

Intergritas

Nipissing University History Society's
Undergraduate Journal of History

Volume 1
Number One
Spring 2019

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Introduction

With the support of many and submissions from student historians the Nipissing University History Department is proud to present *Intergritas*. This is our first attempt at making a historical journal for our student historians. Due to the mass of submissions made during this first edition we are very confident in the continuation of this project and the furthering of student work. As the student editor I personally am very proud of the amount of effort put forth by these historians and I hope that they and many more continue to pursue history as academics. As such this journal sets forth to give students both the skills and the drive to become published writers first in this student journal and further down into the publishing's in the world of historical academia.

Kristian Harris

Student Editor

Research and critical argument are the building blocks of Clio's craft. History is a conversation between past and present. History is debate without end. *Intergratis*.

Stephen Connor, PhD.
NUHS Faculty Advisor

From Mourning to Memory: The Oklahoma City National Memorial

Morgan Lightle

Abstract

This paper examines the Oklahoma City National Memorial and how it transitioned from a site of mourning to a site of memory. This transition will be explored through the mourning and memorializing practices that began immediately after the bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building on April 19, 1995, the creation of the OCNM at the bombing site that was dedicated and opened on February 19, 2001, and its operations into the present. Posed questions include how does the OCNM allow public mourning and recovery from tragedy? How does the OCNM shape public memory of the Oklahoma City bombing? How has the OCNM transitioned from a site of mourning to a site of memory? And how do practices of mourning and memorialization shape collective American identity and views of terrorism? More significantly, these answers will be used to demonstrate how individuals fit themselves into a larger American narrative, that narrative's construction, and the influence it has in shaping how Americans think of themselves and their responsibilities.

Introduction

On the morning of April 19, 1995, anti-government military veterans Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols detonated a bomb in front of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building, killing 168 people including 19 children.



The public's reaction was one of shock, as Americans were in disbelief that an instance of brutal domestic terrorism had occurred in what had been idealized as America's Midwestern heartland.¹ Plans for memorialization were immediate, and in a mere five years the Oklahoma City National Memorial (OCNM) was completed. While the OCNM's creation and memorializing ability has been studied by scholars - most authoritatively by Edward T. Linenthal's book *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory* - the seventeen

¹ Edward T. Linenthal, *The Unfinished Bombing: Oklahoma City in American Memory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 2.

year development of the OCNM's memorialization has not yet been studied. In approaching the evolving memorialization at the OCNM, Jay Winter's text *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* is critical. Winter argues that World War I memorials have evolved from sites of mourning, whereby the dead are commemorated, to sites of memory wherein memorials have become preserved symbols of history.² In the case of the OCNM, its creation of mourning and memory will be studied to determine the interconnected transition between the two. The OCNM will be treated as a source, while media coverage will be supplement understanding on the from mourning and memory. Ultimately "From Mourning to Memory at the OCNM" will assess how public memory of the Oklahoma City bombing has been created by the OCNM, and how that memory has affected American views of themselves and their relationship to terrorism.

Part I: Mourning

To determine the transition from mourning to memory, it is paramount that the creation of the Oklahoma City National Memorial is examined. It is ideal to begin with the immediate aftermath of the bombing, as initial responses informed the construction of the memorial. In that regard few articles established the tone of the bombing response more than *Time Magazine's* cover story, "The Blood of Innocents." Writer Nancy Gibbs documented in brutal detail the moment of the bombing and the rescue effort. Gibbs opened by pondering the thoughts of the

² Jay Winter, *Sites of Memory, Sites of Mourning: The Great War in European Cultural History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

killers, asking “How much practice did it take to plan a human sacrifice?”³ By asking that Gibbs illuminated the incomprehensibility of the bombing for ordinary Americans, in turn communicating that Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols are evil and not even human.

Gibbs continued to emphasize the evil and incomprehensibility of bombing, going into painful detail on the Murrah Building’s destruction and the personal injuries, deaths, and reactions of those involved. One anecdote describes the excruciating leg amputation required to save survivor Dana Bradley from the rubble, only to conclude “that she lost her mother and two children in the blast.”⁴ Gibb’s use of such personal and sickening stories expressed the innocence of victims and the bombing’s tragic injustice, making readers relive the horror, sadness, and anger of April 19, 1995. By provoking such grandiose feelings Gibb suggested that the bombing was significant. Gibb further articulated that importance by including a quote from child survivor Chris Nguyen’s father Thu, who said,

“I’ve seen war. I’ve seen soldiers I fought with in Vietnam cut this way, cut in half, heads cut off. That was war. These are children. This is not war. This is a crime.”⁵

In the eyes of Thu Nguyen and Gibb, the Oklahoma City bombing rivalled the bloodshed of the Vietnam War, and was even a greater injustice as an unprovoked attack on children.

That significance continues as Gibb considered the consequence of the bombing, specifically as it made visible a violent hatred within America’s border.⁶ Americans could not ignore an incident as devastating, emotionally ruinous, and perhaps consequential as the Oklahoma City bombing. However the most important facet of “The Blood of Innocents” was

³ Nancy Gibbs, “The Blood of Innocents,” *Time Magazine* Vol.145 No.4 (May 1, 1995), <http://content.time.com/time/nation/article/0,8599,134077,00.html>.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Ibid.

Gibb's focus on the response and rescue effort to the bombing. After telling several heroic anecdotes of resilience, strength, selflessness, and charity, Gibb celebrated the Midwestern fortitude and the refusal to surrender to despair; concluding "that courage will be needed in the weeks ahead." Facing the prospects of an unknown future and contemplating a meaningless bombing, Gibb instructed Americans to look to Oklahomans as an ideal model for their response to the bombing.⁷ Faced with such a bold model for conduct, the earliest responses from many Americans were gestures of memorialization. The goal of memorialization is to preserve what is temporary, making sure an event is never forgotten. An event as instantaneous, destructive, widely-involving, traumatic, historic, and heroic as the Oklahoma City bombing demanded to be memorialized.

The Oklahoma City bombing triggered a shockwave of sympathy across the United States, converging on offerings of love and condolence, mourning services, and the creation of spontaneous memorials. In the July 8, 1995 edition of *The Oklahoman* there were two articles that described the role of offered condolences and mourning services. The first is "Piles of Letters Pulled Heartstrings in Postmasters Office" by Carla Hinton. In this short article Hinton told readers about the thousands of letters, baked goods, and banners sent across the United States to Oklahoma City, addressed to victims, survivors, rescuers, the bombing site, and the mayor's office. Then Oklahoma City Postmaster Donna Harris insisted that those offerings of compassion helped, stating "That five minutes it took to write a letter, to send that card, it will make a difference in people's lives." Harris herself noted that she was moved, and had gained a pen pal from the experience.⁸ This shows that expressions of love and condolence are a means for people to reconcile their feelings of sadness, allowing catharsis to be reached and trauma

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Carla Hinton, "Piles of Letters Pulled Heartstrings in Postmasters Office," *The Oklahoman*, July 8, 1995), 7.

alleviated through shared feelings of compassion and hope. However written responses are private affairs. In the example of Donna Harris and her pen pal, the alleviation of their trauma is limited to a partnered communication incapable of easing wider societal sorrows. Written responses are also lacking in permanence, as written material can easily end up in the garbage. Therefore written expressions of love and condolences are not an ideal source of widespread support or an effective means of preservation.

The second *Oklahoman* article is entitled "Rescue Recognition Sought: Some Say Local Crews Felt Left Out." In that piece writer Carla Hinton described a July 4 memorial concert featuring Vince Gill, to which several Oklahoma rescuers felt excluded in their lack of invitation.⁹ Hinton's article illustrates the problem with memorial services, as they are temporary events unable to accommodate the many people who were involved and affected by the Oklahoma City bombing. Memorial services were then a briefly useful means to accommodate grief.

To appease a large population wanting to mourn their losses, alleviate their trauma, as well as to make a lasting attempt at preservation, memorialization was a far more permanent and inclusive option. Even before rescue efforts were finalized, a spontaneous shrine of flowers, letters, teddy bears, photographs, toys and other objects had begun to accumulate at the remains of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building. Once those remains were demolished and the site fenced off, the shrine continued to gather items along the so-called Perimeter of Pain.¹⁰ In their article "Public Memory and Private Grief: The Construction of Shrines at Sites of Public Tragedy," Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp and Lori A. Lanzilotti examine the use and effectiveness of

⁹ Carla Hinton, "Rescue Recognition Sought: Some Say Local Crews Felt left Out" *The Oklahoman* (July 8, 1995), 7.

¹⁰ Cheryl R. Jorgensen-Earp & Lori A. Lanzilotti, "Public Memory and Private Grief: The Construction of Shrines at Sites of Public Tragedy," (*Quarterly Journal of Speech* Vol.84, 1998), 150.

shrines at mass-murder sites like Oklahoma City. Jorgensen-Earp and Lanzilotti argue that spontaneous shrines aid in attaching symbolic weight and meaning to what was previously meaningless death. Spontaneous shrines are then a form of active mourning, overcoming the passive submission to one's grief through a meaningful alternative.¹¹ To accomplish that aim the spontaneous shrine at the Murrah Building centered on three themes. The first is the commemorative and therefore sacred nature of the site, which bestows an authentic experience of transformative belonging with survivors; providing catharsis for visitors and contributors to the shrine. Second is the characterization of the victims as innocents set apart from living humanity, creating a symbol for American innocence and affirming a need to protect children. Finally there is the perceived existence of an afterlife in which the dead continued their earthly existence and are then reachable at the Murrah Building. For Jorgensen-Earp and Lanzilotti this continued existence of the dead explained the proliferation of children's toys at the Murrah Building shrine.¹² Together those three themes are effective in fulfilling the immediate mourning needs of visitors, allowing them to mediate the initial feelings of shock, sadness, and even guilt through one's perceived failure to understand survivors or adequately pay tribute to victims.

However that effect lasts when it is employed in a memorial-like shrine, creating a space wherein that alleviating effect endures as long as the shrine does. The Murrah Building shrine had the added impact of preserving the memories and identities of victims. In regards to the child victims, Jorgensen-Earp and Lanzilotti note the unthinkable-ness of losing a child and the horrifying trauma of it happening in reality. As Chris Fields said, "You think your family is going to be there every day, but after something like this, you know it can all change in one

¹¹ Ibid, 153-154.

¹² Ibid, 157-163.

second." ¹³ So shocked by the loss of children, it is no surprise that people brought children's toys to the Murrah Building shrine as items to commemorate them and to preserve their loss and brief innocent lives. The spontaneous shrine at the Murrah Building is then indicative of the societal urge to publicly mourn and memorialize the Oklahoma City bombing. Most significantly, the Murrah Building shrine served as a microcosm of the later Oklahoma City National Memorial. The shrine achieved on a small-scale what the OCNM would permanently accomplish in its goal to aid in mourning and to memorialize the Oklahoma City bombing.

In describing the construction of the OCNM, it is only natural to rely upon the most detailed and authoritative text on it, *The Unfinished Bombing* by Edward T. Linenthal. Within days of the bombing survivors and families began to suggest ideas for memorialization. To avoid disorder Oklahoma City Mayor Ron Norick decided the city needed to take control, and appointed local attorney Robert Johnson to direct and organize the memorialization process. After forming and educating a committee of a dozen people representing racial, religious, city, state, and federal communities and governments on memorialization, Johnson announced in July, 1995 that a task force would gather

"extensive input from families, survivors, and the public about what visitors to the memorial should think, feel, or experience; develop a mission statement for the memorial; carry out a design-solicitation process based upon objectives in the mission statement, and recommend to the Mayor and Oklahoma City City Council a plan for design, construction, administration and maintenance of the memorial, including citizen oversight during the construction." ¹⁴

Right from its beginning, the construction of the OCNM was to be a cooperative effort fundamentally shaped by the inclusion and influence of ordinary American citizens. This civilian unity had a retaliative function, responding to the devastation of the community by

¹³ Ibid, 157. Chris Fields was an Oklahoma City firefighter whose recovery of infant Baylee Almon's body was immortalized in a now iconic photograph.

¹⁴ Linenthal, *The Unfinished Bombing*, 175-177.

uniting and celebrating that community. Through such a retaliation, the OCNM's construction allowed survivors and witnesses of the bombing to further overcome it. Most importantly that communal involvement represented an urge to make the eventual memorial an authentic expression of grief, recovery, and memory. The OCNM would embody the real experiences of survivors, rescuers, and witnesses, standing as an accurate and lasting representation of the Oklahoma City bombing. Unlike prior memorials, the OCNM would not be a product of government bureaucracy for its civilians. It would be created by American civilians for American civilians.

This leads into the mission statement created through that collective civilian effort, and the selection of a memorial design. After months of emotional deliberation a mission statement was unanimously agreed upon on March 26, 1996.¹⁵ That mission statement reads,

"We come here to remember
Those who were killed, those who survived, and those changed forever.
May all who leave here know the impact of violence.
May this memorial offer comfort, strength, peace, hope, and serenity." ¹⁶

The mission statement is notable in three ways. First, that the memorial was intended to be inclusive as it broadly entails to remember the victims, survivors, and witnesses. Second, that the memorial intended to make visitors understand the effects of the bombing. That understanding would require the memorial to evoke an emotional and educational experience, letting visitors become would-be witnesses to the bombing. Finally, the memorial would reconcile that understanding and experience by offering overcoming stability and renewal. The next challenge was finding a design that matched those aims. In the 1997 design contest for the memorial, the eventual victors were architects Hans and Torrey Butzer. The Butzer design's

¹⁵ Ibid, 186.

¹⁶ Angela Person, "Interview with Hans Butzer and Torrey Butzer: Designers of the Oklahoma City National Memorial" (*Social Science Quarterly* Vol.97 No.1, 2016), 92.

success was attributed to how they managed to accomplish each tenet of the mission statement.¹⁷ The Butzers emphasized "the needed balance between violence or loss and comforting placemaking" in the mission statement and their design.¹⁸ It is notable that the Butzers incorporated public feedback into their design, fitting the bombing site's fence shrine into the memorial.¹⁹ Once a design was selected the memorial's construction began. The federal and state governments each contributed five million dollars, while an additional seventeen million was raised through public donations. It was ultimately decided that the National Park Service would operate the memorial. On the bombing's fifth anniversary the outdoor grounds of the Oklahoma City National Memorial were dedicated and opened, while the memorial's museum was dedicated on February 19, 2001.²⁰

To determine the effectiveness of the OCNM in allowing mourning and preserving memory, it is necessary to analyze each element of the memorial and the attached museum. The following information comes from the OCNM's website, which includes short descriptions of the symbolic intent behind each element of the memorial and indoor museum. The same descriptions are also included in a brochure available to visitors meant to guide them through the OCNM.²¹ The first notable element, seen as visitors enter the memorial's outdoor grounds, are the Gates of Time.

¹⁷ Linenthal, *Unfinished*, 220.

¹⁸ Person, "Interview," 87.

¹⁹ *Ibid*, 90-91.

²⁰ Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "History," accessed on March 7, 2018, <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/learn/history/>.

²¹ National Park Service, "Oklahoma City National Memorial Brochure," accessed February 24, 2018. <https://www.nps.gov/okci/planyourvisit/upload/new-brochure2.pdf>.



The Gates of Time are two monumental arches at each end of the rectangular grounds. The Gates are marked 9:01 and 9:03, between which represents the moment the explosion occurred at 9:02AM. The Gates of Time represent the transition in which innocence was destroyed and hope was later rebuilt, evoking the transformative experience to be undergone by visitors. Between the Gates of Time is the Reflecting Pool.



The Reflecting Pool literally evokes serenity through the calm water, providing a peaceful venue for visitors self-reflection on the transformation they are undergoing.

On one side of the Reflecting Pool are the Field of Chairs, which includes one-hundred-and-sixty-eight chairs made of bronze, glass, and stone marked with the name of a bombing victim.



Each chair represents a victim, they are placed in accordance of where each victim was in the Murrah Building when it was bombed. There are nineteen smaller chairs that represent the childhood victims.²² The chairs are objects that preserve the existence and memory of victims, ensuring that they will not be forgotten. Through that preservation the chairs also become physical representations of the absent victims, through which victim's family can access victims. A *Time Magazine* photo taken by Joe Raedle demonstrates the conduit between living and dead created by the chairs.

²² Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "Outdoor Symbolic Memorial," accessed on March 20, 2018, <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/about/outdoor-symbolic-memorial/>.



In the photo Matt Story and his sister Dawn Mahan mourned at the chair representing their mother Frances Williams, after they had witnessed the execution of Timothy McVeigh on June 11, 2001.²³ This photo illustrates that Story and Mahan approached the chair intimately, as if their mother were actually there. Story's kneeled, bowed his head, and stretched his hands out as if to hold the hands of his deceased mother, while Mahan draped her arms around the chair's back as if she were hugging her mother. Frances Williams' chair endures as a physical representation of her, allowing her children to mourn as time goes on and traumas are repeated on significant days like April 19 or June 11.

In keeping with the intended inclusivity of the OCNM, its additional elements commemorate survivors and rescuers. On the side of the Reflecting Pool opposite the Field of Chairs is the Survivor Wall. Marked on to the remaining stone wall of the Murrah Building are the names of approximately six hundred survivors.²⁴ Similarly to the chairs, the Survivor Wall

²³ Joe Raedle, "Afterward (June 11, 2001)," In "The Oklahoma City Bombing: A Look Back," *Time Magazine*, April 19, 2010,

http://content.time.com/time/photogallery/0,29307,1982767_2126431,00.html.

²⁴ OCNM, "Outdoor Memorial."

preserves and makes permanent the existence and experiences of survivors. Bombing survivors are also represented through the Survivor Tree.



An American elm that withstood the bombing and was later re-planted, its continued growth is a literal symbol of survivor's resilience and flourishing after the bombing. Surrounding the Survivor Tree is the Rescuer Orchard, symbolically evoking the protectiveness given to survivors by rescuers. An inscription encircling the Survivor Tree expresses eternal gratitude to the thousands who saved and helped survivors.²⁵ Notable is the emphasis on eternal thanks for thousands. Since the OCNM cannot realistically commemorate thousands of individual rescuers and volunteers, it instead uses the Orchard to preserve the sentiment of gratitude and inclusiveness from after the Oklahoma City bombing. Next is the Children's Area. Stone tiles marked with drawings and messages of love and compassion from children worldwide cover the ground, while chalk and blackboards are provided so visiting children may share their feelings.²⁶ The Children's Area accomplishes three aims. The Children's Area first provides further commemoration to the loss of children in the bombing. Second, the Children's

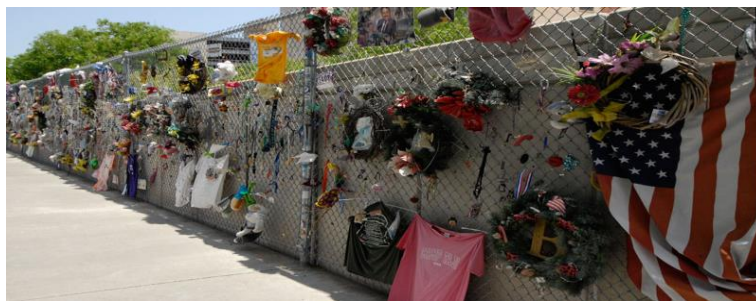
²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ibid.

Area provides an interactive area for children to reinforce a message of remembrance. Third, in reinforcing that message the Children's Area passes on the memory of the Oklahoma City bombing to children who did not experience it, thereby preserving the event. The final element



of the outdoor memorial is the Fence, a remainder of the spontaneous fenced shrine that existed before the OCNM and where people continue to leave objects that are later archived.²⁷ In brief, the Fence continues its purpose of connectedness and mourning while preserving the initial celebrated response to the bombing. The entire outdoor memorial works to make visitors relive the experience of the Oklahoma City bombing, while offering a hopeful message intended to reconcile trauma.



²⁷ Ibid.

The Memorial Museum offers a similar experience. Visitors are first introduced to the early history of the Murrah Building and Oklahoma City, placing focus on the victims. Visitors are then taken into a room where they hear a recording of the bombing, taped during a meeting of Oklahoma Water Resources Board across the street from the Murrah Building.²⁸ In using that recording, the OCNM reenacts the bombing. That reenactment continues throughout the museum, as visitors are then shown footage, archives, and survivor experiences from the immediate aftermath of the bombing.²⁹ In doing so the museum communicates the confusion and chaos of April 19, reaffirming the innocence of victims and the horrors they endured. The remainder of the museum honours victims and finishes their story, as justice is restored through the capture of the perpetrators and healing is achieved through memorialization and the visitor's responsibility to remember.³⁰ The OCNM's Museum is then its educational branch, as it reenacts the Oklahoma City bombing so that it can be recontextualized through an alleviating narrative.

Reception to the Oklahoma City National Memorial has been universally positive. A quick visit to the site's online *TripAdvisor* page shows a plethora of reviews calling the OCNM "powerful," "respectful," "beautiful," "somber," and "moving." Visitors have described their transformative experiences, typically ending in tears. Some visitors describe their personal memories of the bombing, and a few mention the successful education it has given them or their children who not alive to experience the bombing.³¹ One online reviewer wrote, "It is

²⁸ Oklahoma City National Memorial, "The Memorial Museum." Accessed March 21, 2018. <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/visit/the-memorial-museum/>.

²⁹ Ibid.

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ *TripAdvisor*, "Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum." Accessed on March 21, 2018. https://www.tripadvisor.ca/Attraction_Review-g51560-d271178-Reviews-Oklahoma_City_National_Memorial_Museum-Oklahoma_City_Oklahoma.html.

unfortunate that this tragedy had to happen for such a beautiful memorial park to be created." ³²

Based on that review alone, the OCNM has succeeded in shaping a narrative wherein after the Oklahoma City bombing good has defeated evil.

The broadness of that effect is described by Linenthal in *The Unfinished Bombing*. Linenthal argues that the OCNM addresses distinct responses to the bombing. Those responses hinge on three narratives which soften the trauma created by the bombing. The first is a secular progressive narrative, wherein the goodness provoked by the bombing overwhelmed its evil. The second is a religious redemption narrative, which used the positive responses to emphasize God's good intentions. Finally there was a toxic narrative, which argued that the bombing was meaningless, in which all that should be celebrated is human resilience to that random existential cruelty.³³ All those narratives were united by how goodness was given to the overcome of suffering and the bombing, whether that be through good acts, religion, or resilience.

The OCNM is then an abstract representation of that victory, inclusive of all the goodness provoked by the bombing on ordinary innocent Americans. Memories and responses of goodness are restored, preserved, and commemorated by the OCNM, alleviating feelings of negativity, injustice, and trauma by allowed them to be controlled. Through the memorial that victory has become so beneficial and accomplished that for some, even the negative costs of the bombing were worthwhile. In creating a permanent representation of a narrative where good overcomes evil, the Oklahoma City National Memorial allowed victims and witness to continually mourn and overcome the bombing.

³² Nate C, "Beautiful Memorial," *TripAdvisor*. March 19, 2018.
https://www.tripadvisor.ca/ShowUserReviews-g51560-d271178-r567510014-Oklahoma_City_National_Memorial_Museum-Oklahoma_City_Oklahoma.html.

³³ Linenthal, *Unfinished Bombing*, 41-80.

Part II: Memory

As a site that's importance is meant to last forever, it is essential to determine how the meaning of the Oklahoma City National Memorial has evolved. In doing so the public memory of the Oklahoma City bombing can be evaluated, and through it the nature of American identity as it responds to terrorism. In order to accomplish that goal, the remainder of the paper will analyze media and responses to each consecutive five year anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing.

First, is the tenth anniversary of the Oklahoma City bombing in 2005. In an article for the *Washington Post* Lois Romano documented that year's memorial ceremony on April 19, in attendance former President Bill Clinton, then Vice-President Dick Cheney, former Oklahoma state Governor Frank A. Keating, and a crowd of sixteen-hundred survivors, victim's family members, and rescuers. In opening her article, Romano noted that there was something less painful, even uplifting, about that year's ceremony; as was intended. The general tone was a celebration of "renewal, remembrance, and the power of good over evil." Emphasized was the resilient overcoming of hardship, "All humanity can see you experience bottomless cruelty and responded with heroism," said Dick Cheney, "Your strength was challenged and you held firm."

³⁴ However an overwhelming focus was placed upon the betterment achieved through overcoming hardship. Romano referenced the presence of victims' children at the ceremony, then growing into young adulthood, who participated by reading the names of their parents during the announcement of the dead's names.³⁵ The mere mention of the aging victims' children accentuates their remembrance, while indicating their ability to overcome their dreadful losses.

³⁴ Lois Romano, "10th Anniversary of Bombing Observed," *Washington Post*, April 20, 2005, <http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A2517-2005Apr19.html>.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

In a speech given to the US House of Representatives by Oklahoma Congressman Tom Cole on April 20, 2005, Cole spoke about the Oklahoma City bombing. Cole relayed his personal experiences of Oklahoma City on April 19, 1995, focussing on the courageous response of people in his office, from then President Bill Clinton and from ordinary citizens. Cole's story on the Oklahoma City bombing is one of hope arising from despair as Americans united to respond to tragedy. The culmination of that narrative is the OCNM, which was described as such,

"... if you went to Oklahoma City today and you went to that exact spot [of the bombing], you would find a magnificent memorial. You would find, more importantly, a museum that not only tells the story, but puts the awful nature of terrorism in a broader context; and you would find a city that believes in itself and its future, probably more profoundly than it did on April 18, 1995."³⁶

From the perspective of Tom Cole, the OCNM has allowed Oklahoma City to preserve, control, and therefore put the bombing behind them. In turn Oklahoma City has improved itself, making the bombing worthwhile. After the bombing Oklahoma City is then future-oriented and ready to overcome any subsequent struggles. In the context of the United States, Oklahoma City had become a model. A significant part of Cole's speech compared the responses to the Oklahoma City bombing and the terror attacks on September 11, 2001. Cole noted the identical-ness of how Americans courageously responded to devastation, proving that "the Oklahoma response was fundamentally an American response."³⁷ With that interpretation in mind, it is easy to see why Americans approached the future so confidently. If Americans could universally overcome terrorism like they did in Oklahoma City and on September 11, 2001, then the future would be better. That attitude is best encapsulated by what Bill Clinton said at the 2005 memorial

³⁶ Tom Cole, "Oklahoma City Bombing Memorial 10th Anniversary," April 20, 2005, <https://cole.house.gov/oklahoma-city-bombing-memorial-10th-anniversary>.

³⁷ Ibid.

anniversary, "The tomorrows come against our will. And they bring healing and hope, new responsibilities and new possibilities." ³⁸

That same optimism continues in the fifteenth anniversary of the bombing in 2010. Various articles on the memorial service at the OCNM noted the improvement and betterment of survivors and family members after fifteen years. Bradley Blackburn's article for *ABC News* gave attention to the now college-aged survivors of the bombing, even including a quote from the aforementioned child survivor Chris Nguyen. Blackburn also focussed on the post-bombing life of Aren Almon-Kok, the mother of infant victim Baylee Almon who was made famous in an iconic photograph of her body's recovery. After the bombing Almon-Kok has become a successful advocate for the improvement of building safety. On the subject of Baylee's death, Almon-Kok said,

"Her death to me, wasn't for nothing. It was so maybe others could make a difference. So other people can go home to their families at night." ³⁹

³⁸ Romano, "10th Anniversary."

³⁹ Bradley Blackburn, "Ceremony Marks 15th Anniversary of Oklahoma City Bombing," April 19, 2010, <http://abcnews.go.com/WN/oklahoma-city-bombing-napolitano-marks-15th-anniversary-attack/story?id=10416729>.



The improvements resulting from Almon-Kok's advocacy work have allowed Almon-Kok to overcome her grief, as those improvements prevent a tragedy like the Oklahoma City bombing from reoccurring and ruining lives. A shared sense of improvement was shared by Janet Napolitano, an investigator of the bombing and then Homeland Security Secretary. In her speech Napolitano spoke of Homeland Security's enduring vigilance toward preventing terror attacks, saying,

"Making preparedness part of our culture will ultimately draw on the innovation and spirit of the American people. And our nation has never lacked for that. We are a strong and resilient country. And we can resolve that even a successful attack will not defeat our ways of life." ⁴⁰

Like Congressman Tom Cole, Napolitano emphasizes the use of such inherent American qualities as resilience and progressivism in overcoming terrorism and ensuring constant

⁴⁰ Bryan Painter, "Thousands gather to mark 15th anniversary of Oklahoma City bombing," April 20, 2010, <http://newsok.com/article/3455371>.

betterment in the rare occasion terrorists are successful. Since terrorism can be prevented and overcome by Americans, it can be controlled by Americans.

Naturally exceptionalism emerges from that sense of power, as Oklahoma City Mayor Mick Cornett said, "We have chosen strength, we have chosen optimism, we have chosen freedom, we have chosen to move forward together with a level of unity that is unmatched in any American city."⁴¹ That exceptional combination of resilience, compassion, and remembrance which embodies the bombing's response has received a name, the Oklahoma Standard. The Oklahoma Standard is an essential narrative device, representing the Oklahoma City bombing in all its positivity as an abstract ideal capable of enduring throughout time. It is referenced numerous times during the 2010 memorial service, most blatantly by Oklahoma Governor Brad Henry who said, "The Oklahoma Standard is not a past event. It is a part of the character and fabric of this city and state."⁴² In acknowledging the timeless value of the Oklahoma Standard in the community, it is no wonder that Brad Henry had recently made the Oklahoma City bombing a permanent addition to the state's educational curriculum.⁴³ The OCNM, as another timeless abstract representation of hope, renewal, and remembrance after the bombing, was associated with the Oklahoma Standard. In a speech at the fifteenth memorial service, Chief Executive of the American Association of Museums Ford Bell called the OCNM a place that...

"resonates with voices able to express hope for a future that will be free of the violence and hatred that this community had to endure... These possessions [museum archives] humanize the high price of terrorism and create a living memory of your loved ones and the human stories that unfolded on April 19, 1995."⁴⁴

⁴¹ Tim Talley, "Oklahoma City marks 15 years since bombing," *NBC News*, April 19, 2010, http://www.nbcnews.com/id/36642084/ns/us_news-crime_and_courts/t/oklahoma-city-marks-years-bombing/#.WrNJmhPwbMJ.

⁴² Blackburn, "15th Anniversary."

⁴³ *Ibd.*

⁴⁴ Painter, "Thousands Gather."

Ford Bell noted that the memorial's expressiveness and preservation allows it to achieve timeless hope, similarly to the Oklahoma Standard. The only difference is that the memorial is a physical representation, while the Oklahoma Standard is the ideal. The two are related in that the OCNM is a physical representation of the idealistic Oklahoma Standard.

The Oklahoma Standard was significant for the twentieth anniversary of the bombing in 2015. For the twentieth anniversary, the OCNM started the month-long Oklahoma Standard Campaign. To complete the campaign, participating individuals, families, groups, or companies were to accomplish one act each of service, honour, and kindness within the community. In an *Oklahoman* article describing the Oklahoma Standard Campaign, writer Kyle Schwab used the Starling Family as model participants. The Starlings planned as an act of honour to visit the OCNM and participate in the Memorial Marathon - honouring the experiences of their surviving relative Polly Nichols. As an act of kindness the Starlings donated cookies to the Ronald McDonald House Charity, and were still undecided on act of service for someone in need. The Campaign was intended to teach those unfamiliar in Oklahoma City, especially children and new residents, about the bombing and the prevalent Oklahoma Standard culture. Understanding the bombing and the Oklahoma Standard is seen as so important to Oklahoma City, that new city employees are required to visit the museum as part of their orientation.⁴⁵ The Oklahoma

⁴⁵ Kyle Schwab, "Resilience: Oklahoma Standard continues with new campaign," *The Oklahoman*, Accessed on March 21, 2018, <http://newsok.com/article/5406282>.

Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "The Oklahoma Standard," accessed March 21, 2018, <https://okstandard.org/>.

Standard Campaign is a clear effort to make the memory and ideals of the Oklahoma City bombing live on, especially as time goes on and fewer witnesses are left.

Outside of the Oklahoma Standard Campaign, the OCNM has several services and programs that run yearly and indefinitely. The first of these is the Oklahoma Standard Award, given on a yearly-basis to Oklahomans who through their personal or professional endeavours embody the spirit of service, honour, and kindness.⁴⁶ Next is the Oklahoma City Memorial Marathon. Beginning in 2001, the OCNM boasts of the participating twenty-five thousand runners who gather each year to honour bombing victims (passing during the marathon one-hundred-and-sixty-eighty banners bearing the name of each victim).⁴⁷ Finally there is a Student



Essay Contest (created in 2001) which acknowledges the participation of over a thousand students nationwide from Grades 5 to 12. Students are tasked with writing on topics relevant to the bombing so as to engage them in lessons from the memorial. The intent of the Contest is to encourage healthy debate and the promotion of greater unity in society. The Essay Contest is

⁴⁶ Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "The Oklahoma Standard Award," accessed March 21, 2018, <https://okstandard.org/award/>.

⁴⁷ Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "Memorial Marathon," accessed March 21, 2018, <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/memorial-marathon/>.

one of the few programs that references the bombers, recognizing the divisiveness that caused the bomber's actions by using the contest as a platform to prevent fatal disagreement.⁴⁸ Notable too is the involvement of children in that Essay Contest, once again making relevant and influential for children the Oklahoma City bombing and its associated ideals.

The OCNM also shapes the experiences of visiting children in other educational ways. Provided through the OCNM website are lesson plans on the Oklahoma Standard. One such lesson plan uses interactive activities to teach children the value of and ways in which they can honour, serve, and be kind within their community. In regards to the bombing, the OCNM's lesson plans celebrate the resilience and compassion of Oklahomans. The lesson plan uses the traditional ideal of Oklahoma as America's innocent and strong heartland, writing that "the people of Oklahoma brought light to this dark day through our actions of love, care, and support; thus proving Oklahoma to be the soul of America."⁴⁹ The lesson plan reiterates the narrative of good overcoming evil present in the OCNM, using the Oklahoma Standard as a method that accomplishes that victory. As a lesson plan meant to educate children, that historical narrative of the Oklahoma City bombing is passed on and endures.

Naturally for that narrative to remain relevant, it must be applicable to events in one's contemporary reality. Fortunately for the OCNM and many Americans, the narrative of good overcoming evil is so broad that it could apply to any event. That broadness is particularly true for terrorist attacks. Already mentioned was the model of recovery providing by Oklahoma City for those involved in the attacks on September 11, 2001, making the Oklahoma Standard a universally American phenomenon. However the Oklahoma Standard has also been applied to

⁴⁸ Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "Student Essay Contest," accessed March 21, 2018, <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/learn/education/essaycontest/>.

⁴⁹ Oklahoma City National Memorial & Museum, "Called-2-Change: The Oklahoma Standard," accessed March 21, 2018, <https://oklahomacitynationalmemorial.org/lesson-plans/the-oklahoma-standard/>.

more contemporary terror attacks. In his speech given at the bombing's twentieth memorial service, former FBI Director James Comey referenced 9/11 and the Boston Marathon Bombing from 2013. Comey imagined a scenario, based on the Oklahoma Standard, wherein Oklahomans offered their encouragement. Comey saying,

"You said to them, 'We know. We understand. But out of darkness will come a ray of light. Out of darkness will come hope.' That is the Oklahoma Standard. It is who and what you are - and you helped make it an American standard."⁵⁰

Comey's sentiment is identical to the one Tom Cole reached in his speech ten years before in 2005.

After twenty years of use the Oklahoma Standard has become a worthy strategy for overcoming adversity and trauma, especially those provoked by terror attacks against ordinary Americans. The Oklahoma Standard has even continued outside its regular resurgence every April 19. In a blogpost written on November 3, 2015, a writer acknowledged the truth of the Oklahoma Standard in her response to a car attack at Oklahoma State University's Homecoming on October 24, 2015. This writer notes that she was born after the Oklahoma City bombing, yet still adheres to the hopeful goodness created by the responsive Oklahoma Standard.⁵¹ This blogpost demonstrates the effectiveness of the Oklahoma Standard upon Americans who had not experienced the bombing, who are then able to apply the Standard to any devastation against ordinary Americans with an exemplary positive response. Similarly to this blogpost, Americans have also used the Oklahoma Standard to overcome the divisiveness of the Trump Presidency. US Department of Housing and Urban Development Secretary Ben Carson asked at the 2017 OCNM Remembrance Ceremony, "Will they [Americans] embrace the American spirit, or will

⁵⁰ James Comey, "The Oklahoma Standard: Resilience, Resolve, and Hope," *FBI*, April 19, 2015, <https://www.fbi.gov/news/speeches/the-oklahoma-standard-resilience-resolve-and-hope>.

⁵¹ Liz Wasson, "The Oklahoma Standard," November 3, 2015, *Odyssey*, <https://www.theodysseyonline.com/oklahoma-standard>.

they succumb to the same forces of division and hatred as Timothy McVeigh did?"⁵² Put simply, Carson situates the American spirit or Oklahoma Standard as in opposition to the divisiveness of Timothy McVeigh. Using the idealistic togetherness and understanding of the Standard to overcome McVeigh's simplified motivations of anger and hatred.

Conclusion

In its formation of public memory, the Oklahoma City National Memorial has used the response to the Oklahoma City bombing as a basis for a broadly-applicable and positive narrative wherein good has overcome evil. This is a narrative that reaffirms the innocence of ordinary Americans attacked on April 19, 1995, alleviates trauma through the possibility of goodness and control, restores a just status-quo after it was inhumanly destroyed, motivates the continual betterment of society through the provocation of positivity, and through its broad applicability can be continually reinforced in the event of future terror attacks. That widely-encompassing narrative is embodied in an idealistic method called the Oklahoma Standard. In short the Oklahoma City bombing has become, through the OCNM and the Oklahoma Standard, yet another piece in the exceptional American narrative. By transforming the bombing into an embodiment of timeless values, the Oklahoma City bombing has been removed from history.

⁵² Adam Kealoha Causey, "Divisions Abound 22 Years After Oklahoma City Bombing," *US News & World Report*, April 19, 2017, <https://www.usnews.com/news/best-states/oklahoma/articles/2017-04-19/survivors-family-gather-for-oklahoma-city-bombing-memorial>.

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In times of despair, any glimpse of hope brings or re-ignites the spirits of anyone feeling down. This is what French Canadian nationalism did for the people of Quebec in the 1930s. The 1930s often harbours a negative connotation due to the economic, political, and social effects that the crash of the stock market in 1929 brought about. In the province of Quebec, French Canadian nationalism was able to make a revival in response to the conditions of the Great Depression. Nationalism is the ideology of having a strong patriotic feeling towards a group of people who share the same beliefs, values, culture, and language. Nationalist ideologies also quickly became embedded in economic, political, and social institutions. During the 1930s, the Canadian identity was beginning to take shape, however, French Canadians viewed themselves as having a distinct identity from that of the rest of Canada. These differing nationalist ideologies continued to maintain tension within Quebec and the rest of Canada. French Canadian nationalism had surrounded Quebec history for many years and was by no means new to the province or Canada in the 1930s. This decade simply brought questions and concerns to the surface of society. French Canadian nationalism offered an ideology what would provide solutions to their frustrations.

This paper will argue that although the Great Depression in the 1930s brought turmoil to Quebec and the rest of Canada, the increasing prominence of nationalism among French Canadians in Quebec created a heightened sense of unity and solidarity, providing hope for French Canadians. Specifically, this is seen through the identification of French Canadians as a race, the reflection of conditions through French Canadian culture, a return to traditional strategies in the face of industrialization, Quebec's view of Canada's capitalist system, and discussions over how Canada as a whole should view international affairs.

I. The French Canadian Race

Throughout the early twentieth century, ideas and definitions regarding what was considered 'race' became increasingly centered in French Canadian nationalism. Many French Canadians nationalists argued in the early twentieth century that French Canadians were a race. This is evident when

Lionel Groulx states: “Distincts, nous le sommes, non seulement par le pays, par l’allegiance politique, par une histoire et des traditions qui nous sont propres, mais aussi par des caractères physiques et moraux de ja` fixés et transmis avec la vie, de` la fin du dixseptième siècle.”⁵³ This idea that being a French Canadian was both a physical and hereditary idea dominated the mindsets of many French Canadians, unifying them in a distinct genetic manner. This idea of a French Canadian race became embedded in French Canadian nationalism, as they believed that being a true French Canadian was attributed to physical and cultural traits. This specific idea of a French Canadian race was an idea that had been developing in the early twentieth century. However, in the 1930s arose the conflicting construction of the definition of ‘race’. This posed a threat to the idea of a French Canadian race because of the cultural traits that they associated with their definition of a ‘race’.

Ultimately, these contradictions come out of the everlasting question of what makes up the idea of ‘race’. After these conflicting definitions arose, Groulx wrote: “D’aucuns nous ont fait grief de ce mot ‘race,’ terme qui serait impropre et prétentieux appliqué au peuple canadien français. Prestement, ils nous ont renvoyé aux rigoureuses définitions des ethnologues. Avons-nous besoin de le dire? Nous n’entendons nullement parler ici de cette chose à peu près inexistante qu’est une race anthropologique. ‘Variété dans la famille française,’ disons-nous; et voilà où s’arrête notre prétention, ne requérant pour l’historien que le loisir de parler comme tout le monde”.⁵⁴

Groulx tries to refrain from emphasizing the French Canadians as a race, paying attention to the new definitions that anthropologists were forming. These new definitions had criticized the definition of race to be a result of the link between blood and national identity. However, Groulx still makes note of the unity of the French Canadian family, thereby exhibiting a unified ‘family’ made up of French Canadians. Groulx’s statement allows him to respect the emerging scientific knowledge, while also strengthening his French Canadian nationalist ties and his idea of all French Canadians as a unified family. This demonstrates that French Canadian nationalists had their own strong perspectives and views on what was considered ‘race’ and ‘family’. In the case of nationalists such as Groulx, French Canadian nationalism

⁵³ Jeffery Vacante. 2007. “Evolving Racial Identity and the Consolidation of Men’s Authority in Early Twentieth Century Quebec.” *Canadian Historical Review* 88, no. 3: 414.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 431.

represented a unified family with similar cultural traits such as the French language and a Catholic religion.

The predominance of French Canadian nationalism in Quebec reignited the perspective that the French Canadians considered themselves a unified race in Canada. In response to international events occurring in the late 1930s “as instances saw an alignment of the ‘Anglo-Saxon’ and Protestant powers against the Latin and Catholic countries with which it felt an increasing bond as a result of the racist views which had dominated the teaching of French-Canadian history since 1917”.⁵⁵ French Canadians had resonated with these ‘victims’ internationally because of the racism that they had supposedly experienced in Canada. This demonstrates that French Canadians felt somewhat oppressed because of their identity of French Canadians. Although the French Canadians had considered themselves as a race for many years, similar experiences to other groups brought the resurgence of the perspective of a French Canadian race. The prominence and resurgence of French Canadian nationalism would provide a strong unified group or ‘race’ as some considered. The prospect of an increasing French Canadian nationalist movement could reinforce the idea that even though they felt oppressed, there was a sense of hope in the unity of French Canadians.

French Canadian nationalism recognized and supported the idea of a French Canadian race and wanted to solidify it to create a strong Quebec. Politician Mr. Bertrand “declared that as a French Canadian, he felt he would be belittling his country and his race if he did not favour provision for proper defence.”⁵⁶ Although French Canadians would have agreed with Bertrand, the fact that he identified himself as part of the French Canadian race seems to distance him from simply a Canadian identity. The idea of identifying with a French Canadian race was recognized among many French Canadians as a way of distinguishing themselves from the rest of Canada. This statement by a politician demonstrates the broad effects that French Canadian identity had on all aspects of Canadian life. By exerting a French

⁵⁵ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967: Volume 2 1911-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968): 840.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* , 845.

Canadian identity as a sort of race, French Canadians outwardly separated their opinions and beliefs from the rest of Canada. The 1930s provided many different types of turmoil and the unity of a French Canadian race in Quebec provided a sense of hope for French Canadians as a whole. The expression of a French Canadian ‘race’ by large political figures expressed and strengthened the nationalist movement in the midst of the Depression.

II. Promotion of French Canadian Nationalism in Quebec Culture

Exposure to French Canadian culture through media sources was used to transfer and spread the idea of a unified French Canada. Lionel Groulx was “associated with newspapers such as *L’Action française* and *L’Action nationale*, and with novels such as *L’appel de la race*, sculpted a vision of an independent, francophone, Catholic province...he countered individualization with the unifying principles of religion and nation; the individual was to be swallowed up in the mystique of the collective”.⁵⁷ In the midst of the Depression, media culture would have entered the domestic sphere and communicated certain ideologies to the public. In Quebec, nationalists such as Groulx could use their newspapers to transmit their ideas to French Canadians. One of the primary purposes of this was to transform the mindsets of French Canadians and give them an opportunity to strengthen the nationalist French Canadian identity. The Great Depression often had negative effects on French Canadians including an increase in unemployment, poverty, and overcrowding in cities. Since the Depression reflected a time of social turmoil due to economic crises, the public would look for signs of hope. These nationalist ideologies transmitted through print culture were valuable and meaningful to the people of Quebec, and more importantly French Canadians, thereby, French Canadians would not focus on individual needs and turmoil, but instead draw strength associated with unified French Canadians.

Nationalist ideas were not only an uplifting source of hope in print culture, but also in other types of culture. Nationalist ideologies were physically represented in fiction that was popular among Canadians. “As a reaction to the decidedly international orientation of theater as of the 1930s, various

⁵⁷ Reingard M. Nischik, *History of Literature in Canada: English-Canadian and French-Canadian* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 224.

authors attempted to present French-Canadian themes and problems to a wider audience. Through their “realistic” drama, these authors wished to encourage French Canadians to become aware of their collective identity. The plays contain various topoi of French-Canadian identity construction: The relation between Canada and Quebec, for instance, was described as a personified parent-child relationship...”.⁵⁸ Fictional culture such as theatre was perceived as a way to escape the turmoil or negativity that the Depression seemed to carry. The Depression imposed socio-economic hardship that affected many individuals, within which climate issues a French Canadian identity perceived as critical when comparing itself to the rest of Canada. When French Canadians watched this theatre, they were watching a mirror of the broader existing themes in society. As mentioned above, some plays illustrated how the relationship between Quebec and Canada was similar to that of a parent (Canada) and a child (Quebec) who either listens or rebels against their parent. This provided the audience with a representation of how the relationship between Quebec and the rest of Canada operated. Theatre was one vehicle used to transmit these ideas to French Canadians. By watching these themes, the audience could recognize what was happening in reality. The result was that they could identify with the characters representing Quebec and the French Canadians. This could encourage French Canadians to recognize their collective identity. By drawing on the ethos of the audience, live theatres offered a glimpse into internal and external perceptions of Quebec. Live theatre offered French Canadians the opportunity to develop and connect with their nationalist identities. Thereby, this mirroring of real tensions would spark the nationalist characteristics that French Canadians embodied.

As the federal government was trying to create a pan-Canadian identity through conveying ideas through radio and other cultural and print materials, the idea of French Canadian identity posed conflict with other Canadian identities. One of the few aspects of French Canadian identity is the prominence of the French language. Mary Vipond “focuses in detail on the impact of language politics on the first federal cultural institution charged with cultivating a sense of Canadian identity. It traces the process by

⁵⁸ Reingard M. Nischik, *History of Literature in Canada: English-Canadian and French-Canadian* (Rochester, NY: Camden House, 2013), 271.

which the CRBC's (Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission) managers attempted initially to make real, via the radio network, a vision of a pan-Canadian linguistic duality where each individual radio listener (and citizen) was provided service in his or her own language...".⁵⁹ These language politics were primarily directed toward the tension that existed between Quebec and the rest of Canada. As Canada tried to create a pan-Canadian identity, it wanted to impose linguistic culture. However, the question arose as to whether or not the French language option for the radio broadcast would be available for just Quebec or for the whole country.⁶⁰ Vipond states, "In other words, the CRBC seemed to be claiming the authority to define Canada linguistically and culturally".⁶¹ This authority of the CRBC seemed to infer that Canada wanted to impose a culture on all provinces including Quebec. However, this imposition of culture could raise the question of the degree of autonomy that Quebec has in its culture. Quebec had responded to this in a couple ways. The first was that French Canadians advocated for French Canadians outside Quebec to have access to the French language option as well. The other concern that Quebec had in this was the national autonomy that Canada would then have over Quebec radio. If Quebec citizens were receiving the CRBC broadcasts, they would be exposed to pan-Canadian culture. However, this could possibly limit the amount of broadcasting that would be in favour of Quebec rights and French Canadian nationalist beliefs. Thereby, the imposition of culture could anger French Canadians, prompting them to strengthen their own ideas of what it meant to be French Canadian through a collective French Canadian nationalist identity.

III. A Return To Traditional Values

The Depression created hardships during industrialization, and reinvigorated tradition and social values held by many French Canadians. Industrialization presented many changes to what it meant to be a traditional rural French Canadian. Herbert Quinn argues "industrialization had serious implications for

⁵⁹ Mary Vipond. "One Network or Two? French-Language Programming on the Canadian Radio Broadcasting Commission, 1932-36." *Canadian Historical Review* 89, no. 3 (September 2008): 321.

⁶⁰ Ibid. , 321.

⁶¹ Ibid. , 321.

the people of Quebec: first, it presented an entirely new and serious challenge to the maintenance of those basic institutions and values which were part of their traditional culture and way of life; secondly, it made a revolutionary change in the economic status of the average Canadian”.⁶² Industrialization in the early twentieth century shifted views and beliefs on what it had meant to be a French Canadian. The unity of French Canadian nationalism had to shift and change alongside the modernized society. As this French Canadian nationalism had some trouble adjusting to the new industrializing society, the social conditions of the 1930s allowed nationalism to use its traditional values in the midst of an urban culture. Thereby, French Canadian nationalism would also be reaching a new urban audience of working class people. This new urban social class would encourage French Canadians to continue to develop the French Canadian culture and identity and bring its predominance to the industrializing aura that was beginning to surround Quebec.

The Depression allowed French Canadian nationalism to syncretize both a modernizing society and the traditional rural values that were dominant in history.

In an oral history surrounding the strategies and role of women in the domestic sphere during the Depression in Quebec, women found that “Obviously, the families of the unemployed could not subsist on welfare benefits and, to fill the gap, turned back to strategies they already knew or had to learn”.⁶³ This demonstrates the persistence of strategies and survival methods in Quebec. The return to traditional values strengthened French Canadian ability to function within industrialization. By resorting to these traditional values, it offered a resurgence of this traditional culture in urban working class atmospheres. It resonated with the idea of a traditional rural French Canadian and followed its identity into the industrializing Quebec society. This resurgence of cultural values is a representation of how the effects of

⁶² Herbert Furlong Quinn, *The Union nationale: a study in Quebec nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963): 34

⁶³ Denyse Baillargeon. “If You Had No Money, You Had No Trouble, Did You? Montreal Working-Class Housewives During the Great Depression,” *Women’s History Review* Vol. 1 (2), 1991: 221.

the Depression helped revive these already existing conditions and cultures, providing a resurgence of the unity and solidarity that these values would provide.

IV. The French Canadian View of Capitalism

The industrial effects of the Depression in Quebec allowed many French Canadians to see the harm in participating in a foreign run industry. Herbert F. Quinn argues “with the depression of the 1930s the ideas of the nationalist intellectuals and their bitter antagonism towards all aspects of the industrial system spread rapidly among the masses of the people. This ready acceptance of the nationalist ideology was not too difficult for the average French Canadians once he awakened to the fact that the ownership and control of the economic system, which was the cause of all his hardships were in the hands of foreign industrialists. Resentment antagonism towards the capitalistic system as such quickly became coupled with antagonism towards the English-speaking people who dominated it”.⁶⁴ For many French Canadians who were merchants and business-owners, this nationalist ideology was intriguing because they would have depended largely on Quebec for their business and would have feared English competition in times of economic turmoil. Since the Depression was affecting Canada as a whole, French Canadians would have been worried about how their economy functioned in comparison with other provinces which had a majority of an Anglophone population. Although the Depression caused economic harm, it allowed French Canadians to realize the large impact that capitalism and industrialization had on the function of the economy. Already feeling separate from the rest of Canada, Quebec viewed the rest of Canada as playing a role in the difficulty for businesses in Quebec. Thereby, nationalism provided a sense of unity to all French Canadians who were opposed to the foreign ownership that capitalism provided. Rather than simply accept the conditions of the Depression under capitalism, nationalism was a way to stand up against this foreign ownership that had troubled so many French Canadians.

⁶⁴ Herbert Furlong Quinn, *The Union Nationale: a study in Quebec nationalism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1963):43

This negative response toward capitalism and foreign and privately owned enterprise also influenced the way in which Quebec citizens viewed government run industry, such as electricity and power plants. Nationalists in Quebec were not shy in expressing their concern for how capitalism would harm the Quebec and French Canadian economy. In some cases “the nationalist press was particularly critical of “the electricity trust,” which became the symbol of irresponsible economic power”.⁶⁵ The trust in the government and the Quebec Power Company to handle electricity could have appeared to be frightful to French Canadians because of possible business relationships with other foreign owned industry. Rather than be a part of external business relationships, French Canadian nationalists wanted to preserve the French Canadian economy, in order to assert the unity and identity of French Canada in the midst of the Depression. A French Canadian nationalist, Phillippe Hamel was a driving force in wanting to free Quebec from the exploitation of the Quebec Power Company.⁶⁶ In regards to Hamel’s campaign to end the exploitation, “The nationalist overtones of the public power movement spearheaded by Hamel, and his identification with the work of L’École Sociale Populaire, may well have increased its popular appeal in the climate of worsening economic conditions of the early thirties... Hamel saw the movement he spearheaded as a Quebec expression of a continental or even universal drive to save capitalism by ridding the system of its worse abuses through government involvement in the field of public utilities”.⁶⁷ French Canadian nationalism provided a unified stance against foreign owned businesses and industry. It represented a source of hope for local businesses to thrive based on domestic consumers and business. As the economic conditions were not favourable during the Depression, the prospect of ‘saving capitalism’ provided many with hope that conditions would improve if negative government involvement were to cease. Although Hamel’s nationalistic values were significant in recognizing the provincial harms that government involvement could provide, his campaign demonstrated the unity of French Canadians. As a

⁶⁵ Ibid. , 43.

⁶⁶ Patricia Dirks. The Public Power Movement in Quebec City, 1929-1934.” *Urban History Review* 10 (1981). No. 1: 17-29.

⁶⁷ Ibid. , 19, 25.

result, this solidarity on the part of French Canadians demonstrated how their identity and culture could operate separate from the Canadian economy's negative capitalistic tendencies.

The idea of a French Canadian nationalism encouraged groups to pursue the unity of French Canadian identity in the economy. Nationalism thrived for French Canadians because of the dislike of capitalism and foreign investment. As mentioned earlier, French Canadian businesses were fearful of their English counterparts for acquiring a larger consumer base. As a result of this, "in reaction to this situation, they organized a movement called L'Achat Chez Nous to try and convince the people of the province that they should only buy goods manufactured from French-Canadian firms and make their purchases solely from French Canadian merchants. For a short while during the thirties, branches of L'Achat Chez Nous were to be found in all parts of the province".⁶⁸ The creation of these types of movements to preserve French Canadian culture demonstrated the predominance and perseverance of French Canadians in setting them apart from Anglophones. Rather than consider themselves as part of Canada's economy, the creation of French Canadian movements implied that French Canadian nationalism was a way of unifying French Canadians in all parts of society. Since these movements were to encourage French Canadians to purchase only French Canadian goods, it implied that the unity of French Canadians was to be separate from the rest of Canada. Thus, it would encourage French Canadians to be independent from Anglophones and Canada in prominent ways such as through the economy, thereby, demonstrating that French Canadians solidified themselves as separate from the collective Canadian identity and economy.

V. French Canadian Identity in Comparison to International Affairs

The Depression, alongside French Canadian nationalism, became increasingly important in determining Canada's role in international events. In the late 1930s, the rise of fascism in Italy created discussion in Canada of possible intervention in global affairs. In regards to the view towards Italy's situation "the split between French and English Canadians on the question of sanctions against Italy was

⁶⁸ Ibid. , 44.

widened...”⁶⁹ Decisions regarding Canada’s interventions in international affairs raised the larger concern and question of what being Canadian means, when it comes to taking part in such political and military affairs. As French Canadian nationalism emphasized a culture that was unique to only French Canadians, it posed conflict with broader ideas of only being a ‘Canadian’. The issue of Canadian identity and French Participation in the military was present from before the First World War and arose again in the late 1930s. It is evident that the identity ideologies still resonated within many during the Depression. The country was still recovering from the affects from the global financial crisis and the stakes for intervention in international affairs was heightened. Thereby, French Canadian nationalism was a unifying stance, emphasizing and questioning the purpose of fighting a war and furthermore, who would be expected to fight and why.

Decisions to enter international affairs directly affected the role and stance of emerging political parties at the time. In response to events in Italy, “since there was a very strong sentiment in Quebec against ‘being dragged into another war,’ he suggested that the French Canadian members should declare the sentiments of their province and join his party in questioning whether these increased expenditures were being made for Canada’s defence or for future participation in a European war”.⁷⁰ Although the CCF did sometimes clash with Catholic French Canadians, Woodsworth wanted them to speak on behalf of their province. French Canadian nationalism required a sense of autonomy for Quebec from the decisions made by the federal government. By Woodsworth asking to represent the province of Quebec, one can infer that French Canadian nationalists perceived this as a chance to express their views toward Canada and their right towards a certain amount of autonomy. This position towards international intervention would bring up stances on what factors determined Canada’s position on the war, reiterating what it meant to be a French Canadian. Thereby, to accurately portray the views of Quebec, French Canadian nationalists had the opportunity to solidify the views toward war participation that were embedded in

⁶⁹ Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967: Volume 2 1911-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1968):839.

⁷⁰ Ibid., 840.

French Canadian history. In response to international events, French Canadian culture and ideology were being made stronger as the beliefs of French Canadians for Quebec were differing from other political parties in Canada.

Conclusion

Furthermore, the predominance of French Canadian nationalism in Quebec society was used as a way to promote unity and social well-being among French Canadians in the 1930s, a time that was difficult to say the least. This is evident through the feeling of a French Canadian race and how this evolved from the early twentieth century into the 1930s. French Canadian culture acted as a mirror to French Canadians, displaying the conditions they faced in Quebec, thus promoting the ideals of nationalism. Since the Depression occurred after industrialization, the poor conditions that families and French Canadians faced allowed them to syncretize modern values with traditional nationalist French Canadian values. Also during the 1930s, the decrease in the economy only motivated French Canadians to try and nationalize Quebec's economy through trying to promote and finance French Canadian businesses. In addition to this, French Canadian also became evident in the role that Quebec and French Canadians took in terms of international affairs. French Canadian nationalism was able to flourish by entering and taking control of the public and private spheres of Quebec life. By entering both of these spheres, French Canadian nationalism made itself present in the felt effects of the Depression. Rather than waiting for the Canadian government to uplift Canadians and provide a solution to the Depression, the reigniting of French Canadian nationalism heightened the unity of French Canadians through the hope that their values and beliefs gave French Canadians. Expanding the prospect of French Canadian nationalism in the 1930s only strengthened and paved the way for future ideas of how nationalism would continue to take shape in Quebec.

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Introduction

Ever since Britain fully acquired the Canadian colonies from France in the early nineteenth-century, Canada has been under strong Britain influence. Evident during the First World War, Canada was very influenced by their British rulers in cultural, economic, and political terms. This influence was still very present during the declaration of the Second World War, as Canada seemed to support the British full heartedly. As King George VI signed his "Approved" stamp on Canada's declaration of war with the German Reich, Canada was once again hand in hand with Britain when it came to Foreign Affairs. Despite their seemingly inseparable relationship, British influence over Canada started being divided with this of the Americans as the Second World War unfolded. Canada's Foreign Affairs started focusing their cultural, economic and political sectors towards a more American influence as witnessed with certain marking treaties and organizations such as the Ogdensburg Agreement, Hyde Park Agreement, NATO, etc., as well as Canadian natural resources interest from the U.S.

Early War-Time British Influence

During the first steps of the Second World War, British influence over Canada's was as present as in the past. On the third day of September 1939, the British declared a state of war against the German's Third Reich; unable to stand idle as Hitler's forces continued to grow and expand throughout its weaker neighbours. Alongside the British's declaration of war, many of its crown colonies joined the war jointly, as well as many of its larger dominions following shortly after such as Australia and New Zealand. On the same day as Britain, Australian Prime Minister

Gordon Menzies declared that Australia would be following in Britain's footsteps in declaring war against the Germans.

Fellow Australians, it is my melancholy duty to inform you officially, that in consequence of a persistence by Germany in her invasion of Poland, Great Britain has declared war upon her and that, as a result, Australia is also at war. No harder task can fall to the lot of a democratic leader than to make such an announcement. – Gordon Menzies

As a loyal and highly influences dominion, Prime Minister Menzies felt it was necessary to join the war due to the actions of Britain.

Much like the Australians, Canada took little time to answer. It was only but a week following the British declaration of war that Canada joined the war. Seeing as Canada was still a highly British influenced dominion, they still required British approval to enter the war in support of the fight against Germany. This telephone memo that Canada's House sent the King made it clear that it was "expedient, that a proclamation should be issued [...] declaring that a state of war with the German Reich has existed in Canada as of and from September tenth." This declaration of war so close to the British's highlights the amount of influence Britain still contained over Canada.

In addition to this, Canadian Prime Minister King was unafraid to voice his position on whether his alliance lays more faithfully with the British or with the Americans in the early war stages. One way of accomplishing this was by naming his first collection wartime speeches "Canada at Britain's Side", publicly stating where his predominant alliance stands.

Supplementary, Prime Minister King stated in his personal diary at the time that "[He] was really ashamed of the attitude of the U.S.", as "[...] this great issue which effects the destiny of mankind."

This large British Influence in Canada was also present in the economic and military factions of the early stages of the war. In terms of military aid, all of Canada's primary wave of soldiers were sent to compliment the British Expeditionary Forces (BEF). Unlike other allied forces such as Australia and France, Canada did not possess their own overseas expeditionary force to fight during the war, which further illustrates the influence Britain had over Canadian Foreign Relations. Both the Second Australian Imperial Force and the French Army contained soldiers from their respective country, demonstrating during the war; on a world stage, the support these countries had in the fight against Hitler. Additionally, these forces also demonstrated the level of independence they respectively had from Britain, as their soldiers had the ability to fight under a unit representing their homeland, whereas Canadian troops were forced to be trained and deployed under the BEF.

Unfortunately, the first wave of Canadian troops that supplemented the BEF was a-part of the effort to protect France, which ended in defeat in the summer of 1940. The battle of Dunkirk highlighted the end of the first BEF, however, demonstrated a kind of victory of the Allies as it saw over 300,000 allied soldiers were saved from the beaches. As this shaking defeat came into focus, the idea of Germany invading Great Britain seemed more and more like a possibility instead of an idea. With this possibility being so predominant on the British agenda, a plan was constructed that would send the Royal Family as well as Britain government to Canada. This plan underlines the importance that Britain places on Canada as a dominion. This plan could have been created in alliance with another dominion of Britain, however, Canada was the chosen one. Seeing as Britain chose Canada for this plan it's understandable why Britain would possess major influence over Canada.

Furthermore, the Normandy Campaign is another example of British influence on Canadian war efforts. On June 6th, 1944, during code name Operation Overload, Canadian troops were once again seen fighting side-by-side with the British. Even though by this time the United States has entered the war, Canadian troops were still apart of the British Secondary Army. They were in charge of attacking beaches Gold, Juno, and Sword, whereas the U.S. First Army was in charge of taking beaches Omaha and Utah.

Lastly, the British influence over Canadian Foreign Affairs was as present in the economic sphere as any other. Due to Canada's weakened economic state, they were unable to produce and pay full costs of creating their own great national air force in both England and Europe. In spite of this, the British government decided to assume the burden of the payment for the Canadian airmen once they have left Canadian soil and arrived in Britain; which ultimately "gave the British authorities all the power of the purse;". Supplementary to this, Canada ended up spending an estimated grand total of \$18 Billion on the war, with a fifth of that total being a gift to Britain.

Even with all of this being said, the British were not the only state that would majorly influence Canada during the Second World War. The increasing American influence within Canada started becoming more noticeable as early as 1940, with the Canadian and American economies becoming ever more interrelated.

The Shifting of Influence

Slowly but surely, the bulk of outside influence on Canadian Foreign Affairs started shifting in the power of the Americans. "[The] Americanization of Canada's economy, culture and politics. " has begun. When overlooking the areas of American influence, it's clear to see that

the Americans began using their influence majorly in the economic sphere over everything. This gradual increase in American influence was seen by the signing of Acts and Agreements such as the Foreign Exchange Control Act and Hyde Park Agreement.

The commencement of American influence can be blamed on the lack of U.S. funds the Canadian government possessed in the early stages of the war. Due to its already low reserve of American dollars, Prime Minister King was left with no choice but to enforce the Foreign Exchange Control Act in 1939. This Act was used to limit the use of the US dollar reserve for essential wartime use. In addition, Canadian citizens were unable to purchase U.S. currency for pleasure travel during this time, and it was required that all citizens sell their current assets of U.S. currency to the Foreign Exchange Control Board. Even as a minor Act, its signing by King still marks one of the first documented events where the Americans gained influence over Canadian economic foreign affairs.

This influence took no time to grow, as the economic situation continued to worsen for Canada. In early 1941, the U.S. and Britain entered in the Lend-Lease Agreement which saw the United States produce much war materials for Britain; with the purpose of supporting the Allied war efforts. This agreement seemed detrimental to Canadian Foreign Affairs, as Canada would no longer be able to rely on the deep reserve of U.S. currency the British possessed when their own was depleted. Due to the dreadful situation the Canadian government saw itself in, Prime Minister King had no choice but to push for a summit between himself and the United States President Roosevelt, resulting in the creation of the Hyde Park Agreement. Related to the Lend-Lease Agreement, the Hyde Park Agreement ensured that Canadian war materials made in Canada would be included in the Lend-Lease Agreement as American-produced war materials. Within a written statement on the Hyde Park Agreement, Prime Minister King highlighted some

issues that forced Canada to economically intertwine themselves more and more with the United States.

It will be readily recognized that we, Canada, could not possibly have embarked upon our existing programme of war production if we had not lived side by side with the greatest industrial nation in the world. Without ready access to the industrial production of the United States, and particularly the machine tools and other specialized equipment so necessary in producing the complex instruments of modern war, Canada's war effort would have been seriously retarded. [...] Canada also lacks certain essential raw materials which must be procured from the United States. [...] we have steadily expanded our purchases in the United States of these essential tools, machines and materials which were required both for our own Canadian war effort, and in the production of war supplies for Britain.

This statement further explains the issues Canada was facing with the production of war materials for Britain at the time, and how the economic influence started becoming more Americanized due to economic needs.

Following the end of the war, Canada still faced major shortages of U.S. currency. In 1947, the United States made alterations to Marshall Plan recipients in Europe, allowing those respective countries to use U.S. currency to purchase Canadian goods and services. This plan produced over \$1 Billion in U.S. currency reserve for Canada. This large growth of U.S. currency reserve furthermore braided Canada's and the United States economies and Americanised Canada's Foreign Affairs.

Following the Second World War and with the Cold War on the horizon, the Americans demand for natural resources was immense, mostly focused on the sources of oil. In coordination with the Hyde Park Agreement, Canada contained no restrictions in the highly

important oil industry when it came to the United States. In terms of exports during the early stages of 1947, the United States was exporting to Canada almost 4.25x more oil barrels per day than they were in the previous year. "[...] the Canadian rate of importation for the first nine months of 1947 has risen to the figure of 17,000 barrels a day, as against a rate of 4,000 barrels a day during the same period in 1946." In the same year, one of the largest oil wells ever found in Canada was found in Leduc, Alberta. This oil well drew attention from all over, including the some from the Northern states of the U.S. These that had their attention hooked by the discovery of the well began buying land from the farmers of Leduc and selling that land to any settler that would pay the price. This being said, on a social level, Canada, and the United States economies became more and more entangled as Americans were a part of this land flipping for economic profit. Seeing as this new oil sources presented itself to the United States as a more stable-overland oil source, the American government demonstrated a major interest in sharing those oil sources with Canada. Many U.S. Companies began taking over small oil and gas mining companies, ultimately benefitting Canada's economy and their U.S. currency reserve.

Interconnected with the shaping influence over the economy, the Political and Defence sectors of Canadian Foreign Affairs began seeing the American influence increase as well. As early as 1940, Canada's views on their defence started becoming more centralized at home. As stated above, the fall of Paris demonstrated to the world that Hitler was not a power to be taken lightly. The possibility of a war being fought on North American soil became more of a reality with every day passing, leading Canada to take a different approach to their own national defence. Seeing as the threat of a war carried out on North American soil affected both Canada and the United States, the cooperation between states was necessary.

On August 16, 1940, Prime Minister King secretly met with American President Roosevelt in a railroad cart in Ogdensburg, New York to sign the agreement. Two days later, on August 18, 1940, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence was officially established under the Ogdensburg Agreement. This Permanent Joint Board on Defence is instrumental to the Americanization of Canadian Foreign Affairs as it establishes a stable Defence Board amongst the two neighboring countries. As Canada slowly starts to focus their energy and attention more on themselves and less so on Britain, Canada is forced to adopt a more Americanized view of their country and of their Foreign Affairs. Seeing as this new ideology is focused on the future, both states mutually agreed on a permanent joint board instead of a temporary one; highlighting a lasting American influence in Canada's Department of Defence.

Additionally, Canada's role in the creation of NATO furthermore highlights its change of influence in Foreign Affairs. In the early stages of the NATO's creation, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs L.B. Pearson and Prime Minister L. St.Laurent discussed closely the draft of the treaty and its implications for Canada. Unlike the Permanent Joint Board on Defence between Canada and the U.S., Canada requested that the duration of NATO be no longer than a firm 12year duration. Prime Minister St.Laurent believed that the world situation might change over time, which should allow for change within Canada's Defence needs.

The Prime Minister said that obviously the Treaty was now directed towards the Soviet Union, and while this state of affairs continued, it would be politically easy to defend Canadian participation. The world situation, however, may change drastically within a decade.

In sum, Prime Minister St.Laurent's standing on the length of the treaty was due to the importance of public opinion on the matter. With the growing Americanisation within Canada's

society, Canada's government must try and please the rapidly-evolving interior view of Foreign Affairs spreading through the Canadian population.

The increasing worries about the Soviet Union during this time are due to the creation and development of a Cold War. Beginning in the late 40s, the Cold War saw two large powers, the United States and the Soviet Union, race to demonstrate their dominance and strength on a world stage by imposing their ideologies and dominance over some. Even though the Cold War is considered a battle-less war between the two individual states involved, the fear of the Soviet Union and the spread of communism was as alive in Canada as it was in the United States. This being said, Canadian Prime Ministers during this time such as King, St. Laurent, Diefenbaker, Pearson, etc., all started to focus less and less on Britain's Affairs as threats were becoming more and more directed towards North America. These issues were among topics of inter-governmental memorandums in early 1947 as the defence policy was being discussed. In addition, the Permanent Joint Board on Defence had made many suggestions at this time to the Cabinet concerning "close co-operation with the United States as regards planning, training and equipment.", to which the Cabinet accepted.

In light of all this, as the Cold War began heating up in the late 50s, another important joint defence agreement was signed. Previously known as the North American Defence Agreement, the North American Aerospace Defence Command; or NORAD, was the coalition between the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF) and the United States Air Force (USAF). Much like the Ogdensburg Agreement, this agreement embodies the shift in influence within Canada. The Americanization of Canada's Foreign Affairs continues to grow with the creation of these joint boards, as they all represent Canada's Defence focus shifting from a British and European influence to a Canada and North American influence.

Only two years following the creation of NORAD, the United States Department of Defence (DoD) and the Canadian Department of Defence of Production (CDDP) entered into a defence development sharing agreement. This agreement further solidifies the cooperation between states in defensive terms as well as the sharing of studies and materials in order to benefit the joint defence of North America.

Conclusion

To conclude, the shift of influence between Britain and America in Canada's Foreign Affairs is a movement that took many years to fully develop. During the overloaded years between 1939 and 1960, the United States began obtaining much influence over Canada's Foreign Affairs and Americanizing its societies and ideologies. The entanglement of Canada and the United States affairs was primordially based around the economies, seeing Canada rely heavily on the United States to aid in the generation of American funds in Canadian reserves in return for the access to natural resources that Canada possessed. The events such as the Foreign Exchange Control Act of 1939 and the Hyde Park Agreement highlighted the growth of economic entanglement. Additionally, the American influence over Canadian Foreign Affairs was seen with the many joint defence boards and agreements that Canada and the United States entered together. After all, this period of transition will forever be embedded in Canadian history as it has shaped Canadian Foreign Affairs to develop and bring the Canadian Nation to its current international standings.

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The Battle of Seven Oaks: The Debate over Metis Independence

Carly Sherlock

Abstract:

This paper considers the formation of the Metis in Canada by analyzing the influence of the Battle of Seven Oaks (1816), a moment of violent confrontation within the western fur trade. It challenges historian Gerhard J. Ens by arguing that the battle did not lead to the emergence of the Metis as a distinct group, as the Metis were already viewed as different within fur-trade society prior to 1811, by others and by themselves. This is shown through an analysis of letters sent from Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl of Selkirk from the Hudson's Bay Company and Colonel William McGillivray from the Northwest Company to the Royal Commissioner investigating the incident, and a variety of secondary sources discussing the discrimination of Metis peoples. This paper was originally done as an assignment in HIST 2016 with Dr. Murton.

In 1811 Thomas Douglas, Earl of Selkirk, was given a tract of land at the forks of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers located in present-day Manitoba by the Hudson's Bay Company. It became known as Assiniboia. In Assiniboia, Selkirk, other officials of the Hudson's Bay Company, European settlers, and the "half-breeds" (as they were known as), lived and traded together. However, the long-standing conflict between the Hudson's Bay Company, the Northwest Company, and the Native people of mixed-descent was perpetuated due to the issue surrounding who had title to the land. This conflict ultimately resulted in the armed battle between the Hudson's Bay Company, led by Governor Miles Macdonell, and the Northwest Company, led by Colonel William McGillivray in conjunction with the Natives of mixed-descent, led by Cuthbert Grant. This later became known as the Battle of Seven Oaks. A debate surrounding who was to blame for the battle arose between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company. Both parties characterized the "half-breeds" as a distinct group, but in different ways, in order to justify their actions towards each other. As a result of their campaigns, historians, such as Gerhard J. Ens have made the argument that the Battle of Seven Oaks led to the emergence of the Metis as a distinct group. Yet historians like Ens have failed to pay close attention to the colonial agenda and social forces at play within Red River prior to 1811, the rhetoric of both Selkirk and McGillivray, and the opinion of the "half breeds" themselves. This essay will challenge Gerhard J. Ens by arguing that the Battle of Seven Oaks did not lead to the emergence of the Metis as a distinct group, as the Metis were already viewed as different within the fur-trading society prior to 1811, by others and by themselves.

The Battle of Seven Oaks arose out of a series of events that are characterized as the fur-trade wars between the Hudson's Bay Company, the Northwest Company, and the Natives of

mixed-descent. Much of the conflict is described in the letters written by Selkirk and McGillivray directed towards the Royal Commissioner W.B. Coltman, who was directed to investigate the incident. The main argument was between the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company over who had title to the land. This decision would determine who would be the primary fur trader in the area. This was very difficult to determine because each party believed that they were the successors of the land, causing them to rationalize their violence against each other. In Selkirk's opinion, the Hudson's Bay Company had given him the land situated on the Red River, and that the Counsel in London thought the title to be unquestionably valid. However, McGillivray declared that the Northwest Company had never acknowledged the exclusive rights claimed by the Hudson's Bay Company. As a result of this feud, the Hudson's Bay Company and the Northwest Company engaged in attacks against each other in order to enforce their power over the trading area. The Northwest Company encouraged settlers to move out of Red River in exchange for "not only lands, but also provisions, tools, cattle, and every other accommodation that could desire". Selkirk saw this as a deprivation of the Hudson's Bay Company's only means of defence, whereas McGillivray saw this as a means of self-defence for the Northwest Company. In addition, Selkirk describes how Governor Macdonell issued the Pemmican Proclamation, which prohibited the exportation of provisions from the District. According to Selkirk, this was implemented in order to prepare for the emigrants arriving from Europe. From McGillivray's perspective however, the Proclamation was an act of aggression by the Hudson's Bay Company as they were asserting their dominance over the area by limiting the Northwest Company's ability to trade pemmican in the Red River area. In response to the Proclamation, Selkirk described how the servants of the Northwest Company "were ordered to drive away the Buffalo from the hunters of the settlers". As a result, frustration ensued among

the settlers of both parties. In addition, the letters outline the motivations of each party to participate in the fur-trade wars and the subsequent battle. McGillivray believed that Selkirk “undeviatingly intended to produce the utter destruction of our trading concern...[by raising] himself upon the ruins of the North-West company into a monopolizer of the fur trade of the whole continent”. However, Selkirk believed that he had the right to engage in open violence against every intruder because the Hudson’s Bay Company had title to the land. With regards to this essay, an analysis of the Battle of Seven Oaks from these primary sources is very important for historians because it reveals the motivations of both parties involved and how crucial the battle was in deciding the fate of the Northwest Company. However, the primary sources do not serve a purpose in describing the effects that the Pemmican Proclamation had on the Natives of mixed-descent because they did not write the letters. It has been found that the Natives of mixed-descent were directly affected by this Proclamation as it hindered their ability to trade with the Northwest Company. This tension resulted in a battle erupting on June 19th, 1816, where approximately 20 men from the Hudson’s Bay Company were killed, along with the local governor, Robert Semple. Following the battle, there was much debate over who was the blame. This essay will discuss in-depth the motivations of each party as well as the context that these motivations arise from.

The Hudson’s Bay Company was a British company who aimed to create a landlord-peasant relationship within the settlements that the company organized. This system fuelled a hierarchy within the company. Due to the nature of this settler society, the Natives of mixed-descent were inherently seen as different, which caused the status of “Indian” to become their primary social marker. As a result, they instantly fit into the landlord-peasant hierarchy system as peasants. Michael Hughes discusses this concept in his essay when he describes how a hierarchy

defined the organizational structure of the Hudson's Bay Company that expanded the colonial rule by creating a racialized division of labor within the boundaries of Rupert's Land. In addition, Jacqueline Peterson discusses how the Natives of mixed-descent were called "half-breeds", "breeds", or "mixed-blood", which hinted broadly at cultural and biological impotence. This historical evidence is useful for historians because it reveals how the colonial agenda of the Hudson's Bay Company affected Indigenous people. Moreover, this idea is promoted within the letters from Selkirk and McGillivray. Selkirk describes how Indians "being accustomed to live at a distance from the restraints of society, were ignorant of any law... [which] led them to feel confident of escaping from the hand of justice". McGillivray even describes how the Natives of mixed-descent "cannot in law claim any advantage by paternal right, [but]... that they ought not to be subjected to any disadvantages which might be supposed to arise from the fortuitous circumstances of their parentage. This racism towards the Natives of mixed-descent can continue to be seen after the Battle of Seven Oaks, when the newly organized Hudson's Bay Company laid off the Metis, and when they fuelled the Red River Resistance. This evidence leads historians to believe that the Natives of mixed-descent were already seen as a separate group within the Hudson's Bay Company's system, as the issue of what rights were afforded to them can be seen within the primary sources.

Thomas Douglas Earl of Selkirk was a Scottish politician who aimed to settle Scottish and other European immigrants in Canada. Selkirk had a dream of dividing Upper Canada into different districts where "national settlements" of individual groups of European immigrants would live and farm the land. In 1811, Selkirk signed an agreement with the Hudson's Bay Company and was given ownership of the Red River Colony. In order to create a cohesive settlement that would discourage both the Americans and the rival Northwest Company, Selkirk

applied his system of “national settlements” to the Red River Colony. According to author Tolly Bradford: “religion remained an important tool used by Selkirk to help his settlers transplant their culture to British North America” within these national settlements and allowed Selkirk to maintain the sense of community. Religion not only identified the national settlements as distinct groups of people, but also labelled the Natives of mixed-descent as separate from the immigrants. Bradford describes how religion distinguished the Natives of mixed-descent from the rest of the colony as well as from the Natives living outside of the Red River Colony, as the Natives of mixed-descent were inherently Christian because they possessed British and Native ancestry. In addition, Bradford discusses how Selkirk believed that the implementation of schools could uphold Christianity within the Native groups in the Red River Colony. Explicitly, the Hudson’s Bay Company strived to “instruct the Children of the Servants & also the Children of such native families as may be desirous of reaping the benefits of civilization & religious instruction”. The implementation of schools and the dynamic between the Natives of mixed-descent and the settlers reveals how the Hudson’s Bay Company’s colonial agenda distinguished Natives of mixed-descent prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks. Moreover, the effort put in by Selkirk to assimilate the Natives of mixed-descent into the Red River Colony demonstrates how they were seen as a distinct group of people: a group that had a different culture and lived differently than the rest of the settlers.

Following the battle, the major points of debate was over whether or not the Natives of mixed-descent were encouraged to fight alongside the Northwest Company or if they had their own motivations in starting violence towards the Hudson’s Bay Company. According to the Hudson’s Bay Company, the Metis were not a ‘Nation of Independent Indians’ but rather were “in the regular employment and pay of the Northwest Company...[or] are the progeny of

partners of the Company” , allowing them to “excite the jealousy of the Indians, to debauch the servants employed on the establishment, [and] to stir up discontent”. Moreover, Selkirk pointed out that the “sixty or seventy half-breeds on horse-back to the settlement, [were] under the command of Cuthbert Grant, a clerk of the North-West Company...[who described himself as] the ‘great Chief of the new Nation’”. As a result of this, Selkirk believed that the Metis were collaborating with the rival company and were not independent. Thereby, Selkirk believed that “all the crimes which have been committed in the Indian countries have only been the result of mutual violence between contending parties of traders”. However, McGillivray had a very different perspective than Selkirk when it came to deciding the place that the Natives took in the conflict. According to McGillivray, the Natives of mixed-descent were simply using their right as British subjects to defend their property and that the Northwest Company would “never instigate, nor authorize any of their servants to instigate, the Indian nations, to commit murder”. McGillivray recognized that the Natives of mixed-descent were more or less connected with the Northwest Company’s people through consanguinity and interest, as clerks, servants or free hunters , but were adamant that they were a distinct and independent group of people. Ens relies almost primarily on this information. Ens describes how Selkirk and the Hudson’s Bay Company “regarded Metis as a new social grouping,... [but] did not accord them any distinct political independence” while McGillivray and the Northwest Company “portrayed the Metis primarily in political terms as a ‘New Nation,’ with a sovereign claim to the soil, a political consciousness, and a flag” . As a result, Ens argues that the Battle of Seven Oaks allowed the Natives of mixed-descent to be considered a distinct group, a quality that they did not possess before. Ens’ description of the primary sources is accurate, however, he fails to interpret the source as propaganda and rhetoric.

From these letters, it is evident that each political leader differentiated Natives of mixed-descent in order to justify their own actions. Thereby, it is crucial to look at the rhetoric of both Selkirk and McGillivray. These politicians are debating the issue of Metis independence because it is beneficial for them to do so, as it will decide who is victorious, which had immense influence over who got title to the land. Selkirk does not acknowledge the fact that the Natives of mixed-descent may have joined the Northwest Company based on their own motivations because it would insinuate that they were already a distinct group prior to the Battle, ultimately contravening his argument that the Northwest was to be blamed for the violence performed by the Natives. Furthermore, a case could be made that McGillivray would not have acknowledged the Metis as an independent group, if it did not afford him the argument that the Northwest Company should not be blamed for the violence that occurred during the Battle of Seven Oaks. The Northwest Company does not even assign any significance to the role that the Natives of mixed-descent played within the company because it could contradict their argument. This interpretation of the letters presented in this essay illustrates how Selkirk and McGillivray are only differentiating the Natives of mixed-descent because it was beneficial for them to do so. However, the narrow interpretation that Ens takes while analyzing the text suggests that the Natives of mixed-descent only became a distinct group once the settlers recognized them as such. Historians can understand that Ens' narrow interpretation is ignorant to the fact that Selkirk and McGillivray were propagandizing their stance on the events for their own benefit. Instead, Ens chooses to interpret the primary sources as demonstrating how the battle allowed the Metis to emerge as a distinct group. Ens describes how one could argue that the Metis held resentment towards the Hudson's Bay Company for trying to control their buffalo hunting in the Red River District, but due to the fact that the Northwest Company gathered the Metis to attack

the colony, the Metis could not have been acting on their own accord. In addition, Ens describes how the Metis identifying themselves as a distinct people was “a fiction” during the Battle of Seven Oaks because Cuthbert Grant has been referred to as the “‘Master of the Soil’ and their father who had come for their good”. Furthermore, Ens discusses the treaty-making process at which Selkirk and Coltman did not believe it “necessary to consult the Metis,...[as they] were not acknowledged as an independent tribe”. Ens agrees with this statement and believes that it is not surprising that a group so small and so young were not accorded claims to territory. Ens goes on to explain how following the verdict that the Northwest Company was to blame for the battle and the subsequent merger of the Hudson’s Bay Company and the Northwest Company, the Hudson’s Bay Company began to deny the Metis their Aboriginal rights to trade furs. According to Ens, this united the Metis together towards a common cause and therefore identifying them as a distinct group. However, Ens does not take into account the policy of the Hudson’s Bay Company, which affected Indigenous land use prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks, influenced the perception of them within Red River, and impacted their social standing. From this description, Ens is not analyzing the letters and other historical evidence from the perspective that the Natives of mixed-descent were autonomous people capable of making their own decision, but rather illegitimizes their claims.

There is the possibility that the Metis could have simply been responding to change, just as they were when they joined the Northwest Company in fighting against the Hudson’s Bay Company prior to the battle. Ens is promoting the idea that the Metis were fully controlled by the Northwest Company and had no ability whatsoever to make decisions on their own. Ens does not consider the fact that the Natives of mixed-decent could have been choosing to associate themselves with the Northwest Company because they believed it to be the most effective way of

promoting their stance on the Pemmican Proclamation. Ens even goes as far as to claim that the Metis themselves did not acknowledge their own independence. How can Ens determine that the Metis were not a distinct group before the Battle of Seven Oaks, without consulting literature and oral history written by the Metis? Ens' opinion perpetuates the stereotype that Indigenous people cannot make autonomous decisions and are only considered distinct people once they fulfil the requirements set out by "the white man".

Ens does not recognize this information and insists that the Battle of Seven Oaks led to the emergence of the Metis as a distinct group. He does not reference any Metis opinion on the subject or acknowledge the fact that they chose to participate in the conflict. He fails to recognize the motivations of Selkirk and McGillivray as determining factors in how the Metis are understood to have emerged from discourses fuelled by the Battle of Seven Oaks. When analyzing the issue of Metis independence at this time, it is crucial to understand how people will assign significance to a group of people based on their needs at the time and whether or not it will benefit them to do so. In addition, he does not acknowledge the social forces at play prior to the Battle of Seven Oaks. It is recognized that the topic of Metis independence is very difficult to interpret because of all the factors at play, however the historical research is very important as it influences how Canadians view the Metis and provides context as to why the issue remains to be an enigma for Canadian lawmakers.

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Until Surrender: Interpreting the Allied Policy of Area Bombing from 1939 to 1945

Jacqueline Girard

Destruction is inevitable in war. The question is however; what level of destruction is acceptable? The Allied policy of Area Bombing has had a significant impact on both the Allied and Axis powers during the Second World War. The destructive and controversial military tactic of bombing broad industrial areas, (usually civilian populated areas) has shown how far a country will go to claim victory. This form of strategic bombing, rooted in ideologies and vengeance, however motivated by military objectives, has claimed the lives of tens of thousands of civilians and soldiers and illustrated the potency of annihilation in a Total War. The Allied policy of Area Bombing is justified by the fact that war is not only fought by soldiers, but factory operators and farmers. Area bombing such as that in Dresden was warranted and necessary in order to win the total war that took place from 1939-1945. Allied power took advantage of their air superiority from 1944 to the end of the war by using Area Bombing in order to eradicate the threat of Germany waging another war. The war goes on until surrender, as does annihilation.

Area Bombing is the military aviation policy in which aerial bombardments target indiscriminately at a large area. This policy became prominent in the Second World War as it was used frequently in all theaters of operations both the Axis and the Allied power. Railways, industrial areas and in most cases, areas inhabited by civilians are often the targets of strategic bombing. This policy was commonly practiced as opposed to precision bombing- bombing a specific target, such as a single factory. Often times, precision bombing was unsuccessful as it is extremely difficult to hit targets from an aircraft while avoiding enemy's fire. Area Bombing is a

potent type of air raid that not only seeks to damage its opponents, but completely destroy them; it is annihilation.

Sir Arthur Harris, or commonly known as ‘bomber’ Harris was a crucial figure in the Allied policy of Area Bombing. He controlled Royal Air Force bomber groups and believed bombers could best degrade the German capacity to wage war by obliterating urban centers and factories. According to Harris, offensive bombing was the Allies’ only option as they did not want to be in a defensive position .

After military developments in the Great War, regulations on warfare were demanded, yet it became difficult to settle on an agreement. The League of Nations Assembly- an intergovernmental organization- in September 1938 unanimously passed a Resolution for Protection of Civilian Populations Against Bombing from the Air in Case of War . This non-binding resolution recognized three principles: the illegality of intentionally bombing civilian populations, the notion that attacks must be made against military objectives, and the need for precautions to minimize civilian casualties. This becomes relevant as the conflicting Area Bombing policy is adopted in the Allied military strategy only few years after this resolution was passed. In a total war however, the fight is not solely fought by soldiers, but by farmers, factory and textile workers also. Bombing militarily involved industrial centers inhabited and powered by civilians is a necessary strategy to eradicate the enemy and maintain advantage.

Hitler’s ideology of Lebensraum was a crucial element of Area Bombing. The Third Reich wanted Germans to be separate to the effects of war. The idea was to use other countries to fight the war so that Germany will not have to feel as though they are in one. They will not have to ration because they are using other countries’ resources, they will not feel scared because the war is fought on other countries lands. Strategic bombing disregards all of that. It made Germans

feel the effects of total war and played on Hitler's hubris. Area Bombing not only destroyed infrastructure, it destroyed German moral – a potent element in the German longevity in 1945. Even during the final months of the war, German civilians including children would put up radical defenses as their moral and dedication to their country was so extreme. As long as there were German's with a moral for war, the war continued. Area bombing helped destroy that German principle, adding to the many causes of their surrender.

Germany had faced the worst brutality of Allied Area Bombing nearing the end of the Second World War. In 153 RAF raids, roughly 1 million tons of RAF bombs were dropped in Germany in 1944, and in the first three months of 1945, 200,000 tons of explosives were dropped again . Strategic bombing on Germany brought devastation and obliteration. It was a military, economic, political and personal tactic that unleashed hell upon German civilians and industrial areas. Bomber command used aluminum powder to ensue even more damage upon German cities and was even close to using chemical warfare . Hitler began to move factories in sparser, rural areas to limit destruction. Even when the winds defeat seemed strong, Nazi leaders denied surrendering believing that German soldiers and civilians that supported them must fight till the death . Hitler, however would soon have to succumb to the Area Bombing and swallow his pride.

Dresden is an infamous and controversial bomber mission from the war of 1939 to 1945. On the 13th of February 1945, the city of Dresden was struck by the Allied policy of Area Bombing after the request of the Soviet Union . The Germans used the city as a position to send supplies and reinforcements to the front. Seven hundred and ninety-six bombers flew in and obligated Dresden with 771 tons of bombs including 294 tons of incendiaries . There was improper defense and no access to bomber-proof shelters. As a result, civilian casualties estimate

to roughly 25,000 to 35,000 . The city was turned to dust and ash in only three days from February 13th to 15th, 1945. The bomber offensive was used by the Allies to obliterate a city that fueled the Nazi Regime. In effect, willing followers of the regime that taken part in its policy of genocide fell victim. The mission, linked to ideological factors, was also directed towards civilians that produced weapons, food and supplies for their front line forces, such the oil plant in Dresden (one of the targets in the campaign) . One must not forget that while the bomber commands were unleashing bombs on Dresden, The Nazi's continued to wage war, starve whole countries such as the Netherlands, terrorize countries such as Poland, and were murder Jewish people as well as many other groups in concentration camps. It was a total war and the German civilians were not exempted from the Axis war effort.

The impact of Strategic Bombing is monumental. Axis factories were unable to produce materials for their military because the factories were destroyed, and the civilians who ran the factories were getting killed all as a result of the bombing. Many resources such as oil, however, were destroyed in the process. Furthermore, the public will to go on is not a renewable source, bravery and courage faded after so many blows. Even despite the Nazi's best efforts to conceal the truth of their position in 1945 with propaganda, the public knew which way the wind was blowing, illustrating the effect of bombing campaigns on the German morale. Cities were destroyed, countless amounts of people were left homeless, and in many cases, left without family. It was perhaps the Allies way of making sure that the mistakes made in the Great War were not repeated. Allies annihilated until surrender, and there is no wrong in that. Britain, France, Russia and America did not want to solely rely on a treaty to inhibit Germany's ability to wage another war, instead they made sure of it through annihilation.

A very clear divide was made between those who believe that Area Bombing was necessary and those who condemn it. When looking back to the League of Nations Resolution for Protection of Civilian Populations against Bombing from the Air in Case of War, one will notice that it states that the notion of attacks must be made for military objectives. Dresden was a military objective as the city was used by the Axis to send reinforcements to the front. The Soviet Union justified the attack by asking for that particular town to be targeted due to its military involvement. It was an unfortunate but necessary raid for the Allied force. David Bashow, a historian who is in congruence with this stance believes that Dresden was a crucial military target . He stated that “international legal nuances with respect to bombing became hardly worth considering” since both sides bombed non-combatants . On page 387 in his novel, *No Prouder Place*, Bashow explicitly outlines Dresden’s contribution to the war effort stating that it’s specialties were in optics and engineering which were pivotal in the war effort. Some of which include the manufacturing of torpedo components, machine guns, aircraft parts, SS barracks, field telephones and made extensive use of Dresden’s Jewish population, demonstrating its military involvement.

Doctor Horst Borg, a German Chief Historian of the German Office of Military History believes that Area Bombing in World War Two was necessary for Allied victory. In a symposium on the Strategic Bomber Offensive, held at the RAF Staff College at Bracknell in March 1939, he stated, “The judgement that the British area attacks were ineffective can no longer be supported. For a proper assessment we have to look at indirect effects. Had there been no bomber offensive things in Russia might have developed differently.” . Doctor Borg courageously defied a common German idea by underlining the importance of strategic

bombing. Despite the loss of civilian life, bomber offensive was necessary for the Victory of the Allied power. A war is not over until the white flag is flown, neither is Area Bombing.

Some critiques, however, believe that out of all the atrocities of war, Dresden along with other Area Bombing campaigns are far too unpalatable. The human loss of non-combatants such as the ones in Dresden – mothers, children and elderly- is an argument used. Commentators even go as far as saying that the bombing campaigns on German cities are morally equivalent to the Holocaust . In a journal article in the Hudson Review called Letter from Dresden, author Robert S. Clark says that Dresden was the most savage firestorm of war, he even goes as far as saying that it is “worse than similar conflagrations in Berlin, Tokyo, Hiroshima or Nagasaki” . Area Bombing is a sharp escalation in the use of war to destroy not only a power, but its infrastructure and people. However, these arguments are refuted by the principle of total war. World War two was fought and engaged by non-combatants as well as combatants.

Another critique is that the grounds of offensive bombing like that of Dresden was purely based on an emotional objective. This stance believes that Dresden was not a military target, despite its exportation of military arms and oil that fueled some of the Axis power. Winston Churchill saw the controversy and then repealed his eagerness for the bomber command. He even wrote to chiefs of staff that “the moment has come when the question of bombing German cities simply for the sake of increasing the terror, although under other pretexts, should be reviewed... the destruction of Dresden remains a serious query against the conduct of the allied Bombing.” . Churchill’s quick change in opinions have stained the bomber command, ridiculing them for a policy which could have been changed by Churchill himself. Many historians believe that Dresden was not as important as it seemed. Accusing the murder of the people of Dresden and the destruction of resources was in vain and ‘Bomber’ Harris was made the scapegoat.

The controversy also puts a toll on the veterans who fought in Dresden. In Churchill's victory speech to his nation, he disgraced the bomber command as he intentionally excluded mentioning them. The survivors of the bomber command were bewildered by this hurtful omission. In addition, the bomber command was not given a unique medal for their service, unlike the veterans of D-Day or of the Battle of Britain were given. This was yet another disgrace as it gave the bomber command the same recognition as those who had not participated in front line service. The lack of recognition was then known as "The Great Ingratitude". RCAF Navigator L. Ray Silver described his experience: "Later-day revisionist have described us as callow kids duped to do the devil's work innocent of the humanity on target below us. Of course, we knew there were people down there. We did what we had to do and to do it we suppressed the human imagery... We found no glory and we still taste the ashes." There was no memorial for the 64,000 bomber crew that lost their lives dedicated to the Allied Power. It was not until 1992, 65 years after the end of World War Two ended did a memorial go up, and even then, it was repeatedly defaced with red paint. Like most soldiers, they did their duty; however, unlike most soldiers, they were not given the proper recognition.

It was not a glorious way of war, but it was done none the less. The Allies policy of Area Bombing has raised the question about the morality and ethics of bombing civilian populated areas. The world view on offensive bombing and its effect on non-combatants has shifted ever since 1945 and is still discussed today. It remains as a solemn reminder of how far a military will go when given the means to annihilate and an enemy that refused to surrender. However difficult the task of Area Bombing, it was the Allied soldier's duty to complete them in a total war. The brave servicemen that fought in Dresden and other Area Bombing campaigns demand to be honored and respected for their service even if they remain a controversy. They do not deserve to

be condemned by civilians who were not in the same position and who hold the bias gift of hindsight. Strategic bombing was necessary in the victory for the Allies, and is completely justified during World War Two. The Allies did win the war while using the tactic and no one cannot undisputedly say that the outcome would have been the same without it. 1939 to 1945 was war until surrender.

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