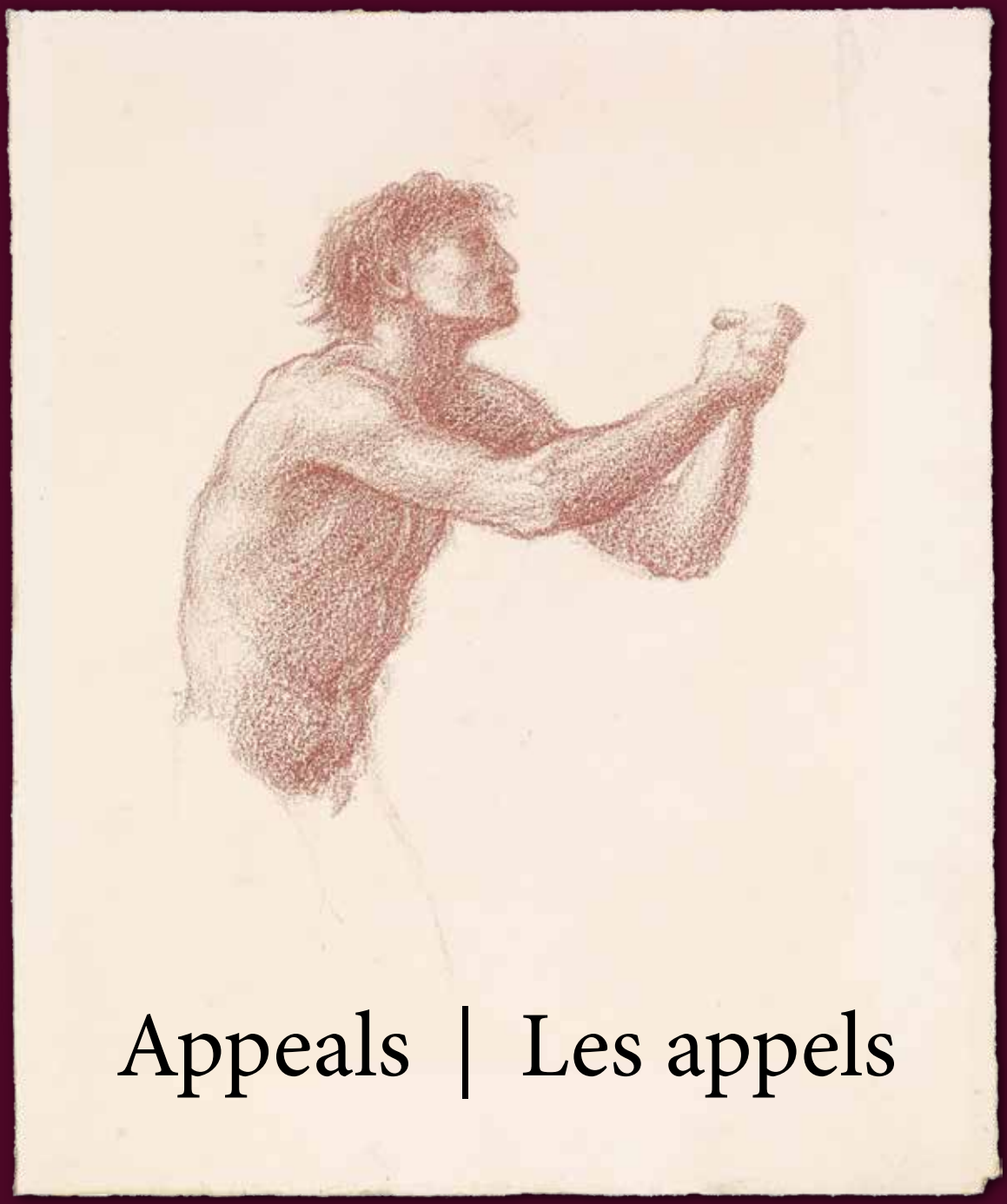
Canadian Historical Association | Société historique du Canada
8.1
2025

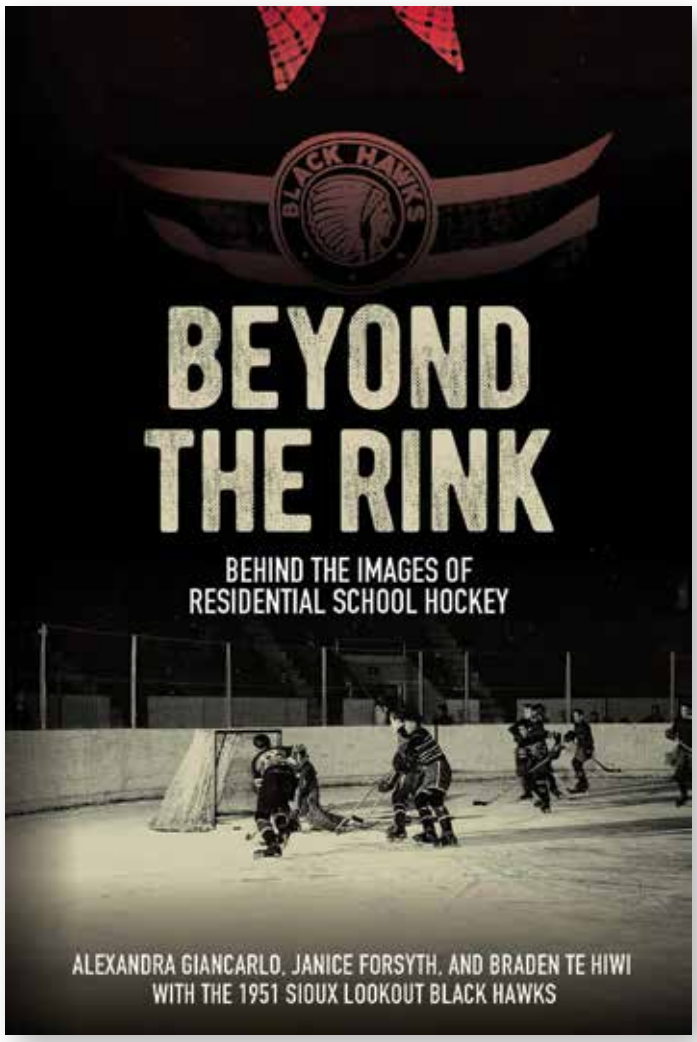
INTERSECTIONS

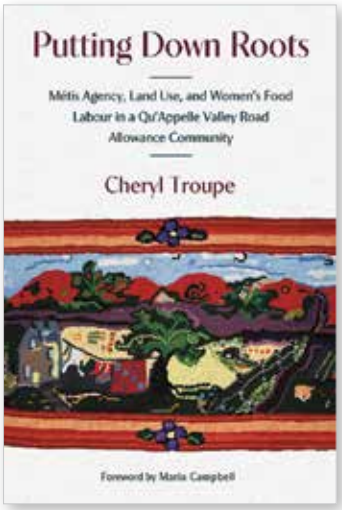
where people meet history and history meets people
au carrefour de l'histoire et des collectivités

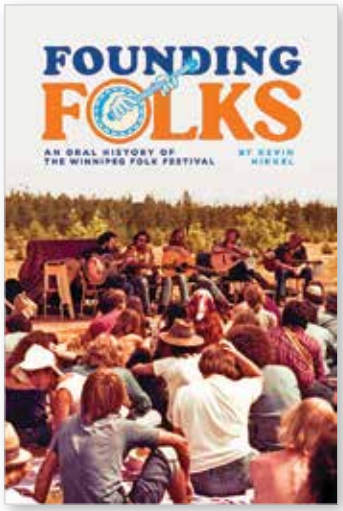


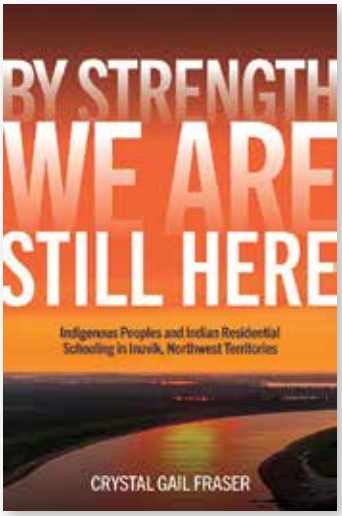
Appeals | Les appels

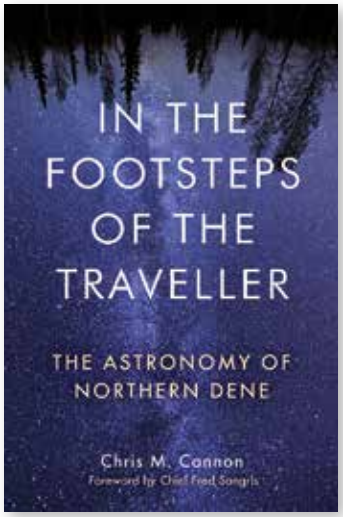
Spring 2025











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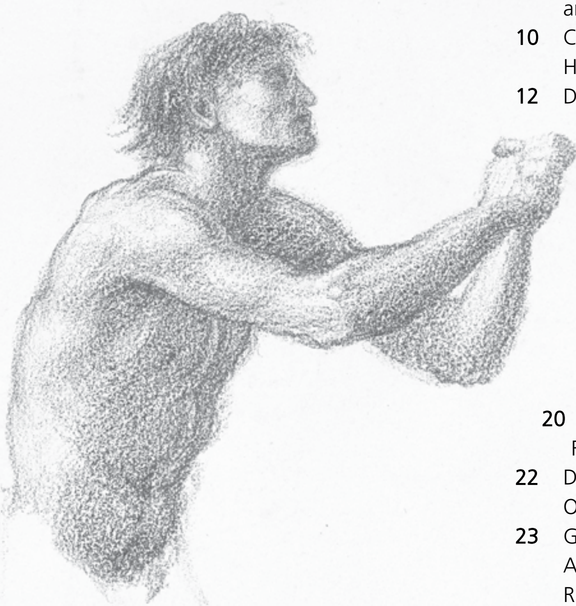
INTERSECTIONS
8.1

INSIDE | SOMMAIRE


DOMINION OF CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION
CHINESE IMMIGRATION SERVICE No. 45450
C.I. 45
This is to certify that Annie Avis Victoria Fong 263 St. George St. Montreal P.Q.
whose photograph is attached hereto, has registered as required by Section 18 of the Chinese Immigration Act, Chapter 38, 13-14 George V.
Dated at Ottawa, Ontario,
this 20th day of June 1924
Controller of Chinese Immigration
This certificate does not establish legal status in Canada.

Issue Theme: Appeals
Thème du numéro : Les appels



Also in this issue | Également dans ce numéro

(*from top*) 1924 registration certificate of Ann Stanley, née Fong, courtesy of Robert D. Stanley and Timothy J. Stanley; Edward Burne-Jones, "The Hill of Venus - Male Nude - Study," 1866, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery; March in Baltimore, November 10, 2016, by Elvert Barnes PROTEST PHOTOGRAPHY. Detail. CC BY-SA 2.0.
(*en partant du haut*) Certificat d'enregistrement de 1924 d'Ann Stanley, née Fong, courtoisie de Robert D. Stanley et Timothy J. Stanley ; Edward Burne-Jones, « La colline de Vénus - Nu masculin - Étude », 1866, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery ; Marche à Baltimore, 10 novembre 2016, par Elvert Barnes PROTEST PHOTOGRAPHY. Détail. CC BY-SA 2.0.

Historians' Corner | La rubrique Histoire

CHA's Digital Newsletter | Le bulletin d'information numérique de la SHC

Si vous avez des renseignements que vous aimeriez voir dans le numéro de juin du bulletin, veuillez les envoyer à cha-shc@cha-shc.ca avant le 21 mai.

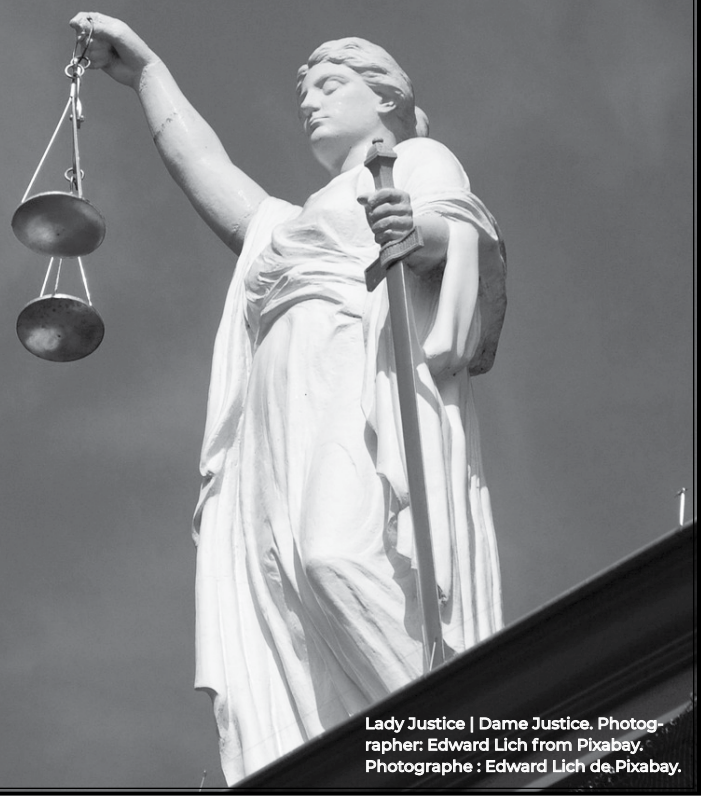
Le calendrier de publication pour 2025 est le suivant :

- 1 février
- 1 avril
- 1 juin
- 1 août
- 1 octobre
- 1 décembre

If you have information that you would like included in the June issue of the newsletter, please send it to cha-shc@cha-shc.ca before May 21st.

The publishing schedule for 2025 is as follows:

- February 1st
- April 1st
- June 1st
- August 1st
- October 1st
- December 1st



Lady Justice | Dame Justice. Photographer: Edward Lich from Pixabay. Photographe : Edward Lich de Pixabay.

Editorial Policy of *Intersections*

Intersections is published three times a year by the Canadian Historical Association. Notices, letters, and articles of 600 to 1,000 words are welcome on topics of interest to historians, preferably accompanied by a translation into the other official language.

Deadline for submissions of articles, etc. for the next *Intersections* is **July 15, 2025**.

We reserve the right to edit submissions. Opinions expressed in articles etc. are those of the author and not necessarily the CHA. Direct correspondence to: Intersections, Canadian Historical Association, 1912-130 Albert Street, Ottawa, ON K1P 5G4

Tel.: (613) 233-7885 Fax: (613) 565-5445 E-mail: cha-shc@cha-shc.ca Website: www.cha-shc.ca

Politique éditoriale d'*Intersections*

Intersections est une publication bilingue de la Société historique du Canada qui paraît trois fois par année. Les articles, les notes et les lettres de 600 à 1000 mots et portant sur des sujets d'intérêt pour les membres, sont les bienvenus, de préférence accompagnés d'une traduction.

La date limite pour soumettre des articles pour le prochain *Intersections* est le **15 juillet 2025**.

La rédaction se réserve le droit de réviser les articles qui nous sont soumis. Les opinions exprimées dans les textes sont celles de l'auteur.e et ne reflètent pas nécessairement celles de la SHC. Veuillez acheminer toute correspondance à : Intersections, Société historique du Canada, 1912-130, rue Albert, Ottawa, ON K1P 5G4

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Cover photograph | Photo de couverture :

Edward Burne-Jones, "The Hill of Venus - Male Nude - Study of one of the Reapers for Reapers Appealing to Venus," 1866, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, Public domain. | Edward Burne-Jones, « La colline de Vénus - Nu masculin - Étude de l'un des faucheurs pour les faucheurs faisant appel à Vénus » 1866, Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery, domaine public.

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Donald Trump, George Orwell, Ramsay Cook et la Société historique du Canada

Le premier jour de son mandat, le président Trump a signé un décret après l'autre. Il a notamment changé le nom du Mont Denali en Alaska - qui signifie « le haut » en Denaakk'e - en Mont McKinley, en l'honneur du président William McKinley. En même temps, le Service des parcs nationaux, pour se conformer à un décret visant les droits et la dignité des personnes transgenres, a supprimé les mots « trans » et « queer », ainsi que les lettres « T » et « Q », de son site web consacré au monument national de Stonewall, à New York. C'était un coup double : d'une main, il recolonisait la plus haute montagne d'Amérique du Nord ; de l'autre, il effaçait les personnes queer et trans d'un événement dont elles étaient au cœur.

Ensuite, le secrétaire à la défense du président Trump a changé le nom de Fort Liberty, en Caroline du Nord, qui est redevenu Fort Bragg, mais pas en l'honneur de Braxton Bragg, un général confédéré et son homonyme d'origine. Techniquement, Fort Bragg porte désormais le nom de Roland Bragg, récipiendaire d'une Silver Star pour sa bravoure au combat, même si la Commission de dénomination des bases de l'armée américaine, nommée à la suite du meurtre de George Floyd, a explicitement choisi de ne pas sélectionner une personne différente portant le même nom de famille lorsqu'elle a recommandé, en 2022, que Fort Bragg soit rebaptisé Fort Liberty.

Rien de tout cela n'aurait surpris George Orwell qui comprenait, mieux que quiconque, l'influence corruptrice de la cupidité, le sophisme des politicien.ne.s et la volonté des gens au pouvoir - et des gens qui ont du pouvoir - de mentir, de tromper, de manipuler et de changer le passé pour l'adapter au présent. En effet, j'ai beaucoup lu Orwell ces derniers temps, en partie à cause de la montée de l'autoritarisme, et en partie à cause de mon travail sur Ramsay Cook, qui le considérait comme un héros intellectuel. En 1955, il s'est procuré un exemplaire de *England Your England and Other Essays* et a été instantanément séduit. Il a été particulièrement touché par les « Notes sur le nationalisme » et par ce passage en particulier :

> Tout nationaliste est hanté par la croyance que le passé peut être modifié. Il passe une partie de son temps dans un monde imaginaire où les choses se passent comme elles le devraient - dans lequel, par exemple, l'Armada espagnole a été un succès, ou la révolution russe a été écrasée en 1918 - et il transfère des fragments de ce monde dans les

Donald Trump, George Orwell, Ramsay Cook, and the Canadian Historical Association

On his first day in office, President Trump signed one executive order after another. Among other things, he changed the name of Alaska's Mount Denali – meaning "the high one" in Denaakk'e – back to Mount McKinley after President William McKinley. Meanwhile, the National Park Service – to comply with an executive order taking aim at the rights and the dignity of trans people – scrubbed the words trans and queer, and the letters T and Q, from its website for the Stonewall National Monument in New York City. It was a one-two punch: with one hand, he recolonized the tallest mountain in North America; and with the other, he erased queer and trans people from an event they were central to.

Next, President Trump's Secretary of Defence changed the name of North Carolina's Fort Liberty back to Fort Bragg, but not after Braxton Bragg, a Confederate general and its original namesake. Technically, Fort Bragg is now named after Roland Bragg, a recipient of a Silver Star for valor in combat, even though the Naming Commission on United States Army Bases, appointed in the aftermath of George Floyd's murder, explicitly chose not to select a different person with the same last name when it recommended, in 2022, that Fort Bragg be renamed Fort Liberty.

None of this would have surprised George Orwell who understood, better than most, the corrupting influence of greed, the sophistry of politicians, and the willingness of people in power – and of people with power – to lie, deceive, gaslight, and change the past to suit the present. Indeed, I've been reading a lot of Orwell lately, in part because of the rise of authoritarianism, and in part because of my work on Ramsay Cook, who considered him an intellectual hero. In 1955, he picked up a copy of *England Your England and Other Essays* and was instantly hooked. He was especially affected by "Notes on Nationalism," and by this passage in particular:

> Every nationalist is haunted by the belief that the past can be altered. He spends part of his time in a fantasy world in which things happen as they should – in which, for example, the Spanish Armada was a success, or the Russian Revolution was crushed in 1918 – and he will transfer fragments of this world to the history books whenever possible. Much of the propagandist writing of our time amounts to plain forgery. Material

> livres d'histoire dès que possible. Une grande partie des écrits propagandistes de notre époque s'apparente à de la falsification pure et simple. Des faits matériels sont supprimés, des dates modifiées, des citations sorties de leur contexte et trafiquées de manière à en changer le sens. Des événements qui, semble-t-il, n'auraient pas dû se produire sont passés sous silence et finalement niés.

Pour un jeune Cook, il s'agissait d'un sujet exaltant, qui a façonné sa pensée sur le nationalisme, ou ce qu'il a un jour qualifié de « charlatanerie du dix-neuvième siècle ». Cela l'a également conduit à l'une des idées maîtresses de sa carrière. Intuitivement et intellectuellement, il a compris que le Canada n'avait pas une seule identité nationale. Il existe plutôt une série d'« identités limitées » fondées sur la langue, l'appartenance ethnique, la religion, la région et la classe sociale, ce qui fait de la recherche d'une identité canadienne unique une entreprise insensée. « Il se pourrait bien », écrit Cook en 1967, « que ce soit dans ces identités limitées que se trouve le 'canadianisme', et qu'à l'exception de nos intellectuel. le.s nationalistes excessivement passionné.e.s, les Canadien.ne.s trouvent cette situation tout à fait satisfaisante ».

Rien de tout cela n'aurait surpris George Orwell qui comprenait, mieux que quiconque, l'influence corruptrice de la cupidité, le sophisme des politicien.ne.s et la volonté des gens au pouvoir - et des gens qui ont du pouvoir - de mentir, de tromper, de manipuler et de changer le passé pour l'adapter au présent.

Quarante ans plus tard, Cook a reçu un doctorat honorifique de l'Université Ryerson, récemment rebaptisée Université métropolitaine de Toronto dans un esprit de réconciliation. Dans son discours de remise des diplômes, Cook a effectivement actualisé les « identités limitées » en plaidant explicitement en faveur de la diversité, de l'égalité et des droits des minorités, y compris les droits des Autochtones, des femmes, linguistiques, religieux, des homosexuel.le.s et des lesbiennes. La majorité, a-t-il dit, peut s'occuper d'elle-même. Et il a imaginé un monde où le voile ne serait plus perçu comme une menace. « Reconnaître l'humanité commune de chacun.e et notre féconde diversité ethnique est l'essence même du cosmopolitisme », qu'il a défini comme une « préoccupation universelle et un respect de la différence ».

La curiosité, la générosité et la capacité de Cook à aborder le passé et le présent influencent tout ce que nous faisons à la Société historique du Canada, un point qui m'a été rappelé lors d'une récente réunion en ligne intitulée « Créer des ponts ». En partenariat avec

> facts are suppressed, dates altered, quotations removed from their context and doctored so as to change their meaning. Events which, it is felt, ought not to have happened are left unmentioned and ultimately denied.

To a young Cook, it was heady stuff, and it shaped his thinking on nationalism, or what he once described as "nineteenth-century snake oil." It also led to one of the central insights of his career. Intuitively and intellectually, he understood that Canada didn't have a single national identity. Instead, it had a series of "limited identities" based on language, ethnicity, religion, region, and class, making the search for a single Canadian identity a fool's errand. "It might just be," Cook wrote in 1967, "that it is in these limited identities that 'Canadianism' is found, and that except for our over-heated nationalist intellectuals, Canadians find this situation quite satisfactory."

None of this would have surprised George Orwell who understood, better than most, the corrupting influence of greed, the sophistry of politicians, and the willingness of people in power – and of people with power – to lie, deceive, gaslight, and change the past to suit the present.

Forty years later, Cook received an honorary doctorate from Ryerson University, recently renamed Toronto Metropolitan University in a spirit of reconciliation. In his convocation address, Cook effectively updated "limited identities" when he made an explicit plea for diversity, equality, and minority rights, including Indigenous rights, women's rights, language rights, religious rights, and gay and lesbian rights. The majority, he said, can look after itself. And he envisioned a world where the headscarf isn't seen as threatening. "Recognizing each other's common humanity and our fruitful ethnic diversity is the essence of cosmopolitanism," which he defined as a "universal concern and respect for difference."

Cook's curious, generous, and capacious approach to both the past and the present informs everything we do at the Canadian Historical Association, a point that was brought home to me in a recent online meeting of "Bridging the Gap." Partnering with the Fédération Histoire Québec and the Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, the CHA has convened a series of conversations with provincial and territorial historical societies from across the country. We have discussed our respective mandates

la Fédération Histoire Québec et l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, la SHC a organisé une série de conversations avec des sociétés historiques provinciales et territoriales de tout le pays. Nous avons discuté de nos mandats et de nos activités respectives, et nous avons parlé de ce que nous faisons pour promouvoir la décolonisation et l'inclusion. Notre objectif est de briser les silos et de créer des ponts entre les différentes sociétés historiques du Canada, car nous avons beaucoup à apprendre les uns des autres.

Nous vivons un moment sans précédent en Occident, un moment qu'Orwell avait prévu et que Cook craignait. En effet, le monde semble échapper à tout contrôle. Mais si nous ne pouvons pas l'arrêter, nous pouvons toujours nous efforcer de faire du Canada un endroit plus juste et plus inclusif.

Lors de notre dernière réunion, j'ai été frappé par les choses intéressantes que font les gens. Par exemple, la Société historique du Nouveau-Brunswick a l'intention de transformer le jardin de fleurs de la Maison loyaliste à Saint John en un jardin autochtone qui comprendra des plantes médicinales et des herbes. Le Réseau du patrimoine et de l'histoire francophones et acadiens du Canada a lancé une initiative sur l'histoire des homosexuel.le.s. Et, pour élargir les histoires qu'elle raconte, la Fédération d'histoire de la Colombie-Britannique invite des rédacteur.rice.s des différentes communautés autochtones, raciales et ethniques de la province à éditer *British Columbia History*.

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Oh, une dernière chose : la seule, l'unique et l'inimitable Marielle Campeau a officiellement pris sa retraite de son rôle de trésorière adjointe. Son parcours a été remarquable et nous lui sommes redevables. Bien sûr, nous l'avons fêtée avec son conjoint Ray Barker à Montréal, mais je tiens à les remercier une fois de plus pour leur dévouement à la SHC et à leur souhaiter une merveilleuse retraite. Mille mercis, et bonne retraite.

Donald Wright
Président

and activities, and we have talked about what we are doing to advance decolonization and inclusion. Our goal is to break down the silos and to bridge the gap between Canada's different historical societies because, well, we have a lot to learn from each other.

At our last meeting, I was struck by the cool things that people are doing. For example, the New Brunswick Historical Society intends to transform the flower garden at Loyalist House in Saint John into an Indigenous garden that will include medicinal plants and herbs. The Réseau du patrimoine et de l'histoire francophones et acadiens du Canada has undertaken a queer history initiative. And, to broaden the stories it tells, the British Columbia History Federation invites guest editors from BC's different Indigenous, racial, and ethnic communities to edit *British Columbia History*.

We are in an unprecedented moment in the West, one that Orwell foresaw, and Cook feared. Indeed, the world feels like it's spinning out of control. But if we can't stop the spinning, we can still strive to make Canada a fairer, more inclusive place.

We are in an unprecedented moment in the West, one that Orwell foresaw, and Cook feared. Indeed, the world feels like it's spinning out of control. But if we can't stop the spinning, we can still strive to make Canada a fairer, more inclusive place. That's what Ramsay Cook tried to do. And that's what the CHA will continue to do through its ongoing commitment to decolonization, reconciliation, and inclusion.

Oh, one final thing: the one, the only, and the inimitable Marielle Campeau has formally retired from her role as assistant treasurer. It has been a remarkable run, and we are in her debt. Of course, we celebrated her and her partner Ray Barker in Montreal, but I want to thank them one more time for their dedication to the CHA and to wish them a wonderful retirement. Mille mercis, et bonne retraite.

Donald Wright
President

Je me présente

Introducing Myself

Je m'appelle Catherine Charlton et je suis très heureuse d'être la nouvelle coordonnatrice exécutive de la Société historique du Canada.

Je suis née et j'ai grandi en Nouvelle-Écosse. Je détiens un baccalauréat en histoire et en langue anglaise à l'Université de King's College. J'ai tellement aimé mon expérience que j'ai directement commencé une maîtrise en histoire canadienne à l'Université Dalhousie. J'ai déménagé à Montréal le lendemain de la remise de mon mémoire, dans le but de trouver un emploi et d'améliorer mon français. J'ai obtenu un emploi au Secrétariat de l'Université McGill, où j'ai travaillé sur des dossiers liés à l'accès à l'information, la promotion et la permanence, avant d'occuper un poste de gestion des procédures de griefs et d'appels des étudiant.e.s et du personnel de l'Université. Ces deux années ont été merveilleuses, et j'ai beaucoup appris sur l'administration et le contexte universitaire.

J'ai déménagé à Gatineau l'année dernière et j'ai été ravie lorsque j'ai vu l'annonce de la SHC pour ce poste, car cette occasion semblait presque trop beau pour être vraie : un emploi local qui combinait mes intérêts pour l'administration, les universités et l'histoire du Canada. J'ai commencé à travailler le 25 novembre, Michel Duquet m'a rencontrée au 19e étage du 130 rue Albert, et j'ai passé trois semaines très agréables en observant son travail. Michel a pris sa retraite en décembre et je prends mes marques depuis, avec une immense gratitude pour son soutien.

Bien que j'aie pris plaisir à découvrir tous les aspects de mon nouveau rôle, j'aimerais en souligner trois que j'ai particulièrement appréciés. Le premier a été la transition de la SHC de X à Bluesky, à la suite d'un vote de l'Exécutif en février. L'accueil réservé à la SHC par les historien.ne.s déjà présent.e.s sur la plateforme a été charmant, et il a été instructif et passionnant d'entrer en contact avec des historien.ne.s et des organisations de tout le Canada et d'ailleurs. Deuxièmement, il y a quelques jours, j'ai eu l'occasion de représenter la SHC lors d'un salon de l'emploi organisé par une école secondaire locale, ce qui a été un véritable plaisir. Les élèves posaient des questions très intéressantes et il était clair que beaucoup d'entre eux et elles étaient très curieux.ses au sujet de l'histoire et des différentes possibilités qui peuvent découler d'un diplôme d'histoire. Enfin, je

My name is Catherine Charlton, and I am so pleased to be the new Executive Coordinator of the Canadian Historical Association.

Born and raised in Nova Scotia, I completed my BA in History and English at the University of King's College and enjoyed it so much that I jumped straight into an MA in Canadian History at Dalhousie University. I moved to Montreal the day after submitting my thesis, with the goal of finding a job and improving my French. I wound up in McGill University's Secretariat, where I worked on portfolios including Access to Information, promotion, and tenure, before shifting into a position managing the University's student and staff grievance and appeals processes. It was a wonderful two years, and I learned a great deal about administration and the university context.

I moved to Gatineau last year and was delighted when I later saw the CHA's advertisement for this job, as it seemed almost too good to be true: a local job that combined my interests in administration, universities, and Canadian history. I began work on November 25th, met by Michel Duquet on the 19th floor of 130 Albert Street, and spent a very pleasant three weeks job shadowing. Michel retired in December and I have been settling in ever since, with immense gratitude for his support.

While I have enjoyed learning about all aspects of my new role, I would like to highlight three that I have particularly appreciated. The first has been transitioning the CHA from X to Bluesky, following a February vote by the Executive. The welcome the CHA received from historians already on the platform was lovely, and it has been informative and exciting to connect with historians and organizations across Canada and beyond. Second, a few days ago I had the opportunity to represent the CHA at a local high school career fair, which was a complete pleasure. The students asked such interesting questions, and it was clear that many had a strong curiosity about history and the different opportunities that can stem

suis profondément reconnaissante du soutien, de l'accueil et des encouragements que j'ai reçus de toutes les personnes avec lesquelles j'ai travaillé, en particulier Michel Duquet, Marielle Campeau, Don Wright, Colin Coates, Jo McCutcheon et la nouvelle trésorière adjointe de la SHC, Grace Habtegiorgis. Merci.

Au début de l'année 2025, la SHC a accueilli ses deux nouveaux rédacteurs en chef pour *Intersections*, Daniel R. Meister et Jean-Michel Turcotte, dont l'enthousiasme pour le magazine a été contagieux. Ayant récemment quitté un emploi où je m'occupais des appels, j'ai souri lorsque Daniel a proposé les appels comme thème de ce numéro d'*Intersections*, mais les propositions qui nous sont parvenues sont impressionnantes. Un grand merci aux auteur.e.s qui ont soumis des articles - sans vous, *Intersections* n'existerait pas.

Merci encore à tous les membres de la SHC qui m'ont fait sentir que j'étais la bienvenue, et j'ai hâte de rencontrer le plus grand nombre d'entre vous au George Brown College en juin.

Catherine Charlton
Coordinatrice exécutive

from a history degree. Finally, I am deeply grateful for the support, welcome, and encouragement I have received from everyone I have worked with, in particular Michel Duquet, Marielle Campeau, Don Wright, Colin Coates, Jo McCutcheon, and the CHA's new assistant treasurer, Grace Habtegiorgis. Thank you.

In early 2025 the CHA welcomed its two new *Intersections* editors, Daniel R. Meister and Jean-Michel Turcotte, whose enthusiasm about the magazine has been contagious. Having so recently left a job looking after appeals, I had to laugh when Daniel suggested appeals as the theme for this issue of *Intersections*, but the submissions that have come in have been impressive. A huge thank you to the authors who submitted pieces – without you, *Intersections* would not exist.

Thank you again to every CHA member who has made me feel so welcome, and I look forward to meeting as many of you as possible at George Brown College in June.

Catherine Charlton
Executive Coordinator

English Language Co-Editor

Appels des historien.ne.s

Le thème de ce numéro est « les appels ». Un appel peut aller d'une procédure juridique formelle à un plaidoyer sincère exprimé le plus simplement du monde ; il peut consister en des piles de papier ou être fait sans mots : un regard, une main sur le bras, ou une porte laissée ouverte. Les appels juridiques et autres appels formels peuvent être extrêmement publics : publiés, débattus et couverts sans relâche par les médias. D'autres peuvent être lancés discrètement, secrètement même, parfois au moyen d'une simple ligne dans une lettre manuscrite. Les appels peuvent être lancés par ceux et celles qui détiennent le pouvoir officiel ou par ceux et celles qui cherchent à accéder à ce pouvoir, et ils peuvent être lancés dans des contextes personnels, nationaux et transnationaux.

Nous avons reçu une multitude des propositions en réponse à notre propre appel. Il est surprenant de noter qu'aucune d'entre elles ne portait sur des affaires juridiques formelles. Mais dans une étude de cas intéressante, Amanda Dawson montre comment les femmes anglaises accusées de sorcellerie au XVIe siècle faisaient appel à leurs voisin.e.s pour les défendre en attestant de leur caractère et de leur position dans la communauté.

De nombreux autres articles de ce numéro examinent les appels lancés par des individus ou des groupes à la Couronne ou à l'État. Christopher Crocker se penche sur l'un de ces appels couronnés de succès, dans lequel la persévérance d'un soldat terre-neuvien a permis aux Terre-Neuviens servant dans l'armée britannique pendant la Seconde Guerre mondiale de bénéficier d'un congé dans leurs foyers, comme les autres soldats du Commonwealth. L'article de David Tough détaille le processus inverse : comment le gouvernement, en la personne de Paul Martin (alors ministre des finances de Jean Chrétien), a appelé le public à accepter un budget néolibéral comportant de nombreuses coupes. L'article de Judith Meyrick, quant à lui, examine comment une partie du gouvernement fédéral a fait appel à d'autres. Elle se penche notamment sur les appels répétés et finalement couronnés de succès d'un député de Nouvelle-Écosse pour que ses voisin.e.s autochtones - l'ensemble de la réserve de King's Road – soient relocalisé.e.s.

L'article d'Amy Fung soutient qu'une grande partie de l'histoire est perdue lorsque l'accent est mis sur le résultat plutôt que sur le processus d'appel. Fung examine en particulier les excuses officielles des États pour les discriminations passées, en se concentrant sur le mouvement de réparation des Canadien.ne.s d'origine japonaise. Bien que les moments d'excuses comprennent de plus en plus souvent des leçons d'histoire abrégées, Fung soutient que ces histoires sommaires mettent l'accent sur l'État et que les récits dominants de ces histoires servent à minimiser le rôle de la communauté dans l'obtention de ces mêmes excuses. En effet, les appels ont obligé ceux et celles qui élaboraient et mettaient en œuvre des politiques discriminatoires « à se confronter aux personnes qu'ils et elles excluaient », comme le démontre Timothy Stanley dans son étude de cas sur les appels des Canadien.ne.s d'origine chinoise concernant la *Loi sur l'immigration chinoise* de 1923. L'article de Julia-Rose Miller sur les appels à l'aide pendant la Grande Dépression souligne un point similaire, à savoir que c'est à travers les lettres d'appel que les historien.ne.s du présent peuvent voir le plus clairement l'impact des politiques

Appeals from Historians

The theme for this issue is "appeals." An appeal can range from a formal legal process to an earnest plea expressed most simply; it can consist of reams of paper or can be made without words: a gaze held, a hand on the arm, or a door left open. Legal and other formal appeals can be extremely public: published, debated, and relentlessly covered by the media. Others can be made quietly, secretly even, perhaps by means of a fleeting line in a handwritten letter. Appeals can be made by those with formal power or by those seeking access to that power, and they can be made in personal, national, and transnational contexts.

We received a host of submissions in response to our own appeal. Surprisingly, none dealt with formal legal cases. But in one interesting case study, Amanda Dawson demonstrates how English women accused of witchcraft in the sixteenth century would appeal to their neighbours to defend them by attesting to their character and standing in the community.

Many other articles in this issue examine appeals made by individuals or groups to the Crown or state. Christopher Crocker examines one such successful appeal, in which a single Newfoundland soldier's persistence resulted in Newfoundlanders serving in the British army during the Second World War being granted home leave like other soldiers in the Commonwealth. David Tough's article details the process in reverse: how the government, in the person of Paul Martin (then Jean Chrétien's finance minister), appealed to the public to accept a neoliberal budget with its many cuts. Judith Meyrick's article, meanwhile, examines how one part of the federal government appealed to others. Namely, she examines a Nova Scotian member of parliament's repeated and eventually successful appeals to have his Indigenous neighbours – the entire King's Road Reserve – relocated.

Amy Fung's piece argues that a great deal of history is lost when the focus is on the outcome rather than the process of appealing. Fung specifically examines official state apologies for past discrimination with a focus on the Japanese Canadian redress movement. Although moments of apology increasingly include abbreviated history lessons, Fung argues that such potted histories foreground the state, and that these histories' dominant narratives serve to minimize the role of the community in obtaining that very apology. Indeed, appeals forced those drafting and enacting discriminatory policies "to confront the people they were excluding," as Timothy Stanley demonstrates in his case study of Chinese Canadian's appeals over the *Chinese Immigration Act* of 1923. Julia-Rose Miller's article on appeals for relief during the Great Depression emphasizes a similar point, that it is through the letters of appeal that the impacts of government policies on people can be most clearly seen by historians in the present. It is those "glimpses of humanity" that most resonate with contemporary readers, she contends, and perhaps even draws them to study history professionally.

gouvernementales sur les populations. Ce sont ces « aperçus d'humanité » qui trouvent le plus d'écho auprès des lecteur.rice.s contemporain.e.s, affirme-t-elle, et qui les incitent peut-être même à étudier l'histoire de manière professionnelle.

Cela ne veut pas dire que l'histoire de l'appel lui-même doit être dépourvue d'esprit critique ou unidimensionnelle. L'article nuancé de Masumi Izumi soutient que la stratégie rhétorique utilisée par de nombreux.ses participant.e.s à la campagne de réparation des Canadien.ne.s d'origine japonais « a minimisé leurs liens avec la terre ancestrale » et a plutôt insisté sur la « canadianité » des Canadien.ne.s d'origine japonais. Cette stratégie a eu pour effet involontaire de renforcer la pression exercée sur les Canadien.ne.s d'origine japonais pour qu'ils et elles s'assimilent au reste de la population et d'effacer les souvenirs historiques collectifs de la communauté immigrante d'avant-guerre. (De même, Fung replace la propriété des Canadien.ne.s d'origine japonais dans le contexte fondamental du colonialisme de peuplement et note que le mouvement de réparation a été couronné de succès peut-être en partie parce qu'il s'est déroulé au cours d'un moment historique plus large où des appels ont été lancés par divers groupes raciaux et ethnoculturels). L'article de Carolyn Salomons examine une période et un lieu très différents, mais avec une nuance similaire. Passant en revue les appels des Juifs à la Couronne dans l'Espagne du XVe siècle, Salomons reconnaît l'intolérance croissante de l'époque et les horreurs de l'Inquisition espagnole, mais révèle également la « réponse généralement favorable » de la reine Isabelle aux appels des Juifs d'Avila en faveur d'un meilleur traitement - même si ces appels n'ont pas été couronnés de succès.

Lorsque les appels échouent, ils obligent souvent les personnes concernées à chercher de nouveaux.elles allié.e.s, voire des allié.e.s inhabituel. le.s. Bien que les personnes démunies qui ont écrit à R.B. Bennett n'aient probablement pas reçu d'aide supplémentaire, comme l'explique Miller, les Canadien.ne.s noir.e.s déjà confronté.e.s au racisme ont dû faire face non seulement à l'indifférence, mais aussi à des couches de discrimination de plus en plus nombreuses. En examinant la Grande Dépression, Dorothy Williams montre comment les femmes noires canadiennes qui voulaient suivre une formation d'infirmière n'ont pas pu obtenir de certificat ou d'emploi à Montréal. S'attendant à être soutenues par leurs frères et sœurs chrétien.ne.s blanc.he.s auxquel.le.s elles s'adressaient, elles ont été rejetées et on leur a conseillé de tenter leur chance aux États-Unis. Sans se décourager, certaines d'entre elles s'y sont lancées et y ont trouvé le succès et, dans un cas, la célébrité. Mais les États-Unis ne sont pas une utopie. Relatant un événement des années 1960, Gary Van Valen, Aran S. MacKinnon et Elaine M. MacKinnon expliquent comment, alors même que Robert F. Kennedy lançait un appel à la tolérance raciale et religieuse devant un auditoire du West Georgia College, il l'a fait sur le terrain d'une ancienne plantation, elle-même située sur des terres prises à la Lower Creek Nation - et il s'est exprimé alors que « des membres du Ku Klux Klan brandissant des pancartes tenaient un piquet de grève à l'extérieur ».

Restreindre le droit de vote est une forme de discrimination aussi ancienne que la démocratie elle-même. Dans la Grande-Bretagne du milieu du XXe siècle, ce n'était pas le sexe ou la race, mais plutôt l'âge qui constituait la « dernière frontière ». Pourtant, comme le montre Catherine Ellis, l'âge n'était pas du tout une question d'âge : il s'agissait en fait d'hypothèses séculaires et sexistes sur les besoins militaires de la société. L'article de Catherine Ellis nous rappelle également que les changements formels sont parfois insuffisants. Les partis politiques n'ont pas fait beaucoup d'efforts pour courtiser les électeur.trice.s nouvellement affranchi.e.s par la *Loi* de 1969 et, par conséquent, la participation est restée faible. Un effort pour

This is not to say that histories of the appeal itself need be uncritical or one-dimensional. Masumi Izumi's nuanced article argues that the rhetorical strategy used by many involved in the campaign for Japanese Canadian redress "deemphasized their ties with the ancestral land" and instead insisted upon Japanese Canadians' "Canadian-ness." This had the unintended effect of extending the pressure placed on Japanese Canadians to assimilate into the mainstream and erasing collective historical memories of the prewar immigrant community. (Similarly, Fung places Japanese Canadian property ownership in the fundamental context of settler colonialism and notes that the redress movement was successful perhaps partially because it occurred during a broader historical moment that witnessed appeals from a variety of racial and ethnocultural groups.) Carolyn Salomons's article examines a very different time and place, but with similar nuance. Surveying Jewish appeals to the Crown in fifteenth-century Spain, Salomons acknowledges the increasing intolerance of the period and the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition but also reveals Queen Isabella's "generally favourable response" to appeals from the Jews of Ávila for better treatment – even if these appeals were unsuccessful.

When appeals fail, they often require those involved to seek new – even unusual – allies. Although those impoverished people who wrote R.B. Bennett likely did not receive further aid, as Miller discusses, Black Canadians already facing racism had to contend not only with disregard but increasing layers of discrimination. Examining the Great Depression, Dorothy Williams shows how Black Canadian women who wanted to train as nurses were blocked from receiving certification or employment in Montreal. Expecting allyship from their white Christian brothers and sisters to whom they appealed, they were instead rebuffed and advised to try their luck in the United States. Undaunted, some did just that – finding success and, in one case, fame. But the United States was no utopia. Recounting an event from the 1960s, Gary Van Valen, Aran S. MacKinnon, and Elaine M. MacKinnon detail how even as Robert F. Kennedy appealed for racial and religious tolerance to an audience at West Georgia College, he did so on the grounds of a former plantation, itself on land taken from the Lower Creek Nation – and he spoke while "sign-waving Ku Klux Klan members walked a picket line outside."

Restricting the franchise is a form of discrimination as old as democracy itself. In mid-twentieth-century Britain, it was not gender or race but rather age that was the "final frontier." Yet as Catherine Ellis shows, age was not about age at all: underneath it all was centuries-old and gendered assumptions about society's military needs. Ellis's piece also reminds us that formal change is sometimes insufficient. Political parties made little effort to court the voters newly enfranchised by the 1969 *Act*, and, as a result, turnout remained low. If an effort had been made to increase the voter turnout in Britain, it should have involved the BBC's expertise. For, as Douglas Newham discusses in his article, it certainly knew how to make successful appeals to the young and old alike by using popular shows that themselves drew on and reinforced a popular national narrative.

But appeals are not bound by national borders: they frequently cross them, sometimes more harmoniously than others. Some

augmenter la participation électorale en Grande-Bretagne aurait dû faire appel à l'expertise de la BBC. En effet, comme l'explique Douglas Newham dans son article, la BBC savait certainement comment attirer les jeunes et les moins jeunes en utilisant des émissions populaires qui s'inspiraient d'un récit national populaire et le renforçaient.

Mais les appels ne sont pas limités par les frontières nationales : ils les franchissent fréquemment, parfois de manière plus harmonieuse que d'autres. Certains appels visent à faciliter la circulation des marchandises à travers ces frontières, comme le montre l'étude de Jacob Polay sur les contestations de la loi Garbling du XVIIe siècle en Grande-Bretagne. D'autres appels s'appuient sur l'histoire des migrations et sur les liens existants pour mobiliser autour d'une cause commune, comme le montre l'étude d'Aimée Dion sur les appels au nationalisme canadien-français pendant la Première Guerre mondiale. Les tentatives de mobilisation des Canadien.ne.s français.e.s pour s'enrôler ont souvent mis l'accent sur « l'élément français de l'identité canadienne-française » et sur leur « identité culturelle partagée » avec la France.

Mais si l'internationalisme implique le choix d'une norme nationale plutôt qu'une autre, les résultats peuvent se retourner contre eux, comme dans l'histoire des choix linguistiques de l'OISE raconté par Corey Orszak. Le choix de l'orthographe américaine au lieu de l'orthographe britannique a déclenché des « réactions émotionnelles et nationalistes », même si la décision n'a jamais été annulée et que le journal de l'Institut a fini par cesser d'être publié. La candidature de la Corée du Sud à l'organisation des Jeux olympiques de 1988, qui, selon Hailey Park, était en fin de compte un appel à la reconnaissance, a mieux réussi à attirer l'attention internationale. L'étude de Royden Loewen, « Flux transnationaux de connaissances agricoles », montre le franchissement des frontières d'une manière différente : la manière dont les connaissances agricoles traversent les frontières grâce au travail des immigrant.e.s, des travailleur.se.s des ONG et des agro-industriel.le.s.

Comme le suggère ce qui précède, tous ces appels historiques concernent des époques, des lieux et des circonstances très différents. Ce qui les unit, c'est leur appel à prendre une décision - maintenir le cap ou en prendre un nouveau. Mais un autre thème commun émerge : la façon dont les appels sont ancrés dans le pouvoir et les relations sociales, comme le suggère Loewen - en fait, il affirme que les appels sont toujours de nature dialectique. L'article de Dion suggère également que les images elles-mêmes n'ont pas mobilisé, mais que c'est plutôt la « lecture qu'en fait l'individu » qui leur a donné cette capacité. Le pouvoir d'un appel visuel, poursuit-elle, réside dans sa « force de séduction et de persuasion » et son efficacité dépend de sa capacité à susciter de fortes réactions, à « rallier les cœurs et les esprits ».

Indépendamment de leurs résultats, ces histoires prouvent que les appels du passé peuvent se répercuter dans le présent. C'est peut-être la dernière frontière que les appels franchissent : non seulement celle de l'espace, mais aussi celle du temps. Même lorsque toutes les parties concernées ont disparu, l'appel lui-même peut continuer à « rallier les cœurs et les esprits » des lecteur.rice.s d'aujourd'hui. Et bien que l'on m'ait sagement déconseillé de me concentrer sur le résultat historique plutôt que sur le processus, je suis toujours tenté de demander s'il existe une meilleure preuve de réussite d'un appel que celle-là?

Daniel R. Meister
Corédacteur du langue anglais

appeals are intended to ease the flow of goods across these borders, as Jacob Polay's study of the challenges to the seventeenth-century Garbling Act in Britain shows. Other appeals draw on past histories of migration and ongoing connections to mobilize around a shared cause, such as Aimée Dion's study of appeals to French-Canadian nationalism during the First World War. Attempts to mobilize French-Canadians to enlist frequently emphasized the "French element of French-Canadian identity" and their "shared cultural identity" with France.

But if bids for internationalism involve choosing one national norm over another, the results can backfire, as in Corey Orszak's tale of OISE's linguistic choices. Picking American spelling instead of British triggered "emotional and nationalistic responses," even if the decision was never reversed and the Institute's journal eventually ceased publication. More successful in obtaining international attention was South Korea's bid to host the 1988 Olympics, which Hailey Park argues was ultimately an appeal for recognition. Royden Loewen's study, "Transnational Flows of Agricultural Knowledge," shows border crossing in a different manner: the ways in which agricultural knowledge crosses borders through the work of immigrants, workers with NGOs, and agribusinessmen.

As the foregoing suggests, all these historical appeals deal with very different times, places, and circumstances. Uniting them is their call for a decision to be made – to stay the course or take a new one. But another common theme that emerges is how appeals are embedded in power and social relationships, as Loewen suggests – in fact, he argues appeals are always dialectic in nature. Dion's article similarly suggests that the imagery itself did not mobilize, but rather it was the "individual's reading of them" that gave them this ability. The power of a visual appeal, she continues, lies in its "seductive and persuasive force" and its efficacy is dependent on its ability to generate strong reactions, to "rally hearts and minds."

Regardless of their outcomes, these histories are evidence that appeals from the past can reverberate in the present. This may be the final border that appeals cross: not just of space, but also of time. Even once all the parties involved have passed, the appeal itself may continue to "rally the hearts and minds" of readers today. And while I have been wisely cautioned against focusing on the historical outcome as opposed to the process, I am still tempted to ask: is there any greater evidence of a successful appeal than that?

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An Honest Woman: Witchcraft Accusations and the Role of Community in English Ecclesiastical Courts

In sixteenth-century England, women could find themselves facing a danger entirely unique to the period: the sometimes puzzling and always unfortunate witchcraft accusation. Cunning women in particular—women who performed magical services like finding lost items, healing, or fortune telling for people within their communities—sometimes found themselves at risk of a witchcraft accusation. Following the 1562 Witchcraft Act, one of the important qualifiers for a witchcraft charge was the use of magic with the intention to do harm, or *maleficium*. Consequently, when women were facing a witchcraft accusation, they were under a great deal of pressure to show that they were generally respected by their peers, and did not cause harm within their communities.

... reputation was incredibly important to most English peasants. Their communities were small and tightly knit. The smooth functioning of a village relied on a level of trust between its members. This is why defamation litigation was essential to early modern people. It was an avenue through which they could restore their damaged reputation, should someone besmirch it.

In this period, as R.H. Helmholz states, "men and women placed a high value on the preservation of their reputations". A witchcraft accusation could bring a woman's good reputation into question, and one way for her to restore her reputation was to, as Agnes Brand did in 1587, charge her neighbour, Isabell Raffles, with defamation. Early modern defamation cases may seem like frivolous lawsuits to the untrained eye, but as Helmholz has pointed out, reputation was incredibly important to most English peasants. Their communities were small and tightly knit. The smooth functioning of a village relied on a level of trust between its members. This is why defamation litigation was essential to early modern people. It was an avenue through which they could restore their damaged reputation, should someone besmirch it.

In the Agnes Brand v. Isabell Raffles case, Isabell had accused Agnes of being a "wytche" and a papist (a pejorative term for a Catholic). For this defamation case, Agnes had to rely on her neighbours to speak to her good character and demonstrate that she was an upright member of her community, thereby proving Isabell's accusations false. Cases like this demonstrate how women accused of witchcraft had to appeal to their communities to defend themselves against said allegations. Being charged with witchcraft in sixteenth century England could result in imprisonment or even death. It was a serious thing to be accused of. Also, during this period, Catholicism was increasingly conflated with superstition and witchcraft. The rituals associated with Catholicism were often considered dangerously close to magical rituals by England's increasingly Protestant population following the reformation, when the country made the switch from Catholicism to Protestantism.

There is a distinct possibility that Agnes was a cunning woman who made use of pseudo-Catholic rituals in her practice, given Isabell's account of some documents of dubious origin that Agnes had shown her:

> two peces of parchment th one havinge
> a Iesus and the other some other popishe devise written or painted vpon them with blood wich she said came from Rome
> and were popes pardons

The description of these documents is interesting. Owen Davies points out that "cunning folk borrowed from Catholic practices", and the bit about these being painted in blood is unusual enough to suggest perhaps what Isabell was shown was some type of document Agnes used for cunning activites. Agnes's status as a cunning woman would have made her need to restore her reputation more dire, as maintaining a successful business and client base would have been threatened by a witchcraft accusation.

Whether the documents were magical papers or religious in nature, their existence would have put Agnes into a dubious light. To defend against Isabell's accusations, Agnes had to gather witnesses to support her case against Isabell. As with libel laws today, defamation was not a viable charge for her to pursue, should Isabell's claims be proven true. To defend herself, Agnes was dependent on support from the people of her community. The witnesses had to do two things: affirm that they had heard Isabell call her a witch and a papist, and defend her good char-

acter. Defamation could only be pursued if the accusations were made in public. Once proven by witnesses that they had, the witnesses also had the task of going on record about Agnes's social standing—saying that she was an "honest woman of good lyfe and conversation and...was never detected of any notoriovs crime". By stating that Agnes was a good, honest member of her community, her witnesses were denying that she was the type of person to harbour ill intent toward her neighbours.

Without her community to support her defamation case and stand up for her character, Agnes may well have found herself open to a formal legal accusation of witchcraft. When she went about gathering witnesses to support her defamation suit against Isabel, she knew that her fate could be entirely decided by their words. For many other women in early modern England, the support of their communities—or lack thereof—saved them or doomed them when the witch trials were at their height. The power of community permeated nearly all aspects of sixteenth-century peasant life in a way that is difficult to imagine today.

Amanda Dawson is a master's student in history at the University of Saskatchewan. She is particularly interested in witchcraft, cunning women, and early modern defamation cases.

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An Appeal for Newfoundland Soldiers' Home Leave During WWII

On 15 June 1944, Gunner W.I. (Bill) Hann, a soldier in the 166th Newfoundland Field Regiment Royal Artillery, sent a letter to Anthony Eden, then the United Kingdom's Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs. Hann's letter, written while he was stationed in central Italy, was an appeal for Eden's support in securing home leave for the Newfoundland soldiers.

In his letter, Hann makes reference to a speech Eden delivered to the first contingent of Newfoundlanders who arrived in Liverpool in April 1940. Eden had apparently told the soldiers "If you ever have any complaints do not hesitate to let me know." Hann read about Eden's speech when he arrived in May as a part of the second contingent of Newfoundland soldiers.

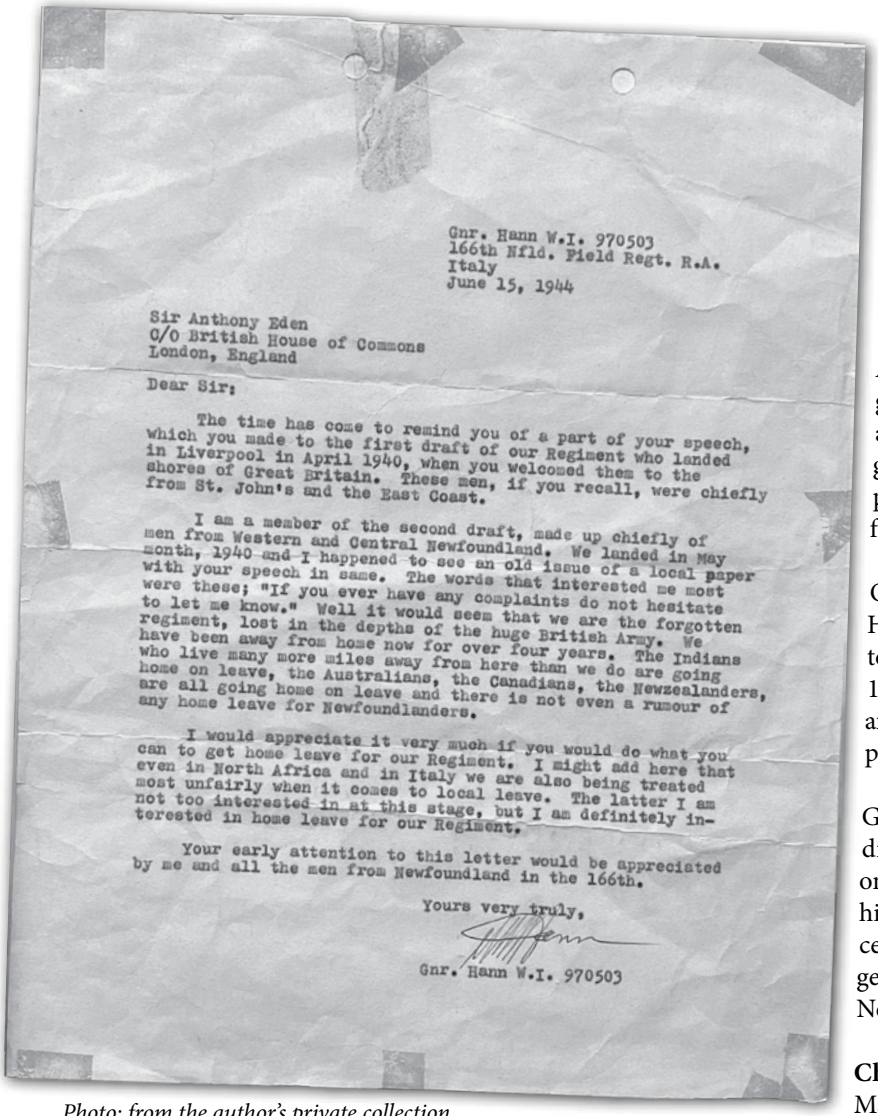
Since 1934, Newfoundland – including Labrador – had been subject to British colonial rule and operated under a Commission of Government. The British declaration of war on Germany in 1939 thus immediately brought Newfoundland to war with Germany. Hann and the rest of the pre-confederation Newfoundland soldiers served in the British Army.

According to Hann's letter, Commonwealth forces from Australia, Canada, and New Zealand had all been granted home leave. Soldiers from India, then still a British colony, had also been granted home leave. But, Hann writes, "there is not even a rumour of any home leave for Newfoundlanders."

At the time Gunner Hann sent his letter to Eden, the Newfoundlanders in the 166th Regiment had been away from home for more than four years. He was evidently not alone among Newfoundland soldiers in longing and expressing desire for home leave. According to the regimental despatches, "agitation for [home] leave was first started in February 1944."

Hann's written appeal eventually reached Eden's colleague, British MP Quintin Hogg. On November 14, 1944, Hogg raised the issue of home leave for the Newfoundlanders in the House of Commons to Under-Secretary of State for Dominion Affairs Paul Emrys-Evans. Emrys-Evans, however, dismissed Hogg's concern that the Newfoundlanders were being treated unfairly.

Hogg was evidently not satisfied with this answer. He continued to press his colleague on the issue and eventually forwarded him Hann's letter. On 21 March 1945, Emrys-Evans replied to another letter that Hogg had sent him a few weeks earlier. In it,



Gnr. Hann W.I. 970503
166th Nfld. Field Regt. R.A.
Italy
June 15, 1944

Sir Anthony Eden
C/O British House of Commons
London, England

Dear Sir:

The time has come to remind you of a part of your speech, which you made to the first draft of our Regiment who landed in Liverpool in April 1940, when you welcomed them to the shores of Great Britain. These men, if you recall, were chiefly from St. John's and the East Coast.

I am a member of the second draft, made up chiefly of men from Western and Central Newfoundland. We landed in May month, 1940 and I happened to see an old issue of a local paper with your speech in same. The words that interested me most were these; "If you ever have any complaints do not hesitate to let me know." Well it would seem that we are the forgotten regiment, lost in the depths of the huge British Army. We have been away from home now for over four years. The Indians who live many more miles away from here than we do are going home on leave, the Australians, the Canadians, the Newzealanders, are all going home on leave and there is not even a rumour of any home leave for Newfoundlanders.

I would appreciate it very much if you would do what you can to get home leave for our Regiment. I might add here that even in North Africa and in Italy we are also being treated most unfairly when it comes to local leave. The latter I am not too interested in at this stage, but I am definitely interested in home leave for our Regiment.

Your early attention to this letter would be appreciated by me and all the men from Newfoundland in the 166th.

Yours very truly,

Gnr. Hann W.I. 970503

Photo: from the author's private collection.

Emrys-Evans outlined the details of the home leave scheme that had now been approved by the War Office:

> all men who have been absent from Newfoundland for 4½ years shall be entitled to 28 days of home leave exclusive of time spent in travelling, or if they so prefer to a similar period of leave in this country. Subject to the availability of reinforcements and to operational requirements, a total of 100 men will be allowed to return to Newfoundland each month, 68 being taken from the Regiment in Italy and 26 from the Heavy Regiment in Western Europe and 6 from the Newfoundland Depot (R.A.) in this country.

Emrys-Evans went on to explain that the "scheme is not intended as a special privilege for Newfoundlanders alone, but is being or will shortly be applied to other oversea personnel now serving with the United Kingdom Forces." Presently, the scheme applied to soldiers in both the 166th Regiment and in the 59th Newfoundland Heavy Artillery Regiment.

The first leave party had actually embarked for Newfoundland on 27 February 1945, a few weeks prior to Emrys-Evans' letter. Several weeks later, on 10 April 1945, Hogg and Emrys-Evans made the home leave scheme public during a Parliamentary exchange. There the pair rehashed the same details Emrys-Evans summarized in his letter to Hogg.

According to the 166th Regimental despatches, due to being granted home leave, "The morale of the men rose by leaps and bounds … It was the best tonic that could have been given to their already high level of spirit and morale." For his part, Gunner Hann was granted home leave in April, just a few weeks before the war in Europe ended on 8 May 1945.

Once the issue was settled, Quintin Hogg returned to Gunner Hann both his own letter, which Emrys-Evans had sent back to Hogg, and the letter Emrys-Evans wrote to Hogg in March 1945. Hann, who died at the age of 94 on 9 January 2013, kept and treasured both letters his entire life. They are now in the possession of the present writer, Gunner Hann's grandson.

Gunner Hann was certainly not the only Newfoundland soldier longing for home leave and may not have been the only one to express his desire for home leave in writing. However, his written appeal, which traveled from the mountains of central Italy to the British House of Commons, directly triggered a process that successfully secured home leave for the Newfoundland soldiers.

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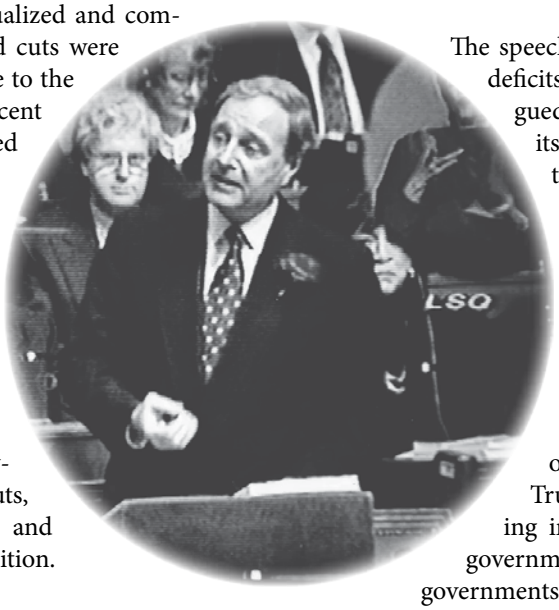
Note: Digitized copies of the two letters referenced in this article and other archival material relating to Gunner Bill Hann's service during the Second World War are available online at the *W.I. (Bill) Hann World War II Digital Archive* (https://cwecrocker.github.io/wiharchive/).

A Neoliberal Appeal: Paul Martin Jr.'s 1995 Federal Budget Speech

Paul Martin Jr.'s 1995 budget speech is a good example of an appeal in Canadian political history, and one I've discussed with students several times. The budget made significant cuts to federal government spending, notably by combining federal contributions to shared-cost programs in health, education, and welfare into a single block transfer.

While most scholars nowadays would say the budget represented the culmination of a shift away from postwar liberal Keynesianism, with its emphasis on national unity through shared social citizenship, and towards a more individualized and competitive neoliberalism, the unprecedented cuts were framed by Martin as a necessary response to the growing deficit, especially in light of recent currency scandals like the one that affected the Mexican peso in 1994.



Making an appeal was important because of central place of fiscal federalism in Canadian nationalism and national unity. Paring down the federal role in the welfare state would take the nation out of the business of ensuring equality of access to service across Canada. It would make the welfare state less redistributive, as revenue-strapped provinces made service cuts, downloaded services to municipalities, and raised user fees, notably post-secondary tuition.

Paul Martin's appeal is of particular interest to historians because it was itself explicitly historical. "We face an historic challenge," Martin said. "This is an historic response." Martin himself said that he felt "the main achievement of this budget" was the "redefinition of government itself" it pointed towards.

The speech noted, for example, that program spending after the budget would be lower relative to the size of the economy than it had been since 1951. Nowhere in the speech did Martin say that the era of Keynesianism was over and that neoliberalism was now dominant, but the numbers certainly suggested that was what he meant.

Liberals were uniquely placed to do this. They had introduced most of the shared-cost programs in the 1960s, had brought in the *Canada Health Act*, and had campaigned against Free Trade in 1988 as a threat to Canada's sovereignty. Where Brian Mulroney's Progressive Conservatives had had to constantly re-assure Canadians of his commitment to the welfare state, the Liberals were trusted – safe.

The Liberals were also helped by a historic partisan realignment. With the collapse of the party system in 1993, the two opposition parties that would defend national unity and the welfare state respectively, the Progressive Conservatives and New Democratic Party, were ineffective; the new big players, the Reform Party and the Bloc Quebecois were, for very different reasons, hostile to federal funding in provincial policy areas.

The speech highlighted the moralism of debt and deficits. At the heart of the budget, Martin argued, was the need for the "government get its own house in order." Despite its questionable macroeconomic basis, the idea that government budgets, like households, needed to be frugal, made the threat of the deficit, and the need to act, appear to be common sense.

By appealing to this common sense morality, Martin's speech lent retroactive coherence to a chaotic set of changes over several decades: actions by Pierre Trudeau's government in response to rising inflation in the 1970s, by the Mulroney government in the 1980s, and several provincial governments throughout the 1990s, all were now expressions of the new role for government Paul Martin Jr. appealed to.

The speech was televised, and it has been memorialized in the pages of the *Globe and Mail* many times. It is regularly referenced by deficit hawks concerned about increasing federal spending, notably during the COVID 19 pandemic. It has become part of the public memory of the 1990s, and an example of how to make an appeal – to use words to prepare the public for an unpopular set of changes.

It is a good thing for students to study, not only as a touchstone of political communication, but also because it helps to explain the current shape of inequality. For students in particular, so

Photo: "Snazzy Shoes: What Canada's Finance Ministers wore on their feet on budget day," March 22, 2017. https://www.hilltimes.com/story/2017/03/22/snazzy-shoes-canadas-finance-ministers-wore-feet-budget-day/279270/

much of the world they navigate, notably higher education, is a product of the 1995 budget and of its appeals.

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The People Next Door

In April 1911, the Canadian House of Commons passed an amendment to the *Indian Act* which removed land security for First Nations' reserves in Canada and, four years later, was invoked to force the people of Kings Road Reserve in Sydney, Nova Scotia, to surrender their land. Section 49 of the *Indian Act* was a "requirement of consent" clause that stipulated that a surrender must be approved by more than 50% of male members of the reserve who were over twenty-one, at a meeting called for this purpose. Amendment 49(a) removed this consent requirement if a reserve was close to a town of more than eight thousand people.

The early 1900s were a time of large-scale immigration to Canada. First Nations were under pressure to surrender reserve land for incoming settlers, and Indian Affairs adherence to the finer points of section 49 of the Act had become "loosey-goosey." House of Commons debates show that the protracted negotiations with the Songhees First Nation in British Columbia impacted the development of the section 49(a), and it is probable that the fallout from the suspect surrenders of Fort William Reserve in Thunder Bay, Ontario (1905), and St. Peter's Reserve in Selkirk, Manitoba (1907), played a role.

At Thunder Bay, the plan for a ship-to-rail terminal to link Canada's west coast with the east deemed the Fort William reserve to be "in the way," and the community was relocated to two separate sites. Although the company went bankrupt and the project failed, the reserve land was never returned to its original owners.

St. Peter's First Nation was a large reserve which the town of Selkirk, Manitoba, viewed with avarice, judging the land to be under-utilized and suitable for settlers. The surrender of this reserve as discussed in House of Commons debates involved the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs, bags of cash, and an interpretation of the "requirement of consent" clause that was the epitome of "loosey-goosey." The people of St. Peter's fought back against the loss of their land, and furious debates in the House of Commons attempted to hold the government to account, but the surrender was allowed to stand.

On the Atlantic coast, the Mi'kmaq were refusing to surrender their small waterfront reserve at Sydney, Nova Scotia, at the request of their neighbour, Joseph Alexander Gillies, Q.C., M.P., who owned a waterfront property adjoining the reserve. Reserves fell under the jurisdiction of the federal government, so Gillies wrote to Indian Affairs in Ottawa. "They steal my eggs," he wrote. "They milk my cows!" A flurry of correspondence ensued. Indian Affairs was sympathetic and requested the Indian Agent in Sydney to negotiate a surrender, the first of many such requests. Mi'kmaw Chief Denny's response was courteous and clear. Yes, he wrote. Our reserve is too small. Yes, we will move. His only condition was that a new reserve be bigger and within walking distance of Sydney where his people worked and traded at weekend markets. Chief Denny's letter is on file at Library and Archives Canada, but there is no record of a reply from Indian Affairs. However, they continued to refuse Gillies' requests, quoting the "requirement of consent" clause of the Indian Act. They were sorry, but their hands were tied! Indian Affairs was probably still smarting from the St. Peter's "bag of cash" debacle, and Gillies's repeated demands died at their door.

However, Gillies was a powerful man with friends in high places. As it became clear that Indian Affairs would continue to refuse, he changed course and turned to the political arena. He appealed directly to Frank Oliver, Minister of the Interior and Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs. Gillies did not ask Oliver to move the reserve. Perhaps, he wrote, it is time to change the law. Oliver would have been aware of the ongoing failure to solicit a surrender from Kings Road. He was certainly aware of the drawn-out negotiations with the Songhees Nation, and the surrender debacles of St. Peter's and Fort William reserves had happened on his watch.

The timing of Gillies' appeal to Oliver created the perfect storm. Parliamentary records and Indian Affairs letters show that M.P.s and government officials were sympathetic to "one of their own." They understood Gillies' situation, and the unwritten, unspoken message in their language was clear: no one wanted Indigenous neighbours.

The proposed amendment attracted the attention of First Nations groups nationally. Six Nations Reserve were clearly concerned about the amendment's possible impact on their reserve outside Brantford, Ontario. They expressed concern about the vague wording of the amendment and sent lawyers to monitor its progress in parliament. On the west coast, the Songhees understood that they would lose their negotiating power if the amendment was used to force a surrender, and they negotiated an agreement moments before it became law in 1911.

Four years later, Indian Affairs invoked section 49(a), which began the process of forcing the people of Kings Road off their land by asking the Canadian Court of the Exchequer to decide "whether or not it is expedient – having regard to the interest of the public and of the Indians, that the latter should be removed from the Reserve at Sydney." In 1916, the court ruled yes, relocation of Kings Road was in the interests of the public. There was no further negotiation and no financial settlement. It took Indian Affairs ten more years to decide on a new piece of land, build housing and infrastructure, and move the people of Kings Road to a new reserve at Membertou, Nova Scotia.

Judith Meyrick has an M.A. in history from Dalhousie University and wrote her thesis on amendment 49(a) of the Indian Act.

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Refusals and Recognitions: State Apologies Begin in Community

In 1943, following the advent of Canada entering the Second World War and the federal besieging of private property along the coast of British Columbia held by thousands of Canadians of Japanese origin, hundreds of letters were written to the Custodian of Enemy Property appealing for a modicum of fairness. *Nikkei* farmers such as T. Maruno, writing on behalf of the members of the South Fraser Farmer's Union as their President in 1943, appealed to the Custodian in the legible language of settler rights, asserting "our children were born on, and loves [sic] these farms. I realize that you will understand that it will be hard for these second generations to trade their birthplace for money or any other thing."

These letters would be written by *Nikkei* property owners between 1943 and 1947 over the unlawful liquidation of their properties held in trust, but these epistolary appeals failed to shift their circumstances, which directly led to the formation of the National Japanese Canadian Citizens Association (NJCCA).

Founding President Roger Obata has stated that the NJCCA was formed for the sole purpose of pursuing property claims, which was the forerunner of the redress movement that would take place decades later. After wartime years of forced dispersal to labour and internment camps established in Alberta, Ontario, Quebec, and New Brunswick, a national organization was needed to consolidate the claims coming from Japanese Canadians now settled across the country. Over the 1947 Labour Day long weekend, community leaders from British Columbia, Alberta, Manitoba, Ontario, and Quebec gathered in Toronto to draft the first constitution of the NJCCA (which later became the National Association of Japanese Canadians) and began a united effort to pursue individual property claims from the federal government.

In 1947, the claims process was for the blatant undervaluing of Japanese-owned properties, an issue that impacted approximately 22,000 Canadians. What had begun as a letter writing campaign for some semblance of fairness and justice in property

dispossession had now developed into a formal claims process that would result in yet another disappointing outcome through the 1951 Bird Commission.

The Japanese Canadian redress movement would be galvanized after the 1977 Japanese Canadian centennial, eventually becoming the first successful appeal for an official apology by a Prime Minister for past grievances in 1988. However, it is worth noting that there were numerous communities seeking apologies and compensation contemporaneously in the 1980s, including Chinese Canadians, Italian Canadians, Ukrainian Canadians, and High Arctic Inuit relocatees. Out of the recorded fourteen domestic apologies made by a Canadian prime minister since 1988, thirteen have been made towards racialized and Indigenous communities for specific state-sanctioned acts of discrimination based on ethnic difference from the white settler majority.

On the surface, a state apology is a gesture of recognition, begetting inclusion, which carries with its acknowledgement of the hopes and expectations for social, political, and economic equality. Such recognition has served state interests via the expansion of settler rights and interests to various communities. However, it bears remembering that state apologies began as community-led appeals, pleas, and calls for justice. If we only remember history according to the official records of the Prime Ministers' apologies, the relentless efforts of appellants would be all but absent. The majority of the fourteen apologies were covered by news outlets and recorded in official press statements by the Prime Minister's Office, and, more recently, state apologies included an abbreviated history lesson of each injustice according to the apologizer. In actively forgetting the decades-long processes leading up to each apology, we are only left with a dominant narrative where the apologies become dehistoricized discourses of nation-building, rather than understood as results from community-led appeals against state-led injustices.

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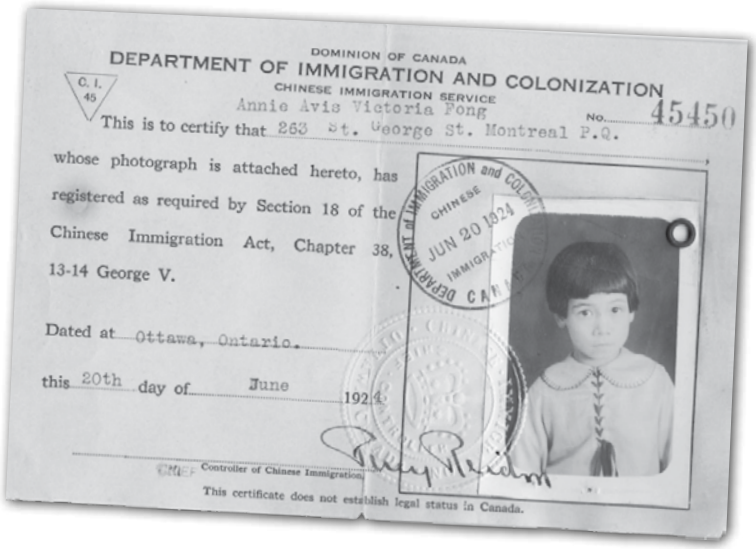
The Chinese Canadian Appeal to the Senate

The *Chinese Immigration* [Exclusion] *Act, 1923* not only blocked Chinese immigration to Canada and required all those already in Canada, including Canadian-born citizens, to register with the federal government on pain of fines, imprisonment, and, for non-citizens, deportation, it would also have destroyed the Chinese communities of Canada, if not for Chinese Canadians' last-minute appeal to the Senate.

The bill passed by the House of Commons would have deported most of the Chinese in Canada. It required all non-citizens over the age of fifteen to pass a literacy test to remain in the county. Most Chinese workers and even most merchant wives were at best semi-literate. They had come of age before the rise of mass schooling in China. They had little or no access to schooling in Canada and were often dependent on professional scribes to correspond with their families back home. Merchants who had lost their businesses or who had become restaurant or laundry operators also faced deportation unless they could pay the $500 head tax.


DOMINION OF CANADA
DEPARTMENT OF IMMIGRATION AND COLONIZATION
CHINESE IMMIGRATION SERVICE
C. I. 45
Annie Avis Victoria Fong
No. 45450
This is to certify that 263 St. George St. Montreal P.Q.
whose photograph is attached hereto, has
registered as required by Section 18 of the
Chinese Immigration Act, Chapter 38,
13-14 George V.
Dated at Ottawa, Ontario.
this 20th day of June 1924.
Controller of Chinese Immigration.
This certificate does not establish legal status in Canada.
JUN 20 1924

(above) In 1924, at the age of eight, the Canadian-born Ann Stanley, née Fong, had to register under the Chinese Immigration [Exclusion] Act. She kept this certificate with her and those of her mother and three sisters until she passed away at the age of 100. Photo courtesy of Robert D. Stanley and Timothy J. Stanley.

The bill also subjected all Chinese in Canada to a regime of constant state surveillance and arbitrary detention. It allowed "any peace officer" to inspect registration certificates. Those caught without valid certificates would have to prove that they were legally entitled to be in the country, while they were also denied the right to legal counsel and access to the courts.

In mid-April, Victoria's Chinese Consolidated Benevolent Association (CCBA), the oldest and most important governing organization of the community, published a circular on the legislation. Along with the Victoria and Vancouver Chinese Boards of Trade, it had commissioned Sir Charles Hippert Tupper, the former Attorney-General of Canada and the son of Sir Charles Tupper, to review the bill. With the support of the Chinese Canadian Club, an organization of Canadian-born young men, the CCBA launched a nation-wide campaign against the *Act*. In a few short weeks, dozens of communities across the country formed committees to fight the legislation and a national headquarters was established in Toronto. Thousands attended rallies in Victoria and Vancouver, the two largest communities. Protests were wired to the governments of China and Canada, as well as to Sun Yat-sen's Revolutionary government in Canton. Two other lawyers were commissioned to fight the legislation, one of whom drew on the Tupper brief to formally petition the Senate to amend the bill. A delegation of Chinese Canadians was sent from Victoria, Calgary, Toronto, Montreal, and Ottawa to lobby Senators. Montreal sent a Protestant minister. Victoria sent Joe Hope, the president of the Chinese Canadian Club. At a time when most people thought you could either be Chinese or Canadian, Hope and his friends who were both had invented the term "Chinese Canadian." Hope had also emerged as the key leader and spokesperson for the Victoria Chinese students' strike then in progress. Kew Ghim Yip, the Canadian-born son of the Vancouver merchant Yip Sang, who was studying medicine at Queen's University, also went to Ottawa to lobby.

On May 10, the Chinese Canadian delegation started lobbying Senators. Their representations had immediate effect. When the second reading of the bill began on May 16, William B. Ross, a Conservative Senator from PEI, noting that the bill would affect as many as 50,000 people, moved to strike a special committee "to give them an opportunity of being heard." Over the objections of the Liberal Government Leader in the Senate, who noted that they had already received two legal briefs suggesting amendments, the Conservative majority in the Senate accepted the motion. After hearing from two lawyers representing the Chinese as well as from three Protestant ministers from Toronto, the committee accepted amendments proposed by the lawyers. On June 23, with the Chinese delegation sitting in the gallery, the Senate passed the amended legislation in 15 minutes. It removed the literacy test, restricted the provisions on merchants to those who had entered during the last five years, ensured that all Canadian citizens had access to legal counsel and the courts, and allowed only immigration officials to inspect certificates. While upholding the immigration restrictions and registration requirements, Senators proudly proclaimed that they had mitigated some of the worse consequences for the Chinese already in Canada. They also knew that Canada would remain solidly white as, without immigration, it would take generations for the Chinese population to grow.

Conservatives in the Commons who had argued that the legislation did not go far enough to exclude Asians never had to confront the people they were excluding, which is exactly what the Chinese Canadian delegates forced senators to do. It is one thing to exclude people in the abstract, quite another to do so knowing the human consequences of the action.

The Chinese Exclusion Act was still a disaster for the Chinese Canadian community. Although 55,982 people registered under the act, by 1951, four years after its repeal, the Chinese population in Canada had fallen to less that 35,000 people. However, it remained the largest racialized minority in Canada other than First Nations people. Today, even though the Chinese have been in Canada since before the country existed, only 3.7% of the Chinese Canadian population (or about 60,000 people) are third generation or more. Meanwhile, the stigmatization of Chinese Canadians as aliens who do not belong continues to be alive and well in Canada.

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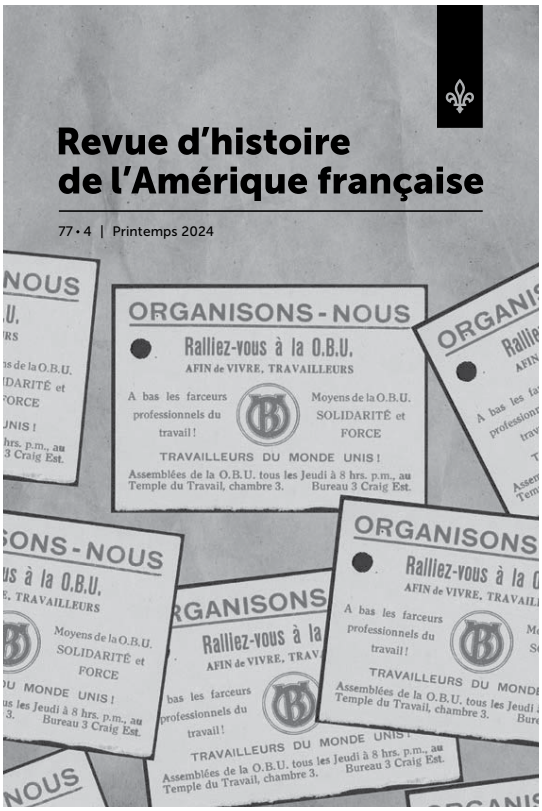
Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française

77 • 4 | Printemps 2024

Fondée en 1947, la *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* est la principale revue scientifique de langue française traitant de l'histoire du Québec, du Canada et de l'Amérique française. Distribuée dans plus d'une vingtaine de pays, la *RHAF* diffuse les connaissances historiques les plus récentes et reflète l'évolution des problématiques et des méthodes de la recherche historique.



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Letters to Bennett: Finding the Humanity in History

Great Depression history in Canada, at least as it is taught in school, has been dominated by political and economic history. Historians typically question how the Depression could have been avoided or lessened and what politician or policies were to blame. To my twelfth-grade self, tasked with their first ever research paper, these questions seemed to be the height of history. I set my sights on Prime Minister R.B. Bennett. I knew that I was destined to write the greatest political hit piece of our century.

I set forth, reading whatever popular history books and public access journals I could get my hands on. As I began to research though, my view of history started to shift. It was not the decisions of one politician that kept me reading, but the humanity of those suffering during the Depression. I was moved by the stories from people who stayed in work camps, took part in the On to Ottawa Trek, lived in makeshift housing in Edmonton's River Valley, and sent letters of desperation appealing to the Prime Minister for relief. Observing the humanity in these stories is what led me to pursue history as a career.

Those letters to Bennett captivated me the most. They revealed the stories of impoverished people, desperate enough to appeal to their Prime Minister for help. In December 1930, Thomas M. Gibbs, a father of six and a veteran of the First World War, sent a letter to Bennett. Like many others, he had failed to find work for months. He feared that his family would soon "starve to death" if he did not find work or begin to steal. Like many others, Gibbs stressed that he was a "good worker" with experience as a farmer. He emphasized he was not lazy or a beggar. This showed that he was keenly aware of how those on relief were perceived by others. Stories like Gibbs' were common during the Depression. While single men had the option to take jobs in work camps or ride the railway to labour on farms during the summer, these opportunities were not open to family men, often leaving them destitute.

Ralph A. MacKenzie, who wrote Bennett in April of 1931, faced a similar situation. His family was starving. MacKenzie sent a hopeless appeal to his government. He wrote that "[he] would like to know how the Civic Relief Dept. expect[ed] a person to clothe and feed a family of seven on the stipend they g[a]ve." He knew further aid was unlikely to come.

MacKenzie's letter followed a similar formula to Gibbs's but took a different tone. To bolster his appeal, MacKenzie stressed that he had always been a "supporter of the Conservative party." He also emphasized that rather than relief, he needed a "regular job." Similar to Gibbs, this shows his understanding of external perceptions of those on relief.

Photo: Rt. Hon. Richard Bedford Bennett - Prime Minister of Canada (1930 - 1935) Library and Archives Canada / C-008098

While economic and political decisions are undoubtedly important to understanding history, letters like these remind us that governmental policies had real impacts on the lives of everyday Canadians. These two letters show both the hopelessness and frustration of living through a financial crisis. People appealing for relief were conscious of both the needs of their families and perceptions of outsiders. Both Gibbs's and MacKenzie's letters implore us to listen to their stories and think about the real people who were struggling to survive. These glimpses of humanity are what draw many, including myself, to the study of history.

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At the Threshold of the "Age of Apology": The Japanese Canadian Redress

In mid-September 1988, Art Miki, the president of the National Association of Japanese Canadians (NAJC), and other members of the redress committee were agonizing, unable to share the good news even with their closest families. The Canadian government had notified them that it would officially acknowledge and apologize for the wartime uprooting, dispossession, incarceration, and forced dispersal of Japanese Canadians during World War II and offer individual monetary compensation to the victims. But the negotiation committee was asked not to disclose this agreement until Prime Minister Brian Mulroney announced it in the House of Commons on 22 September. The administration was nervous, particularly of the possible backlash from the World War II veterans' associations, even though the polls indicated that the majority of Canadians agreed that Japanese Canadians were wrongfully interned and that the economic losses they suffered should be compensated.

The redress for Japanese Canadians was a remarkable incident in Canadian history that opened the "age of apology." According to the Columbia University Political Apologies Archive, it was Japanese Canadians that received the first official governmental apology in Canada for past injustice, and it was followed by many apologies to various other minority groups in the country. In 1998, ten years after the Japanese Canadian redress, the Canadian government formally apologized for its mistreatment of the First Nations peoples, and since then, multiple apologies have been issued, particularly for human rights abuses of indigenous children in residential schools. The Chinese Canadian community received an apology for the discriminatory head tax. The Canadian government acknowledged historical mistreatment of South Asians by apologizing for the 1914 *Komagata Maru* incident. In 2017, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau apologized to the LGBTQ community for the nation's persecution of sexual minorities.

To accomplish redress, Japanese Canadians needed particular strength in its appeal to the Canadian conscience. Their redress campaign also had to counter the challenges against the acknowledgement of injustice. The NAJC had to refute opinions such as that the Canadian government was implementing a conventional treatment of "enemy aliens," or that Japanese Canadians were "mutual hostages" in Canadian custody to ensure the safety of Canadian civilians in Japan. The Canadian government was especially concerned about the opposition from the veterans' associations, as the battle of Hong Kong claimed close to 300 lives of Canadian soldiers, and additional 264 Canadian soldiers perished in captivity in the Japanese-run POW camps.

It was crucial for Japanese Canadians to appeal to their fellow Canadians that their community was undeserving of such a cruel treatment even while their ancestral nation was at war with Canada. The NAJC emphasized that three quarters of Japanese Canadians were birthright or naturalized citizens who had no relations with the policies of the Imperial Japan. Deemphasizing their ties with the ancestral land and the insistence on Japanese Canadians' "Canadian-ness" was the key to success. The NAJC strategically painted the government's maltreatment of Japanese Canadians to be a domestic issue, arguing that it was political embodiment of racial prejudice.

Highlighting the severing of their ties with Japan was an effective appeal strategy, but it ironically ensured the prolonging of the pressure placed upon Japanese Canadians to assimilate into the mainstream society, imposed at their mass uprooting from the West Coast and reinforced through their dispersal to the east of the Rockies. This not only led to the loss of ancestral culture but also erased collective historical memories of the prewar immigrant community. Japanese Canadians before the war maintained close ties with their home villages – marriages were brokered through trans-local kinship and brides were summoned to Canada with the immigrants' private sponsorship. Many families sent their children to their home villages to be brought up as "good Japanese." Immigration and return migration between Japan and Canada continued until shortly before Pearl Harbor.

Four decades of severing the cultural ties with their ancestral land was necessary to successfully appeal that Japanese Canadians were not enemy aliens but Canadians. But this strategy silenced a part of community history regarding its transnational past. It was a double-edged sword, which proved that assimilation, by ridding remnants of heritage culture, would make the appeals to Canadians' sense of justice more palatable when minority communities speak out about the past injustice they suffered. Such strategy was a key for Japanese Canadians to open the gate for future redresses, but this historical precedent might not help to promote acceptance and tolerance of other oppressed minorities deemed less desirable or assimilable.

Another factor in a successful appeal for redress was Japanese Canadians' emphasis on their loyalty to Canada. In principle, a citizen's loyalty is not a prerequisite for civil rights. Birthright citizenship unconditionally guarantees the person's civil and human rights, and restrictions on one's freedom is only legitimate under the due process of law under a democratic regime. At wartime, security risk of disloyalty increases, but the measurement of loyalty should be based on individual actions and not cultural affil-

iations, let alone collective racial belonging. Japanese Canadians should not have had to prove their loyalty to Canada as long as they did not commit illegal activities such as espionage or sabotage. Overemphasis of the fact that "not a single Japanese Canadian committed an act of disloyalty" implied that it fell on the community to ensure not to produce any disloyal persons among its members. The fact that no Japanese Canadian was arrested for espionage enhanced Japanese Canadians' appeal for redress, but it undermined the recognition that the mass uprooting based on a racial category was simply unjust, regardless of individual deeds of the people who belonged to the same racial category.

At the threshold of the "age of apology," Japanese Canadians strategized their appeals in a way that would be more palatable for Canadians, and this might have created a narrower pass for future redresses. Their success, however, was not the end of the story but rather the beginning of a wider struggle to build a multiracial democracy.

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Jewish Appeals to the Crown in Late Fifteenth-Century Spain

The reign of Isabella I of Castile and Ferdinand II of Aragon saw increasing intolerance towards the Jews of their kingdoms, culminating with the expulsion of the Jews in 1492. In light of that, it can be easy to view the Jews of the Spanish kingdoms as hapless victims, powerless against the edicts of the Crown. But that is not true. Jews can and did make appeals to the Crown numerous times through out the closing decades of the fifteenth century. Furthermore, Isabella did, at times, respond favourably to those appeals. One such case occurred in the 1480s in the small city of Ávila, 100km northwest of Madrid.

The *Cortes* – a legislative assembly of nobles, prelates, and city representatives, called at the pleasure of the Crown – met in Toledo in 1480. At that meeting, Isabella reinstituted an old law, hoping this would ease religious and social tensions between Christians and Jews in Castile. Those tensions were primarily between the group of Christians known as *conversos* – descendants of Jews forcibly converted to Christianity in 1391 – and Jews. Many clerics felt that familial and social ties between these groups constituted a danger to the faith of *conversos* and kept them in danger of "backsliding" into Judaism. Therefore, Isabella felt it was important to create distance between the two groups, and thus she reinstated the law of enclosure:

> because of the continued conversation and mixed living of the Jews … with the Christians results in great damage and inconvenience, [we] order and command that all Jews … of all and whatever cities and villages and places of these our kingdoms … to have their Jewish quarters … set aside and apart, and not return to dwell with the Christians, nor have neighborhoods with them. This we command to be done and completed within two years.

In April 1481, Isabella dispatched Rodrigo Alvarez to Ávila to ensure that the edict had been carried out. Though Alvarez's report is missing, we know the edict was obeyed, because by February 1483, the Jewish community was appealing to the

(above) Ferdinand II and Isabella I, undated manuscript.

Crown about its living conditions. Isaac Bechacho, a leader of the community, wrote to the queen detailing its grievances: Santo Domingo (the neighbourhood the Jews had been moved to) was located at the bottom of the hill the city was built on and was close to the tanneries located just outside the walls on the banks of the river Adaja. The Jews were therefore inconvenienced by the "bad odors" and unsanitary effects of being so close to these workshops. A letter from the Crown to the city council in response pressured the councilmen to remedy the situation: Isabella did not want any citizens to "have cause to make such complaints."

Another letter from the monarchs in March of the same year asks the council to investigate the allegations that Abulense Christians were altering the signposts which delineated the limits of the Jewish quarter. These limits had already been determined, and the council was not to allow them to be changed. (Presumably, the signposts were being moved to make the quarter even smaller, though this is not expressly stated in the letter.) This letter also was also written in response to a petition from Isaac Bechacho.

In 1486, Isaac Bechacho wrote yet again, complaining this time that the space allotted for the Jews is "of great narrowness." The letter states that there were two Jewish quarters, one near the Adaja gate and the other an unnamed area outside the city walls. Both neighborhoods were small, with insufficient housing for the population. The gate to the Jewish quarter was often locked for lengthy periods, which meant the Jews could not go about their business. In addition, the weavers and tailors complained that there was too little sunlight; they were not able to dry wet wool. The Crown continued to respond to the complaints by the Abulense Jews, ordering the city council to rectify the situation. The frustration for the council lay in that complying with the Crown's original directive regarding the creation of the Jewish quarter meant that the Jews would continue to be unhappy. It must be added, though, their unhappiness was largely due to the area the city council had chosen.

While we know that the Jews of Ávila ultimately failed in their attempts to remain an integrated part of Abulense society, they clearly saw themselves as a community with agency, and with the ear of the Crown. Indeed, Isabella's generally favourable response to the appeals she received from Isaac Bechacho on behalf of his community show her understanding that the Jews were her subjects, too. This is not to apologize for the increasing intolerance we see in late medieval Spain, nor to mitigate the horrors of an institution such as the Spanish Inquisition, created under the authority of Isabella and Ferdinand. But understanding that the Jews of Spain can and did make every attempt to appeal to the Crown concerning these intolerant policies allows us a different view of an otherwise entirely bleak narrative.

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An Appeal for our Young: Closing Opportunities in 1930s Montreal

Just prior to the Depression, Montreal's small Black community had been in the midst of a cultural and economic renaissance - an unintended consequence, borne out of American politics.

On 17 January 1920, Prohibition across the entire United States shut down an entertainment sector that had relied on alcohol. Americans had two choices: go underground or move. Tourists flocked north in unprecedented numbers. Trains brought them northward. Montreal was the end of the line, and the city was wet. Liquor and money flowed into the small Black district, situated south of downtown. Black entertainment venues hummed. Tourists also patronized theatres, sporting venues, and cabarets, and dance halls. Jazz was a boon for the city's coffers, and Montréal became *the* place to be.

Then, in 1929, this burgeoning hub faltered almost overnight with the global downturn. Travel collapsed. The domino effect spread to other sectors. The hit was heavy for Montreal. Once at the pinnacle, no other Canadian city suffered the same degree of unemployment and under-employment during the 1930s.

By March 1933, familial changes were afoot. Nearly 80% of Black men were unemployed. Women were thrust onto the job market or relied on charity. Moreover, when unable to cope, children were placed or sent to work, if only for pennies a day.

With such great need, Black organizations fundraised to stave off homelessness, starvation or the loss of children. Within the district, the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) had the largest membership. The UNIA stood for Black self-sufficiency, collective community wealth, and Black enlightenment. The UNIA prioritized efforts to aid youth, academically and professionally – not easy in the city's racist environment.

The challenge was an entrenched, white-collar brick wall. Certainly, the White working class had always objected to Blacks competing for jobs. Now, during the Depression, the professional, upper class exhibited similar behaviour. Aspiring Black professionals were a threat. Refusing to certify Blacks reduced their job competition. Compounded by economic insecurity, systemic racial discrimination closed doors to Black mobility.

Two examples of such blatant acts of discrimination involved efforts to enter the medical profession. In North America in the 1930s, nursing had become a popular career choice for Black women. The academically gifted, such as Vivian Layne-Sullen, strove to enter the profession. Yet, despite her "brilliant record," hospitals would not accept her.

Reverend Este of Union United Church was just becoming known as a voice for the community. He headed a UNIA delegation to find Vivian a hospital. Este approached people of influence and power. First, he appealed to the Superintendent of Nurses of the Montreal General Hospital, a critical incubator for nurses' training and certification. During their meeting, the Nursing Superintendent stated that while Black nurses could train in Montreal, "they would never find employment, since there were not enough Black patients to care for in the hospitals." Further, she emphasized that "White patients would not allow black nurses to touch them!"

Amongst others, Reverend Este also appealed to the Right Rev. John Cragg Farthing, the Anglican Bishop of Montreal. Este expected a Christian ally. Instead, the Bishop said, 'White people would not want Black people to look after them. I can't help you. Try the United States."

Sadly, bereft of opportunities, this did remain the only option. A few families, like the Layne-Sullens, sent their brightest south. Vivian trained at the Lincoln School for Nurses in New York and found employment. She achieved some measure of fame when it became known she was the attending nurse for Martin Luther King Jr. when he was stabbed in New York on 20 September 1958. Though Vivian had to leave her family for a beloved career, she made her moment in history.

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An Appeal from Robert F. Kennedy to the Better Angels of a Civil Rights-Era Small Southern University Town

In May of 1964, Robert F. Kennedy, brother of the recently assassinated president and U.S. Attorney General, spoke at the dedication of the John F. Kennedy Interfaith Chapel at West Georgia College (now the University of West Georgia). In his speech, he appealed powerfully to those assembled to remember that freedom in America required tolerance of others. After his dedication speech and a luncheon, the attorney general walked to the handsome, Doric-columned College Auditorium, built by a New Deal agency in 1939, to answer student questions.

It is remarkable that Kennedy made his appeal in the small southern college town of Carrollton, Georgia, a place that had its roots in poor-dirt farming, cotton trading and mills. Yet, this otherwise unremarkable town, like so many in America, has a history linked to intolerance. In the three or four hundred paces that Kennedy walked between the chapel and the auditorium, he passed several visible and invisible reminders of this history. One was an upright stone with steps carved into it for mounting horses, formerly used by William McIntosh, the Lower Creek leader who facilitated settler colonialism by selling his people's last land in Georgia, and who was killed by Upper Creeks as punishment. Another was the antebellum house of Thomas Bonner, the owner of the plantation that later became the college campus. As was typical in small southern towns, the "big house" was the only part of the plantation that local elites preserved, while the people who built the house were given no public recognition. Few knew, and no one pointed out to Kennedy, that the quarters of Bonner's thirty-two enslaved workers once stood nearby, and that many of them lay in an unmarked burial ground under the lawn not eighty paces in front of the auditorium.

While he cast much of the speech in terms of America's foundations of religious tolerance, and particularly the refuge that the Colony of Georgia had provided to countless religious refugees ... Kennedy admonished that it required political leaders such as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson to enact protections for religious tolerance for the republic to survive.

Carroll County, of which Carrollton is the seat, was home to the Lower Creek Nation until it was broken and displaced by white re-settlers supported by the Federal Government. Enslaved African Americans numbered fewer in Carroll County than sur-

Photo: The West Georgian, vol 30, no. 18 (May 29, 1964) Georgia Historic Newspapers, Digital Library of Georgia. https://gahistoricnewspapers.galileo.usg.edu/

rounding counties with large cotton plantations but nevertheless endured the same bitter oppression of both slavery and, following emancipation, Jim Crow laws. At least two African Americans had been lynched in Carroll County. Seemingly quiet and hospitable in 1964, Carrollton was surrounded by sites of the heroic struggles for civil rights. It is fifty miles from Martin Luther King's home in Atlanta, while Birmingham and Tuskegee lie to the west and southwest respectively. Just three years before Kennedy's visit, a white mob burned a Freedom Riders bus in Anniston, Alabama, a mere forty-four miles from Carrollton. While Kennedy spoke, sign-waving Ku Klux Klan members walked a picket line outside.

The question of civil rights for African Americans loomed large in 1964, and when responding to questions in the auditorium, Robert Kennedy advocated equal access to lodging in hotels, dining in restaurants, and burial in Arlington National Cemetery. Perhaps unexpectedly, West Georgia's white students gave the attorney general ringing applause. Nevertheless, in his dedication speech earlier in the day, Kennedy did not dwell on racism alone. While he cast much of the speech in terms of America's foundations of religious tolerance, and particularly the refuge that the Colony of Georgia had provided to countless religious refugees, he noted that this was not always so. Kennedy admonished that it required political leaders such as James Madison and Thomas Jefferson to enact protections for religious tolerance for the republic to survive. He sought rather to show how all people can be subject to intolerance, and offered an American antidote to intolerance:

> What is objectionable, what is dangerous about extremists is not that they are extreme, but that they are intolerant. The evil is not what they say about their cause, but what they say about their opponents.
>
> The intolerant man will not rely on persuasion, or on the worth of the idea. He would deny to others the very freedom of opinion or of dissent which he so stridently demands for himself. He cannot trust democracy.
>
> Frustrated by rejection, he condemns the motives, the morals, or the patriotism of all who disagree. Whether he is inflamed by politics, or religion or drinking water, he still spreads selfish slogans and false fears.
>
> America's answer to the intolerant man is diversity…
>
> Many voices, many views all have combined into an American consensus, and it has been a consensus of good sense. 'In the multitude of counselors, there is safety,' says the Bible, and so it is with American democracy. Tolerance is an expression of trust in that consensus and each new enlargement of tolerance is an enlargement of democracy.

Ultimately, Kennedy invoked all Americans' love of "freedom" as the justification for tolerance, and in this he included the freedom to be extreme. But here he was clearly not thinking of the extremism of hatred or intolerance, but quite the opposite, for he spoke of the freedom to believe and act with passion for any religion, or party or personal welfare.

It is worth noting that the Kennedy Chapel still stands among the pines of the University of West Georgia, honored by the faculty, staff, students, and members of the Carrollton community who still heed Robert Kennedy's appeal to fight intolerance. Ultimately, Kennedy reminded those gathered in Carrollton, and through them the whole of America, and all of us today, that his brother's legacy includes the further expansion of tolerance, and that appreciating our differences is the true hallmark of the freedom all Americans claim as their birthright. "And this chapel is a warmly fitting tribute to President Kennedy not only because it bears his name but because it too, expresses and advances the spirit of tolerance...." These words have never been more necessary than at the present time.

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Votes at 18: An Appeal to the *Soufflé*

In 1967, the British government's Committee on the Age of Majority appealed to a famously finicky dish to make their case for lowering the voting age from 21 to 18: "We think that, given responsibility at 18, [young people] would rise to the occasion; but, as with a *soufflé*, the results of waiting too long might be as disastrous as acting too soon." Two years later, the 1969 *Representation of the People Act* set Britain's voting age at 18. It was the sixth such Act passed in Britain since the "Great" *Reform Act* of 1832 had initiated a gradual expansion of the franchise, initially to wider categories of adult men and then to all women by 1928. Age was the final frontier.

Throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, British campaigns to extend the franchise had appealed to purportedly objective and measurable markers of civic responsibility such as property ownership, tax payment, "sober conduct," and military service. Debates leading up to the 1969 *Act* sometimes returned to similar themes, but both supporters and opponents of "Y" (young) voters more often grounded their cases in the distinctive context of the "baby boom" and postwar social and economic conditions. In an era defined by youth-driven activism on nuclear disarmament, the Vietnam War, and apartheid and civil rights, voting age prompted no major demonstrations or protests on either side of the Atlantic.

The voting age in the United Kingdom and its colonies had been set at 21 since the thirteenth century, based on the strength required for a knight to wield a lance while wearing the increasingly heavy suits of armour characteristic of the period. Although armour was long gone, there had never been any groundswell of public opinion in favour of changing the age requirement, even among 18-21-year-olds themselves. In 1968, for example, Gallup's Political Index recorded just 25% support for changing the age to 18, while 56% favoured maintaining age 21.

Accordingly, most of the impetus to lower the voting age came from politicians, particularly in the governing Labour Party led by Prime Minister Harold Wilson. British political culture in the 1960s was shaped by a pervasive sense of intergenerational conflict, driven by the belief that postwar youth had lost touch with responsible citizenship and community engagement and had become threats to established institutions and mores. Enfranchising young people promised a tangible solution, adding what the Home Secretary, Jim Callaghan, called "a necessary political dimension to the increasingly important economic and social position of young people."

As they debated "votes at 18," politicians avoided appeals to precedent. Since the precedents included Russia and most Eastern Bloc countries, this omission was unsurprising. Instead, they appealed to divergent indicators of citizenship, adulthood, and physical and emotional maturity. Arguments often split along party lines. Leading Conservatives claimed teenagers were too easily swayed by modern consumer culture and they blamed rising divorce rates on young couples' loss of respect for institutions such as marriage. Labour MPs responded vigorously. Tony Gardner, for example, reminded the House of Commons in November 1968 that references to immaturity and irrationality echoed earlier opposition to the enfranchisement of women, and he observed that he found young people's views on subjects such as poverty, war, and race to be more "civilised" than those of people his own age. Roy Hughes agreed, insisting moreover that enfranchising 18-year-olds would strengthen democracy: "Young people are maturing earlier, and [are] eager to take on the rights and responsibilities of citizenship. ... We hear much more now about the need for participation in our affairs, and this proposal will create the feeling of involvement."

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Some members of the government appealed to self-interest, arguing that young people's alleged tendency toward radicalism would benefit Labour over their Conservative and Liberal rivals. Others feared, however, that new "Y" voters would lean toward Welsh and Scottish nationalism or even more "extreme" parties. Student protests across Europe heightened the urgency of appeals to political stability. In May 1968, Cabinet ministers agreed that lowering the voting age would combat "the growing sense of social alienation" at the root of recent "youthful insubordination."

As the Bill moved through Parliament, MPs and peers highlighted differing views on the desirable characteristics of voters in the context of the 1960s. The importance of real-world experience was a recurrent theme for Conservatives such as Lord Hailsham, who appealed for "a period of time after maturity, of which three years is *prima facie* not a bad period, in which to go about the world getting experience before one is held to one's

contracts, before one makes an irreparable mistake in marriage and even before one has what I still regard as the privilege, as well as the right, of the parliamentary franchise." Alternatively, as one contributor to the Committee on the Age of Majority revealingly put it, "21 is wrong. 50 is right."

In the end, the perfect *soufflé* prevailed: 1969 proved to be the right time to recognize young people as a distinct political group worthy of the vote. However, whether the 1969 Act achieved its supporters' goals is debatable. As rising unemployment, inflation and racial tensions became more pressing electoral issues for all, none of the political parties put much effort into appealing specifically to new voters. When Britain went to the polls in 1970, less than 60% of the 18-20-year-olds who could have cast a ballot registered to do so. Their turnout was considerably lower than older voter cohorts and they supported the Labour Party only marginally more than the Conservatives, who won a majority. In short, "Y" voters proved to be more passive than problematic.

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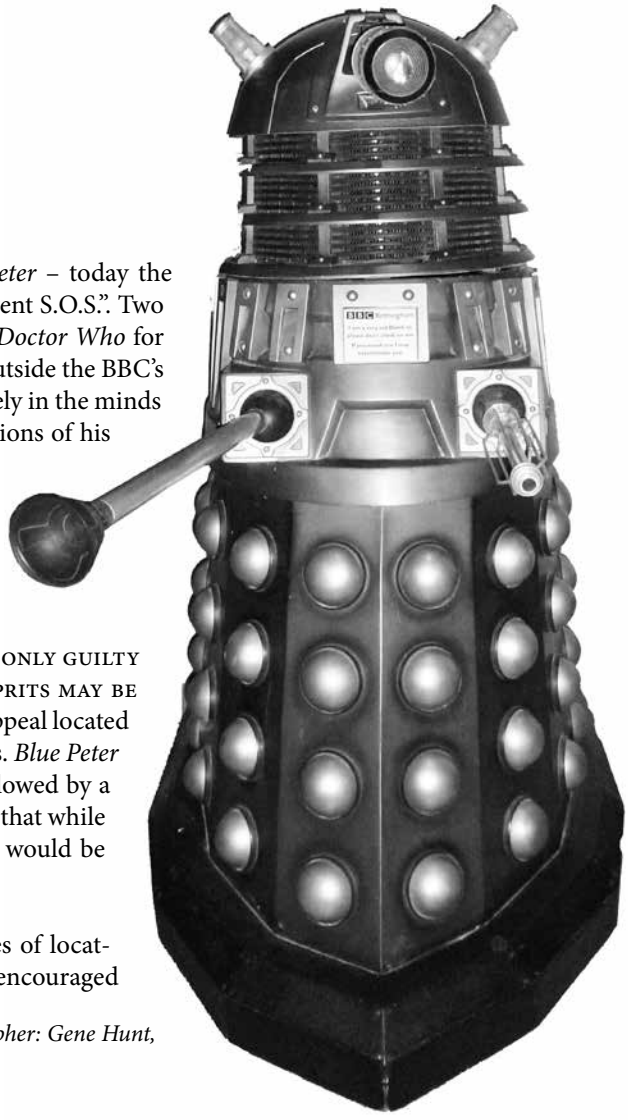
The Dalek Appeal



On 7 June 1973, Peter Purves, host of the BBC magazine show *Blue Peter* – today the world's longest-running children's television programme – issued an "urgent S.O.S.". Two Daleks, who Purves himself had fought as companion Steven Taylor on *Doctor Who* for twelve weeks over the winter of 1965-66, had been brazenly stolen from outside the BBC's Television Centre in London and needed to be recovered. Purves – or, surely in the minds of some of the children watching, Taylor – was in effect making companions of his viewers, inducting them into their own mission with the Daleks that blended fact and fiction. His plea was completed by an on-set Dalek, who addressed the audience in its trademark electronic staccato, declaring: "We appeal to all *Blue Peter* viewers to assist the Earth humanoid police in finding the two missing Dalek members of our Earth observation delegation. If they are returned unharmed, we will assume that the humanoids responsible were only guilty of an excess of hospitality. If they are not returned… the culprits may be *exterminated*!" Within a day, members of the public spurred on by the appeal located both of the missing 5'6", 300lb Dalek models and contacted the authorities. *Blue Peter* duly broadcast a special report interviewing those involved. This was followed by a message from by one of the recovered Daleks, who informed the audience that while this was surely evidence that "the Daleks are never defeated", they would be spared "extermination" in gratitude for their help.

That the BBC had chosen this unorthodox course of action in the hopes of locating their missing property – while *Blue Peter* frequently ran appeals that encouraged

(right) "Dalek on display at the BBC Shop in The Mailbox, Birmingham," Photographer: Gene Hunt, 2015. Detail. CC BY 2.0 license.

children to send in money or recyclables for charitable causes, it had never pursued matters one would expect to be conducted by local police services – and that the tactic worked so successfully, speaks volumes of the popularity of its family programming. The BBC had been able to act in the assurance both that its appeal for help through *Blue Peter* would reach a very wide audience and that *Doctor Who* and the Daleks were so ubiquitously known by the public that the missing props would require so little explanation that an appeal for their recovery could communicate all the necessary facts within a segment short enough to squeeze into the confines of *Blue Peter*'s already planned full schedule.

Each time the very British patriarchal figure of the Doctor defeated the Nazi-like Daleks on television the BBC symbolically reinforced this self-narrative, with its inherent moral of liberal tolerance, countering the public rhetoric of prominent racist ideologues like Enoch Powell that threatened to undermine it, and passed the lesson on to a new crop of impressionable children.

It is worth also contemplating the language used by the writers in crafting the appeal. The Daleks occupy an interesting place within the popular imagination. They are simultaneously both obvious stand-ins for the Nazis – being monstrous creatures devoid of any emotion but hate, who demand total conformity to authority and repeatedly screech their dark catchphrase "EXTERMINATE!" – and also popularly imagined as light-hearted figures of fun, with their kitchen-sink plunger arms, wobbly method of perambulation, and oft-joked-about inability to ascend staircases. This delicate balance of terror and charm, so effectively communicated in Raymond Cusick's timeless design, is reflected in the message delivered by *Blue Peter*'s Dalek. Despite its friendly note that the culprits would simply be found guilty of "an excess of hospitality" – presumably included in case the thief turned out to be a young fan – viewers still nonetheless watched a fascist analogue bark about its military prowess and issue threats of extermination, and reacted by, like Purves onscreen, smiling along and then leaping to its assistance in the streets. It is hard to imagine such rhetoric promoting such a response in many other contexts.

I would also argue that the public was so receptive to *Blue Peter*'s Dalek appeal because of the valuable civic role played by the metal monsters. The BBC, in the words of its most influential Director-General, John Reith, performed an important public service: to "inform, educate, and entertain" the nation. Its publicly funded programming stemmed from the same socially-minded ideology that drove the creation of the National Health Service, council houses, and the welfare state. *Blue Peter* was an obvious example of this, but *Doctor Who* was also no exception, having been conceived of as an opportunity to teach children about history and science, as well as more intangible lessons on morality and tolerance. Every time the Daleks and their hateful ideology were defeated, they successfully played their role in teaching children these lessons. Furthermore, their defeats can be understood as an expression of the nation building to which public service broadcasters frequently contribute. One of the most common stories that Britons tell about themselves, however accurate or inaccurate, is that they were the nation who defeated the Nazis, through a combination of virtuous morals and sheer gumption. As *Doctor Who*'s titular character himself is written to say in a 2005 episode: "Country after country, falling like dominoes. Nothing can stop it, nothing until one tiny, damp little island says 'no.' No, not here. A mouse in front of a lion." Each time the very British patriarchal figure of the Doctor defeated the Nazi-like Daleks on television the BBC symbolically reinforced this self-narrative, with its inherent moral of liberal tolerance, countering the public rhetoric of prominent racist ideologues like Enoch Powell that threatened to undermine it, and passed the lesson on to a new crop of impressionable children. It was this function, perhaps, that can best explain why the British public were so eager to see the Daleks on their screens, and why they were so receptive to *Blue Peter*'s "S.O.S." appeal to rescue the props that made it possible.

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Circumventing the Garbler

In 1700, London's foreign trade merchants began printing scathing public appeals calling for the removal of the 1603 Garbling Act. This Act granted the title Garbler the authority to oversee the cleansing and sorting of foreign spice and drug imports to London. With this authority, the Garbler and his team investigated these imports, "separat[ing] the good from the bad" and placing an official seal upon those that passed. The word garble descends from the Anglo-Norman word garbeler, meaning *to sift*. This is precisely what the Garbler did, sifting goods into various categories based on particulate size, quality, and colour. After sorting, he disposed of low-quality or waterlogged goods considered unfit for human consumption. This disposal removed around 10% of the merchants' products.

Garbling was compulsory. Merchants underwent routine searches and seizures to ensure they were not hiding their imported goods, all while paying mandatory fees to the Garbler for his services. They tried avoiding these fees by hiding products or combining their garbled and un-garbled goods. Merchants caught circumventing the Garbler in this way faced the seizure of their entire stock, and with it, financial ruin.

Merchants had not always despised the Garbler. Initially, British merchants considered him helpful in protecting the purchasing public from fraudulent merchants and dangerous goods. By the 1680s, opinions had changed. As imports from the Caribbean and East Indies increased, so did the cost of the Garbler. Caribbean imports consisted primarily of sugar, which was not garbled because of the highly complex refining process it underwent once in Britain. It was goods shipped in their natural form or often ground into powders, like indigo, ginger, cocoa, pimento, and sasparilla, that underwent garbling. Even without the primary commodity of sugar, imports were significant. Between 1698 and 1704, over 6,000 tons of Caribbean products fell under the Garbling Act. Based on a 1679 rate of garbling fees, this likely cost London merchants £885 per year (£154,000 adjusted for inflation).

By the 1690s, demands for foreign foods were growing yearly, and one spice in particular, ginger, was at the top of merchants' import lists. With the increase of ginger imports, the Garbler increased his surveillance, searching for the imported spices like never before. Merchants were overwhelmed by this increased presence and decided something had to be done. So, they appealed to the House of Commons on 2 March 1695. The merchants explained "that the Garbler never pretended or demanded to garble any ginger, before July last." It was not only the Garbler's fees the merchants disliked but the damage he did to their product. For every hundred-weight he inspected, they claimed, he charged a 12d fee and damaged another 12d. This damage doubled the loss for merchants, bringing the estimated yearly costs to approximately £1771 (£309,000 adjusted for inflation). Merchants also accused the Garbler of corruption. Many contested to the House that the Garbler targeted specific men, as others paid him "some certain composition for not garbling their goods."

The appeal did not work. Parliament ordered an immediate investigation but refused to alter the Act without further explanation. Twelve years later, the merchants appealed again using almost identical arguments. This time, the House of Commons responded, drafting a bill to repeal the 1603 law and make changes to the Office of the Garbler. The merchants had won. Receiving royal assent in 1708, this new Act threw out the many legal cases tried against merchants and shifted the power to appoint the Garbler from the monarch to the City of London. Fees remained attached to the office; however, foreign goods brokers now paid a yearly flat rate of 40 shillings. This new flat rate, the Act claimed, encouraged more business as it did not punish merchants for importing more goods.

The Garbler continued under this Act until it was repealed in 1938 by the Food and Drugs Act. Only minor changes occurred during the Act's existence. These changes limited the Garbler further, removing the collection of broker fees and denying legal authority. No other grievances are present in newspapers or parliamentary papers for the remainder of the Garbler's existence, suggesting this appeal, while lengthy, ultimately worked.

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L'appel de la nation : le nationalisme canadien-français dans la propagande de 1914-16

Pendant la Grande Guerre, la relation unissant l'individu à la nation fut plus importante que jamais puisque le conflit requérait l'investissement total du peuple dans l'effort de guerre. En l'absence de conscription, le volontariat s'imposait comme mode de recrutement au Canada jusqu'en 1918. Il fallait donc convaincre les hommes de porter les armes au nom de la nation en insufflant un sens patriotique à l'enrôlement. C'est ce qu'ont essayé de faire les images nationalistes dans la propagande canadienne-française. Les affiches exposent les manières dont cette communauté minoritaire s'est représentée comme nation au sein d'un Dominion en guerre. Revoyons la force mobilisatrice de l'appel de la nation ; d'où provient ce pouvoir ?

La mobilisation s'effectuait autour de la conception identitaire de la nation. Entre 1914 et 1916, l'appel de la nation exploite les ancrages culturels, la mémoire et les mythes canadiens-français pour inviter les individus à s'identifier au recrutement. Les frontières identitaires de cette communauté sont définies par l'héritage français, la foi catholique et la mémoire collective. Caractérisé de la sorte, le nationalisme dépeint dans les affiches joue sur la composante culturelle de l'identité canadienne-française. En produisant un récit particulier destiné à mobiliser cette minorité, elles expriment la construction nationale du Canada français.

Les affiches illustrent l'appel de la nation à travers celui de Marianne. Ayant survécu au siècle suivant la Conquête, la filiation avec la France est décrite comme immuable. Les affiches représentent l'altérité culturelle du Canada français comme source de fierté. Les drapeaux tricolores proclament la vigueur de la minorité francophone du Dominion, témoignant de la conservation de l'héritage français alors que les droits linguistiques des Canadien.ne.s français.es étaient menacés par le Règlement XVII en Ontario. Sous sa forme culturelle, le nationalisme canadien-français exhorte le peuple à prendre les armes « Pour aider à la victoire du coq gaulois sur l'aigle prussien ». D'autres affiches jouent sur la part française de la nationalité canadienne-française en proclamant que « Le Prussien est encore sur le sol de France et la France est notre ancienne mère-patrie ». La loyauté à l'ancienne mère-patrie conditionne ce discours, s'incarnant en récit propre à la minorité. Soulignant leur identité culturelle partagée, elles conçoivent même les combattants canadiens-français en tant que poilus à l'image de leurs homologues français.

De pair avec l'héritage français, la foi catholique s'illustre en pilier du nationalisme canadien-français. Les affiches font écho à l'actualité en dépeignant le bombardement de la cathédrale de Reims par l'armée allemande en 1915. L'événement a transformé la Grande Guerre en croisade pour défendre la religion chrétienne devant le vandalisme allemand. L'enrôlement volontaire apparait comme un devoir de conscience dans une guerre désormais considérée comme sainte. Les images de cathédrales subissant le feu allemand permettent de jouer sur la dévotion religieuse. Symbole fort de la foi qui définit la nation canadienne-française, ces bâtiments incarnent le lieu de rassemblement qui lie l'individu à la collectivité catholique. L'appel de la cathédrale-martyre de Reims touche donc une corde sensible pour rappeler au peuple son devoir moral. En montrant la Grande Guerre comme événement qui guettait la survie du catholicisme, c'est l'identité même de la nation canadienne-française qui est menacée et qui devait être défendue. La campagne de recrutement volontaire représente le plaidoyer de la nation, cette fois-ci illustré par le motif de la cathédrale-martyre.

Enfin, les affiches s'appuient sur l'appel de la mémoire nationale pour énumérer les exploits militaires du peuple. La participation à la Grande Guerre fait ainsi partie d'une longue et héroïque histoire : « N'oubliez pas, Canadiens-Français, que vous êtes descendants des compagnons de Dollard, des soldats de Montcalm & de Lévis, les fils des vainqueurs de Châteauguay et les frères des héros de St-Julien et de Festubert ». Dressant une filiation entre les Canadiens français, les affiches affirment l'idée selon laquelle l'ensemble des membres de la nation possèdent des attributs physiques et moraux communs qui se transmettent de génération en génération. Intégré dans le fil de l'histoire, l'enrôlement devient l'ultime moyen de prouver son attachement national en mettant en œuvre les qualités martiales léguées par Dollard des Ormeaux et Montcalm. Pour ennoblir le recrutement, l'idée d'une « race martiale » met l'accent sur la nationalité canadienne-française en vantant les prouesses militaires du peuple. Cette mythification du passé fait mention des « traditions qui ont fait la gloire et l'orgueil de notre race ». Au nom des héros, on demande « Aux purs Canayens » de canaliser leurs qualités martiales vers l'effort de guerre. Les parallèles entre les batailles de St-Julien et de Festubert en 1915 et l'histoire nationale présentent la Grande Guerre comme la continuation d'une noble tradition guerrière. Les affiches posent donc un regard sur l'avenir en liant le destin national à l'effort de guerre.

... si les affiches de 1914-1916 devaient stimuler la mobilisation à un conflit mondial sans précédent, celles de 1917-1918 durent la maintenir. Il n'en demeure pas moins que cela représentait un défi de taille devant l'accumulation des pertes à la bataille de la Somme ... Dans l'espoir d'unifier les communautés francophones et anglophones à l'heure de la conscription, ils se sont tournés vers le nationalisme autonomiste canadien comme ciment social.

Cet arsenal d'images canadiennes-françaises s'incarnait en levier rhétorique reposant sur l'attachement viscéral de l'individu à sa patrie. Toutefois, l'image en soi ne mobilise pas. C'est la lecture que l'individu en fait qui lui donne cette capacité. Autrement dit, la puissance des images réside dans leur force de séduction et de persuasion, mais c'est l'individu qui leur octroie ce pouvoir. Pour acquérir un caractère opératoire, elles doivent générer des réactions fortes en faveur du message présenté. L'influence des affiches tient à leur capacité de rallier les cœurs et les esprits autour de discours et de symboles. Ainsi, l'exercice de la propagande fut soumis à sa capacité de s'imprégner durablement dans l'imaginaire du passant. En s'identifiant à l'affiche, l'individu valide le message proposé. Or, si les affiches de 1914-1916 devaient stimuler la mobilisation à un conflit mondial sans précédent, celles de 1917-1918 durent la maintenir. Il n'en demeure pas moins que cela représentait un défi de taille devant l'accumulation des pertes à la bataille de la Somme. Si les affiches perdaient en efficacité, les organes de propagande devaient renouveler la culture visuelle de guerre. Dans l'espoir d'unifier les communautés francophones et anglophones à l'heure de la conscription, ils se sont tournés vers le nationalisme autonomiste canadien comme ciment social. Les références à la spécificité canadienne-française ont disparu des affiches à partir de 1916 lorsque l'appel de la nation devint celui du Dominion.

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Appealing to C-A-N-A-D-A

In September 1966, members of the Academic Council, the *de facto* policy-making body at the new Ontario Institute for Studies in Education (OISE), went about the business of finalizing the routine procedures set to structure the operations of the Institute. One year prior, OISE had been established, by act of Provincial Parliament, to facilitate through the conglomeration of research, development, and graduate studies the modernization of Ontario's education system. Essential to this process was the dissemination of knowledge generated at OISE to any number of educative publics. Dissemination meant communication, which in turn required standards for communicating with populations outside the Institute. To this end, the Academic Council's Committee on Style submitted a report recommending selection of an official dictionary for use in OISE publications. *Webster's Seventh New Collegiate Dictionary* of (American) English would serve OISE's spelling needs, supplanting initial use of the British *Oxford English Dictionary.* The report explained:

> American spelling has been chosen. The committee felt that OISE will have closer associations with American scholars and journals than with British, and that therefore American forms are a logical choice.

That OISE would cultivate greater association with American scholarly institutions proved correct. This style of cross-border communication, however, presumed that the Institute could realize its legislated mandate in the universalistic vernacular of academic publishing. Instead, at OISE, as elsewhere in Canada in the latter half of the 1960s, an apparent association with nominatively American practices provoked, from a growing chorus of economic, cultural, and academic critics, accusations of national dereliction. This was the context in the summer of 1969 when Dr. J. Roby Kidd, Chairman of OISE's Department of Adult Education and leading *international* figure in his field, requested that the Academic Council reconsider OISE's style guide. Kidd contended that American spelling was unacceptable to both "many educationists in Ontario and some OISE staff members." He further appealed adoption of a specifically Canadian style manual, and the establishment of editorial policy for French-language publications. Implicit in the latter was the imperative that OISE understand itself as serving a Franco-Canadian public too.

Kidd's appeal arrived amongst growing criticism from politicians, educators, and even some OISE staff and students that the Institute had failed to better education in Ontario. OISE had already slighted its prescribed public when it shuttered the *Ontario Journal of Educational Research* (*OJER*) in 1968. Termination had been effected on the grounds that the *OJER* had been parochial and simplistic in the research programs it promoted. These were impolitic criticisms of the primary vessel through which Ontario's practicing educators disseminated their own research and development work. Moreover, OISE intended to replace the *OJER* with a journal targeted at an international readership. But even internationalism, Kidd contended, was compromised by American spelling practices. Adherence to the OISE style guide in the Institute's other new international journal, *Convergence*, "had resulted in sharp criticism, particularly by writers and readers in the United Kingdom and Australia." In Kidd's reading, OISE's style guide presumed the public for its work would be American, or otherwise countenance the orthographic practices most familiar to American readers.

If OISE could not adapt itself to the needs of Ontario, the Province would do so for it. To many of its initial faculty complement, OISE's appeal was in the freedom afforded them through its funding model. The Institute received a single grant from the Department of Education, which it was entitled to spend as its own administrators saw fit. In the late 1960s, though, the Department of Colleges and Universities tethered OISE's graduate studies program to the same formulaic, weighted enrolment models applied at other Ontario universities; the grant was reduced accordingly. Shortly afterward, much of the remaining grant, mostly intended for research and development expenses, was eliminated, replaced by a new obligation to compete against other educational bodies for short-term contracts and grant-in-aid issuing from the Department of Education directly. Having failed in its research program to adequately demonstrate concern with the needs of Ontario, OISE's first public became the Minister of Education.

Spelling was therefore one way OISE might demonstrate, when the future of the Institute as an autonomous academic institution was uncertain, a sincere commitment to Ontario educators and an international audience likewise resistant to the presumptuousness of American stylistic norms. Spelling helped clarify whom OISE was *for*. Kidd's appeal, in turn, was treated sincerely: the Academic Council delegated consideration of OISE's style policies to the Institute's Editorial Board, through which all official OISE publications passed. A subcommittee of the Editorial Board in turn studied spelling and style practices at Canadian educational publishers.

The Editorial Board concluded that Canadian spelling conventions were incoherent. Stated preferences by comparable bodies for the Canadian standard-bearer, the Senior Gage *Dictionary of Canadian English*, did not necessarily correspond to use of those words often claimed most representative of Canadian spelling. The whole issue was "further complicated by the emotional and nationalistic responses engendered by almost any discussion of the problem". Would it be provably Canadian to insist upon "colour" when Gage itself noted the American spelling more common within Canada? Should spelling norms be proactive, erecting a distinct Canadian spelling in defiance of imperial

American orthography; or reactive, reproducing the spelling culture Canadians already assumed?

Adopting the Gage dictionary, the Editorial Board concluded, would necessitate that OISE publications assert their Canadian provenance by selecting the spellings least frequently used in Canada. Such a choice seemed untenable, especially because the *Dictionary of Canadian English*, as their report noted, was adapted from the American *Thorndike-Barnhart Dictionary*. The Editorial Board instead recommended maintaining the status quo, a decision affirmed by the Academic Council in January 1971, and enshrined as official Institute policy by the OISE Board of Governors. The Editorial Board did support Kidd's request for a French style guide, while deferring action until OISE could assemble a committee more qualified for the task — a challenge, perhaps, for there were no French Canadians among OISE faculty. Academics insisting upon their own preferred spellings were instructed to file an appeal.

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From Olympics to Industry: The 1988 Rejuvenation of South Korea's Global Image

> "It would be a rare opportunity to show the world what this proud and vigorous nation with its long history can offer."

In 1981, South Korea entered its bid to host the 1988 Summer Olympics in Seoul. Following the assassination of South Korea's previous president in 1979, President Chun Doo Hwan needed an event that would bring the country together. He wanted something that would create positive perceptions at home and abroad.

In the opening of South Korea's bid to host, Chun pleaded his country's case to the president of the International Olympic Committee (IOC), Juan Antonio Samaranch:

> On behalf of the government and people of the Republic of Korea, I hereby guarantee that my government will provide the City of Seoul with all financial and administrative support required to host and operate the Games of the XXIVth Olympiad. I am pleased to assure you that both participants and spectators from all countries around the world will be heartily welcomed by our people. In particular, unhindered entry will be accorded to all accredited persons and everyone shall enjoy full freedom of movement within the Republic of Korea in conformity with IOC Rules and Bye-Laws … I am hopeful that an affirmative response will be given to the initiative of Seoul City to host the 1988 Olympic Games.

President Chun hoped that a successful Olympics would reinforce South Korea's status as an industrializing nation. Perhaps it would bolster national pride or shine a flattering light on him and his presidency. In a symbolic statement of this hope, Chun's administration lifted the nationwide curfew that had been in effect since the end of WWII. The Olympics offered a way to solidify his power and South Korea's image. It also provided a form of protection. While the preparation process stretched on from 1981 to 1988, the world watched Seoul. That attention brought to light continued acts of North Korean aggression.

South Korea's tenuous place assisted its win as Olympic host nation. An article from the *Japan Quarterly* newspaper in 1982, just months after the selection, speculated about the reason for Seoul's victory over its closest bidding competitor, Nagoya, Japan. The Japanese Olympic officials assumed Nagoya's victory due to Japan's economic strength, political stability, and experience hosting two Olympic events in 1964 and 1972. Yet, with the principal idea of the IOC in mind, "to expand the Olympic movement to every corner of the world," it seemed only right that South Korea would host for the very first time.

Even with the self-reputed mantra that the Olympics are "above politics," major shifts in world systems underscore the Olympic games. As the *Japan Quarterly* noted, the Olympics are a peace movement with hopes of furthering investments into the games rather than wars. Their observations ended with the prediction that the 1988 Games would promote Korean nationalism and benefit its growing economy and industries. As such, the Seoul games were celebrated as the country's coming-out party. They provided high-profile events that demonstrated their political reliability to international audiences, while also promoting a specific cultural and national identity to the Korean people.

These sentiments are proudly noted on the IOC webpage dedicated to the legacy of the Seoul Olympics. The games are said to have opened Korea up by "showing a new face to the world" that was no longer linked to war and political divide. The IOC further credited the Olympics with building infrastructure, strengthening national pride, and aiding in democratization.

Since 1988, South Korea has become an influential economic power, a fact highlighted by the popularity of globally recognized brands like Samsung and Hyundai. In 2023, the United States and Canada were among the top 10 countries to stream K-Pop on Spotify, the world's largest music streaming platform. While Chun Doo Hwan was no longer president when the games took place, his government's successful appeal for recognition helped to solidify South Korea's industry and boost its popularity worldwide.

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Agricultural Appeals: Unpacking a Transnational Flow of Farm Knowledge

The history of agriculture typically narrates practice or policy. Farmers plow fields and tend to herds, and governments regulate trade, land laws and transportation systems. The SSHRC-funded "Transnational Flows of Agricultural Knowledge" (TFOAK) project under my direction takes a different tack: it considers the many ways farmers *think*. It is an epistemology of agriculture. It links the study of farming with the growing scholarly enquiry into "knowledge" as a socio-cultural phenomenon highlighted in such works as Peter Burke's *A Social History of Knowledge*. The TFOAK project is a Canadian-focused but globally oriented study, taking Mennonite farmers at home and abroad as case studies. It is divided into three specific knowledge exchanges in transnational contexts: that of late nineteenth and early twentieth century settlers from Ukraine; 2) post-war Canadian NGO workers in the Global South; 3) late twentieth century agents linked to multinational corporations and international agricultural movements.

At the heart of these knowledge flows or exchanges are appeals. As Burke and others have argued, the history of knowledge is about power and social relationships. The very possession of agricultural knowledge thus entails requests that farmers consider certain practices. The TFOAK project introduces eleven such appeals, including those encountered by newcomer settlers, ecowomanists, and agribusinessmen. As settlers, farmers in Canada were asked by dominion government experimental stations to rethink inherited "old homeland" farm practices. As southern peasants who encountered Canadian NGO agronomists, ecowomanists were invited to consider organic agriculture methods. As champions of Canadian agribusiness, sales representatives sought to coax farmers to chemicalize their fields.

But these examples also demonstrate that knowledge never flows uncontested, without forms of pre-conditioning or in rational ways. These "appeals" are always dialectic in nature. Consider,

for example, the exchanges of knowledge among male settlers, female peasants and agribusinessmen.

The Mennonite refugees from Soviet Ukraine in the 1920s initially focused on the Canadian Prairies. No section of Canada fully resembled Ukraine, and thus they were bombarded by appeals from dominion departments of agriculture to consider Canadian ways. In this instance, it was an appeal that fell on surprisingly fertile ground. Mennonite farmers in the Russian Empire had already contemplated a commercialized agriculture, fed by a transnational discourse of Russian, American, and German agronomists. Letters to the Saskatchewan-based immigrant newspaper *Der Bote* in the 1920s, for example, are replete with enthusiastic reports from visits to Dominion Experiment Stations, even as they reveal striking disdain for testimonials from "hapless" British Canadian farms. In one example from Rosthern, Saskatchewan, in January 1925, farmer Isaak Zacharias reported on a recent visit to the nearby "government research station" (his words in English), in which visitors learned about prairie crops, farm animals and "the most modern of machinery." Zacharias was enthralled that "everything will be tested there and the farmer will be told … what is best crop to sow in this area." The station's appeal came with scientific language with which Zacharias was already familiar.

A significantly distinctive knowledge exchange occurred as second-generation Mennonite farmers attended university agricultural programs. Many joined the North American-based NGO, Mennonite Central Committee (MCC), and headed to the Global South to transform subsistence agriculture. Here they were confronted by a culture informed by Freire's *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* and were compelled to build on rather than displace Indigenous knowledges. Their reoriented appeal becomes apparent from oral history with female farmers from the Bolivia Altiplano and Bangeladeshian rice paddies whose stories would find easy company in Melanie L Harris's *Ecowomanism: African-American Women and Earth-Honoring Faiths.* Dona Asunta Ferruffina from Moro Moro, Bolivia, for example, lauds the simple ecologically balanced time in her childhood, when "everything was manual, oxen pulled … [in a] time of beautiful rivers" and abundant trees. Cochabamba salesmen transformed agriculture with their "poisons," fertilizers and fungicides. Some neighbours spurned MCC agents but Asunta found in them a force of empowerment. MCC introduced dry latrines but also sustainable melinponiculture and organic agriculture, all geared to a "people with limited resources." And yet she judges MCC on her own terms, applauding them without blind deference: to Asunta's mind, MCC merely helped address the villagers' "doubts." It constantly asked, "How do you do it?" and it never usurped ancestral, folk knowledge of "the older people."

The third generation of this study presents the story of another group of agriculturalists, oftentimes the NGO workers' siblings who stayed on the farm in Canada. They heard appeals to consider an agriculture inherently dependent on the chemical. Operating from an economic philosophy propounded in John H. Davis's 1957 *The Concept of Agribusiness*, these farmers came to link "scientific knowledge" and "more and better" technologies and "demanded" services from industry writ large. Interviews with the "agribusinessmen," envisaged by Davis, demonstrates a symbiotic set of appeals – from the farmers to industry and from industry to the farmers. Terry Moyer, a senior agronomist with Richardson Pioneer, Canada's largest agro-chemical inputs company, tells the history of his particular chemical distribution depot in the village of Landmark in Mennonite dominated southeastern Manitoba. Terry relates how he first worked with a local, Mennonite-owned firm, Landmark Agro, which secured swift chemical sales through a program they dubbed "Crop Watch." "Ahead of its time," Landmark linked soil testing with chemical "variability," especially of potash and nitrogen and modelled itself as "a consulting business" rather than a chemical sales company. Farmers embraced "crop monitoring" by Landmark, which also provided all the services required for high output. As Terry puts it, "we took a little information out of the university" and then "flowed [it] together" to provide "general knowledge" for the farmer. It was a system of persuasion that worked so well that Richardson Pioneer purchased Landmark Ago in 1997 because of it.

Appeals in a transnational history of agriculture come in many forms. They are complex "socio-cultural" exchanges that allow us to consider the story of Canadian farming from multiple viewpoints. Understanding appeal as linked to knowledge and social relationships, and cosmologies intertwined with those, it provides a fuller understanding of the ways agriculture evolved in the modern world.

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Une nouvelle grande noirceur

Il y a un an, j'écrivais ma première chronique pour *Intersections*. J'ai commencé par un cliché banal avant de parler de la précarité de l'académie néolibérale canadienne et de son potentiel d'aggravation. La situation a empiré. Pourtant, une fois de plus, le verset qui clôturait ma première chronique, qui est un autre cliché usé, me revient à l'esprit. En tant qu'étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s, nous devons « faire rage, rage encore lorsque meurt la lumière ». Qu'y a-t-il d'autre?

Donald Trump est à nouveau le président. Bien qu'il soit le symptôme d'une érosion plus importante, on n'en a pas l'impression, n'est-ce pas? Il n'était pas l'un.e des nombreux.ses président.e.s d'université qui ont conduit le silence de leur institution sur le scholasticide. Il n'était pas l'un.e des nombreux.ses dirigeant.e.s universitaires qui ont coordonné la répression des manifestations pour la Palestine organisées par les étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s. Il n'était pas la présidente de l'Association historique américaine, notre organisation sœur, lorsque son conseil d'administration a opposé son veto à une motion votée à 82 % qui exhortait l'AHA à condamner le scholasticide israélien en cours à l'encontre de nos collègues en Palestine. M. Trump n'était pas non plus présidente de l'Association des langues vivantes lorsque son conseil exécutif a refusé de soumettre une motion similaire contre le génocide à l'assemblée générale de ses membres. Trump n'a dirigé aucune des nombreuses organisations professionnelles ou administrations universitaires qui se sont engagées dans ces actions honteuses. Au lieu de cela, il est maintenant le président des États-Unis, et il est à la tête d'un vaste appareil qui peut porter notre tournant autoritaire actuel à de nouveaux sommets.

Nombre de mes collègues des départements d'histoire du Canada ont observé et protesté contre ces actes antérieurs, et nous avons entrepris les actions de solidarité que nous pouvions. Mais beaucoup d'entre vous ne l'ont pas fait. Beaucoup d'entre vous n'ont rien dit pendant les campements, ou les ont rejetés comme frivoles, ou comme la conduite dilettante d'intellectuel.le.s acerbes de la tour d'ivoire. D'autres ont choisi le silence parce qu'ils et elles pensaient sincèrement que parler serait « trop politique » ou par crainte de représailles. Le problème, c'est que le silence ne vous sauvera pas. En d'autres termes, la prose emblématique de Martin Niemöller « Quand ils sont venus chercher… » ne s'arrête pas à la première ligne.

Si tout cela ressemble à un nouvel article hystérique et larmoyant de Mme Pihlak, l'ombre a malheureusement déjà commencé à planer sur le monde universitaire canadien. L'un des principaux avantages de mon rôle est le nombre de professeur.e.s et d'étudiant.e.s de troisième cycle avec lesquel.le.s je peux m'entretenir dans tout le Canada. Depuis le 20 janvier, je n'ai cessé d'entendre parler, dans les milieux universitaires, de la peur qui s'est installée. J'ai assisté à un dîner de recrute-

A New Great Darkness

A year ago, I wrote my first column for *Intersections*. I began with a trite cliché before I spoke to the precarity of the Canadian neoliberal academy, and its potential to get worse. It has gotten worse. Yet once more the verse that closed my first column, which is another musty line, comes to mind. As graduate students we must "rage, rage against the dying of the light." What else is there?

Donald Trump is once more the president. Though he is a symptom of a larger rot, it certainly does not feel like it, right? He was not one of the many university presidents who led their institution's silence on scholasticide. He was not one of the many academic leaders who coordinated the suppression of grad student-led protests for Palestine. He was not the president of the American Historical Association, our sister organization, when its governing council vetoed a motion passed with 82% approval which urged the AHA to condemn ongoing Israeli scholasticide of our colleagues in Palestine. Nor was Trump the president of the Modern Languages Association when its executive council refused to bring a similar anti-genocide motion to its membership's General Assembly. Trump did not lead any of the many professional organizations or academic administrations who have engaged in these shameful actions. Instead, he is now the president of the United States, and he heads a vast apparatus that can bring our current authoritarian turn to new heights.

Many of my colleagues in history departments across Canada have watched and protested these prior acts, and we have undertaken what acts of solidarity that we can. But many of you have not. Many of you said nothing during the encampments, or you dismissed them as frivolous, or the dilettante conduct of ivory tower acerbic intellectuals. Others chose silence out of a sincere sense that to speak would be "too political," or out of fear of retribution. The trouble is that silence will not save you. Or, said another way, Martin Niemöller's iconic prose "First They Came For" does not end after the first line.

If this all seems like Ms. Pihlak once more writing a hysterical, maudlin article, unfortunately the shadow has already begun to fall over Canadian academia. One of my role's favorite perks is how many professors and graduate students across Canada I get to speak to. Since January 20th I have consistently heard across academic circles of the chill that has begun. I attended a recruitment dinner held by my department at the University of Toronto for some potential PhDs.

ment organisé par mon département à l'université de Toronto pour quelques doctorant.e.s potentiel.le.s. Au milieu du repas, à voix basse, j'ai entendu quelques futur.e.s étudiant.e.s discuter des offres concurrentes qu'ils et elles avaient reçues dans des établissements américains. Bien que ces offres soient matériellement supérieures à celles de mes départements, ces futur.e.s doctorant.e.s étaient plus préoccupé.e.s par le chaos, l'instabilité et la violence qui pourraient accompagner l'obtention d'un doctorat dans une prestigieuse institution américaine. Ailleurs, j'ai entendu dire que la qualité des candidat.e.s au doctorat était bien meilleure dans de nombreux établissements. Des personnes qui, les années précédentes, auraient obtenu des diplômes de troisième cycle dans les grandes écoles, se tournent désormais vers le Nord.

Beaucoup d'entre vous n'ont rien dit pendant les campements, ou les ont rejetés comme frivoles, ou comme la conduite dilettante d'intellectuel.le.s acerbes de la tour d'ivoire. D'autres ont choisi le silence parce qu'ils et elles pensaient sincèrement que parler serait « trop politique » ou par crainte de représailles. Le problème, c'est que le silence ne vous sauvera pas.

Mais pour ceux et celles d'entre nous qui ont des projets scolaires canado-américains, qui travaillent avec des historien.ne.s américain.e.s ou qui ont des archives pertinentes en les États-Unis, nous ne pouvons pas nous contenter de rester au-dessus du 49e parallèle. Avec l'annulation par les agences de financement américaines de subventions sur toute une série de sujets de recherche, les historien.ne.s « réveillé.e.s » comme moi sont confronté.e.s à des attaques directes sur notre travail. Nous voyons des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s aux États-Unis se voir retirer leur visa ou leur carte verte par l'État. La saisie et l'arrestation illégales par l'État américain de l'étudiant diplômé de Columbia Mahmoud Khalil en est l'un des premiers exemples et l'un des plus marquants. Ce ne sera pas le dernier.

Les actions de Trump ont eu un impact sur les collègues de votre département. Elles ont affecté aussi bien les professeur.e.s que les étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s. Si vos collègues ne vous ont pas fait part de ces répercussions, demandez-vous pourquoi c'est le cas.

Il ne s'agit pas d'une brève poussée de violence. C'est le début d'une nouvelle crise dont l'issue est incertaine. Je crois qu'un monde meilleur est possible, du moins je l'espère. Quelle que soit l'issue, nous devons résister et nous ne pouvons pas nous conformer de manière préventive. En tant qu'historien.ne.s, érudit.e.s et personnes qui croient au libre échange du discours intellectuel, nous ne pouvons pas ne rien faire. Nous ne pouvons pas « [entrer] apaisé[s] dans cette bonne nuit ».

Aino Pihlak, Représentante des étudiant.e.s diplômé.e.s au Conseil d'administration de la SHC

Midway through the meal, in hushed tones, I overheard some prospective grad students discuss competing offers they had at American institutions. Though these offers materially exceeded my departments, these prospective PhDs were more concerned with the potential chaos, instability, and violence which could accompany taking up a PhD at a prestigious American institution. Elsewhere, I have heard at a general level across multiple institutions that the quality of PhD applicants is much higher. Folks who in prior years would have taken up graduate degrees at the Ivies, now turn Northward.

But for those of us with Canadian-American scholastic projects, who work with American historians, or who have relevant archives in America, we cannot be content with simply remaining above the 49th parallel. With American funding agencies' cancellation of grants on a range of research topics, fellow "woke" historians like me face direct attacks on our work. We are seeing grad students in America have their visas or green cards revoked by the state. The American state's unlawful seizure and arrest of Columbia grad student Mahmoud Khalil is one of the first and most prominent examples. It will not be the last.

Many of you said nothing during the encampments, or you dismissed them as frivolous, or the dilettante conduct of ivory tower acerbic intellectuals. Others chose silence out of a sincere sense that to speak would be "too political," or out of fear of retribution. The trouble is that silence will not save you.

Trump's actions have impacted colleagues in your department. They have affected professors and grad students alike. If your coworkers have not shared these impacts with you, ask yourself why that may be the case.

This is not a brief surge of violence. It is the clear beginning of a new crisis with an uncertain end. I do believe a better world is possible, or I hope so. Regardless of the outcome, we must resist, and we cannot preemptively comply. As historians, scholars, and people who believe in the free exchange of intellectual discourse, we cannot do nothing. We cannot "go gentle into that good night."

Aino Pihlak, Graduate Students' Representative on the CHA Council

Yes, Students Should Still be Writing Essays in an Age of AI

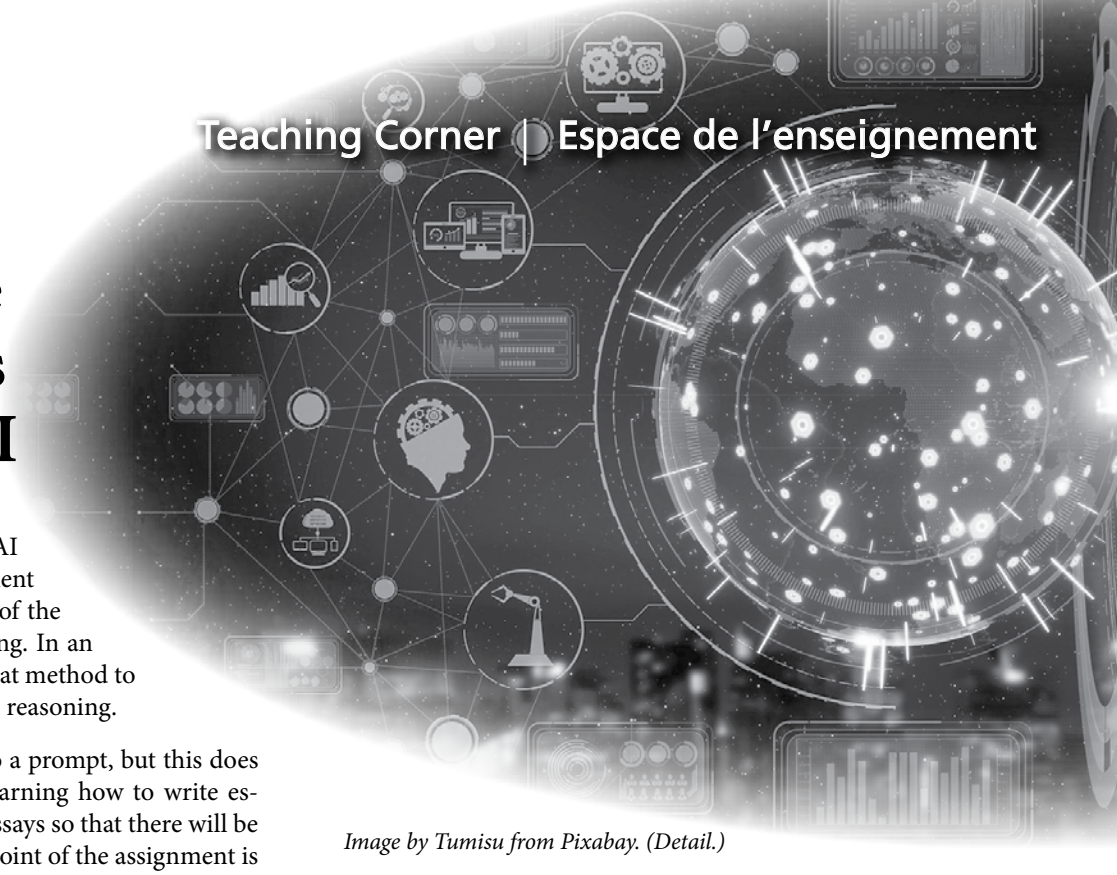

Image by Tumisu from Pixabay. (Detail.)

Those who think that generative AI should put an end to the essay assignment misunderstand the fundamental value of the essay. The essay is a method for thinking. In an age of Artificial Intelligence, we need that method to engage students' interest, creativity, and reasoning.

AI can generate an essay in response to a prompt, but this does not mean that students should stop learning how to write essays for themselves. We do not assign essays so that there will be more student essays in the world. The point of the assignment is not the product, but the process.

When we ask students to write an essay, we are asking them to practise important skills. They locate sources, weigh conflicting accounts, organize ideas into a coherent form, and present a position that they defend using evidence and reason. These skills are valuable far beyond the writing of essays.

A concert pianist does not practise scales just to be better at scales; the musician trains their fingers to move left and right across the keyboard at speed to build technique for giving full voice to the beauty of music. An elite runner does not cross-train in the pool only to get better at swimming; the track athlete swims to strengthen muscles and increase cardiovascular stamina that will improve running performance. Pianists and runners could save a lot of time, and avoid a lot of boringly repetitive tasks, if they get machines to do their practising of scales and propelling through pools. But then they would not develop the skills required for what they really want to do, which is to create inspiring art or rise to the height of athletic achievement.

Students also could save time and avoid work if they get AI to write essays for them. But then these students would not develop the skills required to understand a problem and communicate their understanding persuasively. AI has many useful applications. Whatever we think should be its role in education, I hope we can agree that we need the next generation of humans to be ready to think clearly through complex topics, willing to consider a diversity of perspectives, and able to persuade the rest of us to make good decisions.

I am not advocating for a regressive approach to assignments that remain confined within whatever we imagine were the rigorous standards of ye olden days. While I know that a well-crafted essay assignment is beautifully suited to getting students to learn, I also acknowledge that the essay is not now, and never has been, the only or best way to have students demonstrate their understanding. I have probably learned as much from my students' podcasts, videos, recreations of historic meals, and historically-informed fiction as I have from their conventional essays, and I am quite sure that they have learned from these assignments too.

Nor am I saying that we should simply ignore AI when designing assignments and assessing students' submissions. The use of AI brings significant ethical concerns around intellectual property and environmental impact. The spread of AI text generators in particular has forced me to revise how I think about and teach academic integrity. I now explain my assignment instructions differently than before, and I spend a lot more time than I did in the past doing the due diligence of ensuring fairness to students who turn in their own work.

I would like us to remember, though, that essays serve a learning purpose. We never taught students how to write essays just so that they would learn to write essays. We teach them to write essays as a means of helping them think. If Artificial Intelligence is getting better and better at mimicking students' work, this development has no impact on the value of Human Intelligence – except to give us yet another reason to make sure that humans continue to think for ourselves.

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Ruth Roach Pierson, 1938-2024

Historian and poet Ruth Roach Pierson died at her home in Toronto on 13 October 2024.

Born in Seattle, Ruth got her PhD in European history from Yale University in 1970, after writing a dissertation on "German Jewish Identity in the Weimar Republic." She started teaching European and women's history at Memorial University of Newfoundland in 1970. In 1980, she moved to Toronto to teach women's history, feminist studies, and post-colonial studies at the Ontario Institute for Studies in Education at the University of Toronto. She never stopped broadening her fields of expertise, bringing her enthusiasm and erudition to each new venture.

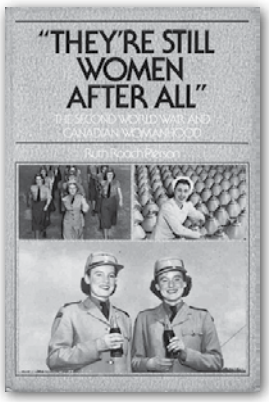
In 1997-98, when she was offered the Maria Jahoda Guest Professorship in Women's Studies at the Ruhr Universitaet Bochum, she listed her areas of expertise as: historical sociology, women in World War II Canada, and colonialism, imperialism and nationalism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By 1990, her approach to colonial and imperial history advocated "epistemic humility" until colonized women could write their own history.

Ruth belonged to the first cohort of Canadian women specialists in a new field of enquiry and a new academic discipline: women's history. As she put it, "The discipline of history, is both 'intrinsically empirical' and yet also 'a site of political struggle.'"

Her best-known academic publication, *"They're Still Women After All": The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (McClelland and Stewart, 1986) won the CHA's Sir John A. Macdonald Prize in 1987, and was also the subject of one of the CHA's Historical Booklets. In 1991 her article, "Gender and the Unemployment Insurance Debates in Canada, 1934-1940," won the Canadian Committee for Women's History's Hilda Neatby Prize.

She often accepted the thankless and arduous task of editing collections of articles on women's history and post-colonial studies. We are in her debt for editing a collection of papers on women and peace from an international perspective: *Women and Peace: Theoretical, Historical and Practical Perspectives* (1987). Always generous, she never failed to acknowledge the contribution of others in her work, including her assistants, her colleagues, and her students.

Ruth sat on the council of the CHA between 1980 and 1983 where she was the liaison to the International Committee of the Historical Sciences (ICHS | CISH). In 1995, she was a member of the programme committee for the International Federation for Research in Women's History's 18th Congress in Montreal. As a founding member of the IFRWH, Ruth made an important contribution to the internationalization of research in women's history and to putting Canada in the forefront of international exchanges in women's history. In all her engagements, she brought her competence, her enthusiasm, and her good humour.



Ruth started publishing poetry in the 1980s, in *Canadian Forum* and in *Atlantis*: *A Women's Studies Journal*. After a 31-year career as a historian, she retired from OISE to devote herself to her poetry. Her poems have appeared in literary journals, including *The Literary Review of Canada, Room of One's Own,* and the League of Canadian Poets' anthologies *Vintage 1999* and *Vintage 2000,* as well as in a number of other anthologies. Her first collection, *Where No Window Was (*Buschek Books), was published in 2002. It was followed by a number of others, two of them being nominated for the Governor General's Award.

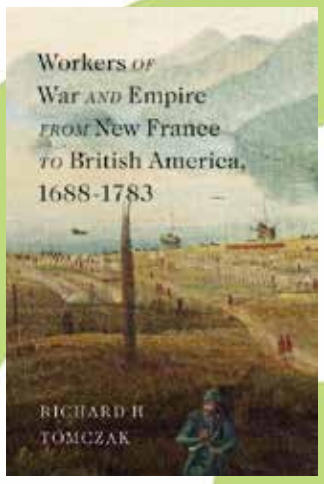
Ruth was an avid reader. The breadth of her interest was astounding. In the same afternoon, we could discuss the respective merits of Herodotus and Thucydides, a thriller she had just discovered, and current politics. She was also a well-informed cinephile and an inveterate movie-goer. It is not surprising then that she edited an anthology of the best Canadian poets in 2014, writing on the subject *I Found it at the Movies*.

A serious scholar, a sensitive poet, and a vibrant and passionate colleague and friend has left us. Increasingly cognizant of her own slow decline, she informed her friends, in January 2018, in a poem entitled *The Slough of Despond* that she was

> not, apparently, scoring well
> enough on the many other tests of immediate recall
> to avoid a diagnosis of dementia

Our sincere condolences to her partner, Dwight Boyd.

Andrée Lévesque, McGill University



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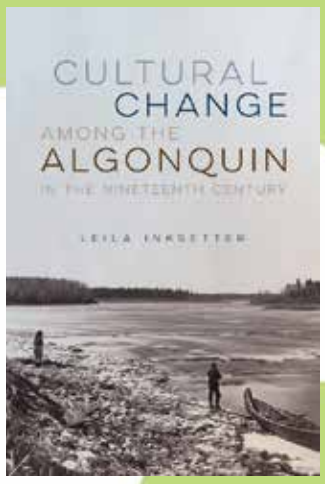

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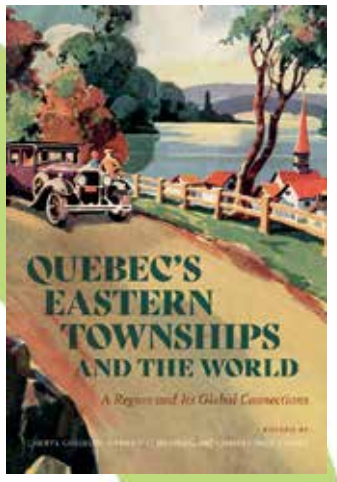

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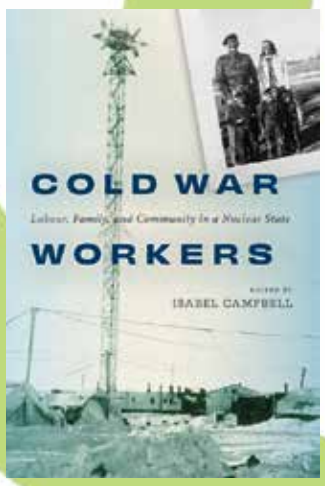

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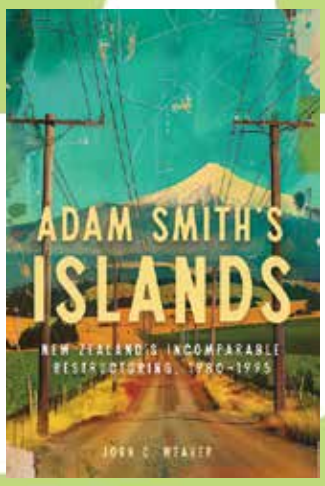

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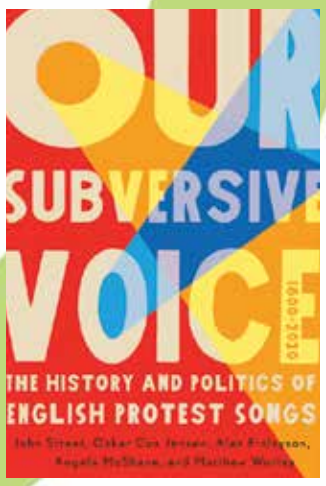

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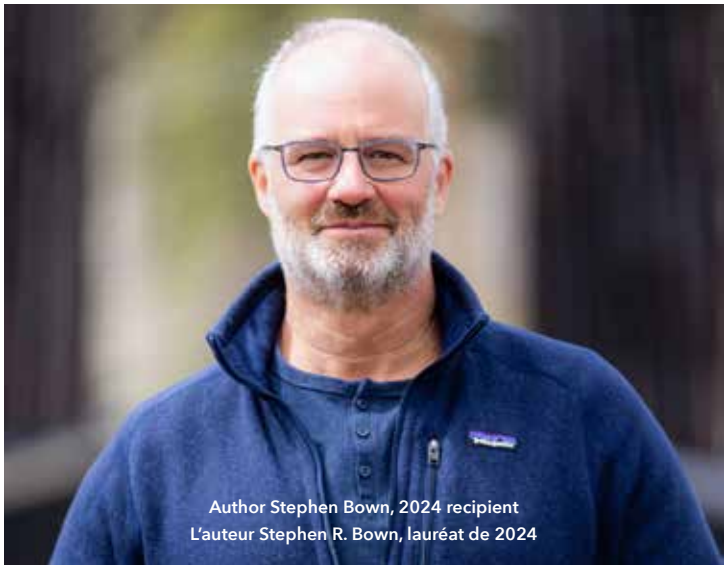

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