the works of al-Jahiz, a prominent writer during the early Abbasid period. He was widely travelled and wrote at length about the people of India, casting them in a positive light and showing a great deal of curiosity towards Hinduism.[12]

While India certainly captured the imaginations of the Muslims, the subcontinent still remained a distant and nebulous concept to those living in the Muslim world. On the other hand, Indo-Islamic interactions were a more immediate and relevant concern for those living in India. In the early days of Islam — even as early as the days of the Prophet — Islam was finding converts among the lower classes who saw its message of equality as an escape from the caste system. Kerala, in particular, became a center for conversion since it had a sizeable population of Arab merchants and was in close proximity to the coastal cities of Arabia.[13] The Islamic influence in this region is most prominent in building. Traditional Hindu temples — as well as government and secular buildings — display a mixture of Persian and Arabic influences in their designs and architecture.[14]

In northern India, interactions took a different form since the expansionistic Umayyads defeated Rajah Dahir, and carved out a sizeable portion of territory in the Indus Valley and the Sindh region prior to the Abbasid conquest. Though Dahir was unpopular among his subjects, the fact remains that Islam was first introduced to the Hindus by invading armies. In addition, in Kerala and Rashtrakuta, Muslims were a minority under Hindu rule. In Sindh, they were the ruling minority with primarily Hindu subjects, leading to a very different power dynamic. Under Muslim rule, the Christians and Jews in the Middle East and Spain were protected by the *dhimma*; while the Hindus were not since they were identified as pagans and idol-worshippers by mainstream Islamic theologians.[15] However, this soon changed when the need to maintain political and social stability arose. The Hindus were given the same protection that People of the Book enjoyed, this eventually led to the poll tax being waived under the sultan of Delhi. This is likely because the Hindus, previously the ruling majority, would have been less accepting of

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[10]Kennedy, *When Baghdad Ruled the Muslim World*, 133.
[11]Farrokh, 77.
[12]Ali, 11.
[13]Ali, 53.
[14]Friedmann, 149.
[15]Ali, 11.

secondary status than Coptic Christians or Jews who have already experienced religious persecution under the Byzantines.[16] Under the Muslims' rule, northern India came to be a center for cultural exchange and fusion between Asia, India and the Muslim world. This synthesis of civilizations can still be observed in the Urdu language — a composite of Persian, Turkish, Arabic and multiple Indian dialects — and the Sikh faith, a religion originating from Muslim-held Punjab in the 15th century and demonstrates many close connections to Sufism.[17] This hybrid culture, or *Ganga-Jamuni tehzib*, served to bring the two peoples together in a region that might have otherwise fractured from internal struggle. In the last years of the Abbasid era, as the Abbasids lost power to their regional sultans and slave soldiers, while the Mongols ravaged Iran, northern India underwent a cultural renaissance rivalling that of Egypt, beating back the Mongol invasions and building an enduring legacy.[18] The Mamluk Sultanate of Delhi, the Mughals, and modern-day Pakistan were built on the foundations laid during the Abbasid reign in Al-Sindh.

The last and most important factor that contributed to Islam's spread to India were the Sufis. While it is true that there were limited conversions to Islam in Kerala, and northern India began very early in Islam's history; it was only in the latter half of the Abbasid era that Islam began to appeal to the broader population of the Indian subcontinent, evolving beyond its status as a tolerated minority religion.[19] This shift coincides with the arrival of Sufis from Iran through Al-Sindh, and travelling deeper into India. The more mystical and less restrictive form of Islam they preached made the Sufis more successful than the conservative theologians. They also managed to find a great deal of common ground with the Hindu yogis they came into contact with. Many Sufi schools were developed in India, blending the life of an Islamic mystic with that of a yogi, or Bhakti saint.[20] Through Sufi and Indian efforts, Islam came to spread more quickly than had previously been possible. Consider Indonesia, a nation that is home to the largest Muslim population in the world, received the message of Islam from Indian missionaries and traders. The fact that it was Islam, and not Hinduism, which became the majority religion in Indonesia speaks to both the strength of the Sufi message and to the vital role Muslims played in sea based trade across Asia.[21]

Despite the distrust those at the top of the Hindu caste system had of Muslims during the early spread of Islam, and the occasional periods of conflict between the Islamic-ruled Sindh and their southern neighbors, these manifold contributions

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[16]Egger, *A History of the Muslim World to 1405*, 9.
[17]Ali, 14.
[18]Ali, 56.
[19]Ali, 53.
[20]Friedmann, 72.
[21]Wade, "An Early Age of Commerce in Southeast Asia*,*" 235.

Islam made to Indian culture and vice-versa demonstrate the proud legacy the two civilizations built together.

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PEACE-BUILDING IN PAKISTAN:
KHWAJA SIRA ACTIVISM

JOVARIA GHANI

The Pakistani khwaja sira *community have faced significant oppression and structural violence throughout much of history.* Khwaja sira *is an umbrella term used for the trans, intersex and gender non-conforming people in South-East Asia; it is being used to replace the word hijra because many people in the community feel as though it has a negative connotation. Historically, they were given honourable and valued social positions, however through colonization they were labelled with a subordinate social class. Until 2009, this community did not have access to civil rights. This essay discusses the activism that resulted in the reversal of the structurally violent policies that oppressed the* khwaja sira *community.*

Pakistan is home to over one and a half million *khwaja sira* people. *Khwaja sira* is an umbrella term for the trans, intersex, and gender non-conforming people of South-East Asia.[1] It is important to note that this term does not include anyone that is biologically female.[2] It is a term preferred by the community and is used instead of *hijra,* which many feel has a negative connotation; however *hijra* still is often used, even within the community.[3] Pre-colonization, the *khwaja sira* community held valuable roles in society; however, because of the imposition of western values that were introduced through colonization, the *khwaja sira* peoples were socially oppressed and their social status declined; and until 2009, they held no civil rights.[4] This severely marginalized community has been advocating for economic and social justice for many years; and in 2009, the Pakistani *khwaja sira* community

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[1]Chaudry et al., "The Begging Hijras," 2553.
[2]Jami and Kamal, "Attitudes Toward Hijras Scale," 151.
[3]Khan, "Transgender" Activism," 170.
[4]Jami and Kamal, 153.

successfully obtained civil rights.[5] This increased positive peace by eliminating some of the structural violence that this community faces; further, this sparked a movement of social justice activism in the *khwaja sira* community.[6]

The traditional role of *khwaja sira* peoples was one of honour and respect. They were embraced in society, and often held important roles in their communities. They were considered a third gender rather than transgender or intersex. Their roles included "dancing, singing, and seeking *wadhais* [alms] at the birth of male child[ren] and wedding ceremon[ies] of sons."[7] In addition, they were highly trusted to be "caretakers of royal harems…messengers, watchmen and guardians."[8] They were also seen as "masters of art and culture."[9] In the Islamic religion, it is believed that God blessed intersexed people because of their "sexual deformity" and for this reason intersex individuals, were "blessed with powers."[10]

With the British colonization of India the *khwaja sira* community was labelled "a criminal caste, a classification under which they could be subjected to surveillance and arrest."[11] This was the beginning of the marginalization and ridicule of this community.[12] They have since faced significant of structural and cultural violence in regards to poverty, and social exclusion. Social exclusion is defined by Jo Beall and Laure-Hélène Piron as: "a process or state that prevents individuals or groups from full participation in social, economic and political life and from asserting their rights. It derives from exclusionary relationships based on power."[13] Although there is a lot of diversity in the *khwaja sira* community, for most Pakistani citizens, "the distinction between various categories within the [*khwaja sira*] community does not exist."[14] Some analysts speculated that the lack of knowledge about *khwaja sira* people is caused by communalism and the imposition of western beliefs about transgender people.[15] These ideologies took away from their respectable third gender identification and placed them in the unfamiliar category of transgender.[16] In many cases, when parents realize their male child is acting feminine, or that their child is intersexed, it is common for them to be kicked out

[5]Chaudry et al., 2553.
[6]Khan, 177.
[7]Jami and Kamal, 153.
[8]Chaudry et al., 2553.
[9]Chaudry et al., 2553.
[10]Jami and Kamal, 152.
[11]Khan, 173.
[12]Jami and Kamal, 153.
[13]Beall and Piron as quoted in: Abdullah et al., "Is social exclusion," 2.
[14]Jami and Kamal, 154.
[15]Jami and Kamal,154.
[16]Jami and Kamal,153.

of the home.[17] If the child is granted the privilege of attending school, they are often bullied and ridiculed for their sex or gender.[18] In many cases *khawaja sira* people have been subject to physical violence as well.

The lack of opportunity provided for the *khwaja sira* community has resulted in extreme poverty for this group. This has resulted in widespread homelessness, and many *khwaja sira* peoples are forced to beg for money just to fulfill their basic human needs.[19] The poverty this community faces demonstrates the war system implemented in Pakistan's society and politics. There seem to be only two types of professions available to *khwaja sira* peoples: entertainment and sex work.[20] Prostitution is thought to be one of the oldest jobs in the world, but it has proven to be very dangerous for this community. A study conducted in 2004 found that 69.5% of *khwaja sira* sex workers never used a condom. Further, the study revealed that "60.2% [k*hwaja siras*] in Karachi and 35.9% in Lahore were suffering from Syphilis, whereas 0.5% of [*khwaja siras*] in Lahore and 1.5% in Karachi were HIV positive."[21] The lack of prophylactic use can be attributed to many factors including: a lack of knowledge about prophylactic amongst the Pakistani public, social and religious stigma surrounding condom use, and the opposition of condom use from sex clients.[22]

In 2009, the Pakistani Supreme Court ruled in favour of giving civil rights to the *khwaja sira* community. Two of the three Supreme Court judges ruled in favour of this petition, one being Iftikhar Chaudry.[23] This petition sparked when a group of *khwaja siras* were brutally raped by several police officers just a few months prior.[24] The ruling ordered the issuing of identity cards to proclaim their "third-gender" standing.[25] Within six months of this notable decision, "the court ordered the provision of security, inheritance, and voting rights, educational and job opportunities, and access to government-sponsored welfare programs for *khwaja siras*."[26] This was shocking considering the official stance of the Pakistani government: they are an Islamic Republic[27] with a 96.4% Muslim population.[28]

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[17]Pamment, "Hijraism," 30.
[18]Pamment, 30.
[19]Chaudry et al., 2553.
[20]Jami and Kamal, 153.
[21]Abdullah et al., "Is social exclusion," 2.
[22]Casterline, Sathar, and Haque,"Obstacles," 99.
[23]Chaudry et al., 2553.
[24]Jami and Kamal, 153.
[25]Jami and Kamal, 153.
[26]Khan, 173-174.
[27]Khan, 173-174.
[28]"Population of Pakistan (2017)," Population of the World, , accessed November 13, 2017, https://www.livepopulation.com/country/pakistan.html.

Because it is often perceived to be against the Islamic religion, homosexuality has been outlawed since Pakistan formed.[29] Many upset citizens threatened the life of Iftikhar Chaudhry, chief justice of Pakistan, because they felt as though he was supporting anti-Islamic "gay behaviour." However, he defended his decision stating that it was not anti-Islamic, and that *khwaja siras* should have access to the same rights all Pakistanis do. [30]

Khawaja sira activism gained a lot of momentum after the Supreme Court ruling, however, many members of the community have been advocating for equal rights for a long time. Mohammed Aslam is a popular member of the *khwaja sira* community in Abbottabad, Pakistan. In 1990, Aslam ran for state office as an independent candidate.[31] Because he was not physically intersexed and held a job as a server in which he presented as a man, he was not subject to the limitations typically placed on his community.[32] However, he was required to strip down in court to prove that he was not intersexed.[33] Although Aslam ultimately lost the election, their efforts sparked political momentum amongst the *khwaja sira* community.[34]

The Leader of the All Pakistan Hijra Association[35], Almas Bobby, has worked hard for economic and social equality for *khwaja siras.* Throughout her lifetime, Bobby has organized many rallies for education, health, welfare and protective policing for the *khwaja sira* community. Her ultimate goal is for *khwaja sira* people to be "recognized as humans". [36] In 1997, Bobby attempted to press the national government regarding the poverty *khwaja siras* face through her own party, *Terik-e-Tahfuz Tesri Nasal* (Movement for the Protection of Hijras). Unfortunately, her complaint was ultimately denied by the election committee.[37] Nonetheless, this has not stopped her activism: she often visits government and police buildings in disguise to expose their corruption, money laundering and lack of a commitment to social justice.[38]

Perhaps the most prominent member of the Pakistani *khwaja sira* community is famous talk show host, Ali Saleem, who also goes by the name Begum Nawazish Ali. Along with concerns exclusively facing *khwaja siras,* Saleem discusses many

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[29]Khan, 172.
[30]Khan, 172.
[31]Pamment, 35-36.
[32]Pamment, 36.
[33]Pamment, 36.
[34]Pamment, 36.
[35]Pamment, 36.
[36]Bobby as quoted in: Pamment, 36.
[37]Pamment, 36.
[38]Pamment, 36.

controversial political and social topics on their talk show including: governmental corruption, class and economic inequality, and misogyny.[39] Further, Saleem presents her feminine identity, Begum Nawazish Ali, as representing "modern, progressive Pakistan" and as projecting a "softer image" for Pakistan.[40] Creating a more inclusive movement increases the chances of widespread public participation. Saleem is doing this through her talk shows by associating *khwaja siras* with issues most Pakistanis face.

This ruling is an obvious victory for the *khwaja sira* community in principle, but it has not contributed to the improvement of their daily lives.[41] Because the violence this group faces is so deeply embedded into Pakistani society, cultural change will be critical in order for them to experience positive peace. Several Non-Governmental Organizations have reached out to the *khwaja sira* community to help them obtain social justice.[42] In addition, many *khwaja sira* peoples have begun their own organizations; however, many of these have failed because of a lack of funding and education.[43] Additionally, because of their subordinate social class and lack of access to education, much of the activism done by *khwaja siras* has not been extensively documented.[44] There is only one government registered organization in Pakistan that advocates for *khwaja sira* rights. We were unable to find the name of it, because several articles used pseudonyms in order to protect the organization and those running it. Faris A. Khan referred to it as the "Gender Solidarity Society,"[45] so we will use this title as well. The Gender Solidarity Society is run entirely by *khwaja siras*.[46] They often collaborate with various feminist organizations in Pakistan. They attempt to educate the public by participating in radio shows and television.[47] The representatives try to avoid explicitly talking about sex, because many Pakistani citizens believe that talking about sex publicly is against Islam.[48] The Gender Solidarity Society also worked on HIV/AIDS prevention. Many of the existing campaigns were ascribing the disease to an "immoral and unnatural lifestyle." After attending a workshop held by various Non-Governmental Organizations, the Gender Solidarity Society began educating people in their movement about HIV risk rather than shaming those

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[39]Pamment, 40.
[40]"Pakistan Female TV Show Host is Actually a Man," YouTube Video, 4: 02, posted by AP Archive, July 30, 2015. Accessed November 13, 2017.
https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1whsROPUZ0Q
[41]Pamment, 40.
[42]Khan, 175.
[43]Khan, 175.
[44]Khan, 175.
[45]Khan, 178.
[46]Khan, 178.
[47]Khan, "Khwaja Sira Activism," 7.
[48]Khan, 7.

dealing with the illness.[49] Unfortunately, they have to avoid high profile activism in order to protect themselves from physical violence.[50]

The *khwaja sira* rights movement is far from over. Although this community has earned access to civil rights, much more needs to be done in order for them to overcome the violent oppression they have faced for generations. In order to obtain social and economic justice, the government will have to help the *khwaja sira* community. This can begin through the implementation of a job quota for *khwaja siras* in order to make it possible for them to climb over the poverty line.[51] In addition, having public service messages in the media for people to be encouraged to respect *khwaja siras* will help with the stigma around this minority group.[52]

Khwaja siras have been subject to physical, cultural and structural violence since India's colonization. Their access to civil rights was necessary to the reversal of this violence and with, optimism, will lead to positive peace for this community.

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[49]Khan, 9.
[50]Khan, 9.
[51]Chaudry et al., 2555.
[52]Chaudry et al., 2555.

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ISLAM: EXTREMISM AND MODERATION

Rehan Rafique

Islam has, for many years now, been torn between radical fundamentalist groups and the more intellectually moderate groups. With both groups claiming to follow the true Islam, an individual may have a difficult time in practicing one's faith.

The ambition of this essay will be to investigate some of the major differences between the movements, more specifically the Wahhabi/Salafi movement practiced in Saudi Arabia and the more moderate approach emphasized by numerous Islamic Scholars. Grappling with these issues in my own search for the authentic Islam, this essay will provide a view of both sides with an attempt to justify the moderate position over the strict, literalist one. The intention is to show why the moderate intellectual position is more rooted in Islamic principles and values than the monotonous fanatic position. Due to the many sects, some with more extreme positions like the Khawarij alongside the more rational such as the Mu'tazilites, I decided it would be an enlightening task to break down both sides and challenge the history of both.

"O you who believe, be custodians of Justice and bear witness before God, even if against yourself or your family or you relatives."[1] There are many ways an individual can interpret this text. Some may see it as a call to battle corruption such as extremism and oppression, while on the other hand some may see it as a means of enforcing their own oppression on the vulnerable, all the while believing that they are the custodians of God's justice on earth.[2]

With Islam being the second largest religion in the world with some 1.5 billion adherents and being the fastest growing religion in the world, different views and perspectives are inevitable as with other major world religions. Islam has for many

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[1]Qur'an 4:135.
[2]Seyyed Hossein Nasr, *The Study Quran*.

years now been torn between radical fundamentalist groups and more intellectually moderate groups. With both groups claiming to follow the authentic Islam, one may have difficulty in distinguishing which is the correct path. It is unfortunate that in the minds of many non-Muslims today the perception of Islam is an intolerant, oppressive and repulsive religion. The media plays a significant role in this perspective; however, it is also simply a lack of understanding and judgmental attitudes which prevents non-Muslims and Muslims alike from studying history, more particularly, Islamic history which indeed has impacted modern times profoundly.

This essay will show how moderation and intellectualism are more rooted in Islamic values and principles than the non-tolerant extreme positions such as Wahhabism. This will be done by firstly exploring the Wahhabi origins and contemporary issues relating to their beliefs. Furthermore, the concept of moderation in Islam will be elaborated upon along with a glimpse into Islamic intellectualism and finally, the contemporary views of moderate Muslims.

Wahhabism is a movement practiced in Saudi Arabia which emerged in the eighteenth century. The founder of this thought was a man by name of Muhammad bin 'Abd al-Wahhab (d. 1206/1792). He grew up in a Hanbali family of jurists and his upbringing could be stated as severe and stern.[3] The basic beliefs of the Wahhabis are rooted in the idea that only the first three centuries of Islam could be said to be authentically Islamic to any extent at all. The following period was anything but Islamic and humanity must strive to re-establish this epoch which is also regarded by many as the apparent golden age of Islam.[4]

An issue that must be reflected upon is how and why the Wahhabi movement lasted to our times now? All extreme, infamous Islamic groups that have emerged in recent decades such as the Taliban and al-Qa'ida have derived many of their austere practices from the Wahhabi movement. The reason behind this attractiveness is stated by a scholar of Islamic law who says:

> the spread of 'Abd al-Wahhabs's thought in the Muslim world had little to do with the thought of the founder of the movement. Much of its missionary success is due to its successful co-optation of archetypal symbolisms of Islamic authenticity and legitimacy.[5]

The above quote implies that it is not simply the teachings of 'Abd al-Wahhabs's thought that has drawn the attention of so many, but the attractiveness lies in the

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[3]Hanbali is one of the four major Sunni Islamic schools of law. The other three being: Hanafi, Maliki and Shafi'i.
[4]John Esposito, *World Religions Today*, 207.
[5]Khaled Abou El Fadl, *Reasoning With God*, 228.

pietistic display. With promoting a strict literalism of religious text, this approach has portrayed a type of religious authenticity. Consequently, extremist groups have also incorporated these methods thinking that they are practicing the original Islam.

Perhaps, the greatest point of critique on the Wahhabi movement can be directed towards its failure to adapt to contemporary issues. The group holds to the past and believes that any type of change is a religious innovation. In other words, change is completely unacceptable.[6] The followers of these movements often bombard fellow Muslims with pedantic claims which at times appear suffocating and frustrating, if not completely illogical. Here are some examples of acts that are forbidden in parts of the Muslim world today: music, singing, and dancing; the giving of flowers; clapping hands in applause; writing novels; shaving one's beard; keeping or petting dogs, and; standing up in honor of someone.[7] It is important to note that most Muslim countries do not adhere to such practices and tend to lean towards moderation.

Furthermore, other issues include Muslims studying Islam in Western Universities. The extremists claim that Western education systems are deliberately designed to confuse Muslims and will instill doubts in their minds concerning their religion by presenting to students various Shi'a[8] sects or the Mu'tazilite[9] movement. In addition, the Islamic history covered in these schools is a distorted image of what actually happened. There is also the matter of interaction with non-Muslims and the role of woman in Islam. As for the former, it is quite simple, the extremists say that only Muslims have a chance at attaining salvation and indeed only if those Muslims do not oppose their views. As with regards to woman, an abundance of restrictions has been placed concerning various aspects of everyday life.[10] As has been mentioned above most Muslim countries do not follow such practices and lean towards moderation. Most Muslims will concede that these rules and regulations are simply fatuous and illogical. The rest of this essay will speak of how a moderate version of Islam views such categories of life.

The term moderation has been used frequently in this essay and will now be explicated. Moderation does not mean abandoning the traditions of old and simply adhering to the normative of contemporary life. Rather, moderation is flourishing in the world, with the advancements brought forth, while also establishing the Islamic etiquette of character, morals, and ethics. Numerous reports attributed to

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[6]Andrew Rippin, *Muslims,* 196.
[7]Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Great Theft,* 160.
[8]The Shi'a sect is the second largest in Islam, comprising about 15% of the Muslims in the world. Followers of this movement reject the first three successors to the Prophet Muhammad and claim that the position rightly belonged to the Prophet's cousin Ali ibn Abi Talib.
[9]The Mu'tazila was a school of Islamic theology, who emphasized the use of reason and rationality.
[10]El Fadl, 159.

the Prophet Muhammad mention him as saying that he has come to perfect character and that Islam is rooted in morality and ethics which includes interaction with one's children, spouse, co-workers and fellow non-Muslims. The notion of an Islamic golden age which Muslims must strive to rejuvenate must be re-considered. It is illogical to say that God would decree certain immutable principles for humankind to follow at one specific time in history while we are constantly changing and evolving. Rather, moderates say, every age is an age to be cherished and approached intellectually.

"And say, Lord increase me in knowledge."[11] The role of intellect is imperative in Islam and much emphasis is placed upon the acquisition of knowledge. The Islamic tradition is covered with statements regarding the virtue of knowledge and understanding and condemns ignorance and foolishness. Furthermore, the Qur'an constantly stresses the need for intelligence in deciphering the "signs" or "messages" of God. Muslims are not to abdicate their reason but to look at the world attentively and with curiosity.[12] Considering this, moderates tend to approach the above-mentioned views of the Wahhabi extremist groups differently. For instance, the notions of salvation held by extremist groups, moderates say, are uncharacteristic of an all merciful, loving God. Ultimately the knowledge of who is saved concerning Muslims and non-Muslims belongs solely to God and is not for humans to judge.[13] With regards to woman, moderates believe that the Quran and Sunnah[14] do not place upon woman unrealistic and foolish restrictions. The approach to these concepts, and more, must be broad, inclusive, and progressive, all the while respecting the fundamental rights and freedoms of individuals.[15]

The issue of extremism and moderation is not a new one. The matter dates back to the time after the Prophet Muhammad in which several groups emerged such as the khawarij[16] and Mu'tazilites, each with their own agenda. This essay explored the origins of Wahhabism, and issues relating to their beliefs. Also, the concept of moderation in Islam was explained along with a glimpse into Islamic intellectualism and finally, the contemporary views of moderate Muslims.

The Islamic tradition is replete with the praise of knowledge and warnings against ignorance. The Prophet Muhammad declared scholars to be the inheritors of Prophets and the pursuit of knowledge as the way to paradise. Considering this, universities, scholars and scholarships were brought forth to support this vision. As

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[11]Qur'an 20:114.
[12]Karen Armstrong, *A History of God*, 143.
[13]For more on the issue of religious tolerance in Islam, see:
Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Place of Tolerance in Islam* (Boston: Beacon Press Books, 2002).
[14]Traditions of Prophet Muhammad.
[15]Tariq Ramadan, *Islam: The Essentials,* 154.
[16]The Khawarij were a violent group of extremists who emerged in the first century of Islam, shortly after the death of the Prophet Muhammad.

Muslims sought the divine will they encompassed the richness of God's creation and the diversity of God's creatures. The heritage of the Greeks, Persians and Romans were all uncovered by Muslims, and thousands of Muslims travelled all over the world with the singular goal of calling to the beauty of Islam. From math, to philosophy, and science, these fields have been impacted greatly by the seekers of the Divine.[17] This is the Islamic message, one of justice, compassion, mercy, equality and diversity. Muslims must struggle to confront the ugly with this most beautiful vision. Indeed, that is the jihad Muslims must embark upon. Moderation and intellectualism is more rooted in Islamic values and principles than the non-tolerant extreme positions such as Wahhabism. The Prophet embodied ethics, morals, and character. The emphasis must be placed on these attributes rather than constructing fanciful hotels, shopping centers and one must acknowledge one's own limitations and frustrations. Ultimately, the vision must be brought back to its rightful path. And that path leads to God. And God is beautiful.

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[17]Khaled Abou El Fadl, *The Search for Beauty in Islam,* 47.

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THE OUTBREAK OF THE AMERICAN CIVIL WAR: POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND MORAL CONFLICT DUE TO SLAVERY

JUNG JAE KIM

During the 19th century, the American Civil War between the North and the South began when then president, Abraham Lincoln, declared that he would abolish slavery. The political tension between the two sides was primarily caused by the southern territories' heavy reliance on slavery to fuel their agricultural industry. The delicate relationship between the North and the South became tenser after Lincoln declared the Emancipation Proclamation to free slaves in the South, which eventually led to the Civil War and the abolition of slavery. Ironically, the American Civil War helped the USA develop its power and become one of the world's leading nations.

The United States of America (USA) is unquestionably a leader among nations. The country's wealth and power allows it to play a significant role around the world. However, the way that modern-day America was established was not a simple path. During the 19th century, the USA struggled and suffered from internal conflict that shook the nation. Slavery had always been a troublesome issue in the USA and it is important to understand the internal conflicts that divided the northern territories and the southern territories. The North banned slavery, while the South relied on slavery. This conflict between the two eventually led to the American Civil War. The South decided to secede from the North after Abraham Lincoln —— who declared that slavery was morally wrong —— won the presidential election. In 1861, the American Civil War began, ending with the North's victory in 1865. The Civil War effectively ended slavery in the northern and southern territories. Lincoln's moral stance against slavery was the main deciding factor that started the American Civil War, but it was the country's rapid growth that ultimately contributed to the economic and political problems that lead to tension between pro and anti-slavery territories. Therefore, it seems like these three factors —— a

combination of political, economic, and moral conflict over slavery —— were the major reasons that ignited anger in the South and led to the Civil War.

As the cotton industry was flourishing in the 19th century the southern territories enjoyed "a virtual monopoly of the valuable commodity."[1]   In the South, the slaveholders' desire for their plantations to prosper and expand drove the demand for more slaves. Even though the South "lagged in industry and urbani[z]ation,"[2] the fact that "the cotton boom had extended slavery and the plantation system into South Carolina"[3] shows why the South, especially South Carolina, relied heavily on slaves. Great Britain, the wealthiest nation during 19th century, assumed the South was the perfect trading partner to fulfill its need for raw cotton.[4] Therefore, slaveholders in Georgia stopped at nothing to eradicate the entrepreneurs' ambition to proliferate their industrial economy.[5] The slaveholders in Georgia "did not permit the development of an independent middle class with the potential to challenge planter power."[6] Furthermore, it was impossible for the slaveholders to consolidate their powers without slavery. Since agriculture was the primary source of income in the south abolishing slavery meant confiscating the slaveholders' desire to export cotton and make profit.

The North did not need any slaves since they were mainly driven by an industrial economy, while the South needed slaves since they relied heavily on agriculture.[7] Though the northern territories banned slavery it is a mistake to think that the North was above reproach owing to its effort to release slaves, whereas the South was an axis of evil due to its slavery.[8] In order to disguise their evil minds they exported slaves to other nations:

> With the demand for sugar climbing in Europe, sugar plantations covered nearly every inch of islands in the Caribbean, and the needed for cheap labor to produce it soared… Sugarcane was [very] profitable… little land on the islands was devoted to growing food for slaves… Caribbean islands became dependent upon provisioning by Northern farmers and other US businessmen.[9]

The northern territories became economically prosperous because they sponged off

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[1]Foner, "The Civil War and Slavery," 94.
[2]Foner, 94.
[3]Meadwell and Anderson, "Sequence and Strategy in the Secession," 207.
[4]Nash, et al., *The American People*, 203.
[5]Morgan, "The Public Nature of Private Industry," 27.
[6]Morgan, 29.
[7]Holzer, "Confederate Caricature of Abraham Lincoln*,"* 26.
[8]Frank, "The Complicity of Northern States in Slavery," 11.
[9]Frank, 12.

the external slaves.[10] Although Africans played a significant role in the USA's economic prosperity they were still mistreated and detested by Americans. During the Civil War, Africans were not permitted to participate in the war because "'[whites wanted] …niggers to keep out of [the war]; [it was] a white man's war.'"[11] This shows that Americans detested Africans and did not allow them to step into the whites' affair until "Congress passed the Second Confiscation Act and Militia Act" which allowed blacks to participate in the Civil War.[12]

Henry Clay, a member of the Whig Party, made efforts to maintain the Union and soothe the tension between the North and the South. In 1820, Clay passed the law called the Missouri Compromise, which meant above the 36 degree/30 slavery should be barred.[13] Clay's political strategy satisfied both the North and the South, but this solution was only temporary since the USA was expanding towards the West.[14] Therefore, Clay revised the Compromise to solve the land issue and to intensify the Slave Act. Clay was unable to pass the Compromise so Stephen A. Douglas, a member of the Democratic Party, altered the Compromise until it was passed in 1850 under his leadership.[15]

A serious problem soon agitated the North and the South due to the Compromise of 1850: the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850. Since slaves were "scourged and abused by [their masters],"[16] they escaped from the South to seek freedom. However, whenever slaves escaped they would be sent back to slaveholders.[17] As a result, the North was frustrated since it was against slavery and wanted to differentiate its policy from the South. The pride they had from not relying on slavery was vanishing and the North was become no different from the South. Furthermore, the fact that hired policemen in northern communities helped the South's effort to capture the slaves[18] was a shock to those who were against slavery.

Unlike Clay, Douglas's main concern was to win the presidential election, not to appease the northern and southern territories. The Kansas-Nebraska Act, introduced by Douglas, was the bill that repealed the Missouri Compromise restriction.[19] The Act let settlers in Nebraska Territory "exercise popular sovereignty,"[20] the doctrine that allowed the settlers to participate in voting to

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[10]Frank, 11.
[11]Taylor, "A Politics of Service," 459.
[12]Taylor, 462.
[13]Johnson, *Abraham Lincoln, Slavery and the Civil War,* 37.
[14]Nash et al., 283.
[15]Nash et al., 310.
[16]West, "Tensions, Tempers, and Temptations," 5.
[17]Nash et al., 310.
[18]Blackett, "Dispossessing Massa," 128.
[19]Nash et al., 313.
[20]Pierson, "Bleeding Kansas," 24.

determine whether territories should be for or against slavery.[21]   However, his veiled purpose was to connect the Transcontinental Railroad that went through the Nebraska Territory to the West,[22] where the gold was found.[23]   In order to seek fortune he split the Nebraska Territory into two, Kansas and Nebraska, so that popular sovereignty could play a role. Since traffic from Chicago had to pass through the northern part of Nebraska to reach the West, he used popular sovereignty to persuade Kansas settlers who —— mostly occupied by southerners —— wanted their territory to prosper by running the railroad through St. Louis.[24] Supported mostly by Kansas settlers, the South won the vote and gained another slave state; in return, they allowed Douglas to put the railroad in Chicago.[25] As a result, he was confident that the South would support him. At the same time, he believed that the North would support him because he helped the North gain another free state, Nebraska, and develop the railroad.[26]   However, repealing the Compromise and voting for another territory aroused the North's anger.[27] As a politician, resolving the tension between the North and the South should have been his priority.

Abraham Lincoln, who later became the 16th president of the USA, was frustrated by Douglas's decision. Lincoln opened a debate with Douglas in his 1858 senatorial campaign to present his opinion on slavery.[28] He claimed that he had no intention "to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it [existed],"[29] which shows that Lincoln's priority was to soothe slaveholders' anger and prevent secession. Although he failed to win the election to the Senate, his speech helped him defeat Douglas in the presidential election. When Lincoln was elected the USA's 16th president the South decided to secede from the Union and created their independent government: the Confederacy. South Carolina knew that Lincoln would ultimately abolish slavery because Lincoln "[had] declared that 'Government [could] not endure permanently half slave, half free."[30] Since slaves were viewed as property in the South eliminating slavery meant confiscating the slaveholders' assets.

Thomas Jefferson, a former president of the USA, and Henry Clay both agreed that slavery was immoral.[31]   However, they both realised that tolerating slavery was

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[21]Pierson, 24.
[22]Pierson, 24.
[23]Nash et. al., 283.
[24]Billington, *Westward Expansion*, 241.
[25]Billington, 241.
[26]Billington, 241.
[27]Pierson, 24.
[28]Johnson, 69.
[29]Schwartz, "The Emancipation Proclamation," 591.
[30]Loewen, "Using Confederate Documents," 43.
[31]Danoff, "Lincoln and the "Necessity" of Tolerating Slavery," 50.

necessary to maintain the country's peace.[32] Lincoln acknowledged Jefferson's and Clay's stance on slavery, but his ultimate objective was to abolish slavery. At the start of the war, he declared that the "Emancipation Proclamation was 'an act of justice,' its constitutional justification was 'military necessity;'"[33] his dream to abolish slavery could only be attained by winning the American Civil War. On January 1st, 1863, at the height of the Civil War, Lincoln declared the Emancipation Proclamation.[34] Consequently, slaves were "legally free under the terms of the president's order."[35] On April 9, 1865, the American Civil War ended with the Union's victory over the Confederacy.[36]

Sometimes an economic conflict converts into a political conflict. As the USA's economy had been proliferating, the country needed to protect and grow the country's industry.[37] However, a problem emerged on the horizon:

> New England and mid-Atlantic states, the center of manufacturing, favored tariffs. The South had long opposed them because they made it more expensive to buy northern and European manufactured goods and threatened to provoke retaliation against southern tobacco exports…some worried that the federal government might eventually interfere with slavery…[38]

To the slaveholders interfering with slavery meant interfering with their cotton-based industry. Andrew Jackson, the president of the USA, firmly believed that states should not have the right to disorient the Union.[39] However, as John C. Calhoun, the vice president from South Carolina, resigned in 1832 and prepared to nullify the tariff in South Carolina.[40] However, as the crisis had been strangling the Union, it seemed that the newly-revised tariff issue[41] was paramount. The new policy finally soothed South Carolina's resentment. The economic and political conflicts were inter-connected; although the nullification crisis started from an economic problem, a political issue ensued. Since the political conflict had already been intensified, the suppressed crisis was about to erupt. This crisis was the prelude to the American Civil War.

The moral conflict caused by slavery also played a significant role in American

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[32]Danoff, 50.
[33]Danoff, 47.
[34]Nash et al., 341.
[35]Holzer, "How Jefferson Davis Lost His Slaves," 22.
[36]Nash et al., 350.
[37]Weisberger, "The Nullifiers," 20.
[38]Nash et al., 258.
[39]Nash et al., 259.
[40]Nash et al., 259.
[41]Nash et al., 259.

history. Lincoln declared that "he did not advocate or desire full political social equality for blacks,"[42] yet declared that Africans needed education in order for them to be full citizens.[43] Lincoln's attitude shows that although he was racist, he still believed that blacks deserved to be treated as humans. Whereas Jefferson and Clay had approached the slavery issue in a cowardly way, Lincoln approached the matter bravely because his moral stance did not allow him to tolerate it. Lincoln was afraid that slavery would eventually corrupt moral conscience.[44] From his perspective, slavery stemmed from human greed and selfishness.[45] The South was against Lincoln's moral stance and waged the Civil War.

The political conflicts between pro- and anti-slavery territories led to the American Civil War. The political, economic, and moral conflict was so intense that a peace negotiation between the North and South was impossible. Ironically, the war helped the USA develop an industrial-capitalist economy, removing slavery to its future expansion. If the Union had lost the American Civil War then the Confederacy might have engulfed the northern territories and shaped them into agriculturally dependent states. This could have delayed the USA's urbanization. When toddlers try to walk they will undoubtedly fail multiple times before they can stand on their own; however, toddlers' failures are the steps they need to take so that they can walk properly. Similarly, in order for a country to prosper it needs to face failures. The United States of America was only able to grow into a leading nation because it was able to successfully overcome the challenges it faced.

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[42]Johnson, 70.
[43]Danoff, 62.
[44]Danoff, 55.
[45]Danoff, 50.

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THE CHANGE IN STATUS OF AFRICAN AMERICANS DURING POST- CIVIL WAR RECONSTRUCTION

AMRITA JOHAL

The period of Reconstruction after the American Civil War introduced arguably more discrimination against African Americans, than prior to the civil war. The end of the American Civil War was supposed to solidify the death of slavery in America, however, slavery essentially continued in the South. New systems of labour, such as sharecropping, gave the impression of freedom, but kept African Americans economically disenfranchised. African Americans were denied judicial, economic, and political agency, despite being guaranteed these rights by the American Constitution. New racist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan formed in the South, and violently terrorized newly freed African Americans. Discrimination was rampant in the North as well. Ultimately, the perception of African Americans as a threat to the livelihood of white Americans lead to even more discrimination against them after the Civil War.

The period of Reconstruction after the American Civil War was in some respects, a time of great change, and a time of no change. During this period spanning from 1865-1877, African Americans were granted equal rights to white Americans in the American Constitution, and slavery was outlawed.[1] Despite these great political strides, the implementation of these new rights remained murky and riddled with sociopolitical issues. The period of Reconstruction after the American Civil War, which was supposed to be a period of redemption and social reconstruction for enslaved African Americans, was marred by the implementation of a new labour system which shared multiple characteristics with pre-war slavery and in some ways, increased inequality between white Americans and African Americans. After the civil war, forces such as governmental policy, the Ku Klux Klan, and threats by employers deprived African Americans of new civil and political rights, while

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[1]Ross, *The Supreme Court, Reconstruction, and the Meaning of the Civil War*, 275.

forces such as the new sharecropping labour system, racist hiring habits, the black codes, and the Ku Klux Klan, kept African Americans economically disenfranchised.

The federal government failed to enforce the newly attained civil and political rights of ex-slaves in Southern states, posing a significant challenge to the integration of African Americans into the rest of American society. As part of the Reconstruction, amendments to the American Constitution were made, including: The **Thirteenth Amendment** which ended slavery, the **Fourteenth Amendment** which guaranteed African Americans the rights of American citizenship, and the **Fifteenth Amendment** which guaranteed African American men the constitutional right to vote.[2] Under Republican President Andrew Johnson's Reconstruction, all land that had been confiscated by the Union Army and distributed to the freed slaves was returned to its prewar owners.[3] This showed that despite introducing amendments that give ex-slaves equal status to all other Americans, the federal government did not view them as equal in practice. President Johnson's strong advocacy of state self-governance also hampered the power of federal troops in the South to enforce the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, and led to premature withdrawal of federal troops from the South.[4] The Southern states were left to enforce the new amendments themselves which were often willfully ignored, and the federal government made little effort to address this problem.[5] There were also indications that President Johnson never cared for ex-slaves gaining equal rights, being a former slave owner himself.[6] This showed in his administration, where he vetoed legislation which extended the life of Freedman's Bureau and assured African Americans full US citizenship.[7] By prematurely pulling federal troops out of the South, failing to adequately enforce the new amendments on Southern state governments, and actively blocking legislation that provided funding to organizations which aided the integration of ex-slaves, the federal government failed to uphold and enforce the new amendments, leaving African Americans in a weak position to assert their new civil and political rights.

The failure of the federal government to enforce the new amendments led to the passing of racist state policies in the South, which greatly limited these newfound rights. The passing of "black codes" by Southern states after the civil war, severely restricted the civil rights of African Americans, and ensured their availability as a

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[2]Ross, 275.
[3]Ross, 276; Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, *The U.S. Freedman's Bureau*, 76-77.
[4]Grimsley, *Wars for the American South*, 10.
[5]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 76-77.
[6]Frederick, *Reconstruction*, 762.
[7]Frederick, 763.

cheap labour force.[8] These laws granted certain legal rights to African Americans, including the right to marry within their own ethnicity, own property, and sue in court, but the codes also made it illegal for African Americans to serve on juries, marry or socialize with white people, own firearms, buy alcohol, meet in groups of six or more after sundown, use insulting gestures or language toward whites, testify against white people, and serve in state militias.[9] Apprenticeship laws in black codes bound many young African American orphans to white plantation owners who forced them to work.[10] Adult freed slaves were forced to sign contracts with their employers, usually their previous owners.[11] Any former slaves who violated these contracts were fined, beaten, or arrested.[12] Upon arrest, many African Americans were made to work for no wages, reducing them to slaves again.[13] Through the limitations imposed by the black codes, slavery essentially continued in many Southern states. Ex-slaves were also routinely denied their judiciary rights in the South. It was still common for white Americans to kill African Americans for no reason, and with no legal penalty.[14] African Americans were frequently denied a trial for a crime they were accused of, and were killed, often by lynching.[15] This lack of judicial recourse gave African Americans no legitimate support for their newfound rights. Limited access to courts, and the black codes severely undermined the civil rights of African American ex-slaves.

The political rights of ex-slaves were also impeded by their post-war employers, and Democratic propaganda in the South. Ex-slaves were routinely threatened with dismissal if they cast Republican ballots, and when this did not work, employers would resort to intimidation and violence.[16] These threats greatly limited the political rights of African Americans. Democratic press would also print propaganda to agitate white Southerners and encourage the repression of economic, social, and political rights of African Americans.[17] Many ex-slaves despaired that they were still held in bondage despite being granted new rights, and their initial idealism after the war quickly faded.[18] The newly attained civil and political rights of African Americans incited fear amongst the white population of the South, which led to further disparagement and repression of ex-slaves who they viewed as a threat to their way of life.

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[8]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 84.
[9]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 84.
[10]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 85; Kelly, *Jubilee and the Limits of African American Freedom after Emancipation*, 65.
[11]Frederick, 764.
[12]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 88.
[13]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 88.
[14]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 89.
[15]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 89.
[16]Robinson, *To Think, Act, Vote, and Speak for Ourselves*, 364-365.
[17]Robinson, 364-365.
[18]Kelly, 67.

African Americans were also blocked from their civil and political rights by white supremacist groups, such as the Ku Klux Klan. In response to the increasing number of African American politicians, increased involvement of African Americans in government jobs, and Republican laws against racial discrimination in public transport and accommodations, the Ku Klux Klan formed in the South.[19] They were largely made up of white confederate veterans who feared the loss of control of white men over Southern society.[20] They violently reversed much of the progress made toward equality of African Americans in the South. Prior to the civil war, African Americans were barred from all formal education.[21] After the civil war, Freedman's Bureau provided funding for around 3000 schools for ex-slaves in the South.[22] They were taught by white female teachers from the North, and black teachers from the South, and were well attended.[23] However, these schools, and their teachers, were frequently under attack by white supremacist groups, especially the Ku Klux Klan.[24] Members of the Ku Klux Klan actively discouraged African Americans from going to school.[25] These tactics kept power in the hands of plantation owners in the South. Northern patriotic clubs, such as the Union League, made efforts to encourage ex-slaves to register to vote, but these efforts were largely undone by the Ku Klux Klan.[26] Members of the Klan threatened violence if African Americans exercised their right to vote, and they often committed murder by lynching.[27] Fledgling state Republican governments treated activities of Ku Klux Klan members as mere criminal activities, and Klan members had full access to state courts which they dominated.[28] It was extremely difficult to convict Klan members because the federal government refused to intervene in what was seen as state affairs.[29] This further undermined the judicial agency of ex-slaves. Through violence, the Ku Klux Klan heavily suppressed the newfound political and civil rights of African Americans.

Economic discrimination was pervasive against African Americans throughout the Northern and Southern United States after the civil war. African American workers were paid less than white workers for doing the same job.[30] African American workers were also less likely to get hired than a white worker, even if they were

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[19]Butchart and Rolleri, *Secondary Education and Emancipation*, 160.
[20]Butchart and Rolleri, 160.
[21]Butchart and Rolleri, 157.
[22]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 76.
[23]Butchart and Rolleri, 158.
[24]Butchart and Rolleri, 175
[25]Butchart and Rolleri, 172.
[26]Roark, *The Union League Movement in the Deep South*, 672.
[27]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 78; Roark, 673.
[28]Pearson, *A New Birth of Regulation,* 430.
[29]Pearson, 430.
[30]Maudlin, *Freedom, Economic autonomy, and Ecological Change*, 403.

more qualified.[31] White workers in both the North and the South were fearful that ex-slaves would take their jobs and livelihood, which reinforced their racist attitudes.[32] In the North, African American workers were rarely hired for higher level positions, and were constrained to laborious positions such as: building railroads, cleaning the streets, being nannies, cooks, and taking care of sick people.[33] For African Americans who stayed in the South after the Civil War, most remained on the same land as their white landowners labouring on part of the land as sharecroppers picking cotton, where they would give a percentage of the crop yield to the landowner as rent.[34] Sharecroppers did not own land, and were often attacked by white supremacists, usually the Ku Klux Klan, if they tried to secure land of their own.[35]

This inability to secure land kept African Americans dependent on white plantation owners for their livelihood, keeping them economically disenfranchised and dependent on their pre-war slavers. The black codes also required African American sharecroppers and tenant farmers to sign annual labour contracts with white landowners.[36] Labour contracts from 1865 and 1866, including those approved by the Freedmen's Bureau, closely resembled former master-slave dynamics. They restricted the movements and activities of ex-slaves, and included clauses related to behaviour and comportment, including fines for disobedience.[37] Early contracts stipulated that freed people were firmly bound to landlords, promised to labour on the farms unconditionally, and would do whatever is directed in order to promote the landlords' interests.[38] Freedmen's Bureau agents proved reluctant to suggest specific contract terms and worked only to ensure that agreements provided the necessaries of life.[39] Labour contracts explicitly preserved pre-civil war land use practices which included work beyond cultivating the crop.[40] They also prevented African Americans from working for more than one employer at the same time keeping wages low.[41] These employment terms caused a lot of discord, as they very closely resembled pre-war slavery. African Americans were kept economically repressed after the civil war through their inability to secure their own land, racist hiring practices, fear of ex-slaves taking jobs from white Americans, limiting employment contracts, and low wages.

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[31]Maudlin, 404.
[32]Maudlin, 405.
[33]Pearson, 433.
[34]Maudlin, 416.
[35]Pearson, 420.
[36]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 84.
[37]Maudlin, 417.
[38]Maudlin, 417.
[39]Maudlin, 417.
[40]Graber, *The Second Freedman's Bureau Bill's Constitution*, 1368.
[41]Fleischmann, Tyson, and Oldroyd, 105.

There were many social, economic, and political forces that kept newly freed African Americans in slavery-like conditions during the Reconstruction, particularly in the South. All these issues bleed into one another making it difficult to discuss them in isolation. The passing of black codes, a discriminatory judicial system, weak state Republican governments, an unresponsive Republican federal government, land insecurity, and tenuous and poorly paid employment, kept African Americans poor and repressed. Contemporary issues, such as the formation of the Ku Klux Klan, had a strong role in using violence to suppress the newfound rights of freed African Americans. Due to these factors, life for African Americans became increasingly destabilized, and worsened during the Reconstruction. Slavery essentially continued in the South, and while the American constitution declared ex-slaves to be equal to white Americans, in practice African Americans were treated even worse than before the war, as white Americans began to feel threatened by the newfound rights of their ex-slaves. With virtually no judicial recourse for ex-slaves, their living conditions became increasingly dangerous as they began to be perceived as more of a threat to the supremacy of white Americans. The perception of African Americans as a threat ultimately led to even greater inequality between white Americans and African Americans.

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SENATE REFORM IN CANADA:
THE CASE FOR AN ELECTED SENATE

PRABHJOT NAGRA

Senate reform is an issue that has been a topic of discussion and debate in Canada's political sphere for almost as long as Canada has existed as a country. The Canadian Senate is an institution formed at the time of Confederation, and its structure, role and, composition embody the spirit of compromise that laid the foundation for Canada to come into existence. Unfortunately, the Senate that was established a century and half ago is now an institution that has failed to evolve in order to adequately serve the needs of Canada and its modern day political reality. This research paper will explore the role of the Senate and the reasoning for its creation. In addition, this paper will argue in favour of Senate reform and it will examine the advantages for Canada that establishing an Upper House of Parliament that is elected, equal, and effective may have.

Arguably there is no institution in Canada that has attracted more criticism and calls for reform than the Senate. The predicament of the Senate is quite curious considering the fact it was key to the confederation of Canada. Established by the authors of the constitution, the Senate was intended to be a chamber of 'sober second thought' and a forum to represent the minority voices across the country.[1] But the very nature of the institution led to criticism from its very inception.[2] The Senate is composed of unelected senators, appointed by the Prime Minister, and they keep their seats to the age of 75. This arrangement has led to a "Triple deficit" in which the Senate is now lacking legitimacy, integrity, and democracy.[3] Today the Senate couldn't be further from what the Fathers of Confederation (in this paper also referred to as 'Fathers') intended as it now merely acts as a stamp of approval to the House of Commons. Senate reform is long overdue, and it is time Canada

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[1]Forsey, *A people's Senate for Canada*, 4.
[2]Boyer, *Our scandalous Senate*, 4-28.
[3]Dodek. *Addressing the Senate's Triple-Deficit*, 39-45.

established an elected Upper House of Parliament. Canada has evolved immensely from the country created in 1867, and the Senate needs to be able to reflect this. In 1867 the understanding of democracy was different, so it's possible to see how the original design of the Senate has resulted in the institution's modern problems. Canada needs a Senate similar to that of Australia and based on the 'Triple E' principles; therefore, this paper will argue that an elected Senate with fair representation across Canada is needed to improve Canadian democracy and to finally re-establish effective checks and balances in Parliament.

The Canadian Senate was an integral component in the discussions that took place among the Fathers of Confederation over a century and half ago.[4] The establishment of the Upper House was of such immense importance to the Fathers of Confederation that not establishing the Senate would have been a "deal breaker", leading to the end of negotiations.[5] The establishment of an Upper House was intended to be a check and balance for the powers of the House of Commons and Cabinet.[6] At the time it was believed that the members of the Commons, Senate, and Cabinet would be prone to desires of increasing their wealth and power.[7] The underlying theory of the Westminster model is that good governance is derived from bringing together the perspectives of three different actors; the monarchy, aristocracy and the democratic commons.[8] The pessimistic reasoning of the theory regards "Cabinet ministers as potential tyrants, the ambitious leaders in the lower house as potential demagogues, and senators as potential oligarchs".[9] With all three branches acting in their own self-interest it was believed there'd be a system of checks in place and thus an aversion of despotism by "the one, the few, and the many".[10] The Fathers were well aware of the various types of upper houses around the world, having cited various constitutions.[11] But the underlying theory of the Westminster model led to the creation of the Senate as a non-hereditary but appointed body, with an age and property requirement to fortify aristocratic like control by well-educated elites.[12] For the Fathers, the Senate had the duty to delay and obstruct legislation deemed to be too radical or oppressive of minorities.[13] Interestingly the Fathers of Confederation did not use the word 'democracy' to describe this arrangement they had created[14], because 'democracy' means doing

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[4]Forsey, 4.
[5]Forsey, 4.
[6]Forsey, 5
[7]Ajzenstat, "Bicameralism and Canada's Founders," 4.
[8]Levy, "Reforming the Upper House," 28.
[9]Ajzenstat, 6.
[10]Ajzenstat, 6.
[11]Ajzenstat, 4.
[12]Forsey, 5.
[13]Ajzenstat, 4.
[14]Ajzenstat, 4.

what the majority wants.[15] The Senate was to be a house where the diversity of the minority populations and the various interests of the confederated provinces would be reflected.[16] The Fathers of Confederation had well meaning, and for their time, liberal intentions with the Senate. Unfortunately, the institution they created has failed to fulfil its duty due to the flaws of its design.

It is then from the history of the Senate's creation that we find the root cause for all its ills today. The Senate lacks the ability to evolve with an ever changing Canada, the institution has seat allocations which divide Canada into four regions with 24 seats each (plus a few seats for Newfoundland and the three territories).[17] The population growth of Western Canada since Confederation, and the inability of the Senate to accommodate this has led to severe under representation in the Upper House for the West, especially the provinces of British Columbia and Alberta.[18] Furthermore, the Senate being an institution of patronage appointments,[19] where senators serve until the age of 75, has led to a complete loss of accountability, resulting in numerous scandals.[20] The issues have accumulated into the Senate now suffering from a massive deficit of legitimacy, with critics saying it represents no one.[21] The Senate is cursed by having been designed specifically for the Canada of 1867. The Senate was designed for a time where Canadian society was much less egalitarian than today and more deferential to authority.[22] The diversity that the Fathers intended on protecting in 1867 is no longer reflected in the reality of modern Canadian society because Canada has become increasingly more diverse over the past century and half. The Fathers of Confederation were all, as the name obviously suggests, old men. To them 'diversity' consisted of Europeans only, and the minority they wanted to protect was only that of the White, Catholic, Francophones in Quebec.[23] In fact women, First Nations peoples, and non-Europeans were entirely excluded from the process of confederation.[24] It is hard to imagine that any one of the 36 Fathers would have imagined in 1867 that the country they created would go on to pioneer the concept of multiculturalism, and therefore become one of the most religiously, culturally, ethnically and, linguistically diverse countries on earth. By looking at the history, how can the Senate possibly be an effective institution, capable of protecting diversity and minorities?

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[15]Forsey, 4.

[16]Forsey", 4.

[17]Barnes et al, *Reforming the Senate of Canada: frequently asked questions*, 22.

[18]Smith, *The Democratic Dilemma Reforming the Canadian Senate*, 3.

[19]Smith, *The Senate of Canada and the Conundrum of Reform,* 17.

[20] Boyer, *Our scandalous Senate*, 119- 143.

[21]Smith, *The Canadian Senate in Bicameral Perspective,* 3-21.

[22]McRae, *Louis Hartz's Concept of the Fragment Society and Its Applications to Canada.*

[23]Forsey*,* 4.

[24]Forsey, 4.

By having a system in which appointments to the Senate are made by a Prime Minister who formed government based on the majority, makes true and fair representation of minorities impossible. This is proven by the history of Canadian parliamentary firsts. Whether it be racial minorities like Asian-Canadians, religious minorities like Sikh-Canadians, the LGBT community, or even Women, what is common among all the aforementioned minority groups is the duration of time it took for them to receive representation in the Senate. The first person from each of those minority groups was appointed to the Senate well over a decade after the first member from those communities was elected to the House of Commons.[25] This is clear evidence that leaving the representation of minority groups to be at the will of the Prime Minister has not worked. In addition, by having an Upper House which has no democratic legitimacy, the House of Commons which acts on behalf of the majority, has become the sole house with power in Parliament. The design choices made 150 years ago have led to a complete failure of the vision of the Fathers of Confederation. The Senate is now more than ever in dire need of reform. An elected Senate with equal representation across Canada could effectively serve all Canadians, and it would check the power of the majority in the House of Commons thus improving Canadian democracy.

The immense power that the House of Commons now wields is precisely what a system of bicameralism in Canada was supposed to avoid. Bicameralism implied a "class-based fear of democracy, or mob rule, [which is] inherent in the mixed government tradition."[26] The Senate is in dire need of reform in order for the institution to be able to fulfill its intended purpose of being a check and balance to the legislative powers of the Cabinet and Commons. The solution to the problems plaguing the Senate isn't as simple as abolishing it. The Senate is an important piece of the country's constitutional frame work.[27] And in a time where the power of the Prime Minister is only increasing,[28] abolishing or even leaving the Senate as is, would obviously be a very unwise and careless course of action. The Senate cannot remain as an unelected chamber because the current arrangement has allowed the power of the Prime Minister to grow so great that some people have referred to Canada as an "elective dictatorship."[29] Abolishing the Senate is similarly an awful proposition, as evidenced by the fact that "virtually all other major federations of any significant size have found it necessary to establish and maintain bicameral federal legislatures."[30] Of the few unicameral legislatures around the world most have not fared well for minority groups. Federations with a single house have

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[25]Canada. The Library of Parliament Information and Documentation Branch. "*Firsts in Canadian Parliamentary History.*"
[26]Lusztig, *Federalism and Institutional Design,* 41.
[27]Dodek, 625.
[28]Savoie, *The Rise of Court Government in Canada*, 635-64.
[29]Cosh, *Elected dictatorship*, 6-10.
[30]Watts, "Bicameralism in Federal Parliamentary Systems," 87.

resulted in the dominance of majority groups and increased the insecurity of minorities.[31] In federations with a single house there has been a detrimental impact on getting a consensus on issues with the diverse groups that compose a federation.[32] That is why only an elected Senate would allow the institution to effectively serve its intended purpose of representing minorities, which in a modern and multicultural Canada couldn't be of more importance.

Only the 'Triple E'; "elected, equal, and effective"[33] proposition for Senate reform will be able to fix the institution and allow for fair representation. The Senate being an appointed body has led to Prime Ministers appointing people based on patronage due to past partisan work.[34] An elected Senate is needed in order to restore the chamber's capacity for dissent and 'sober second thought'. Due to being appointed, Senators lack democratic legitimacy, and are unable to adequately represent the people of Canada.[35] Senators elected either directly or indirectly (by provincial legislatures) would be able to effectively stand up for regional interests and challenge the power and the rule of the majority in the Commons. The importance of 'Triple E' is further evident with how Canada is currently experiencing a shift in the concentration of the country's population. The population of Western Canada is increasing[36] while in the Maritimes it is decreasing.[37] Since the Senate has a fixed number of seats for each Canadian region, as the population of the already underrepresented West increases the proportion of representation will inevitably decrease. Reforming the Senate and making it an elected house could also, so to speak, be like 'killing two birds with one stone'. An elected Senate would finally resolve the issues of Senate reform, and it could be the solution to electoral reform as well. The Senate could become the chamber of Parliament that is elected proportionally. This system would not only allow for regional representation; it would also allow minority voices to potentially gain seats in Parliament without being impeded by 'first past the post'. This system would be quite similar to the Senate of Australia, which would be a great model for Canada to adopt.

Australia's Senate was the first popularly elected Upper House in the world, and it is currently the chamber of Australia's Parliament that is elected proportionally.[38] Following Australia, Canada could create a system in which the Senate would serve as a contrasting institution to the Commons. The House of Commons could be the

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[31]Watts, 87.
[32]Watts, 87.
[33]Dodek, *Fidelity, Frustration, And Federal Unilateralism*, 636.
[34]Macfarlane, *Unsteady Architecture,* 889.
[35]Watts, 87.
[36]Government of Canada. "Components of population growth, by province and territory (Alberta, British Columbia, Yukon, Northwest Territories, Nunavut).
[37]Government of Canada. "Components of population growth, by province and territory (Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick).
[38]Smith, 22.

chamber for representing the majority, while the Senate through proportional representation and equal distribution of seats could serve as a forum for the voices of all regions and minorities. Those who are against adopting an Australia like system base their argument on the fear that the Canadian Senate would dominate Parliament.[39] This fear is unfounded, because despite being elected the Australian Senate's primary purpose is still legislative review.[40] This is due to the fact that "one of the fundamental tenets of the Westminster system is that the lower house constitutes the confidence chamber."[41] Instead, what should be feared are the propositions to either abolish the Senate or to keep it as is, because those options would only weaken Canadian democracy. So if Canada were to follow the Australian example, the Canadian Senate's duty for legislative review would not be altered by elections and Canada would adopt a vibrant healthy democracy. In addition, those who oppose the Australian model often cite increased deadlock as their primary concern. But they fail to realise that the entire point of an elected Senate is to counter and to stand guard against unwarranted government action. The recent changes to the national anthem of Canada are a prime example of the power a government can wield thanks to the current system. The anthem was changed without consultation or consensus of Canadians, yet there was nothing the unelected Senate could do to counter the will of the government other than to delay the passage of the bill. That is why an elected Senate is a great proposition. What such an arrangement would do is create a system of checks and balances, and it would limit the power of the Prime Minister.[42] This is evident with how the Australian Senate's elected and equal representation is effective because "there is no question that the Australian Senate can stop government in its policy tracks and force a compromise".[43] Reforming the Senate to allow it to gain legitimacy and power, would help to preserve the rights of all Canadians from across the country. It would be a great system to hear the voices of minority groups and those in lesser populated areas. It would also check the power of the Commons and Cabinet thus ultimately contribute to the betterment of the Canadian Democracy.

The Senate is an institution that has faced harsh criticism for over a century, and it's about time the institution is reformed. Canada has evolved immensely since 1867, with power now resting solely in the hands of the people. 150 years of evolution has resulted in the current arrangement where the House of Commons is the sole institution with legitimacy to make legislation. The Senate today is facing a 'triple deficit' and only elections can fix that. An elected and equal Senate modeled on Australia's example would allow for a complementary arrangement with the Commons as the voice of the majority, and the Senate as the voice for

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[39]Smith, 28.
[40]Lusztig, 40.
[41]Lusztig, 42.
[42]Savoie, 635- 64.
[43]Smith, 22.

minorities. Leaving the Senate as is or abolishing it is a careless course of action. An elected Senate is an absolute must, for Canada to have a vibrant and healthy modern democracy. The Fathers of Confederation had admirable intentions with wanting to protect the rights of minorities and all Canadian regions. Unfortunately, the arrangement they created with an appointed Senate has failed to work. The Senate needs to be fair, elected and, effective in order to represent all Canadians. A Senate that works is 150 years overdue.

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THE SENATE OF CANADA:
RAISONS D'ÊTRE, ISSUES AND REFORM

KAN TAT LEE

This paper examines the Canadian Senate's role within the context of Canada's federal parliamentary system; and argues for reform to address the democratic deficit, western alienation, and political gridlock. The need for an upper legislative chamber is established by the Senate's functions of legislative review and regional representation. Numerous major reform proposals are evaluated, focusing specifically on the selection of Senators, the composition of the Senate and its power to veto legislation. Ultimately, it is difficult to reconcile the Westminster principle of majority rule with a democratized Senate. Therefore, a Senate with curtailed veto powers and more equal provincial government representation through bureaucratic delegations is recommended. Nonetheless, Justin Trudeau's recent Senate reform measures remain unassessed due to their relative infancy.

Introduction

Combining American federalism with British parliamentary government, the Fathers of Confederation established the Senate as the upper house of Canada's bicameral Parliament. Modeled after the British House of Lords, the Senate serves as "an older, conservative influence" on the legislative process,[1] counterbalancing representation by population in the House of Commons. Senators are appointed by the Governor General on the advice of the Prime Minister,[2] while seats are distributed largely in accordance with the principle of equal regional, not provincial, representation.[3] Both houses of Parliament possess the power of legislative initiative, with the exception of money bills which must originate in the

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[1]Cochrane, Blidook, and Dyck, *Canadian Politics: Critical Approaches*, 596-97.
[2]*Constitution Act,* C. IV "Legislative Power," s. 22.
[3]*Constitution Act,* s. 22.

House of Commons.[4] Although the Senate can only delay constitutional amendments by a maximum of 180 days,[5] it maintains an absolute veto over all other legislation since the approval of both houses is required for passage.[6]

Despite the important legislative role of the Senate, John N. Turner observes that Canadians "feel that the Senate has outlived its usefulness and has become a superfluous appendix to the political system."[7] This is unsurprising given an appointments system effectively controlled by the Prime Minister. Senators lack a democratic mandate and are hampered by political patronage in their ability to represent the regions of Canada, an issue that is especially apparent in the western provinces. As both houses of parliament technically wield equal legislative power, but with minor exceptions, political gridlock pits the unelected Senate against the democratic House of Commons. Interestingly, despite hundreds of proposals and numerous failed attempts at reform, the Senate has essentially remained unchanged since Confederation. Nonetheless, the Canadian Senate serves the necessary functions of legislative review and regional representation, but to address the democratic deficit, western alienation, and political gridlock, this paper argues that reforming the upper house is necessary.

The Senate: Raisons d'Être

The Senate today serves the especially important functions of legislative review and regional representation that distinguishes itself from the House of Commons, and justifies its existence as the upper house of Parliament. In the initial years following Confederation, the first Prime Minister of Canada, Sir John A. Macdonald, described the Senate "as a body of 'sober second thought' that would curb 'democratic excesses' in the elected House of Commons."[8] Freed from the pressure of facing electoral challenge, senators focus more on the non-ideological task of reviewing and improving technical aspects of legislation, which "has become one of the Senate's most important roles over the years."[9] R. A. MacKay concurs with this view, emphasizing the importance of independent and uncontroversial scrutiny of legislation,[10] as does F. A. Kunz, who highlights the Senate's contributions to policy development through studies and committee work.[11] A notable example is the Kirby Report on health care, which made an

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[4]*Constitution Act*, s. 53.
[5]*Constitution Act,* s. 31.
[6]*Constitution Act,* s. 55.
[7]Turner, "The Senate of Canada- Political Conundrum," 57.
[8]"Sober Second Thought."
[9]Cochrane et al, 597.
[10]MacKay, *The Unreformed Senate of Canada,* 110.
[11]Kunz, *The Modern Senate of Canada: A Re-appraisal, 1925-1963*, 265-66.

impact on guaranteed maximum wait times.[12] It is also important to note the federal nature of the Canadian state, with powers divided between federal and provincial authorities.[13] Randall White asserts that this division of powers necessitates an equal role for each of the provinces "regardless of disparities in population and 'natural' economic power" in the federal legislative process,[14] especially in areas of concurrent jurisdiction. These functions differentiate the Senate from the more politicized and populist House of Commons, which is partisan by nature and is comprised of elected members who represent individual electoral districts across Canada.[15]

Although the Senate is historically rooted in the defense of private property rights, abolition of the Senate is an unconvincing alternative to proposals for reform. Former Prime Minister Macdonald insisted that only a bicameral system could protect the rights of minorities,[16] but was in fact primarily interested in safeguarding private property, "as the rich are always fewer in number than the poor."[17] Even today, Senators must meet a property requirement of $4,000,[18] while Colin Campbell observes the Senate's illegitimate defense of corporate interests, and advocates for its abolition as democratic reform would result in political impasse. Nonetheless, Michael Lusztig remarks that the role of the British House of Lords in balancing interests of the aristocracy and the commons has been rendered anachronistic through democratization.[19] Similarly, recent senatorial appointments in Canada have become more diverse and have seen more women appointed to the Senate, providing a wider perspective.[20] Many individuals such as Goldwin Smith and the New Democratic Party (NDP) call for the abolition of the Senate,[21] but even current NDP Member of Parliament, Don Davies, is hesitant to toe the party line. Although there remains a clear deficiency in the Senates structure, its aforementioned functions cannot be replicated in the House of Commons, establishing the need for an upper legislative chamber.

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[12]MacLeod and Chodos, "The Senate Committee Study."
[13]*Constitution Act,* C. VI "Distribution of Legislative Powers."
[14]White, *Voice of Region*, 63.
[15]*Constitution Act,* C. IV "Legislative Power," s. 37.
[16]*Parliamentary Debates on the Subject*, 44.
[17]Macdonald, October 11, 1864, quoted in "Hewitt Bernard's Notes," 98.
[18]*Constitution Act,* s. 23 (4).
[19]Lusztig, "Federalism and Institutional Design," 39-40.
[20]Cochrane et al, 600.
[21]Barnes et al., "Reforming the Senate of Canada: Frequently asked Questions," 28; "How Not to Reform the Senate."

Selection of Senators: The Democratic Deficit and Political Accountability

Being appointed on the advice of the Prime Minister, Senators lack a popular mandate, while citizens are unable to hold Senators accountable. It is difficult to justify the Senate's great legislative powers without any mechanism to ensure the Senators' political accountability to Canadian citizens. The appointment system lacks transparency, and is often an exercise in political patronage, as senatorial vacancies are mostly filled by "party hacks," characterizing the Senate as a "home for the aged" and "pension scheme for retired party warriors." Identifying the corporate connections of many Senators, Campbell also criticizes the "one-sided review which takes place in a legislature created by a political system which bends over backwards to ensure that business has preferential access to the policy process." More recently, Senators Mike Duffy, Patrick Brazeau, and Pamela Wallin have been accused of illegitimate expense claims,[22] and despite internal disciplinary action by the Senate, voters have no opportunity to hold them accountable at the ballot box.

The election of Senators may improve political accountability, but it may also worsen political deadlock, while proposals calling for provincial appointment offer an imperfect alternative. An elected Senate has been proposed by the Macdonald Commission,[23] the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons on Senate Reform,[24] and the Alberta Select Special Committee on Senate Reform.[25] Depending on the electoral system adopted, smaller political parties not currently represented could be elected to the Senate, as current and past Prime Ministers mostly make partisan appointments,[26] while left wing parties boycott the Senate for ideological reasons.[27] However, supported by greater electoral legitimacy, the Senate could be emboldened to take a more active legislative role, reversing its tradition of self-restraint and increasing the potential for stalemate between the houses of Parliament. Frederick C. Engelmann argues that "a double instead of the present single popular mandate…flies in the face of the principle of majority rule,"[28] Instead he recommends a German Bundesrat style system of appointment by provinces.[29] Alternatively, the Prime Minister could make nominations with provincial input, such as the case of Alberta and its Senate

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[22]"A Chronology of the Senate Expenses Scandal."
[23]Macdonald, "Royal Commission on the Economic Union."
[24]Canada, Parliament, Senate and House of Commons, Special Joint Committee of the Senate and of the House of Commons, *Special Joint Committee on Senate Reform.*
[25]Anderson, "Strengthening Canada, Reform of Canada's Senate."
[26]Albinski, "The Canadian Senate: Politics and the Constitution," 380.
[27]Cochrane et al, 598.
[28]Engelmann, "A Prologue to Structural Reform," 668.
[29]Engelmann, 673.

nominee elections.[30] However, a provincial appointment system does not resolve the issue of political patronage; this system simply transfers the problem from the federal to the provincial level.

To combat the effects of patronage, Justin Trudeau's Liberal government implemented a merit-based system of non-partisan appointments through the newly-established Independent Advisory Board for Senate Appointments,[31] yet this is a stop-gap solution while its efficacy remains to be seen.

Composition of the Senate: Western Alienation

The Senate has failed to effectively represent regional interests, especially those of the western provinces, which have historically had an estranged and difficult relationship with Ottawa. For some years since joining Confederation, the Western provinces "did not have equal representation with the other three regions in the Senate,"[32] while feeling "exploited and treated as an economic colonial hinterland of central Canada."[33] This sentiment persists in the 21st century; policies such as the National Energy Programme are still viewed as excessive federal control over western resources for the benefit of the east.[34] It is difficult to ignore the fact that Prince Edward Island has ten Senators representing a population of 512 thousand, while over 4.8 million British Columbians are represented by only six Senators.[35] [36] As a result, "the prevailing western Canadian sentiment is a determination to remove all vestiges of its historical colonial relationship with central Canada,"[37] with western provinces adamant in their desire for reform.

Alberta's "Triple-E Senate" proposes elected and equal representation of provinces, but partisanship may remain an issue; the appointment of non-partisan bureaucrats offers an interesting alternative. Equal representation similar to the US Senate would allow for enhanced provincial representation regardless of population. However, Paul C. Weiler argues that "[e]lected senators will feel precisely the same pressures to dampen expression (and votes) of regional dissent as MPs do now."[38] This suggests that western Liberals and cabinet ministers would not want to follow James Richardson — who disagreed with the party on official language policy — into political exile. Province-wide elections could potentially be expensive, and

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[30]*Alberta Senatorial Selection Act.*
[31]Canada, "Assessment Criteria."
[32]McKenzie, "Western Alienation in Canada," 2.
[33]McKenzie, 2.
[34]McKenzie, 8.
[35]Statistics Canada, *Table 051-0001.*
[36]*Constitution Act,* s. 21.
[37]Weiler, "Confederation Discontents and Constitutional Reform," 255.
[38]Weiler, 264.

senatorial candidates would likely rely on the support of political parties to fund campaigns. Thus, Senators would largely vote according to the party line, as evident in the Australian Senate in which Senators "subordinate regional interests to partisan considerations."[39] However, the German Bundesrat model of appointed — instead of elected non-partisan delegations of the provincial bureaucracy — could ensure an articulation of provincial interests consistent with provincial leadership, and "[g]ive Canada one capability it now lacks: a place in which representatives of federal and provincial bureaucracies could meet regularly."[40] A distribution of seats weighted according to provincial population sizes, but skewed to benefit smaller provinces could also be especially appealing to the western provinces.

Powers of the Senate: Political Gridlock

The unelected Senate may reject the democratic will of the House of Commons by vetoing legislation, especially when different political parties control majorities in each of the two legislative chambers. Between 1867 and 1960, the Senate, in most instances controlled by the opposition, exercised its veto on over 100 bills,[41] such as the Old Age Pensions bill in 1925. MacKay contends that the Senate never really goes against the democratic will when clearly expressed, as the "appointed upper house labours under the handicap that it has no political foundation."[42] Recent experiences suggest otherwise. The Goods and Services Tax would not have passed had Mulroney not made the controversial move to advise the appointment of eight additional Senators.[43] A bill requiring sexual assault law training for judges presently being considered in the Senate is also being blocked through delay tactics despite unanimous approval in the House of Commons.[44] This suggests that despite Mackay's observations, the threat of an absolute veto by the undemocratic Senate is not merely theoretical, but real; a reliance on the self-restraint and stasis of agency is poor design.

Retaining the power of absolute veto would require the strengthening of the Senate's mandate, but reconciliation with the Westminster principle of majority rule may prove challenging, even with the reduced power of a suspensive veto. A case in point is the Australian Senate, which operates as an elected upper chamber that may veto bills passed by the lower house. Engelmann draws attention to the Australian constitutional crisis of 1975, in which the "deadlock-resolving

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[39]Lusztig, 43.
[40]Engelmann, 673.
[41]MacKay, 62.
[42]MacKay, 62.
[43]Cochrane et al, 602.
[44]"Globe Editorial."

mechanism of the Australian constitution blew a fuse" and resulted in "the first dismissal of a government in the history of first-world British parliamentary government since the dismissal of the Fox-North ministry by George III in 1783."[45] He further elaborates that "the mitigation of the suspensive veto may well be drowned out by the partisanship of senators," as Senators could still employ the suspensive veto, or even delaying tactics to pressuring a government enjoying the confidence of the lower house into a snap election.[46] An alternative proposal is a weakened variation of the German Bundesrat.[47] The Senate would have no power to veto federal matters, preserving the principle of responsible government. However, it would maintain a veto on matters of joint or overlapping jurisdiction, allowing for provincial input.

Conclusion

Despite numerous attempts at reform, the Senate of Canada has remained largely unchanged since Confederation. Some advocate for outright abolition, arguing that the Senate undermines democracy, but this paper takes the position that an upper legislative chamber should be preserved as its role in legislative review and regional representation are crucial and fundamentally distinct from that of the House of Commons. This paper further suggests that reforms should be made to address the particularly pertinent issues of the democratic deficit, western alienation, and political gridlock. There is no single perfect solution that could resolve all three issues, and it is particularly difficult to reconcile majority rule with a democratized Senate. Nonetheless, this paper ultimately favors a Senate likened to a weakened variation of the Bundesrat system as Engelmann proposed.

Furthermore, this paper acknowledges limitations in its assessment of Senate reform. A comparative approach could be taken to further assess how upper legislative chambers function in various political systems. The merits of abolition could also be given more attention, instead of assuming the suitability of bicameralism, while the efficacy and relevance of unicameral systems could be evaluated. An alternative approach could be taken to analyze each reform proposal as a whole. Finally, this paper is unable to make a proper assessment of Justin Trudeau's reforms due to their relative infancy, and further research will be needed to study their implications on the operation and behavior of the Senate.

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[45]Engelmann, 668-669.
[46]Engelmann, 669-670.
[47]Engelmann, 673.

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ELECTING THE SENATE IN CANADA

SEAN WHITE

This paper explains why Canada's Senate should be elected instead of appointed. Many Canadians today are concerned that the Senate is an appointed legislative body, and not an elected one. The legislative power to amend or defeat bills should be a responsibility that is divided equally amongst all of Canada's provinces, which can also strengthen federal/provincial relationships. In any position of power, one must lead by setting a good example. Some Canadian Senators in recent history have done the opposite by committing acts of dishonesty and fraudulence. Unfair patronage appointments can lead to feelings of doubt amongst ordinary citizens, and also to feelings of hopelessness for those who have the ambition to become a politician within the federal system. Although the idea of reforming the Canadian Senate to an elected body has been formally reviewed, it is still appointed. This is a problem for earning trust as accountability can become compromised.

An astonishing red chamber with 105 seats is where the law makers of Canada take on the formal process of bills becoming laws. These lawmakers are called senators, who work in the upper chamber of a bicameral legislature: The Canadian Parliament in Ottawa. Senators represent regions and are responsible for revisions on bills becoming laws after Royal Assent. Sitting in the chamber and attending committee meetings are just two of many sophisticated duties carried out by Canada's Senate. The Senate may introduce, amend, or defeat a bill. Senators are appointed by the Governor General on advice of the Prime Minister. The lower chamber, referred to as the House of Commons, consists of 338 officials who are elected, not appointed. Although the current Senate is thought to be a representative body of democracy, the fact that senators are appointed and not elected poses a problem. A voice for the people requires a representative chosen by the people. Elections promote stronger connections between constituents and their representatives. People having some say with an important issue allows for a steadier balance of power. Canada should adopt an elected Senate to establish greater equality both amongst the provinces, and in general. Electing a Senate

would strengthen legitimacy and eliminate unfair patronage. This paper will discuss the role of the current Senate, and the benefits of having an elected one. A lack of equal representation amongst the provinces is unacceptable and this paper will also draw attention to benefits of equality in the political system all together. Legitimacy, and how the current Senate has compromised it, will be noted along with the importance of eliminating patronage. It is important that all Canadians have opportunities to be elected if they so desire.

The Senate, as Sir John A. Macdonald pointed out, provides a "second sober thought" on all legislation passed up by the House of Commons.[1] Senators attend committee meetings and sit in the upper chamber of the Canadian Parliament. Their duties also include overseeing the interests of provinces, minorities, and regions.[2] Along with revisions, the Standing Committee on International Economy, Budgets, and Administration points out that "Senators represent, investigate, deliberate and legislate."[3] They also have the power to defeat bills, not just amend them. Elections promote the concept of democracy which the Greeks initially defined as "rule by the people."[4] Canada is a representative democracy meaning that people choose someone to make governing decisions for them.[5] If Canada is truly democratic, then why do the decision makers of a second chamber get appointed? This question has been raised frequently and as political scientists Eric Mintz, Livianna Tossutti, and Christopher Dunn pointed out, "the unelected Senate has to approve all legislation."[6] This compromises the whole idea of democracy. Voting is a way for people to put forth their input on domestic and international matters. It is commonly known that there has been a massive decline in political participation and trust in politicians. The very definition of liberal democracy, according to Mintz, Tossutti, and Dunn, states that "fair elections be held to choose those who make governing decisions."[7] The idea of an appointed Senate demonstrates an imbalance of power. If democracy is to be fully effective, then senators must be elected like Members of Parliament. Senate reform is not a new concept. Ever since the Senate was created, reforming it was regularly debated.[8] In the 1980's Alberta advocated a "Triple-E Senate", meaning elected, effective, and equal. Every institution making important decisions on behalf of others should be elected to promote effectiveness and fairness.

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[1]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, *Canadian Politics,* 409-410.
[2]Kroft and Atkins, *The Senate Today*, 2.
[3]Kroft, 3.
[4]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 5.
[5]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 5.
[6]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 6.
[7]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 7.
[8]McGuigan, *The Government of Canada*, 1.

Senators must be elected in Canada to promote equal representation amongst the provinces. The term: federal system, was defined by Mintz, Tossutti, and Dunn as authority evenly divided.[9] The concept within the Senate should be no different. Elections can provide an equal number of seats for every province in Canada. This would create a stronger relationship between federal and provincial governments. Western provinces are expanding in terms of population and require an equal number of representatives in order to establish a more effective and balanced Senate.[10] An appointed Senate causes the problem of an imbalanced body of power. The Senate today has 105 seats divided into 5 divisions: 24 seats in the Maritimes, 24 seats in Quebec, 24 seats in Ontario, 24 seats in western provinces, and 18 seats for additional representation. [11] The Charlottetown Accord, a package of constitutional amendments, suggested a more effective way to balance the equation of elected senators in Canada. The number of seats would be reduced from 105 down to 62, and 6 senators elected from every province.[12] This amendment would have evened out two problems. The first being that senators would be elected instead of appointed. Secondly, seats would be equally distributed throughout Canada. The Charlottetown Accord, however, was defeated the same year that it was proposed.

Domination is not an ideal aspect within democratic countries. An equal and elected Senate may help to reduce quasi-federalism, which Mintz, Tossutti, and Dunn define as "a system in which the federal government dominates provincial governments."[13] The Senate, as an elected body, can also help reduce Canada's decentralized federal system. Issues regarding health care and education are the responsibility of provincial governments, although the federal government involves itself anyways. [14] Canadian political scientist David E. Smith commented that "critics say the Senate represents no one because it is appointed."[15] An elected Senate would strengthen equality not just in politics, but also in society. Canadians prefer equality in the political system because they have the right to vote and hold office. Fairness and more opportunities are fundamental characteristics of equality that do not describe the Senate in Canada today. These characteristics are actually compromised by the qualifications needed to become a senator. To be appointed to the Senate one must have a personal net worth of $4000.00, own $4000.00 of equity in land within their home province, and be 30 years of age.[16] These eligibilities make it more difficult for notable and deserving Canadians to be considered for a

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[9]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 324.
[10]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 414.
[11]Kroft and Atkins, 8.
[12]Charlottetown Proposal: Draft Legal Text, 3.
[13]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 332.
[14]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 336.
[15]Smith, *The Canadian Senate*, 67.
[16]Kroft and Atkins, 5.

Senate appointment. Interestingly, the Senate today consists of lawyers, business people, surgeons, and political elites.[17] The financial pre-requisites were, most likely, not a problem for them. It is generally understood that elected Members of Parliament make a larger salary than senators and yet they have less conditions to meet than those appointed to the upper chamber. Every Canadian citizen, if over the age of 18, has the right to run to be an elected official in the House of Commons. [18] Everyone should also have the right to a chance at a Senate appointment, but elections would simplify this problem in the first place.

Appointing senators instead of electing them can have a negative impact on democracy. Canada is a great nation because of its reputation for helping others when and where possible. Part of being a politician should, ideally, be about helping citizens within a community. People voice their opinions and concerns about safety, health, education, and the environment and it is the duty of any politician to respond as quickly and effectively as possible. Anyone appointed to a position of considerable influence and a high level salary is less likely to be as caring or responsive, especially when those who are appointed cannot be fired. Lack of accountability is the problem. A senator that is seemingly untouchable will have greater temptation to look out only for self-interests. Elections for Canada's Senate would certainly reduce this problem, promote legitimacy, and strengthen accountability. Compromised legitimacy will lead to distrust, poor reputation, and angry, disheartened citizens. Broken promises and scandals will decrease Canada's reputation internationally. Fraudulence is illegal and completely annihilates hard earned trust. In 1990 Eric Bernston was appointed to the Senate after serving as the Deputy Premier of Saskatchewan. [19] After serving three consecutive terms in provincial politics and seven years in the Senate, Bernston was charged with fraud in 1997, and convicted in 1999. It was one of the biggest political scandals in Canadian history.[20] If people who get charged or convicted have any remorse, they will typically show the symptoms. Journalist Claire Hoy brought attention to the fact that this was not the case for Eric Bernston "who spent much of the trial sitting in court with his arms crossed in front of him, and flatly refusing any public comment, showed no emotion as the verdict was announced."[21] Cases of politicians looking out for their own personal interests are common and troubling. As hundreds of thousands of dollars disappear, so does the faith that Canadians have in the political system. A historical illustration of this was Senator Wilfrid Laurier McDougald. After working as a director of several corporations, including gold and

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[17]Kroft and Atkins, 4.
[18]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 241.
[19]Hoy, *Nice Work*, 1.
[20]Hoy, 2.
[21]Hoy, 17.

coal mines, McDougald was appointed to the Senate by Prime Minister King.[22] This senator was linked to Deputy Minister Henry and both of them created Sterling Industrial Corp.[23] The ravenous greed of these two men was particularly evident as they each pocketed $500,000.00 after selling Sterling Industrial Corp.[24] That sum of money can last an ordinary citizen almost a lifetime in this current day and age.

Those in political leadership roles are in positions of great power and must present a positive, reliable image. Incidents of conduct unbecoming can compromise and destroy a politician's public image. Misrepresentation through conduct unbecoming was demonstrated by Senator Patrick Brazeau. Former Member of Parliament and journalist Patrick Boyer recalls journalists advising the public of Brazeau's missed child support payments, accusations of sexual abuse, and lack of attendance from Senate committee meetings.[25] This senator's disgraceful conduct while in office was almost as upsetting as the criminal behaviour that he was formally charged with. As Boyer remembers, "On February 4, 2014, the RCMP laid charges against Patrick Brazeau for breach of trust and fraud."[26] A sense of entitlement can lead to selfish attitudes and actions. These negative features are more likely to become a problem in positions of power that are appointed and not elected. Ruthless, self-deserving behaviour amongst Canada's Senate is poorly regarded by citizens and as Boyer observed, "Many people expressed concern that a 'culture of entitlement' had taken over senators, softening their ability to work effectively and frugally."[27] An accurate and infamous sample of such problems was the Canadian Senate Expense Scandal which involved Mike Duffy, Mac Harb, Pamela Wallin, and Patrick Brazeau. This scandal, according to Mintz, Tossutti, and Dunn, showed Canadians how greed can be one of the main traits of an appointed senator.[28] Mike Duffy is a modern day example of an untrustworthy politician and in 2015, he was charged with bribery, fraudulence, and breach of trust.[29]

An elected Senate in Canada would help eliminate the problem of patronage. Favoritism can lead to deserving, hard-working individuals becoming disgruntled at the fact that they were the most qualified for a job, but did not get selected. Patronage, in a sense, compromises the integrity of democracy as it is a form of injustice to those who earn positions strictly through merit. It seems unusual that patronage appointments would take place in Canada, a country that has a desirable

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[22]Hoy, 42.
[23]Hoy, 43.
[24]Hoy, 43.
[25]Boyer, *Our Scandalous State*, 160.
[26]Boyer, 160.
[27]Boyer, 121.
[28]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 409.
[29]Mintz, Tossutti and Dunn, 409.

reputation for fairness and equality. The Prime Minister is free to appoint to the Senate whom he, or she, prefers.[30] An elected Senate would be a good way to put a halt to this problem. Citizens would then be able to choose who they prefer to represent them and this would eliminate an unnecessary bias relationship between the Senate and other powerful political elites. Some of Canada's past Prime Ministers have an extensive history in making patronage appointments. An example of this was recognized by Hoy who recalled Prime Minister King setting a record of making twelve patronage appointments to the Senate in the same day.[31] Similarly, Prime Minister Jean Chrétien demonstrated favoritism when he made Senate appointments. Senator Leonard Marchand wanted to step down in 1996, but remained in the Senate because his good friend, Prime Minister Chrétien, convinced him to stay.[32] Prime Ministers have various reasons for the patronage appointments that they make. These reasons usually benefit the Prime Minister and the governing party in some way, shape, or form. The Prime Minister and the Cabinet might influence a senator to use veto powers, which are powers to reject proposed legislation.[33] Favoritism through patronage appointments is viewed very negatively amongst Canadians. It is simply unfair. A bias approach to anything destroys accountability which is such an important aspect of democracy. A legitimate, unbiased, elected Senate would help improve Canada's political reputation both domestically and internationally.

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[30]Campbell, *The Canadian Senate*, 40.
[31]Hoy, 74.
[32]Hoy, 82.
[33]Kroft and Atkins, 15.

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IMMEDIATE OPINION:
THE ADVANCEMENT OF THE KWANTUNG
INTO MANCHURIA

TREVOR TRAVIS

History is in the past, but this report does not write of what has been. It puts the reader in the immediate time of the Manchurian Invasion, before anyone knew what the outcome would be. Immediate Opinion: The Advancement of the Kwantung into Manchuria, examines the Japanese invasion into Manchuria through the eyes of four different points of view, because the main events in history only skim the top of what is really going on. The reader sits with a Chinese Communist, a Chinese Nationalist, a young Japanese officer, and an American diplomat, while they explain the real issues hidden behind the guise of this international dilemma.

I need you to believe something. I haven't the time for doubters and little time to explain, so listen well. Though your environment feels and looks the same, you have, upon turning the title page of this paper embarked on a journey that took you from your present to theirs. It is nearly December and the year is 1931. I cannot disclose your exact location, as you are nowhere and yet everywhere, in relative geographic necessity of Manchuria. Almost two and a half months ago a small explosion attempted to derail the Japanese-owned, Manchurian Railway. It did not succeed in absolute destruction; however, since then the Japanese have invaded further into the land and are meeting only minor pockets of resistance. You are going to sit with four individuals who are going to give you their accounts of the events thus far. Do not interrupt them. Absorb what they say and when they are done, you will 'transport' to the next. They of course will be speaking in their native language, but you will understand. When you've seen all four, you will return to our time and give me a summary of their opinions. You will never know their names, nor will they yours. Your first visit will be a young Japanese Officer in Manchuria, you will not be far from a small resistance that has appeared. God speed.

Manchuria

私たちは早くいかなければ。。。Do you understand me? As I said, we must be fast. I serve under Colonel Itagaki Seishirō. He is a gifted operations-oriented leader.[1] In the first half of September he informed the other officers that he and Lieutenant Colonel Ishiwara Kanji, were aware of an attack that would happen on our railway. Before the Colonels broke into a smaller group of more trusted individuals, he warned us all of an imminent need to ready ourselves for reply with force. To no one's surprise, an attack which consisted of the Chinese bombing our rail happened within two days. I believe that was September 18th. Many of us officers were relieved when the attack took place. It allowed our civilian government, who was ever weakening to the pressures of our people back home, to see that "to yield aspects of Japan's position in Manchuria for increased trade with China…was sacrificing national security for the sake of profits,"[2] and that China in no way will ever be a trusted ally. Two months later, I now hear, like swells of wave after wave, that our government did not order the retaliation. I cannot believe this rumour. Though they are not militarily run, they are also not stupid. Our might has been proven time and again, against the Chinese and the Russians. We cannot be defeated and as the most powerful nation in the East we cannot let the acts of the Chinese, which include the destruction of our rail go unpunished. Even if the civilian government can't see this obvious point, they are well aware of the over-population of our land and that Manchuria's agricultural space would not only put ease on the population at home, but also introduce a vast increase in food supply.[3] Either reason is enough for our people, the Japanese people, protected by Amaterasu, to continue this invasion and claim Manchuria as our own.

Nanjing

It's the Communists' fault. It is imperative I be clear on this, and that you understand. Many will claim that Chiang Kai-shek *chose* limited resistance against the Japanese invasion; that he should no longer be leader of the Nationalist Government, but indeed, Chiang Kai-shek merely had to decide of the lesser of two evils. And in that, the choice was one every proud Chinese nationalist would make. The Kuomintang is much better used to deal with the Communists in the south and leave the local forces to contend with the Japanese in the north.[4] A small territory of land in the northeast occupied by the Japanese is much less of an issue than our entire country being overrun by the plague of Communists. Besides, the influx of nationalism being produced by the Japanese invasion is awe-inspiring. All one must

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[1]Weland, *Misguided Intelligence*, 445-460.

[2]Weland, 448.

[3]Wilson, *The New Paradise*, 249-86.

[4]Lee, *Counterinsurgency in Manchuria*, 8.

do is read the national Chinese press releases and it is easy to see that Ma Zhanshan's published telegrams of his resistance to the Japanese is sparking proud *nationalist* Chinese to stand their ground. Student groups have formed in Shanghai to aide in Ma's battles and those who can't fight are raising substantial funds to ensure his fight can continue.[5] Protests also surge, not just in Shanghai, but in many cities across China. Nationalism has never been stronger and yet, while this carries on, the Communists try only to defame our efforts, and those Communists in Manchuria make pleas to the Soviets for aid rather than arming themselves and making a stand for their country.[6] The Japanese will be dealt with accordingly, but the world we live in is not the same as it was in the past. We will settle our internal issues our way and relieve the international one the new way. At this moment, Chiang Kai-shek has already "appealed to the League of Nations in hopes of winning international sympathy and support against Japan's aggressions."[7] This is the new way to overcome international conflict and the Communists and the Japanese do not understand. This will be both of their undoings.

Southern China

Treaties? The League of Nations? "The Japanese are already destroying these treaties…by their military occupation in Manchuria."[8] This invasion is a matter of our national security. If America, or England wish to aid us they can do so through loans, sales of weapons and airplanes, or create a blockade against the Japanese.[9] Then we can properly rise up and evict not only the Japanese, but the Nationalists who wish to see our country fall under foreign rule. Until then we will not listen to the government and will not engage in these volunteer armies, as cooperating with non-Communist leaders is forbidden according to the Sixth World Congress.[10] And how can we be sure that the Nationalists are not in cahoots with the Japanese? It is no coincidence that the Japanese invade Manchuria, a position so close to our Soviet allies to the north. These volunteer armies are no more than a "charade, part of a conspiracy to facilitate a Japanese invasion of the Soviet Union."[11] I assure you that is the League of Nations' true wish, to rid the world of Communism, so Capitalism and Imperialism can reign uninhibited. It is why the Soviets are not members. This fallacy is something, though, that no Communist will fall for and China will only be secure when the true revolution has begun and the Communist Chinese become victorious. Which I assure you, will happen. Under Japanese

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[5]Mitter, *The Manchurian Myth*, 148.
[6]Wasserstrom, *Student Protests in Twentieth-Century China,* 176.
[7]Huang, *Chiang Kai-shek's diplomatic strategy against Japan*, 199-217.
[8]Schram, *Mao's Road to Power*, 251.
[9]Schram, 251.
[10]Coogan, *Northeast China and the Origins of the Anti-Japanese United Front*, 282-314.
[11]Coogan, 286.

occupation or not and if China must be retaken from Japan by us Communists, I can doubly assure you they will not retain one inch of Chinese territory.

American Embassy, Japan

This is an interesting time, indeed. America's stance on Japan's invasion of Manchuria can only come after looking on the episode with great scrutiny, for it was not only seven years ago a campaign came about here in Tokyo where rallies erupted and leaflets were stuck to American cars around the embassy, in protest of the exclusion law.[12] We do not want to strain relations again with the people of Japan. To examine this current situation with greater depth we thus have to look at certain facts. To begin with, Japan had every right to station their army in Manchuria, especially on the land owned by the Railway company, and with the right to protect the over two-hundred thousand Japanese living there, not to mention the one million Koreans who would be protected by the Japanese army.[13] Having said this, the presence of the Kwantung Army should not be looked at as an aggressor, but merely a presence that any country under the same circumstances would be able to do in their own right. Thus, and though there are conflicting reports coming out of Manchuria at this stage, if China provoked an attack by attempting to disable or destroy the Japanese-owned railway lines, then it is also in their full right to exact retribution. Beyond the simple act of two nations having issues with each other, this invasion has triggered eyes from around the world. It has also revealed that though the United States of America is not an official member of the League of Nations, it is indeed a country which the Nations is keeping in the loop, and relying heavily on.[14] This particular incident is also of great importance to us, as we have multilateral treaties in the area, as I am aware the Soviets do as well.[15] Should the Japanese continue in their efforts beyond the zone of the rail purely for security and safety, as they announced in the beginning of October,[16] I see no reason this incident cannot be resolved efficiently and expeditiously.

The Invasion of Manchuria is not a two-player issue. Two months into it is impossible to see who is in the wrong, who is defending, who is attacking, and for what purpose. Rumours and reports are surfacing that the attack was staged by the same officers who claimed to know of its coming. An already shaky China, is being driven further apart, not only by the Japanese, but by the Nationalists and the Communists. Both sides with obviously opposing views on how the invasion should be handled, and neither side willing to work with the other to create a united

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[12] Hirobe, *Japanese Pride, American Prejudice*, 22.
[13] Hirobe, 153.
[14] Clyde, *The Diplomacy of Playing No Favorites*, 187-202.
[15] Clyde, 187.
[16] Clyde, 193.

front. The Americans are dealing with two nations they have treaties or pacts with and at the moment have their hands tied, with only the ability to surmise and assist the League of Nations. The Soviets also show interest as they do not want Imperialists on their border, threatening their own way of government, not to mention a repeat of being the first western nation to lose a war to an eastern nation. Surely the threat of also being the second, has their backs against the wall. The Japanese greed for more land seems insatiable. It is impossible for them to push on and claim their actions are only for their security and the safety of their Japanese and Korean citizens living in Manchuria. If the Japanese don't stop, what happens then? The Chinese Communists, under the Bukharin theory state that another world war is on its way. If this is true, then surely this will be the start of it.

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WHERE COURAGE IS FOUND

SUSAN HOWELL-JENSEN

As part of an Art History course about Photography, students were asked to write a series of reflective journals. One of the goals of this assignment was to help students develop their written voice, an important skill in building a robust academic language.

In this selection of journals titled "WHERE COURAGE IS FOUND" the writer has found a common thread, namely, courage. In "When the Family Photo Album Isn't Picture Perfect", the writer revisits a family photo album that documents some of her father's experiences in Norway during World War II. "Angry Broad Brush, a reflection on Angela Kelly's essay 'SELF IMAGE Personal is political" considers how we have come to expect narrowly defined norms in photographic images. "Enlightened" looks at the work of a female photojournalist and asks, does it make a difference if the photographer is male or female?

"If students—especially basic writing students—are to acquire academic language in a meaningful, powerful way, the emphasis on exploring ideas in personal, expressive language cannot be neglected." [1]

As part of our work in an Art History course about photography, we were asked to write a series of reflective journals. The assignment was both deceptively challenging and incredibly rewarding. In the journal "When the Family Photo Album Isn't Picture Perfect" I revisit an old family photo album that was usually kept from public view. The photographs document the courage of a young man fighting for his country and the album made for an important lesson: a lesson where

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[1] Mlynarcyzk, *Revisiting the Debate*, 12.

immigrant parents taught their daughters that being foreign was not a source of shame, but their family history was a source of pride.

When the Family Photo Album Isn't Picture Perfect

Our personal photographs play an important role in our image building. Who are we? Who do we aspire to be? What are our lives supposed to look like? We humans are very concerned with how we are viewed, how and where we fit in social groups. We present the image we think ought to or should be portrayed. But is it so wrong when the picture doesn't fit neatly into the usual social conventions? What do we make of it when a family photo album isn't 'picture perfect'?

These questions have been crossing my mind since I was a young girl. Growing up, there was one photo album that was often tucked away. That was the one that I found most fascinating, the one that Mom didn't really want us getting into as she knew it might lead to difficult questions. As it was 'not suitable for young ladies', if I had any questions I would need to keep them to myself.

The album was one that my father brought with him when he immigrated from Norway. Most of the photos span his adolescence, and as he was born in 1925, his teenage years were during the Nazi occupation in WWII. Like many other Norwegians, he actively resisted the occupation. His specialty was radio communications and when the Nazis became suspicious of his activities, he had to flee his hometown. His escape route took him from his home in the southeast, north through the middle of Norway and eventually east to escape into Sweden. The photo album documents this time. What he and others did was dangerous work, not only for themselves but for those close to them. While the Nazis hunted for my father, they held his mother and sister house hostage, and sent his father to a detention camp. What he did was remarkable, but what is more remarkable is that he was one of the thousands of Norwegians who actively resisted the Occupation. He died many years ago so there are few traces remaining, the photos and the memories retold by relatives in the old country. It's been decades since I've had a good look at this album and given the nature of our studies, it seems fitting to see what this album tells me now.

The pictures. A desolate spot in the mountains. Young men build onto a log cabin. Interior shots of a radio communication post. Groups of men, friends posing for the camera, men in uniform, sometimes in formation. Candid, posed, working, basking in the sun but revolver safely in hand. The countryside changing from lush mountains to a treeless north marked by snow fences. The difficult pictures. Pictures of people excavating corpses from dirt graves and giving the lifeless bodies the dignity of a box for burial. The sad ones of a cemetery filled with countless

fresh white crosses. The photos filled with pride. A welcome home parade, dignitaries walking with war heroes. Women and children smiling, crowds of people waving the Norwegian flag.

What did these photos mean to the teenage boy that took them? Why are they so important to me? These photos document an aspect of WWII that is not well known and not expected to be found in a personal family album. They are not the usual stuff of happy, joyous or silly celebrations of family life. Had my parents left this album out with all the others, they would have faced stern judgement for their sense of decency, and further scrutinized for their oddness and egotism. And, while I agree these photos may not be for casual viewing, I think they are important. What happened during that young man's adolescence was unusual and shocking. This album may have provided a way for him to resolve the trauma from these events. It helps me to better understand the past. Had it not been for this album I would have missed an incredible example of courage and decency, of setting aside personal interests for the sake of country, and that it is not the efforts of one, but of many. These photos document the power and tenacity of brave people. Yes, there is a place for the light-hearted family photos. But there is a place for the albums that document our lives beyond the picture perfect. This album has shown me that we can be much more than just a shiny image.

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Looking at the work of two well-regarded photographers, I find there is more to their work than the photographs alone.

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Angry Broad Brush
A reflection on Angela Kelly's essay "SELF IMAGE Personal is Political"

In reading Angela Kelly's essay "SELF IMAGE Personal is Political" I find myself stumbling over a few areas. This essay intends "to dispel a few myths and raise a few questions about photographic self-portraiture"[2] and to consider this from the perspective of the "photographic self-portraitist."[3] It was not until the third or fourth reading and a detour to see if 'The Personal is Political' is a thing that this essay begins making more sense to me, but with what seems to be a few departures from the original intent. My understanding of 'The Personal is Political' is as a slogan from the time of second-wave feminism. It was calling attention to issues about

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[2]Kelly, *Self Image: Personal is Political*, 410.
[3]Kelly, 410.

women's health, what we call 'woman's work', and that these issues need to be brought out and dealt with within a political context.

After multiple readings, I'm left feeling that Kelly views the world in black and white with but a few patches of grey. This essay mentions issues that seem to be distant from the original intent, issues such as self-portraiture is acceptable to the artist but not the photographer, that either claim to illustrate what lies beneath versus capturing the likeness and that it is "contradictory for women to see themselves as persons before women."[4] These are all problematic for me, possibly due to what small strides have been made since the article was written, or possibly that at this point in my life I am less inclined to play nice and buy into those kinds of sexist notions.

I appreciate her bringing attention to the myth that contrary to what we may often see in photographic print, not all women are young, slender, flawless and eager for a sexual encounter. Let's challenge the status quo and raise a few questions. To that end, take the image of a provocatively posed women and replace her with a man. Yes, that pose is ludicrous, and it is not representative of most women. And what was she thinking to turn the camera on herself and claim herself as worthy to be the centre of attention? It would be a few years after Kelly's essay, but I think it's fair to credit Madonna as the trailblazer and fierce protector of feminine narcissism.

It is interesting to see Kelly's exploration of photographic self-portraiture and how her images have matured over the course of time. There is one that I find very powerful. It looks to be from when she was a younger woman, standing in a flowery print dress, partially hidden in the shadows. The light streams in from a large window on the left-hand side, the light so bright it nearly overexposes an ad painted on the exterior wall. Only a portion of the ad is visible, LES & SER, it leaves me wondering if she may be feeling 'lesser', or perhaps she is ready to leave her lesser self and step into her power.

Kelly's article reminds me of some of my own experiences. I was a young career woman around her 'lesser' time and I cannot forget shocking levels of sexist behaviour that were accepted if not tolerated. It was not unexpected to have male coworkers try to put girls into their place, but it was crushing when female coworkers would try to keep you from reaching beyond their interpretation of a woman's proper place.

Hopefully, the passage of time has been as good to Kelly as it has been to me. The process of aging is not for sissies but there is a lovely freedom in being a cranky (dare we say bitchy) mature women. It is far easier in these autumn years to call out

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[4]Kelly, 416.

the bullshit. Better yet, there is less time to bellyache about a countless number of inequities for, wherever possible, I grab what I can of what is rightfully mine.

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Enlightened

One of the benefits of our studies is learning about photographers that were previously not known to us. As women are underrepresented in the photographic industry, I now seek them out intentionally. It's a small way to help get us to a more equitable balance. A search of female photographers led me to Time Inc.'s "Women in Photography: 34 Voices from Around the World"[5]. It is unfortunate to read that only 15% of the entrants to the World Press Photo Contest are female. It is also a bit disconcerting that some classify photographic styles based on sex. Art historian and curator Val Williams believes there is a distinct difference in the way that women photographers approach documenting versus that of men, and perhaps there is, but does that male-female classification serves us well? Unless specific sex organs are required to produce or consider photographic work, do we really need to support that type of stratification? Can we not leave it at: different photographers have different perspectives, and accept that their perspectives may change over the course of time? As viewers, is a better approach is to seek out various points of view and in doing so, come to know a larger body of photographic work? The article about these talented photographers, all of them names that are new to me, does not disappoint. After a cursory review of extraordinary work, I've settled on Meridith Kohut. What I see brings me to tears.

The subjects covered in these photo-essays are rich and moving. A photojournalist by trade, Kohut is a regular contributor to The New York Times, a publication I hold in high regard. Much of her work relates to issues within Latin America. These assignments put the photographer into some very precarious and potentially hostile situations. Of particular note I'm deeply moved by her photo essay about the shortage of drugs for patients in a Venezuelan psychiatric hospital. I'm reminded of our course text and its reference to Gerry Badger's BBC television series, where the subtitle reads "How photography has changed our lives"[6]. It is through these photo-essays that I, as a viewer, am able to witness worlds I otherwise would not see.

The power of these essays is more than the subject matter. Without question, the skill of the photographer in capturing and composing the images is crucial to the viewing experience. And there are several decisions made during post-production

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[5]Time Inc., *Women in Photography: 34 Voices from Around the World.*
[6]Wells, ed. *Photography,* 60-61.

that make for richer storytelling. Specific choices made in editing, cropping and employing colour schemes add to the overall impact, creating more drama and leading the viewer. These visual stories feel complete.

There is a sense of integrity in these photo-essays. The subjects are presented as they are. I am seeing something that is beyond my day to day world, but it does not feel like there is an intention to classify them as lesser than us. The photographs provide a vivid visual story of people and their circumstances, and it is achieved without a condescending perspective, condemnation or victimizing. The aftermath of an act of God, a country in tatters, a society losing hope, a hospital without the tools to provide care. These stories are rich. What would the photographer have me do? Karin Becker Ohrn points out "The photographer's goal was to bring the attention of an audience to the subject of his or her work and, in many cases, to pave the way for social change."[7] Kohut's body of work has the power to do just that.

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Conclusion

Looking back over these journals, there is a constant thread about courage. Courage is found in the photo-essays of a photojournalist, the questions posed by a feminist, a young man's efforts for his country and the lessons taught about finding pride in your heritage. But it is more than the just the journals. From the audacity of an instructor who assigned this unconventional task, to the personal effort of digging deep and expressing ideas, it is evident that courage has been found.

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[7]Wells, 79.

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