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Treeskin #1



Sue Matheson

EDITORIAL

It is March, and Spring is taking its time getting to the North this year. The snow isn't melting, but the light has returned. This, the quint's fifty eighth issue, offers reading for the days by authors from Algeria, Tunisia, Nigeria, India, Germany, the United States, and Canada. Paul Watts and Konstantia Koutouki's "Churchill on Hudson Bay: Strategic Canadian Restorative Justice of Indigenous Food Systems" begins our Spring line-up. Pointing out Churchill is a primary location for Indigenous food systems, Watts and Koutouki argue for a restoration ecology project on the former Goose Creek anabranching wet meadow and implementing a community-based food security training program for Churchill's Dene (Algonkian), Cree (Athapaskan), Inuit, and Metis cultures. This proposed *Ecohealth* program, a symbolic and practical repeal of the *Doctrine of Discovery*, would be an act of restorative justice supported by the federal government. Then, in "Hans Frank Gives Birth to Hitler's Jewish Grandfather: Meet Midwife Dr. G. M. Gilbert," George Steven Swan returns our attention to the question whether Adolf Hitler's paternal grandfather was Jewish. According to Swan, the testimony of Dr. Hans Frank at Nuremburg may have been sparked by the American military psychologist, Dr. Gustave M. Gilbert. Next, Ouarda Larbi Youcef's "Honoré de Balzac: A Critic of his Times, a Prophet of our Times" considers Balzac's *Lost Illusions*, finding the best and the worst in human nature conjures up, unmistakably, the world in which we live.

Following, Collins Osayuki Edigin and Frank Ikponmwosa's "The Nexus of Colonial Fiscal Policy and Administrative Centralization: Implication for Development in Benin, Nigeria 1918-1960" examines the nexus of the British colonial fiscal policy and administrative structure in Benin. After reviewing Benin's traditional system and

the changes wrought by colonialism, Edigin and Ikponmwosa conclude fiscal and administrative reforms, aimed at exacting resources for the metropolis (colonizer) rather than the socio-political development of the colonized, continue to plague Benin's development. Felix Onaiwu Osaigbovo and Theresa Uvbi Osaigbovo's "An Evaluation of Screen Printing as a Critical Meeting Point Between Textile and Graphic Arts Practices" then examines how successful screen printing is accomplished while touching on some of the pioneers and exponents of this method, their contributions to the advancement of knowledge in this area, and the nexus of screen printing between graphic art and textile designs. Finally, Eunice Chidinma Osuagwu examines the syntactic and semantic characteristics of Ogba ideophones. "A Syntactic and Semantic Analysis of Ogba Ideophones" reveals that semantically, Ogba ideophones can be classified into ideophones of organization, attitude, texture, colour, size, smell, temperature, and taste, and establishes that syntactically, Ogba ideophones can be classified into adjectivals, adverbials and nominals.

My interview with director Steven Bignell about film making and the upcoming release of *Tomahawk* (2023), his story of a Cree soldier at the end of the Second World War, begins this issue's look at film. Following, Manasvini Rai's film review, "Survival, Ambition and Schism: The Fragmented Female Subject in Tuhinabha Majumdar's Documentary, *Aamaar Katha: Story of Binodini*" finds *Aamaar Katha* (2014) at once informative and factual, poignant and emotional. According to Rai, this film about the legendary thespian, Nutee Binodini, is motivational—an autobiographical, non-linear account of Binodini's resilience and unapologetic pursuit of agency and power in 19th-century Bengal. Yosr Dridi's "Humanizing the Non-Human: A Review of Jerzy Skolimowski's *EO*" tackles the central problem of telling a story from a non-human

perspective. Dridi points out that the donkey-centric *EO* (2022) stunned Cannes and ended up receiving the Jury Prize by showing what humans want to see through a donkey’s eyes and forfeiting defamiliarization in favor of eliciting empathy. Corina Wieser-Cox’s “Intergenerational Trauma and Absurdist Nihilism in *Everything, Everywhere, All at Once*” discovers there is indeed a new form of generational healing in director Daniel Kwan’s film. Wieser-Cox finds *Everything, Everywhere, All at Once* asks, if nothing matters, why not be kind and love?

No issue of *the quint* can be considered complete without its creative component. We are again honoured to host Carolyn Creed’s warm, finely fashioned poetry. My photo study, *Treeskin* examines how trees wait for Spring as light and surface, on close examination, reveal unusual textures. As the days grow longer, this issue of *the quint* offers us all good reading and interesting images. *the quint* will return in June with thought-provoking material from Heather M. Sloane’s Fearless Writers at the University of Toledo, who have taken on some interesting projects over the past four years—the lost history of Black neighborhoods in Toledo, raising rates of depression and suicide for young people of color, human trafficking, and a new look at gun violence during COVID -19.

Sue Matheson
Editor

Deer Tableau

Frozen under stark sun
Three March deer
Bend brown necks
To ditch-displayed
Sustenance. None seems
Alarmed by road-pass
Of tire-strident car.
In brief ruminant lives
Half-grown ungulates
Need yet to learn
To care that drivers
Bypass in disruption—
Albeit unwilling—
Of fawns’ sparse repast.

—*Carolyn Creed*

On March 30th 2023, the Vatican formerly repudiated the Doctrine of Discovery – now it is time for national governments to lead on restorative justice; Churchill best represents Canadian Indigeneity pre-European dominance – a place for food system restoration to begin.

Churchill on Hudson Bay: Strategic Canadian Restorative Justice of Indigenous Food Systems

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Introduction

The North American era of European dominance became Canadian law through the creation of treaties. At that time, people of European descent entitled small pieces of what was not theirs to own, nor theirs to give away. Prior to those times, the Cree, Metis, Dene and Inuit Peoples were part of the Churchill food systems, it is their Indigeneity. Churchill, Manitoba on Hudson Bay is a destination for global travellers, as well as for Indigenous Peoples, extending back before European contact. In modern times, Churchill's population has shifted between thousands to hundreds, as this northern Canadian town has gone through many phases and pioneering approaches to livelihoods. The rich history of Indigenous food practices remains a significant part of the resident's food security. In addition, Churchill is isolated and because there is no road that connects to southern urban centers, importing food is expensive. The unique Indigenous milieu, combination of local food practices (country food) and lack of access to larger city centers, makes Churchill a primary location to initiate restorative justice of Indigenous food systems.

The authors propose a restoration ecology project on the former Goose Creek anabranching wet meadow within a culturally-collaborative food security training program on community-based applications, for a Canada-wide capacitation by the Dene (Algonkian) Cree (Athapaskan) Inuit and Metis cultures for local and (national) cultural food security through enhanced resilience, using an Ecohealth lens. Further, it is

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suggested that the restoration and Indigenous food security program be supported by the federal government as a symbolic and practical repeal of the *Doctrine of Discovery*. That doctrine rejected Indigenous rights and was used as a justification for colonizing based upon two *papal bulls* of Nicholas V, *Dum diversas* (1452) and *Romanus Pontifex* (1455); culminating in Pope Alexander VI's bull *Inter caetera* (1493), known as the *Doctrine of Discovery*. The *Ecohealth lens* can be applied as a fundamental concept to underpin restorative justice of Indigenous food systems. In general, Ecohealth is an approach to understanding and restoration of the complex interactions to optimize human health and the health of the environment. Sustainability approaches in Ecohealth can best recognize that connectivity and identify an optimal balance between human and environmental focus (Watts et al., 2015). Successfully addressing Ecohealth issues requires an openness to transdisciplinary problem solving and construction of multidisciplinary systems-based interventions (Lofts & Koutouki, 2021). Ecohealth emerged in the late 1990s as an approach to balancing ecocentric and anthropocentric systems, specifically highlighting the importance of community participation and the engagement of local knowledge in identifying and confronting health issues (Crosse et al., 2021 Anabieza et al., 2010).

The restorative justice approach aims to obtain justice that emphasizes the importance of repairing harm and restoring relationships between the people involved. It is based on principles of inclusion, participation, and respect. In contrast to dominant justice systems that focus on punishment and retribution, restorative justice seeks to promote accountability and recovery for everyone affected (Braithewaite, 2016). Restorative justice can take many different forms, herein applied as a foundation for the renewal of Indigenous food systems that are critical for cultural survival and renewal. Loss of land, and food gathering traditions combined with simplified access to highly-processed foods

and outright restrictions on country foods, have created a Canadian Indigenous health disaster. Focus on repairing the harm through restorative justice can renew the use of Indigenous knowledge and practices that often perceive food as a sacred and healing medicine which can promote physical and spiritual health (Kuhnlein et al., 2009), as well as community-based food security.

Sustainable Development: Prioritizing Elements of Change

The World Commission of Environment and Development 1987, Brundtland Report was the foundation for the concept of Sustainable Development (SD). Answers to policy questions regarding who and how people should be engaged in SD remain problematic (Imram et al., 2014; Malley & Watts, 1989). In one study, the *Ecohealth lens* (with a goal to balance the 'ecosystem approach to health' with the 'health approach to ecosystem') was used to consider priority sustainability programs for several countries in Asia, Africa and North America. The perspective of this international group of scientists, mirrored that of early-career Ecohealth colleagues, with all identifying the need for enhanced ecocentric strategies, as well as a Canadian recommendation to expand the inclusion of Indigenous and traditional knowledge (Watts et al., 2015). Considering the ecosystem approach to health, a suggestion has been made for a global focus on universal maternal nutrition (Watts, 2019), with an Ecohealth approach currently being piloted in the Philippines (Alejos et al., 2021), supported by Canadian partnerships.¹ The use of Action Research to target specific elements of change through international collaboration has previously been identified as a process for the advancement of SD involving Canada and the Philippines (Watts & Pajaro, 2014).

¹ A new international initiative involving Saskatchewan Polytechnic University and the
1.. <https://www.kbfcanda.ca/en/projects/maternal-foodbank-kitchen-and-training-facility-with-daluhay/>

Philippine-based NGO, Daluhay-Daloy ng Buhay is looking at how to support Indigenous resource management in both countries, through geo-spatial skill capacity development and micro certification linked to traditional knowledge, resilience and institutionalization. Indigenous engagement in secondary and tertiary Canadian education has previously been proposed through the concept of *Environmental Responsibility through Ethnoecology* (Moffatt et al., 2011), with emphasis on Manitoba. The new Canada-Philippine initiative is focused on responding to the need to link Indigenous knowledge to university analytical skills (Watts et al., 2017) regarding Canada's Indigenous food security. Restoring the Churchill Goose Creek ecology and wet meadow habitat, could best be done as a well-documented process, utilizing scientific water-management expertise that has been developed elsewhere, for example, as considered by Smith et al., (2020).

The strategic-Churchill Goose Creek concept outlined herein, is based upon previous Indigenous participation in the Hudson Bay Ethnoecology program that was co-developed by Northern Manitoba's iconic Metis leader, the late Mrs. Catherine (Myrtle) deMeulles, an Order of Manitoba awardee. *Myrtle* as she liked to be called, in partnership with the first author created that unique university Ethnoecology program with the goal of working towards food security and specifically recognizing the rights of land-use and occupancy pre-European dominance, a period that includes the Churchill, Hudson Bay and Canadian Metis Cultures. These are ***the rights of the food chains***. Supported, not only by Myrtle's role as a co-instructor, but also through her cross-cultural efforts with Inuit, Dene and Cree elders, a heritage food-security link was formed back to Indigenous rights, pre-European dominance. During her lifetime, Mrs. deMeulles worked tirelessly to bring Indigeneity back into the forefront of Canada's future. Myrtle had a large coordinating role on what was then, the Churchill Regional Health Authority (CRHA) Board of

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Directors, during a period when the CRHA had broad and in-depth influence regarding Indigenous health. As with the Ethnoecology program, Myrtle again reached out to engage the four founding Indigenous cultures of Churchill and significantly supported the development of Nunavut. Mrs. deMeulles coordination role also resulted in the Indigenous language courses offered as a foundation for the Churchill Regional Center of what is now University College of the North and many other endeavors, as well as the aforementioned Ethnoecology program. That program engaged elder co-instructors from each of Churchill's four founding Indigenous cultures and together with the first author, they won a University of Manitoba Science Innovation award and operated from 1993-2004, co-sponsored by the Churchill-based, Institute of Arctic Ecophysiology Inc., established 1980-2005.

The current proposed focus is on the restoration of the seasonal Churchill Goose Creek wet meadow anabranching food ecosystem and the establishment of a Churchill-based training program involving national participation from the four founding Indigenous cultures, while also engaging the non-Indigenous heritage of the community and involving the travellers that have brought the community current recognition and economy. Effectively, the disparate socio-ecological assemblage within the area establishes *Churchill as an Invitation to Rethink Our Value System* (Ethnoecology researcher, Nicole Dzuba, personal communication). In part, the current strategic-Churchill concept involves a renewal of the Indigenous communities of Churchill and the establishment of Community-Based Food Security educational programming to build upon existing localized efforts, as initially suggested in support of the Canadian Inuit (Watts et al., 2017). If there is sufficient local interest, these initiatives could potentially be considered and in part initiated, through the current Churchill Indigenous Days that annually recognize and celebrate Churchill's

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four Indigenous cultures of heritage. Churchill's Indigenous Days are characterized in part, by traditional music, cultural exchange and the sharing of food – symbolic and practical food security. Similarly, the inclusive expressions of Indigenous and artisanal culture in the Philippines are a formal part of the Indigenous-engagement process to develop reflexive resource management programs based upon certified skills (Pajaro et al., 2022; Watts et al., 2021; Ayala et al., 2016).

Restorative Justice and Indigenous Food Systems

Restorative justice is well recognized in Canada as a delivery of justice that repairs damage involving those harmed and those that take responsibility for the harm. The geographically all-encompassing colonial history of Canada as a nation, results in unique challenges regarding reconciliation as a form of justice relative to the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples. A large percentage of Canadians currently live in territories that have been historically allocated to Indigenous Peoples through treaty. The treaties create a legal conundrum regarding the rights and responsibilities of both non-Indigenous and Indigenous Peoples of Canada, as well as those of the nation's governance regimens. Further, the European-derived entitlement of treaties were institutionalized (Canadian) expressions of unjustified dominance. The concepts of 'settlement' by those of European descent and creation of Canadian treaties are ostensibly based upon the Doctrine of Discovery, which established the paradigm that European explorers encountering Indigenous residents during exploration were not required to recognize the rights of the local people. At this point in history, functional and symbolic repeals of the Doctrine of Discovery are central to reconciliation regarding the rights of Indigenous Peoples in Canada.

A few days before the publishing of this paper, in March of 2023, the Vatican finally (after 530 years), formerly repudiated the Doctrine of Discovery. Reconciliation on the rights of Indigenous Peoples should be based upon the United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP). The 2007 release of the UNDRIP was followed by Canada's acceptance of the declaration in 2010 and a year later, focus on the critical nature of Article 29, in terms of identifying the government's responsibility to establish and implement assistance programs for Indigenous Peoples to facilitate the conservation and protection of their environmental resources (Moffatt et al., 2011). Restorative justice approaches have been increasingly used in addressing injustice related to the loss of Indigenous lands and waters. The loss of land is a momentous issue for Indigenous Peoples, characterizing the loss of identity, culture, and connection to traditional food sources. The impacts of this loss continue to be felt by Indigenous communities today, with negative consequences on physical and mental health, cultural stability, and economic well-being. Food sovereignty is directly related to land ownership, the nurturing of water flow and control of territory. Furthermore, Indigenous food sovereignty movements in Canada are working towards reclaiming traditional food systems, promoting sustainable and healthy food practices, and challenging the ascendancy of conventional agricultural practices. This includes the revival of traditional hunting, fishing, and gathering practices, as well as the promotion of traditional community-based farming initiatives and the protection of traditional lands. These lands, waters and activities are central to both Indigenous food systems and the transmission of cultural customs related to food.

In the context of Indigenous food systems, restorative justice can be applied in several ways. For example, it can be used to address the harm caused by industrial agriculture practices and environmental degradation of Indigenous lands, loss of biodiversity fundamental

to Indigenous food systems, and exploitation of Indigenous farmers. Restorative justice principles can be used to create more sustainable and equitable food systems that benefit Indigenous hunter-gatherers, farmers/food producers, consumers in Indigenous and other communities. Restorative justice can also be used to address food insecurity and *food deserts*, which unreasonably affect marginalized communities. By involving those impacted in the design and implementation of food programs and policies, restorative justice can help to tackle the underlying causes of food insecurity, such as poverty, power imbalance, and lack of access to land and resources.

The 2007 United Nations Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (UNDRIP) recognizes the importance of Indigenous Peoples' relationship with their lands and resources, including traditional foods. Article 31 states that "Indigenous peoples have the right to maintain, control, protect and develop their cultural heritage, traditional knowledge and traditional cultural expressions, as well as the manifestations of their sciences, technologies and cultures, including... the right to maintain, protect and develop the past, present and future manifestations of their cultures, such as archaeological and historical sites, artifacts, designs, ceremonies, technologies and visual and performing arts and literature." This includes the right to "maintain, control, protect and develop their intellectual property over such cultural heritage, traditional knowledge, and traditional cultural expressions." The Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) has also recognized the importance of Indigenous food systems and the role they play in food security and nutrition. In their report, "Indigenous Peoples' Food Systems and Well-being: Interventions and Policies for Healthy Communities," the FAO outlined the significant connection between traditional food systems, cultural identity, community-based and sustainable resource management (FAO 2013).

During this United Nations Decade of Restoration, the authors suggest that Canada as a nation move to prioritize the restoration of Indigenous food systems, which are central to the UNDRIP, Indigenous culture and the health of their families. Further, the Churchill River Goose Creek ecology represents a strategic restoration project that does not have large-scale competing non-Indigenous rights-considerations and is also an approach uniquely representative of the Indigenous milieu (of the country now known as Canada), pre-European dominance (Figure 1).

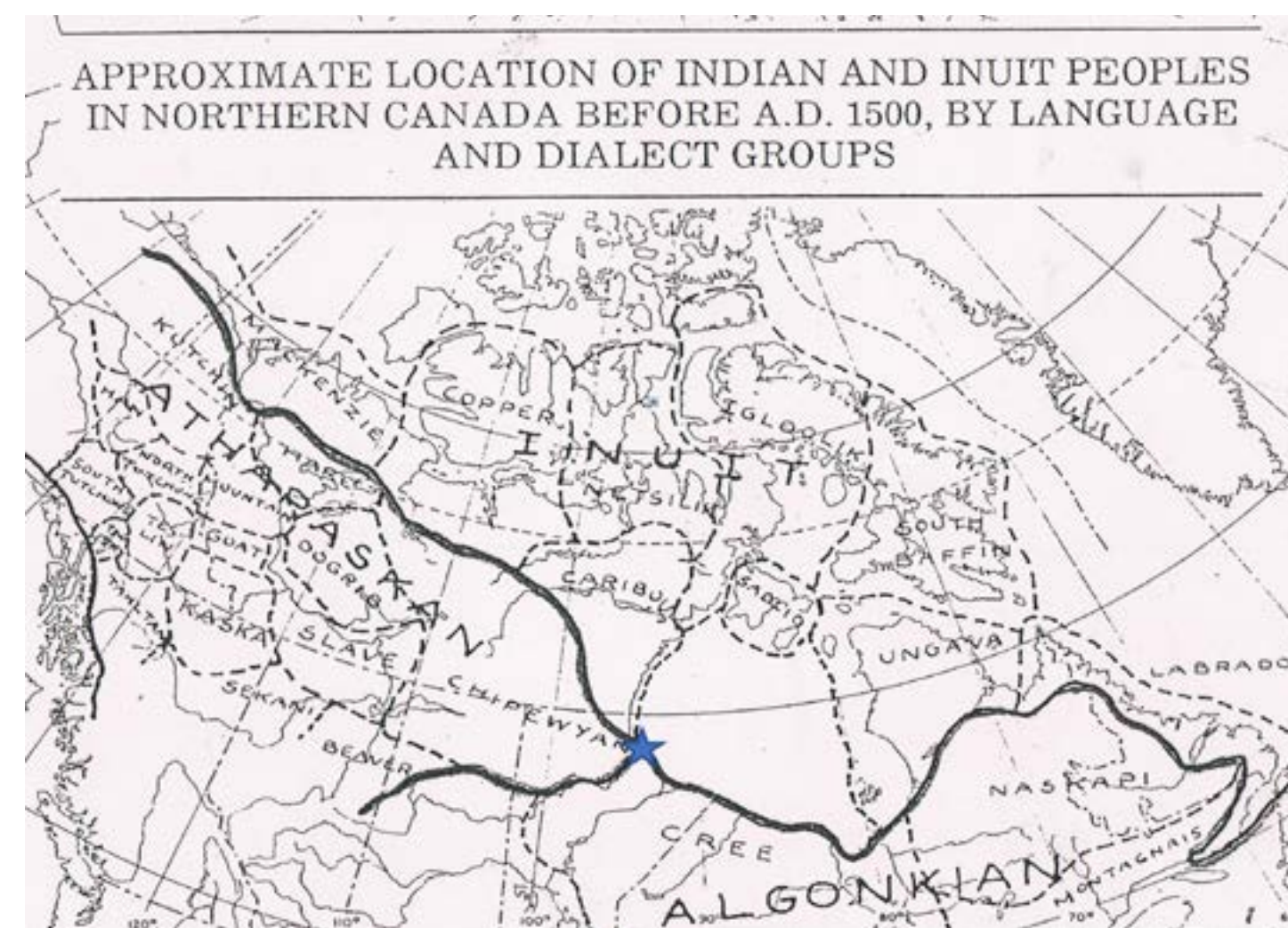


Figure 1. Location of Churchill, Manitoba - Relative to pre-European Indigenous Linguistic Groups. *Adapted from;* Crowe, K.J, 1974. *A History of The Original Peoples of Northern Canada.* McGill-Queens University Press. (Legend: ★ = Churchill. *Note:* the Churchill Athapaskan People referred to as "CHIPEWYAN" in the figure, self-identify as the Sayisi Dene, within a larger Dene Nation. The history of the Churchill Dene is told in part by: Bussidor, I., & Bilgen-Reinart, U. (2000). *Night spirits: The story of the relocation of the Sayisi Dene* (Vol. 10). University of Manitoba Press.

The National Indigenous Milieu of the Churchill Community

The community of Churchill represents many things to an incredibly large and amorphous group of people. Uniquely located where the tundra, taiga and Arctic Ocean all meet, the community is a hotspot of northern biodiversity, known by many travellers as *The Polar Bear Capital of the World*, by others as *The Beluga Whale Capital of the World*. Churchill's historic significance spans the fur trade era, a rocket science research establishment, Canada's only deep-water Arctic seaport and the development of Canada's Arctic military capacity. However, the heritage of this location extends much further back in time to an era before the coming of the Europeans to North America. Churchill represents the only location where the three main linguistic groups of what is now Canada have a shared heritage (Figure 1). The recognition of full Metis rights in the north part of Manitoba remains problematic (*for example*, Roy McPherson, 2018, unpublished legal story). Regardless, given the timing of the arrival of explorers, there is a strong argument to be made that one significant foundation of the Metis culture began at this location, in a literal sense, centuries before the colonial and dominating act of creating treaties. Perhaps some of the very first Metis families depended upon the spring protein availability from waterfowl and fish in the location known as Goose Creek, 100s of years before treaties. Goose Creek got its name because of the spring gathering of birds that formed a significant food source for Indigenous and non-Indigenous Churchill residents. Seasonal runoff patterns created a large annual harvest area for both fish and geese, based upon unique and still predictable snow runoff patterns in a wide area, centered by the main branches of Goose Creek itself and covering approximately 20-40 km².

Ecological Change Due to the Establishment of the CR30 Road

Prior to the 1970s, the area south of the Churchill Goose Creek cottage subdivision provided significant fish and waterfowl harvest for Inuit, Cree (Algonkian), Dene (Athapaskan), Metis, non-Indigenous residents and guests, as part of their community-based food system. Historically, Churchill has also been characterized by the sharing of food. Renewal of this historic Indigenous meeting place for the sharing of food might best be accomplished through the local people reaching out *to all of their relations*, a process that could perhaps be initiated as part of the Indigenous Days celebrations in Churchill. Stories passed down through elders, records of those that once lived in Churchill, lists of descendants, both living and deceased, inputs from interested individuals, national administrative structures that involve Algonkian, Athapaskan, Inuit and Metis people might all best be considered. The gathering of these lists and inputs can help to both build a vision of the future and a framework for an Indigenous reconciliation program in Churchill. Reaching back into the legacies of the four founding Indigenous groups can provide guidance on how to restore Indigenous food security. Churchill is uniquely situated to be a cross-cultural training center for socio-ecological approaches to Indigenous food systems (Figure 1) – potentially innovating a North American Indigenous approach to socio-ecological production systems (see: satoyama-initiative.org).

The first author arrived in Churchill in the 1970s during implementation of the Churchill River diversion and followed deliberations on moving of the water intake location south to what is now known as CR30, as well as the subsequent road construction. There were certainly community concerns that the road would destroy the fisheries and the overall ecology, however there were also claims that a series of culverts and

bridges at Goose Creek itself would prevent that problem. The decision to build a road instead of a series of bridges was a cost saving measure, albeit a miniscule expense in what now provides annual, multi-billion-dollar hydro revenues. Although there were adjustments made to the road to try to save the fisheries, residents experienced huge die-offs as the fish were unable to cross into the area east of the road and as well the large spring waterfowl aggregations eventually stopped forming. The ecological damage continued until the fish migrations of Grayling and Trout was destroyed, leaving just remanent fish movements of Northern Pike through the larger water courses of Goose Creek itself. Strategically, pre-colonial food system restoration and community-based food security planning at this Churchill location can be culturally linked across Indigenous-Canada (Figure 1).

Unfortunately, road construction did not include full ecological consideration of the fish and their movement in the area, nor the gathering of geese and other waterfowl at the same location in the spring. The construction certainly did not have the benefit of modern wetland restoration approaches such as that documented in Smith et al. (2020). However, the atmospheric aspects of the once and future wetland meadow habitat remain largely unchanged. The prevailing winds coming off Hudson Bay create deposits of snow along the treeline to the east of what is now the CR30 road. Looking west towards the Churchill River is a large expanse of flatlands and the gradual melting of the snow created seasonal meadow habitat for vegetation and invertebrates that formed the basis for the Goose Creek fisheries and the gathering of waterfowl. The road created a situation where the area to the east of the road largely become a semi-stagnant lake with water rushing through culverts. The road stopped the trickling of water through a broad area of willow and other small shrub

habitat which generated the insect ecology, historically also famous to those that were alive at that time. The road destroyed the flow of life and the ecology of the area, an irrepliable Churchill Indigenous (protein) food system. After construction, the first author recalls talking with disappointed Indigenous travellers coming for the spring goose hunt. The decline of this food system mirrors the decline of the Churchill human population and restoration of this food system has the potential to also restore some of the town's former seasonal population, effectively returning an Indigenous food system to communities and cultures.

Socio-Ecological Restoration and Community Development

Restoration of the Goose Creek wet meadow ecosystem would require a well-planned scientific and engineering approach, specifically focussing on modern wetland restoration approaches (for example, Smith et al., 2020). Churchill has the infrastructure for this restorative justice program, including the ultra-modern Town Complex recreation facilities, laboratory, accommodation and monitoring capacity of the Churchill Northern Studies Center and the Churchill Marine Observatory (CMO). The project could also help to define a modern focus for the CMO (Crise et al., 2018; Kaiser et al., 2019), a focus founded upon local development and (Canada-wide) Indigenous food security objectives represented by the four founding Churchill Indigenous cultures, rather than the current focus on external and corporate economic and scientific agendas. In this the United Nations Decade of Restoration, the once and future Churchill Goose Creek wet meadow represents a strategic opportunity to restore an Indigenous food system that links to all four of the major Indigenous and linguistic groups of Canada, pre-European domination, (Figure 1) and initiate much needed Canadian-Indigenous Community-Based Food Security programming.

Wetland restoration is the process of returning a wetland to an operative and healthy state. The process can lead to ecological services beyond food systems such as restoring or enhancing natural hydrology, re-establishing native vegetation, and controlling invasive species, flood control and water filtration. We now know that watershed restoration can restore fish habitat (Chircops & Salsbury 2019), especially when linked to a monitoring process. The suggestion herein, is that a request be prepared and sent to the Canadian government, asking for the establishment of an Indigenous-Churchill cross-cultural food security program and replacement of the CR30 Road with a system of bridges to restore the wet meadow anabranching habitat. Inuit, Cree, Dene and Metis cultural outreach could facilitate similar initiatives across the country. As a unique and representative homeland for pre-European Canadian Indigeneity, Churchill could also become a center for the development of maternal Ecohealth, promoting, local and Indigenous food-bank strategies to address issues such as women's food insecurity, discussed elsewhere (Alejos et al., 2021; Watts 2019; Watts et al., 2017). The multi-year program could best involve select river research science inputs (see for example, Smith et al., 2020), instructional resources, various levels of micro certification in part focused on pre-restoration and post-restoration ecological assessment and monitoring, with inclusive supplementary funds for further restoration activities, as required. The education and certification program could be administered through the University College of the North - Churchill Regional Centre. This pilot program could enhance capacity for community-based food security expertise of the four largest Indigenous cultures of Canada through the provision of government scholarships and culture-based site applications and practicums in other pilot sites.

Further, to assist in the development of culture-based restoration change, the suggestion

is to establish a record of the Indigenous family members that have depended upon the region's resources historically and evolve an Indigenous network, from local to national, for each of the four founding Indigenous communities. Indigenous travellers from across Canada could return to their primary cross-cultural meeting place regarding Indigenous language and culture, creating a renaissance of sharing food, knowledge and plans for the restoration of Indigenous food systems. As well, the project would best consider the heritage and involvement of non-Indigenous people of the area and the engagement of Churchill travellers to form an inclusive *Image of the Future* regarding community-based food systems and the establishment of common goals for the common future. Restoration and renewal of the Goose Creek wet meadow ecosystem will also affect food security down-stream and across the Arctic. The local flow of freshwater into the Churchill River estuary provided one of the first documented linkages between the disciplines of freshwater biology and marine mammal conservation (Watts & Draper, 1988). Resultant changes since the diversion of the Churchill River have included a dramatic yet undocumented reduction in the local seal populations that clearly effects the food security of the Inuit culture of Canada (Watts et al., 2017), a topic that deserves consideration based upon national and international environmental law (Koutouki et al., 2015). The program could also help to actualize the goal of establishing a Canadian professional approach to certification, inclusive of Indigenous and artisanal traditional knowledge and socio-ecological assessment skills, in a process similar to the Philippines (Pajaro et al., 2022; Watts et al., 2021). Canada's commitment to source funding for this initiative could be a flagship for reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples, focused on health.

Initially, local Churchill discussions could consider action plans to build upon

counterpart contributions and develop a proposal that could for example, be submitted directly to both the Prime Minister of Canada and the Governor General of Canada. Canada can best be given the opportunity to promote accountability and recovery through a guarantee regarding the fund-sourcing for restoration of this timeless Indigenous food-system ecology. Phase I could focus on obtaining that initial commitment to overall budgetary scope based upon project design. The strategic national implications of the scope of this proposed initiative could serve as a model for food system restoration providing a broad universal symbol of Indigeneity through cultural engagement relative to restorative justice and the colonization that created Canada, which was based upon the Doctrine of Discovery.

The Churchill Goose Creek wet meadow ecological restoration represents a strategic opportunity for Canada to create a functional model for Indigenous food system restoration as a keystone reconciliation for colonization. This restoration initiative would also contribute to Canada's international commitment to the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG). Specifically – Eliminate Poverty (SDG 1): improved Indigenous food systems can mitigate Indigenous cultural poverty; Zero Hunger (SDG 2): Indigenous food systems address food insecurity and malnutrition in Indigenous communities; Health and Well-being (SDG 3): Indigenous food systems are closely linked to Indigenous cultural practices and promote mental and physical health; Quality Education (SDG 4); Reflexive Indigenous food-security program training would be initiated; Decent Work and Development (SDG 8) Restoration ecology is a global growth industry; Industry, Innovation and Infrastructure (SDG 9) Socio-ecological infrastructure innovation could help to expand the tourism and local food security industry sectors; Reduced Inequalities (SDG 10) The community-

based food security training would have an outreach across under developed Indigenous Canada; Sustainable Cities and Communities (SDG 11): Indigenous food systems can promote sustainable land use practices and the conservation of biodiversity; Ensure Sustainable Production and Consumption Patterns (SDG 12) Restoration of biodiversity production would help to mitigate and adapt to climate change (SDG 13); Life in water (SDG 14) Biodiversity would be restored and on land (SDG 15): Indigenous food systems would support traditional knowledge and practices for sustainable land management and conservation; Peace Justice and Strong Institutions (SDG 16) The project would strengthen local institutions such as the CMO and University College of North to respond to food security and socio-ecological restoration. Finally, the initiative would demonstrate a model for complex partnership development (SDG 17) for socio-ecological resilience goals. Critically, the project would provide a culturally far-reaching symbol of Canada's commitment to the UNDRIP and reconciliation with Indigenous Peoples.

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On Stairwell Acoustics

Whether quilters called down
from third-story bees (blankets
cotton-cozied in 1914, bound
for our boys overseas), or mothers
hollered up to waken farm boys
for school at 6 a.m., midwinter-dark,
stairwell resonance must have carried;
voices driven on forceful, propelled
along staircase soundwave channels.

* * *

Of stairwell acoustics, so much may be said
from the carried-up voice to the ears still abed
on a man in deep sleep I'm about to disrupt
with a call from below that insists he wake up—
it will leap fifteen steps, will achieve height and depth,
and my man's groggy voice must rejoin it, except
if I take passing pity on one who loves sleep,
and allow a trail-off of the holler (aimed steep)
a cessation of pleasantries heard as war cries
by the one still in bed where to this hour he lies.

—Carolyn Creed



Treeskin #2

Sue Matheson

Hans Frank Gives Birth to Hitler’s Jewish Grandfather: Meet Midwife Dr. G. M. Gilbert

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ABSTRACT

In 2022, Russian Foreign Minister Lavrov defended Nazism charges against Ukraine and its Jewish President Volodmy Zelensky by appeal to Adolf Hitler’s “Jewish blood.” Dr. Leonard Sax’s 2019 researches revived inquiry into Hitler’s paternal grandfather. For Nazi war criminal Hans Frank’s Nuremberg memoirs state Hitler tasked Frank with investigating Hitler’s family-line. Frank alleged unearthing Hitler’s unwed grandmother’s Jewish employer in Graz: Hitler’s possible Jewish grandfather. Hitler’s father was born in 1837. Sax cites evidence of a small community of Jews in Graz pre-1850, and speculates the 1935 Nuremberg Laws’ prohibiting employment in Jewish households of childbearing-age female Aryans revealed Hitler’s unease over his descent. Yet Frank’s 1946 narrative (“Graz II”) rather parallels both a World War II Nazi investigation (“Graz I”) into Hitler’s line and a 1932 Nazi inquest into wartime Gestapo head Reinhard Heydrich’s family.

Frank's U.S. military psychologist at Nuremberg, Dr. Gustave M. Gilbert, presumably welcomed an intrapsychic thesis explaining Hitler's antisemitism. Gilbert might facilitate exposing Frank to defendants Ernst Kaltenbrunner's or Arthur Seyss-Inquart's possible recall about those prior inquests. Gilbert subconsciously/accidentally might have midwived Frank's account.

INTRODUCTION

A May 1, 2022, remark over Italian television by Russian Foreign Minister Sergey Lavrov over Adolf Hitler's ancestry stirred outrage. In defending Russia's assertion that its invasion of Ukraine aimed at Ukraine's denazification, Foreign Minister Lavrov dismissed the point that the President of Ukraine, Volodymyr Zelensky, himself is Jewish: "He [Zelensky] puts forward an argument: what kind of Nazism can they have if he is a Jew. I may be wrong, but Hitler also had Jewish blood. It means absolutely nothing. The wise Jewish people say that the most ardent anti-Semites are usually Jews,' Lavrov said."¹

A 2019 study published by Leonard Sax, M.D., Ph.D., had rekindled attention to the question whether Adolf Hitler's paternal grandfather was Jewish. Psychiatrist Sax's concluding section is headed: "Which hypothesis best fits the facts?"² It opens: "As in any of the sciences, 100 per cent certainty is often not possible. Instead, one makes a hypothesis and checks to see how well the hypothesis fits the facts."³ Dr. Sax invites his readers: "Consider the following questions:...."⁴ Of those four, his ultimate question is: "How to explain Hans Frank's claim that Hitler's paternal grandfather was Jewish?"⁵

The following pages help inform future responses to Sax's ultimate question. They assess autobiographical reflections of Nazi war criminal Frank. Dr. Frank served as personal

lawyer for Adolf Hitler preceding the Nazis' 1933 seizure of power. He regales readers with an episode from 1930. Frank allegedly inquired into his client's family background. He disinterred a possible Jewish father in Graz. Der Fuehrer's father was born in 1837: Dr. Sax cites evidence of a small community of Jews in Graz pre-1850. Frank's account somewhat parallels, e.g., an actual, 1932 Nazi probe into the allegedly Jewish family line of the future Gestapo chief Reinhard Heydrich.

Frank's 1946 story goes that Hitler's grandmother was impregnated by her Jewish master while his hired house servant. And biographers have highlighted that Hitler did inaccurately denounce a political foe as the offspring of an Aryan serving woman and a Jewish employer. That imaginably might unmask the Fuehrer's fear of his own partial Jewishness. However, biographers upon whom Sax relies pointedly evidenced this incident with a half-truth only.

To be sure, one portion of the Nazi regime's antisemitic Nuremberg Laws of 1935 barred premenopausal Aryan females from such employment in Jewish households. That imaginably might imply Hitlerian nervousness over his bloodline. But in this context Sax follows biographer John Toland to relate a personal detail about Hitler's firsthand attention to these enactments. Sax's secondhand detail had been recorded by Toland absent any source: Also, Hitler's behavior relevant to the 1935 Laws does not prove him fanatically focused upon Aryan females in Jewish households: Hitler did not closely associate himself with respective legal definitions of Jewish, and of mixed-blood, persons.

American military psychologist Dr. Gustave M. Gilbert enjoyed extensive and protracted access to the Nuremberg Tribunal's highest-level defendants, e.g., Frank, and Nazi kingpins Arthur Seyss-Inquart and Ernst Kaltenbrunner. Hans Frank rejected the Nazi state plus Hitler personally. Professionally, Gilbert could covet an intrapsychic

theory explanatory of Hitler's personal antisemitism. Did Gilbert, even if unwittingly, constitute the catalyst for Frank's creation of such an explanation (e.g., Hitler's own quarter-Jewish descent)?

Their Nuremberg Tribunal timeline saliently allows for Frank's composing a Jewish grandfather story sparked by Gilbert, and its being reinforced by a garbled, offhand recall by Frank and/or Kaltenbrunner and/or Seyss-Inquart of the 1932 Heydrich investigation, and/or of a wartime Hitler-forebears investigation (Graz I). A vengeful Frank's synthesizing such a story (Graz II) symbolically at cost to Hitler would explain various factual defects in Frank's version of history, e.g., that Adolf Hitler and his humble, workingwoman-grandmother Maria Anna were contemporaries. Further, it would explain how the Graz, Austria element of Frank's account (Graz II) partially overlaps a Graz element of that prior probe of Hitler (Graz I).

A SCHICKLGRUBER FAMILY CORRESPONDENCE: GRAZ II

The Saga from Hans Frank

Dr. Hans Frank (from 1939 the Governor General of the Occupied Polish Territories⁶) had been, between 1927 and 1933, Hitler's personal attorney.⁷ A defendant in the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg, he wrote memoirs shortly before Frank's October 16, 1946 hanging. Therein he held that during 1930 Hitler received a blackmail-threat letter from Hitler's nephew, William Patrick Hitler. Hitler allegedly requested investigation of his own background. Frank uncovered the existence of correspondence between Hitler's paternal grandmother (Maria Anna Schicklgruber) and a Jew called Frankenberger. She had worked in his Graz household when she was impregnated. The correspondence suggested the household's nineteen year-old boy sired her baby, and to preclude courtroom publicity the lad's own father paid maintenance to Maria Anna

until her son reached age fourteen.⁸ The Frankenbergers and Hitler's grandmother wrote to one another; their correspondence remained in the possession of a woman residing near Graz.⁹ Those letters are yet to be found: Frank never asserted he had viewed them firsthand.¹⁰

Skepticism is permissible regarding blackmailed Herr Frankenberger's payment of maintenance to Maria Anna until her son, born on June 7, 1837,¹¹ turned age fourteen. For Johann Georg Heidler (brother of Johann Nepomuk) had married Fraulein Maria Anna Schicklgruber on May 10, 1842.¹² Frau Maria Anna Heidler died of consumption in Klein Motten¹³ on January 7, 1847. And Alois took up residence with Georg's brother Johann Nepomuk, apparently between May 10, 1842, and January 7, 1847. If (1) there is no proof of Georg's whereabouts between 1847 and 1857,¹⁴ and if (2) Maria Anna died when Alois was nine, and if (3) Alois by age nine had gone to live with Nepomuk, then how had Frank found that Herr Frankenberger paid maintenance to the mother until the boy reached age fourteen?

According to Henrik Eberle and Emeritus Professor of Medicine Hans-Joachim Neumann in their *Was Hitler Ill?*¹⁵: "The entire Frankenberger myth comes from Hans Frank, who wanted to make the Jews partly responsible for their own extermination and sought to explain Hitler's anti-Semitism as a psychotic hatred of his own blood line."¹⁶ Where might one locate the fons et origo of his Nuremberg-Graz-Frankenberger yarn? Dr. Frank during 1946 or much earlier could have heard of another such project. It had touched even the director of the internal security arm of the SS to 1942: Heydrich the Hangman.

The Saga of Reinhard Heydrich

Germany's Robert Gerwarth, the University College of Dublin historian, relates how rumors of Reinhard Heydrich's ancestral Jewishness prompted a humiliating 1932 Party investigation.¹⁷ For Reinhard's father Bruno had a Gentile stepfather with a Jewish-sounding family name: Gustav Robert Süß.¹⁸ Bruno's conservatory in Halle had been a flourishing Heydrich family enterprise; Bruno was the Halle Conservatory's founding director.¹⁹ Expelled from the Conservatory had been Bruno's pupil, Martin Frey.²⁰ Frey avenged himself upon Bruno via a relative of Martin.

An alteration was made to the entry for Bruno in Hugo Riemann's *Musik Lexikon* of 1916, indicating Bruno's name was "actually Süß," and Bruno was a Jewish composer: Bruno sued the encyclopedia's editors for libel.²¹ Thereafter the Heydrichs likewise threatened with a libel action anyone to repeat rumors of the family's Jewishness.²² It was this old rumor that Reinhard was of Jewish extraction which rose to haunt Heydrich in early June 1932.²³ This sort of thing shortly could grow more common. Even in 2021, mainstream English-language novelists still could have characters in the newly-Nazifying Berlin of 1933 remark: "So checking one's racial purity has become a growth industry. How depressing."²⁴

Observe how Heydrich had a supposedly Jewish grandfather, and Frank has Hitler with an allegedly Jewish grandfather. Heydrich's supposedly Jewish paternal grandfather has the "wrong" name (not Heydrich but Süß). Hitler's supposedly Jewish paternal grandfather has the "wrong" name (not Hitler but Frankenberger). Heydrich's ancestry was investigated by the Party in 1932, before the Nazis come to power in 1933. Frank has Hitler's ancestry investigated in 1930, before the Nazi accession to power.

HITLER ON JEWS IN THE FAMILY, AND IN THE HOUSEHOLD

Jews in the Family: Hitler Assails Matthias Erzberger

History Chroniclers Excise Text from Hitler's Remarks

Indubitably, Hitler was alert to the Jewish master-female Aryan servant exploitation idea. Historian John Toland declared during 1977 of *Hitler's Secret Book*⁵ that:

his charges of Jewish poisoning and corruption revealed personal obsessions. The first was a reference to Matthias Erzberger, who as a representative of Friedrich Ebert's government signed the 1918 armistice, as 'the bastard son of a servant-girl and a Jewish employer.' Was he reminded of his own father? Since childhood Hitler had heard rumors that his paternal grandmother had worked in a Jewish household of a family in Graz and returned home impregnated by the Jewish son in that home.²⁵

In Toland's 1976 Hitler biography, Toland already had written of Hitler's obsession with Jews poisoning Aryan blood: "He referred to the hated Erzberger, who signed the 1918 armistice, as 'the bastard son of a servant-girl and a Jewish employer.' He could have been talking of his own [Hitler's] father."²⁶ In 2019, Sax (citing Toland) bought into Toland's quotation of *Hitler's Secret Book*: "Hitler described Erzberger as 'the bastard son of a servant-girl and a Jewish employer'"²⁷

Ron Rosenbaum, the author of *Explaining Hitler*,²⁸ posited that Hitler's feeling an electricity in Jewish employer/Aryan serving girl fantasies was evidenced by "Hitler's denunciation of Matthias Erzberger, one of the 'November Criminals' (men who signed the 'stab in the back' November 1918 Armistice), as 'the bastard son of a Jew and a serving girl'."²⁹ Robert George Leeson Waite, author of *The Psychopathic God: Adolf*

Hitler³⁰ supposed emphatically:

In a revealing passage in his second book, written in 1928, Hitler wrote: “Fate had chosen a man who was one of those principally guilty for the collapse of our people. Matthias Erzberger,*the illegitimate son of a servant girl and a Jewish employer....*” As the editor of the book has pointed out, the rumor about Erzberger had no basis in fact. The psychologically interesting point, however, is that Hitler repeated the story in writing.³¹ George Victor, Ph.D., was a psychotherapist for over three decades. Victor contributed:

The story of his father’s conception became Hitler’s model of how evil spread. He spoke venomously of the government leader Matthias Erzberger – “the bastard son of a servant girl and a Jewish employer” – as Germany’s worst villain and traitor. Erzberger was Catholic, but Hitler considered him a Jew, saying his mixed parentage was the cause of his evil nature.³²

In 2020, the well-known historian of Nazi Germany Richard J. Evans capsulized this 1918 major event of Erzberger’s public career:

Facing enemies in the west and south, the Germans had no alternative but to accept whatever armistice terms were offered by the Allies. Max von Baden’s government sent the moderate conservative Matthias Erzberger, Minister without Portfolio, to Compiegne in northern France on 7 November 1918 to conclude terms. The delegations met in a railway carriage parked in a siding. There were no negotiations. Erzberger and his team were simply presented with the necessary documents and told to sign them.....The Majority Social Democrats’ leader, Friedrich Ebert, became de facto head

of the new republican government and, backed by the titular army chief, Field Marshall Paul von Hindenburg, instructed Erzberger to accept the terms of the Armistice, which he did under protest....³³

Also during 2020, Gerwarth recorded:

A formal protest read out by Erzberger warned that the terms would drive Germany into anarchy and famine. But despite his protest, Erzberger signed the armistice document at 5:20 in the morning on 11 November.³⁴

On 26 August 1921 the Centre Party politician Matthias Erzberger was shot and killed in the Black Forest. The fact that he had signed the armistice of November 1918 made him, in the eyes of the murderers, a “November Criminal”....The student Oltwig von Hirschfeld had already attempted an assassination of Erzberger in January 1920 which had left the politician critically injured....His murder in the summer of 1921 was carried out by two former navy officers who had been working on behalf of extremist right-wing secret societies and terror cells....For the first time, an elected representative of the young republic had been specifically targeted and killed in a terrorist attack.³⁵ However blameless the Minister without Portfolio proved, it is not astonishing if the Minister’s Compiegne role kept Hitler ferociously inflamed for years.

Hitler Distanced Himself from the Charge

Due to Hitler’s unsurprising (albeit unjustified) rabidity about Erzberger, comprehensive quotation embracing the beginning of Hitler’s 1928 sentence becomes at least as revealing as the shrunken passage provided by Toland, Rosenbaum, Waite, and psychotherapist Victor: “Matthias Erzberger, a deputy of the Center [Party, a substantially Roman

Catholic party], and according to various assertions the bastard son of a serving girl and a Jewish employer,”³⁶ Hitler distanced himself (via “according to various assertions”) from the bastard son-Jewish employer assertion. Hitler’s self-distancing element in his line is amputated by surgeons Toland (twice), Rosenbaum, Waite, and Dr. Victor.

Their successive amputations, e.g., Toland’s as quoted by Sax, prove the more interesting given high-profile, pre-1928 Erzberger-Hitler backstory:

Mathias Erzberger, former Reich Minister of Finance, fell while taking a walk in the Schwarzwald on August 21, 1921, and the killers escaped through the woods. On November 11, 1918, Erzberger had signed the armistice in Marshall Foch’s railway coach, because the military leaders lacked the courage to seal their defeat with their own signatures....The first leader of Hitler’s private army, Johann Ulrich Klintsch, most probably an accomplice, was in prison for a while; but in the end the killing of Erzberger was another of those deeds of the secret murders’ army that was never avenged.³⁷

In a January 1922 Munich speech to a Germany-wide congress of tiny antisemitic or “German Socialist” organizations, Hitler pronounced:

I thank Messrs. Klintisch and Maurice [Klitsch’s aide] for their activity in the organization of the storm troop. Even if Klintisch has been in prison for suspicion of the Erzberger killing, we did not shake him off as certain other parties would have. On the contrary: when he came back we carried him through the hall on our shoulders.³⁸

Thus, it was the politician fairly openly cheerleading cold-blooded murder (“we carried him through the hall on our shoulders”) in 1922 who during 1928 still recoiled from responsibility for labelling Erzberger “bastard son of a servant girl and a Jewish employer.”

Consequently, ascertain whose secretmost psyche emerges more denuded via the whittled-down quote from Hitler published by Rosenbaum, Waite, Victor, Toland and (thanks to Toland) Sax. Is it Hitler’s psyche? Or the psyches of those amputating surgeons? Waite: “psychologically interesting point.” Did anyone among them forget Hitler’s self-distancing phrase: “according to various assertions”? Some propound that a parapax, like a “temporary” forgetting,³⁹ cannot occur by chance.

Also absent from *Hitler’s Secret Book* are the psychotherapist Dr. George Victor-Hitler’s denomination of Erzberger as Deutschland’s worst traitor and villain and as Jew. Likewise missing (from the page Victor cites) is Victor-Hitler’s identification of Matthias’s mixed heritage as engendering Mathias’s natural evil. Nor is it found on the other page wherein Erzberger is named by Hitler.⁴¹ *Parpax*.

Authors Detect Rumors, Whether Hitler Did or Not

For that matter, as seen hereinabove, John Toland declared that from Adolf’s boyhood rumors had reached him of his father Alois’s mother serving in Graz in a Jewish home and returning home pregnant by a Jewish son in that household. But Toland failed to cite Toland’s source. Comparably, Robert George Leeson Waite declared that: “From early childhood, Adolf had heard rumours in the village [unidentified] that his father, who was illegitimate, and had changed his name from Schicklgruber to Hitler, was part Jewish.”⁴² Comparably again, Waite failed to cite *Waite’s* source.

Meanwhile, Toland’s 1976 biography related how Maria Anna’s lad Alois “...was brought up by [Johann Georg] Heidler’s brother Johann Nepomuk at house number 36 the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north 47

in Spital. This farmhouse and the one next door would play an important role in the life of young Adolf Hitler, for here, in this isolated village, he spent a half dozen pleasant summer holidays.”⁴³ Adolf passed the summer of 1903 in Spital⁴⁴ visited in 1905, 1906 and 1908⁴⁵; vacationed there in the summer of 1909⁴⁶ at age 20; and spent wartime leave in Spital during September 1918 at age 29--- marking his final visit with his relatives there (not inconceivably, he visited to boast of his recent award of the Iron Cross 1st Class).⁴⁷ Decide whether this record denotes a personage haunted by hometown doubts about his lineage.

Toland drops a footnote containing: “There was village gossip that Alois was his [Johann Nepomuk’s] natural son.”⁴⁸ Judge whether Adolf immersed in the exact childhood environment most likely instilling conviction that (thanks to one Spital brother or another) through the veins of father Alois and son Adolf flowed Hitler blood. After all, as Hitler biographer Konrad Heiden confirmed of Spital before Frank’s 1946 story: “It will probably be impossible to find out whose son he [Alois Schicklgruber] was considered by those who knew or should have known; but in the eyes of the village he apparently passed as a child of the [Johann Georg] Hiedler or [Johan Nepomuk] Huttler family.”⁴⁹

Jews in the Household: Hitler and the Serving Girl Codicil

The Level of Hitler’s Sensitivity to Serving Girls in Jewish Homes

Rosenbaum relays: “And then, as Robert Waite has pointed out, there is the serving-girl codicil which Hitler insisted on including in the 1935 Nuremberg Racial Laws, a codicil that not only specifically outlawed intercourse between Jews and Aryans but also explicitly forbade Jews even to employ Aryan women under the age of forty-five in their homes.”⁴⁸ Sure enough, Waite recorded:

Hitler himself personally checked the wording of these laws and gave strict orders that not one word should be changed. Paragraph 3 is especially interesting. The Führer made a special point of emphasizing the following disability: “Jews cannot employ female household servants of German or related blood who are under 45 years of age.” Hitler’s own grandmother had been no older than 41 when she became pregnant while working, according to Hitler’s suspicions, in a Jewish household.⁵¹

Waite so delighted in his first sentence of this passage that he duplicated it verbatim (besides dropping ‘himself’) many years thereafter.⁵² In 2019, Sax reiterated: “Hitler biographer Robert Waite (1978: 128) reports that ‘Hitler himself personally checked the wording of these laws and gave strict orders that not one word should be changed’.”⁵³

Rosenbaum overlooks that Hitler was sufficiently slapdash about the Law for the Protection of German Blood that he told Reich Minister of the Interior Dr. Wilhelm Frick only on September 13 that he wanted the law passed on September 15.⁵⁴ Bernhard Lösener, the Third Reich expert on race laws,⁵⁵ had to be flown from Berlin hurriedly to Nuremberg. There Lösener and four top civil servants struggled with giving birth overnight to an acceptable law. They might have utilized as a basis a Justice Department preliminary draft. Lösener’s primary concern was defining legally different degrees of Jewishness and applying the Law to full Jews, alone (as far as possible).⁵⁶ Lösener could have been inspired by genuine hope of sparing persons partly Jewish.⁵⁷ Gerhard Wagner, of Hitler’s immediate entourage, pushed for tougher formulations. Four drafts went to Hitler; his Ministry recommended the weakest.⁵⁸

On the morning of September 14, Hitler agreed upon that softest formulation,
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but excised these words: “This law is only valid for full Jews.”⁵⁹ The upshot was that a supplementary decree to be negotiated between the Party and Ministry remained pending: Reader in Modern European History at Exeter University Jeremy Noakes and Reader in European Politics at Bristol University Geoffrey Pridham understood that Hitler’s excision of “the crucial sentence reflected his gut feelings.”⁶⁰ Thus, Hitler *avoided* the opportunity to shield categorically those non-full Jews (like a descendant of an Alois Hitler born of a Schicklgruber and a hypothetical Jewish-Frankenberger). His *avoidance* here represented the Fuehrer’s “gut” inclination.

Jewish Employers, Aryan Maids and Seductions: Who, Whom?

Rosenbaum emphatically denigrates the serving-girl prohibition even on its own terms:

It is a bizarre legislative provision, in that it seems to have a pornographic fantasy embedded within it. It’s a subversively ambiguous fantasy at that: While it seems to say that Jews could not be trusted with nubile Aryan women in their employ, the fact that the prohibition extended not just to the act of miscegenation but to the possibility of a Jewish master and Aryan maidservant being in each other’s *presence* carries an implicit hint that the Aryan maids themselves might not be trusted. This deeply embedded distrust, or at least deeply divided view of the serving girl and her relationship to the shadowy *pater incertus* who may be her master, is at the heart of the enigma of Maria Schicklgruber and the fantasies projected upon the blank line on the baptismal certificate [of her bastard, the tyrant’s father: Alois] she filed in Döllersheim.

No explicit eyewitness or documentary evidence has survived to support

this dark view of Maria....⁶¹

Is the sense of the serving girl codicil more that: (1) Jewish employers will seduce Aryan employees; or that (2) the Aryan girls will seduce the Jewish men (that “dark view of Maria”)? Rosenbaum reads the statute luridly. His reading infers somewhat that Aryan serving maids themselves were untrustworthy with Jewish men. The implication is taken to betoken Hitler’s allegedly pornographic fantasies about Maria Anna.

To be sure, one famed Viennese psychoanalyst born in 1868 did characterize serving girls as heterosexually aggressive within their employers’ households, and with employers themselves. During Hitler’s lifetime, Wilhelm Stekel, M.D., cast light over:

...a rather obscure subject. In the lower social strata, sexual freedom is much greater than we care to admit. Servants, especially, tend to compensate for the lack of social freedom by an abundance of sexual license. The moment of revenge upon the employer through corruption of the progeny comes as an additional incentive. That is why maids delight in the seduction of sons of the family, indulge in relations with the master of the house himself, and gladly enlighten the daughters of their employer. They willingly serve as helpers and protectors of the girls when these indulge in affairs of their own. The maids go even a step farther and help the seducer in breaking down the moral inhibitions of the girls.⁶²

But of miscegenation and Hitler, Noakes and Pridham recount: “The Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour was administered by the existing criminal court apparatus and not by special courts. Only the male partner was put on trial, partly

because the female partner could then be used as a witness against him and partly because Hitler believed that the man invariably initiated the sexual activity.”⁶³ Consistently with Hitler’s take on miscegenation, toward the goal of fighting syphilis *Mein Kampf* called for fighting prostitution. Toward this interim goal of fighting prostitution, *Mein Kampf* called for: “...a number of preliminary conditions. But the first is and remains the creation of the possibility of early marriage, according to human nature, above all for the man; because the woman is here only the passive part, anyhow.”⁶⁴

Hitler held the male *without exception* initiated sex. Even so lightly had fantasies about Maria Anna as seductress-of-employer any purchase upon grandson Adolf. But had darkly pornographic fantasies about Maria Anna purchase upon Ron Rosenbaum? Does Rosenbaum (not unlike Stekel) lack confidence that the chastity of Aryan women hired as household maids was stout, not shaky?

Consistently with Noakes and Pridham, psychoanalyst Victor argued of Nazi racial legislation: “Marital prohibitions were to apply to men and women, but police were instructed to enforce them only against men. This suggests again Hitler’s preoccupation with the ‘crimes’ of his grandfather and father.”⁶⁵ That is, as between grandmother Maria Anna and the unknown begetter of Adolf’s father Alois, the crime was the begetter’s. Thereby, any Hitlerian supposed preoccupation precluded a “dark view of Maria.”

A generation later, the Fuehrer’s father Alois Hitler, impregnated his unwed housekeeper Klara. She was Adolf’s mother. But Victor perceives the Fuehrer preoccupied with crimes of his *father*. If Victor is accurate, then to that extent the pregnant out-of-wedlock Klara could look innocent to Adolf.

So suppose with Dr. Victor that the Aryan household servant-enactment were truly all about Alois and Alois’s unidentified father (“enforce them only against men”)

as initiators of sex. *Quaere* whether, If Hitler proved preoccupied with these two males as seducers-of-housekeepers, then Ron Rosenbaum might have been blinded badly by pornographic fantasies about nubile or matronly Maria. For author Rosenbaum, unlike Hitler, smelled a hint that Aryan maidservants might perform unchastely. *Femmes fatale* sell books, as predatory, male household-residents do not.

Hitler and the Definition of Jewishness

The definition of Jewishness was debated intensively by State and Party after September 15. Hitler’s September 14 rejection of the application of the Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour to full Jews only was cause thereof.⁶⁶ To apply the Law to full Jews alone would have guaranteed the exclusion of a merely quarter-Jew---*ex hypothesi*, Adolf Hitler---from its bite. Der Fuehrer spurned that option.

The key agencies involved were Rudolf Hess’s office represented by Wagner, and the Reich Ministry of the Interior represented by Lösener. Discussions throughout October saw both sides agreed that quarter-Jews should be Reich citizens. The sticking-point was half-Jews. The Interior Ministry insisted upon the general acceptance of half-Jews as Reich citizens. It enlisted Foreign Minister Baron Konstantin von Neurath and Dr. Hjalmar H. G. Schacht to boost its side. Whereas the Party pressed for the categorization as Jews of most half-Jews: Hitler was disinclined to be involved, cancelling a November 5 conference to dodge taking a position, and the ultimate Ministry-Party compromise was premised upon Wagner’s draft but adopted Lösener’s definition of a Jew (and dropped a demand for mixed-marriage divorces).⁶⁷

As matters transpired, it was provided in Article II, paragraph 2 of the November 14, 1935, First Supplementary Decree of the Reich Citizenship Law: “An individual of *mixed* Jewish blood is one who is descended from *one or two grandparents* who were *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* 53

racially full Jews...A grandparent shall be considered as full-blooded if he or she belonged to the Jewish religious community.”⁶⁸ By no means was the exclusion of quarter-Jews (of *mixed* blood, who should be Reich citizens) from the definition of Jews an idiosyncratic move by a Schicklgruber-Frankenberger union-uncomfortable Fuehrer. For both sides concurred that quarter-Jews should be citizens of the Reich. In historical perspective as deep as 2022, the matter was capsulized: “The Nuremberg racial laws of 1935 defined as a Jew anyone with three Jewish grandparents, while those with only one or two Jewish grandparents were classed as *Mischling*, or ‘mongrel’ (first or second degree), to be partially protected from discrimination.”⁶⁹

Hitler’s indifference proves the more understandable still. For remaining Germans classified officially as of “mixed race” by 1939 already numbered short of 85,000.⁷⁰ And Hitler’s passivity before bureaucratic confusion in Nazis’ hostility toward the Jews during 1935 was nothing new. The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service of April 7, 1933,⁷¹ provided in its section III: “Officials who are of non-Aryan descent are to be retired; honorary officials are to be dismissed from office.”⁷² At his April 7 Cabinet meeting, Hitler explicitly had *excluded* Jewish physicians from this Aryan Clause⁷³:

His subordinates, however, simply ignored his wishes. Nazi local authorities banned Jewish doctors from the health insurance panels on their own initiative so that, on 22 April, the Reich Minister of Labour felt obliged to issue a Reich regulation to that effect, which was extended to Jewish dentists and dental technicians in June. This is an example of the way in which *Nazi anti-Semitic policy, far from being planned and coordinated from the top*, in fact developed in a largely incoherent and *ad hoc* fashion. The

Reich Government was often forced to adopt measures which had been

introduced by local militants, issuing a Reich regulation in an endeavor to produce some kind of order. It was not that the Government did not sympathize with these measures, but it found *that the pace was being dictated to it by the lower levels of the administration and the Party*.⁷⁴

This April 7, 1933, cabinet meeting evidences Hitler’s explicit leniency respecting Jewish physicians under the Law’s Aryan Clause. Yet he had his wishes disregarded by militant subordinates and Party members. This contrasted with his energetic 1933 choking of mass movement Nazism’s abortive economic sphere-revolution.⁷⁵ In 1933, Hitler exercised himself about the direction of National Socialism in the economic field. In 1935, he was disinclined to involve himself personally in Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour issues. Judge whether the latter reality signals that Hitler did, or did not, suffer insecurity inspired by the sorrows of Maria Anna.

It has been posited that Hitler’s antisemitism sprang from his trauma upon the death by cancer of his mother Klara Hitler while under treatment in Austria by a Jewish physician.⁷⁶ His superficial solicitude for Jewish physicians in Germany implies an absence from the son’s mind of Jewish physicians’ collective guilt (let alone collective guilt of all Jews) by association with Klara’s terminal illness. The dictator’s failure to rein in wayward subordinates hints Hitler’s indifference. What is the *opposite* of hatred? In a phrase embraced by Elie Wiesel, the opposite of hate is indifference.⁷⁷

Indeed, on April 11, 1933, *nonAryan* was defined to *encompass* parties merely three-quarters Aryan.⁷⁸ The Law for the Restoration of the Professional Civil Service was administered by the several states, which thereby recaptured *from the Party* full control of personnel policy.⁷⁹ *Militant subordinates*. On April 25, 1933, Prussia’s Minister-President Herman Goering (appointed to his post on April 11 by Hitler) met Prussian officials to

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discuss the April 7 law: “In conclusion, the Minister-President made the following point with great gravity: ‘I remind you of the seriousness of the law, you must bear in mind that your signature is often equivalent to a death sentence’.”⁸⁰

The April 1933 definition would have classified Hitler as *nonAryan* (because merely three-quarters Aryan), if Maria Anna Schicklgruber had borne her baby boy by a Jew. Hence, this April 11, 1933, definition squares with Hitler’s sense of security (in a context conjuring “death sentence”) about his paternal grandfather’s Aryanism or lack thereof. Hitler looked blithe about the odds of, e.g., either independent Austria or the world press disinterring a Jewish paternal grandfather either (1) in Graz, denominated, e.g., Frankenberger; or (2) in Vienna, denominated, e.g., Rothschild. His sense of security comports with the judgment by Hitler biographer Volker Ullrich: “There is no evidence that Hitler ever took speculations about his supposed Jewish grandfather seriously---to say nothing of feeling threatened by them.”⁸¹

The posited 1935 Nuremberg Laws-Schicklgruber connection appears tenuous. It went unremarked in William L. Shirer’s magisterial *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*.⁸² In fact, since 1960 Shirer’s historical text cavalierly has misidentified the relevant age, recording that this authority “prohibited Jews from employing female Aryan servants under thirty-five years of age.”⁸³ Shirer’s version of the 1935 Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour misidentified age-cutoff would have excluded Maria Anna from the Law’s ambit altogether. Shirer’s study presumably muddles a servant’s 35 years of age with that law’s 1935 date.

THE NAZIS INVESTIGATE HITLER’S CLAN: GRAZ I

Spoils seized by U.S. Army Private Eric Hamm from Adolf Hitler’s home in Munich are found in the Seeley G. Mudd Library (Princeton University) “Adolf Hitler Collection.”
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Therein lies documentation of an August 4, 1942-October 14, 1942, Gestapo inquest (Graz I) into Hitler’s Austrian roots at the command of SS chief Heinrich Himmler.⁸⁴ Compare Himmler’s undertaking with the supposed investigation launched by Hans Frank as attorney for Hitler. This Hamm Spoils documentation embraces a dossier from a woman in Graz. Thereby, the Hamm Spoils serve-up documents deriving through the Gestapo, and relaying rumors regarding the Fuehrer’s sire, plus Maria Anna, and Maria Anna’s Schicklgruber tribe.⁸⁵

Results of Himmler’s Graz I endeavor will be reexamined hereinafter regarding the second of Sax’s salient questions for further research.

FRANK’S FRANKENBERGER FAIRYTALE

The Nuremberg Laws

Were the Frank-Frankenberger story in Hans’s memoirs a pure fabrication, whence might its inspiration derive? Frank penned his memoirs with the encouragement of his priest-confessor and of American psychologist Gustave Mark Gilbert.⁸⁶ Serving the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg,⁸⁷ First Lieutenant Gilbert, a prewar Ph.D. from Columbia University, was appointed Prison Psychologist for the prisoners: Gilbert was Jewish, and born in New York state to Austro-Jewish immigrants.⁸⁸ Well might Gilbert have been alert to the September 15, 1935, Nuremberg Laws even in 1935, or at least upon his postbellum posting in Nuremberg. Recall that the Nuremberg Laws provided, *inter alia*, a control (as seen in Section III B, hereinabove) upon Jewish employment of Aryan servants. Article 3 of the Nuremberg Law for the Protection of German Blood and Honour provided expressly: “Jews may not employ in their households female subjects of the state of German or related blood who are under 45 years old.”⁸⁹

On April 18, 1946, Frank told Gilbert of his prospective “essay on Hitler,” Frank
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insisting “he is actually repulsive to me now”.⁹⁰ Dr. Gilbert’s Nuremberg diary declared of lunchtime on July 9, 1946:

We got on to the Nuremberg Laws, and Frank expressed the opinion that the Nuremberg Laws were really not necessary, now that one looks back on it. The abuse of Christian girls could have been taken care of by normal, legal processes. It was really an unwarranted slap in the face to the Jews, many of whom were very fine and industrious people, and when you get right down to it, they were just too industrious and successful for their own good. They evoked the jealousy of other Germans in business in the professions who were not as industrious.⁹¹

Gilbert’s Frank opined that potential Jewish abuse of Christian girls (e.g., of Maria Anna Schicklgruber) needed *no* draconian Nuremberg Laws. Hans’s opinion skirts the Schicklgruber case. Maria had been impregnated with Alois before she was 43, she having been born in April 1795,⁹² and thus falling within those subsequent Laws’ relevant protective range. Observe the vagueness of Gilbert’s phrase “got on to.” Did somebody guide discussion in that direction? Frank affirming no call for the Nuremberg Laws, did someone suggest to Frank a Hitlerian sensitivity to tales of a Jewish grandfather (a sensitivity explanatory of those Laws)?

Such was Gilbert’s *modus operandi* that the Introduction to Gilbert’s Nuremberg memoir, early on, instructs:

I was allowed free access to the prisoners at all times, from the time of the indictment up to the time of the execution. This made possible a study of

their reactions under controlled conditions for a whole year. The method was simply that of casual conversation in my role as psychologist and liaison man, supplementing the trial itself as a vehicle for examining the Nazi system and the men who made it. I never took notes in their presence, but kept a careful record of my conversations and observations, setting down my notes in private immediately each time after leaving their cells, the courtroom, or the lunchroom, then making my daily Diary entries from these notes. This Diary constitutes the “raw data” of this study, and is presented for its historical as well as psychological value.

As one might expect, a good deal of the Nazis’ conversation was consumed in rationalization, self-justification and recrimination; but even in thus protesting too much, and by being more frank in their opinions about each other than about themselves, they inevitably revealed their personalities and motives. Indeed, for the most part, they were more than eager to express themselves to a psychologist and the only American officer on the prison staff (except for the chaplains) who could speak German. I refrained from embroidering the data with too much psychological speculation, leaving that to later collaborative studies which would be more comprehensive and objective than my own immediate reactions could possibly be.⁹³

Article 2(2) of the First Supplementary Decree of November 14, 1935, to the Reich Citizenship Law of September 15, 1935, provided (as seen in Section III C, hereinabove) that of mixed Jewish blood was one descended from only a single Jewish grandparent, who himself or herself was numbered among “full Jews.”⁹⁴ Appearing conspicuously
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excluded from categorization as of mixed Jewish blood would have been Hitler. For to be of mixed Jewish blood, one needed a grandparent counted as a full Jew. And who, within the meaning of Article 2(2) in respect of grandchildren, were these latter? As indicated hereinabove: Full-blooded Jewish grandparents are those who belonged to the Jewish Religious Community.”⁹⁵

No such Jewish Religious Community was on-hand in Graz in when Maria Anna was impregnated in September 1836. This would seem to exclude her boy from even mixed blood status. Assuredly, that Jewish Religious Community absent from Graz need not foreclose a Frankenberger boy’s impregnation of Fraulein Schicklgruber there. Dr. Sax does adroitly promote “...the possibility that the Frankenberger man mentioned in Frank’s memoir may have maintained a legal residence in one of the neighboring *Gemeinden* [communities, e.g., of Jewish German-speakers] of Burgenland [then Hungary’s westernmost province] actually living in Graz but not legally a resident of Graz and therefore not enrolled on any list of residents of Graz.”⁹⁶

Unfortunately for Frank’s tale, to unearth Graz-evidence nominating the Jewish male-progenitor might mark the easy part. For Dr. Sax’s rumination demands a Maria Anna working within the Frankenberger abode in Graz, or else enjoying a September 1836 intimate acquaintance thereabouts for under a quarter-hour with a male less than half her age (the Graz household’s nineteen year-old lad). Such presenting the problem, consider Werner Maser’s open-minded musings:

There is, of course, no reason why a Frankenberger should not have attended the 1836 September Fair in Graz and there met Maria Anna Schicklgruber..... [T]his would seem unlikely in view of the fact that Maria Anna did not live in Graz. Neither, evidently, did she visit the town at this time. From 1821

to 1838 the Allensteig area court, whose authority extended to Strones where her child was born in 1837, kept a record of the interest accruing to her from her parents’ estate. Yet the books of the Orphans’ Fund show no change of address either in 1836 or 1837. Moreover, as a “Lordship of Ottenstein”, she could not have absented herself for any length of time, say, to make her way to Graz for the purpose of keeping an assignation.”⁹⁷

As Hitler’s foremost English-language biographer discerned: “There is no evidence that Maria Anna was ever in Graz....”⁹⁸

The Gilbert Subconscious **Gilbert and Hitler**

Joachim Fest assessed Frank’s Frankenberger-Graz–grandfather allegation: “The lack of hard evidence, however, makes this thesis appear exceedingly dubious---for all that we may also wonder what had prompted Frank at Nuremburg to ascribe a Jewish ancestor to Hitler.”⁹⁹ Fest could wonder what fostered Frank’s Nuremburg attribution of a Jewish forebear of his former master. Hence, review Gilbert’s passage regarding July 9, 1946. Apprehend the vagueness of Gilbert’s personal pronoun opening those words: “We got on to the Nuremburg Laws,....” Who were “we”? Gilbert mentions additional Nazi war criminals present with Gilbert and Frank.

Was the genesis of Frank’s Frankenberger story less in Burgenland than inside Gilbert’s skull? Attests Ron Rosenbaum emphatically:

I’ll never forget listening to the tape of the interview Gilbert gave to John Toland. I’d found the tape in the research material Toland had donated to

the archives of the FDR Library in Hyde Park, New York. On the tape, you can hear the urgency in Toland's voice as he questions Gilbert about Hans Frank's story. Toland seems to want to believe Hans Frank was telling the truth about his investigation into Maria Schicklgruber's love life. He wants to believe there's an explanation for Hitler he can credit. But he's aware how much depends on questions of belief.

"You believe this investigation [into Hitler's ancestry] *did* take place?" Toland implores Gilbert. "You're *the only one* in the world who can tell us." It's a dramatic moment: Toland is saying he believes Gilbert holds the key to the last best hope of explaining Hitler.

In fact, he exaggerates somewhat: There's really *no one* in the world, not anymore, who can tell us that with certainty. Still, Gilbert does have a strong feeling on the matter: He believes Hans Frank.

"While he was prone to exaggerate many things, and of course to glamorize his own role," the psychologist says, "this is something he thought of no great consequence and he said, 'Well, I guess stranger things have happened than hatred of one's own race.' [Frank] was inclined to believe the results of his investigation. He [Hitler] wouldn't acknowledge having Jewish blood but the mere fact that she [Maria] was in a position to blackmail a Jew, evidently having had relations with him is enough to stir up this violent anti-Jewish sexual hatred in Hitler."

Not only was Gilbert the first to believe Hans Frank's story, he was the first psychologist to adopt it as a possible explanation, the hidden key to Hitler. It has a built-in attraction

to psychologists because it makes the otherwise apparently unfathomable source of Hitler's crimes so interestingly *intrapsychic*. Indeed, Gilbert is the first to "improve" upon Hans Frank's own interpretation, developing what would become a paradigm of the psychologizing of the Hans Frank story: the shift from seeing Hitler's anti-Semitism as something driven by an external ideology or hatred to seeing it as a product of internal *self-hatred*.

Gilbert sees that moment in 1930 when Hans Frank purportedly told Hitler he had come upon documentary proof that his father was fathered by a Jew as a profound turning point in the evolution of Hitler's anti-Semitism. "Especially when he [Hitler] was already committed to being a violent anti-semite with his whole ego structure depending upon this," Gilbert told Toland, "the idea that it [the Jewish grandfather story] could have been resolved in his sick mind only by showing, as Frank said, that he was the worst anti-semite in the world, so how could he possibly be a Jew?"¹⁰⁰

An intrapsychic thesis steers attention from Hitler's external antisemitism (about something the bigot supposes wrong with the Jews) to Hitler's internal self-loathing (about something wrong with Hitler).

How greedily could Gilbert clutch the Frank-Frankenberger account? As the Frank memoir runs (as translated and transcribed in the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library):

This was probably xxx what occasioned the disgusting letter from an inferior member of the far flung relatives of Hitler. To all of this I want to say the following: Adolf Hitler himself knew that his father did not stem from a sexual intercourse between, Schickelgruber and the Jew from Graz. He knew this from his own father's and grandmother's accounts. He also knew of the premarital relationship of his grandmother to her latter

husband. But they were both poor. The Jew paid the alimony as a very desirable yearly addition to the poor household. One had named him, because he was able to pay, as the father, and the Jew paid without any legal proceedings or court rulings, because he most likely did not wish a legal decision and xxxx publicity connected therewith. The whole story was of course extremely embarrassing. But who could burden the grandson with the sins of his grandfather? Who could therefore slander in any way? Who can do it today? That Adolf Hitler certainly had xxx no Jewish blood in his veins to me seems to be so xxxxx strikingly xxx evident that it needs no further explanation. Also the Graz complex is the only source from which there could be drawn any connection of any kind with Hitler and Judaism. Naturally there is only one – a surpassing provable opinion. Who was it that wanted to present all this as the truth? I will say that it is not absolutely impossible that the father of Hitler according to this could have been a half Jew, from the illegitimate connection between Schickelgruber and the Graz Jew. According to that Hitler himself would have been a ¼ Jew. Then his hatred x of Jews would have xxxx arisen from outraged blood relative-hate-psychosis. Who could interpret all this?¹⁰¹

Estimate how many Nazi lawyers (uncued by Columbia University psychologists) dealt in terms of “outraged blood relative-hate-psychosis”?

Gilbert’s Hunger Distracts Gilbert from Facts for a Quarter-Century

Recall how Rosenbaum reports Gilbert’s interview with Toland: “He [Hitler] wouldn’t acknowledge having Jewish blood but the mere fact that she [Maria] was in a position

to blackmail a Jew, evidently having had relations with him, is enough to stir up this violent anti-Jewish sexual hatred in Hitler.”¹⁰² So welcoming of the Frank-Frankenberger story was Gilbert that he posited that the blackmailer-Maria aspect thereof sufficed to ignite her grandson’s volcanically antisemitic sexual hostility. The date of this Toland interview was April 7, 1972.¹⁰³ Gilbert seems never to have noticed Frank’s credibility-undercutting supposition that the dictator learned of his grandmother’s impregnation from her firsthand (Frank: “knew this from his...grandmother’s accounts”). For mutually exclusive proved the lifespans of Maria (d. 1847) and Adolf (b. 1889).

To be sure, Frank does add that Adolf “knew this from his own father’s...accounts.” Yet, in turn, consider how credible *that* element is in any blackmailer-Maria feature of the Frank-Frankenberger story? Gilbert, a psychologist, appears never to have noticed over more than quarter-century that when Maria’s son Alois died suddenly on January 3, 1903,¹⁰⁴ Maria’s grandson Adolf was less than 13 years and 9 months of age.¹⁰⁵ Gilbert perhaps fancied the Austrian father Alois taking his child aside to unburden himself regarding Maria Anna: *Mein Sohn, meine Mutter* was a blackmailer. She squeezed “a very desirable yearly” sum from the family of a 19-year old lad, upon whom my Mama and her husband had no claim. Better still, Mama’s tactic was less blackmail than outright extortion. The family she bled was Jewish. They probably recoiled from any “legal proceedings or court rulings” and from “any publicity connected therewith.” And why, *mein Kind?* Because, as Rosenbaum will write emphatically:

The extortion threat is made explicit. The specter of pogrom is invoked as the ultimate threat: If the Jew doesn’t begin making payoffs, the conniving couple will make sure there’s a public outcry about the lustful Jewish sexual predator staining

the honor of a helpless Aryan maiden. The result, as Frank laconically puts it: “The Jew paid.”

Recall that this sordid intrigue is, according to Frank, the way Hitler *wanted* him to view his grandparents.¹⁰⁶

Jawohl, mein Sohn, that is what we Schicklgruber-Hitlers are made of. Share Papa’s pride! Thereby, Alois extols his filthy family secret about his own mother to his own boy, her innocent young grandson.

Gilbert beyond peradventure lusted to assimilate the Frank-Frankenberger narrative. He swallowed even the Maria-as-blackmailer aspect thereof. Or, alternatively, Gilbert was *not* excessively wedded to the intrapsychic theory purportedly arguable from Frank’s posthumous pages. Instead, Gilbert coolly appraised the entire matter with professional detachment. If this latter were true, then what was Gilbert’s own hotshold-baseline in sizing-up *Vater und Sohn* family fealties to Maria Anna? What kind of an Austrian father reared the thirteen year-old Gustave?

Whatever type of Austrian *Vater* raised Gustave, make your acquaintance with the thirteen year-old future-dictator’s pater, Alois. Adolf’s friend when they both were teenagers, August Kubizek, in old-age cited an episode Adolf revealed¹⁰⁷: “Shortly before his death, his father had taken the thirteen year-old Adolf to the Linz customs office in the vain hope of showing his son his future work environment. At heart, beyond the stubborn refusal to follow his father’s career, stood Adolf’s rejection of the existing [Hapsburg] state’s authority and therefore that power which was absolute in the eyes of the father.”¹⁰⁸

Is this conformist civil servant, so anxious to reinforce filial respectability, also the man to endorse his own mother as extortionist of a blameless, teenaged Frankenberger, the non-impregnator?

Mr. Toland’s “working notes” in The Franklin D. Roosevelt Library of the taped Toland-Gilbert interview run:

TOLAND: Was this Frank revelation true or

GILBERT: I would be inclined to believe it, there would be no reason for him to concoct it. While he was inclined to exaggerate many things, and of course to glamorize his own role, this is something which he thought of no great consequence – and there have been stranger things in the world than hatred of one’s own race – anyway this is what I found, and I don’t think it is true – in other words, he was inclined to believe, and believed Hitler was inclined to believe it. Frank did not believe that the Jewish parenthood story was true and that Hitler would not believe it certainly, he would not acknowledge part Jewish blood, but it was enough to stir up this anti-Jewish sexual hatred in Hitler.¹⁰⁹

To the end of his life, psychohistorian Waite’s take on the Frank-Frankenberger Jewish grandfather narrative ran: “He had no apparent reason to misrepresent Hitler on this issue or invent the story.”¹¹⁰

Reread Dr. Gilbert’s pronunciamento to Toland that Frank (who delivered on paper evidence for an intrapsychic thesis explanatory of Hitler’s antisemitism) lacked any impulse to dream-up that evidence. Then be advised that Gilbert’s *Nuremberg Diary* has Frank on November 7, 1945, unburden himself (regarding Hitler) to Gilbert thus:

He [Frank] continued in cold, quiet anger: “If only one of us had had the courage to shoot him dead! That’s the one thing for which I reproach

myself. What misery, death, and destruction would have been spared! I began to come to my senses in 1942, and realized what evil was embodied in him. When I protested against terror measures in public at that time, he deprived me of military rank and political power – but he let me sit as the figurehead Governor-General of Poland, to go down in history as the symbol of the crimes in that miserable country -- That was the satanical evil in him. And so here I sit – but it serves me right – I was in league with the devil in the beginning. In later years I realized what a cold-blooded, hard, insensitive psychopath he really was. That so-called fascinating look of his was nothing but the stare of an insensitive psychopath! He was moved by sheer primitive, willful, egotism, unrestrained by form and convention – That’s why he hated all legal, diplomatic, and religious institutions – all the social values that represented restrictions to his impulsive ego-expression.”¹¹¹

No obvious reason to cook-up Frank’s story. Estimate the proportion of Nazi lawyers (unprompted by a Columbia University psychologist) who talked in terms of “impulsive ego-expression”? Gilbert proved still vividly enough mindful of these words to repeat them in his follow-up book of three years later.¹¹²

Between the 1953 publication of Frank’s book, and the 1972 Gilbert interview with Toland, Dr. Anna Freud¹¹³ explained the ego defense-mechanism which excludes the unpleasurable from one’s perceptions of the external world, which exclusion is called denial.¹¹⁴ This primitive defense mechanism against the arousing of displeasure¹¹⁵ is more or less normal to early childhood.¹¹⁶ Yet as of one’s attaining a subsequent developmental state it deserves the label of lying, a symptom of social norm-deviance.¹¹⁷ A subject’s denial of intrapsychic conflicts¹¹⁸ is a defense of adults as well as of children, and in such

respect do adult subjects function on the infantile level.¹¹⁹

Weigh whether a psychologist, himself, hypothetically might undergo his own intrapsychic conflict excluding such unpleasant perceptions of the outside world (denial) as, e.g., evidence contra subject psychologist’s hoped-for intrapsychic explanation of a historical figure’s behavior. Suppose Gilbert forgot, overlooked or deemphasized facts undermining the credibility (“no reason for him to concoct it”) of Frank’s anti-Hitler evidence for the intrapsychic explanation of Hitler: (1) Frank’s frenzied damnation of Hitler; (2) that the lifespans of Maria and Adolf never overlapped; and (3) that the conformist civil servant Alois died when his son was only 13. If so, then consider whether the adult subject (Gilbert) ever functioned at an infantile level.

Major Goldensohn, and Gilbert’s Conferees

The Americans at Nuremberg generally kept a psychiatrist and psychologist on duty throughout the bulk of the proceedings.¹²⁰ Major Douglas M. Kelly was the initial prison psychiatrist. Kelly departed after the opening month of the trials to be succeeded by psychiatrist Major Leon N. Goldensohn. The latter remained until July 26, 1946.¹²¹ Kelly referred to the “psychological treasure”¹²² on-hand for Gilbert and himself. Gilbert had been assigned to translate for Kelly. He was appointed “official” prison psychologist.¹²³ Gilbert deemed the Nuremberg defendants “as available to him as laboratory mice”.¹²⁴ A Kelly-Gilbert book was planned.¹²⁵ Gilbert and Goldensohn made rounds together from time to time, Gilbert serving as Goldensohn’s translator.¹²⁶ No pretense of doctor-patient confidentiality obtained.¹²⁷ The American doctors viewed the defendants not as patients but “subjects”.¹²⁸ Resentful prisoners accused American professionals of a shallower interest in care provision than in their book material-collection.¹²⁹

Weigh whether any such Nuremberg professional exploited Frank to ventriloquize
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the American conqueror's own opinions. The notes of Dr. Goldensohn (not Gilbert) for July 20, 1946, attribute this passage to Frank:

I think that Hitler was abnormal in his sexual needs. That is, he needed too little from the opposite sex. He considered women as objects of beauty, and he often talked with affection about his own mother. I obtained the impression that he disliked his father, because he never mentioned him. But it is a bad thing if a man has too little Eros in him. It makes him insensitive, and probably leads to cruelty. Freud, Sigmund Freud, the last of the great German psychiatrists, who died in England, pointed out the relationship between frustrated love and cruelty. I believe it is what you psychiatrists term sadism. I'm convinced that a man who does not need the love of a woman, and thinks he can forgo it, or who does forgo it, can turn to cruelty and sadism as a substitute.¹³⁰

In Freudianism, Eros is the constructive life-instinct.¹³¹ Frank's is the solitary mention of Freud in the 449 pages of Goldensohn's posthumously-published notes.

Estimate how many Germans pro-Nazi since before Hitler's power seizure, like Frank, proved conversant in the Viennese Jew Sigmund Freud. Ponder whether Frank would style Freud a psychiatrist, or else a psychoanalyst. Consider: (1) whether postwar's self-aware, anti-Nazi Frank more probably would call Freud German (Nazi Germany in 1938 having swallowed Austria), or Austrian (liberated 1946 Austria independent of Germany); and (2). whether both discussants discoursed oblivious of the fact that in Nazi Germany on May 10, 1933, Freud's books were publicly burned¹³²; and (3) whether neither knew, nor thought it worth mention, that the Gestapo's Special Search List of

people to be immediately incarcerated upon the German invasion of England¹³³ included a refugee from the Nazis named Sigmund Freud.¹³⁴

Estimate the probability that Goldensohn's conversation with Frank ever transpired. *Interest in book material.*

GILBERT AND FRANK

The Substance of Frank's Memoir

Gilbert need not have been conscious of communicating to Frank (self-announced prospective essayist, lately repelled by Hitler) an intrapsychic thesis with built-in appeal. That Dr. Gilbert did communicate to Hans Frank an intrapsychic thesis concerning Hitler constitutes a proposition of some explanatory power. The explanatory potency thereof extends beyond its plain provision of a genesis of some Frank-Frankenberger fictional pastiche embodying scrambled details, hazily recalled in Nuremberg, about Hamm Spoils/Gestapo documents touching upon Graz (Frank's nonmarital impregnation-site). As has been seen hereinabove, no evidence obtains of Fraulein Schicklgruber's presence therein at any juncture.¹³⁵

Consider that the Nuremberg prosecution had engaged in thorough archival and documentary seizures, toward the screening thereof for incriminating evidence which, alone, was to be shared with defendants such as Hans Frank.¹³⁶ Foreign archives were outside the grasp of those Nuremberg defendants.¹³⁷ Then consider that any Gilbert suggestion to Frank of a Hitler intrapsychic thesis as the true seed of the Frank-Frankenberger story would explain the Frank tale's incongruities with the historical record. Much of the historical record would have been accessible to a flushly-financed 1930 attorney from Germany representing a widely-connected, highly motivated client (had Frank been such). Contrariwise, it would have been inaccessible altogether to an imaginative, prison-

cell fabulist in 1946 Nuremberg (had Frank been such). Incongruities are explicable if found within a fiction synthesized postwar, and derivative from no 1930 Frank inquest at all.

That Frank merely dreamed-up a Frankenberger slur (i.e., a detail derogatory, by Der Fuehrer's standards) against Frank's Fuehrer would comport with additional evidence. Often-quoted has been a purported late January 1933 letter from former General Erich Ludendorff to President Hindenburg. This letter prophesized that the accursed Adolf Hitler would fling all Germany into the pit. However, it today is firmly established that no such missive ever existed. Hans Frank's Nuremberg memoirs constituted the solitary source for that historical fraud.¹³⁸

Hans Frank and the Hamm Spoils

But if Frank simply cooked-up his Frankenberger story given subtly oblique nudges from Gilbert, Frank's "secular confessor,"¹³⁹ then how might Poland's Governor-General between 1939 and 1945 become minded of an item like that Gestapo material in the Hamm Spoils? For this secret Gestapo memorandum was stamped "Geheime Reichssache" (the peak security classification).¹⁴⁰ Arrestingly, one of the three other Nuremberg defendants identified by Gilbert as present for that July 9 Gilbert-Frank colloquy was Ernst Kaltenbrunner.¹⁴¹ In January 1943, he had succeeded Gestapo head Reinhard Heydrich¹⁴² (who had died on June 4, 1942). Kaltenbrunner was Chief of the Reich Main Security Office (RHSA) from 1943 to 1945, and thereby overall head of the Gestapo, the security services (SD) and the Abwehr (military intelligence service), being SS leader second in power to Himmler alone.¹⁴³ Kaltenbrunner knew where the bodies were buried, in more ways than one.

Kaltenbrunner presumably had an unusual familiarity with, or expertise about

Graz, Austria; Nazi Austria; and Austrian Jews. For Kaltenbrunner aided in Hitler's 1938 Anschluss of Austria, and enforced anti-Semitic measures. He was a native Austrian. Like Frank, Ernst was a lawyer: Kaltenbrunner earned a Graz University doctoral degree in law and had set himself up as an attorney. Kaltenbrunner was born in the valley of the Inn River, near Braunau, Austria. (Hitler was born in Braunau am Inn.) Ernst passed his youth in Linz. (Linz was Hitler's hometown,¹⁴⁴ set in what became Hitler's Austria.)

Kaltenbrunner led the Austrian SS as early as 1935. On March 11, 1938, he was named State Secretary for Security Matters in the cabinet of Austria's new Chancellor, Nazi Arthur Seyss-Inquart.¹⁴⁵ On March 12, Kaltenbrunner reported to Himmler at Vienna's airport, Aspern, on the total Nazi triumph in Austria. The German Reich now digesting Austria as its province of Ostmark, Kaltenbrunner became Seyss-Inquart's Minister of Public Security---to directly report to Germany's Reichsfuehrer Himmler.¹⁴⁶

A *Graz* detail touching on Hitler (as later available in the Hamm Spoils), once brought to Ernst's attention, might more plausibly stick in Ernst's mind than catch the eye of others. If Kaltenbrunner knowledgably cited to Frank and Gilbert the 1932 Heydrich inquest and/or the 1942 Himmler investigation, then how credible to Gilbert would have been Ernst? This exchange lies in Gilbert's interview by Toland:

TOLAND: What do you think of Kaltenbrunner?

GILBERT: Such a disorganized character, he could not even lie skillfully, also pretty schizoid – the unfeeling schizoid type.¹⁴⁷

Could not even lie successfully.

Consequently, Gilbert could judge Ernst despicable but believable. Thereby, on July 9, 1946, Frank and Gilbert could enjoy access to a Kaltenbrunner truly credible to

Gilbert (even with cool wisdom of hindsight). Estimate the odds Kaltenbrunner could pour-out a genuine if disjointed version of that Himmler report—Graz and all—from the Hamm Spoils. Perhaps profitably, also present with Gilbert, Frank and Kaltenbrunner was Hitler's 1938 satrap of Nazi Austria, that very Arthur Seyss-Inquart.

So in Seyss-Inquart's satrap capacity he had proved the superior of Kaltenbrunner, his topmost minister. In October 1939¹⁴⁸ Seyss-Inquart was appointed Governor of Krakow,¹⁴⁹ becoming a deputy in southern Poland to another suzerain: Hans Frank, Governor-General of Poland (1939-1945).¹⁵⁰ Arthur so assiduously studied Hans as to be appointed Reichskommissar of the Netherlands (1940-1945).¹⁵¹ Therein, second-time satrap Seyss-Inquart so succeeded that he won promotion as Germany's Foreign Minister through Hitler's April 26, 1945, Last Will and Testament¹⁵² (a perching loftier by far but briefer by far). Like Frank and Kaltenbrunner, Seyss-Inquart was an attorney. The mind's eye beholds these old colleagues' lawyerly Pirate Crew Reunion under Gilbert's auspices.

As seen hereinabove, Gilbert confirmed: "We go on to the Nuremburg Laws...." *We*.

The Proximity of Gilbert to Frank's Memoir

Too, Frank, Kaltenbrunner and Seyss-Inquart presumably accommodated Gilbert at lunchtimes: Gilbert's mere presence incited volubility. Gilbert informed Toland of Gilbert's superior, Colonel Burton C. Andrus: "Colonel never gave me a hard time. I had free reign [sic: rein] – only occasionally interpreted for him – like order that they could not talk at lunch unless I was present. I could not have had a better help for a study."¹⁵³ Sure enough, First Lieutenant conqueror-confessor Gilbert's diary entry for April 5, 1946, found the following noteworthy: "At lunch there was a depressed silence in all of the lunchrooms, and they sat for the most part in their own corners even reluctant to

take advantage of my presence to start a conversation as they otherwise invariably did."¹⁵⁴

Take advantage of my presence to start a conversation, invariably.

Why can that Nuremburg Laws-luncheon on Tuesday, July 9, 1946, attract attention? Gilbert dated for Toland the genesis of the Frank memoirs:

This was coming out in a kind of confessional frenzy at the end – after the testimony was over and just waiting for the verdict – he knew he would be executed – was not squirming for his life. During the trial he did not have the time, and then he did – writing in a fever day and night – 3 weeks – 1000 pages – handwritten. He had a clear mind and when he recalled the incidents I could just see him being carried away – book an emotional extortion of essentially factual material.¹⁵⁵

Factual *essentially*, at least.

If Frank composed his document in three weeks, then a July 9 prodding proves most timely. On Monday, September 2, the Tribunal judges opened their discussions regarding individual defendants' verdicts.¹⁵⁶ Most affirmatively for Gilbert, the Chief U.S. Prosecutor at the International Military Tribunal Robert Jackson (an Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court) wired Nuremburg from Washington that Gilbert remain on duty until the sentencing day and maybe thereafter until the date of any execution.¹⁵⁷ Defendants heard their verdicts on October 1.

Exactly how intimately identified with the Frank memoir was Dr. Gilbert? Toland bluntly interrogated Gilbert:

TOLAND: Frank...many quotes...how did you get him to write it.

GILBERT: He more or less volunteered – he knew I was interested in Hitler and was collecting little bits of essays – he assured me that he would write it all down and I would be the only one who would have any authority to publish it and so on – and later double-crossed me on that – it was a way of expiating his guilt – psychologically he had to explain to the world and get something out of his system – and he kept telling me that maybe I would be able to understand better and communicate to the world better, how this man was able to influence him. This document itself was full of impassioned exaggerations and so on, but it had interesting sidelights – historical interest – what was particularly interesting was this bit of information about Hitler’s possible Jewish heritage, and that Hitler knew of this possibility and Frank had checked and found there was a record against Hitler’s grandmothers lawyer – so that his father was illegitimate and possibly Jewish – the mere fact that he knew it was significant....¹⁵⁸

How did you get him to write it?

Quaere, whether Frank double-crossed Gilbert about posthumous publication-authority concerning a manuscript wherein Frank double-crossed the postmortem Hitler (with a lie about Jewish descent). Decide whether a sly lawyer stuck his knife between the ribs of a targeted Doctor of Philosophy, who himself cynically exploited his status in prison to play puppeteer. For Toland and Gilbert (“could not have had a better help for a study”) shared this exchange concerning Frank and Franciscan Father Sixtus O’Connor:

TOLAND: Frank...is this the same document that later appeared under another title.

GILBERT: Probably is. Here’s what happened. Frank had given me a couple of letters telling me how to publish it, etc. and the document had come to me via the prison chaplain, first smuggling it out piece-mail and having it copied (an American Catholic Chaplain) This man was sort of his father confessor. The chaplain was in cahoots with him – he felt he was not bound by military security – felt himself above law – in this case he did. [More law-abiding Drs. Gilbert and Goldsohn made no pretense of doctor-patient confidentiality.] His name was Father Sixtus? Frank had a rather warm attachment to him. Toward the end, he probably decided, perhaps at the chpl. urging, why leave it to the psychologist and shouldn’t your family have the copy and have the benefits of publication. Through the connivance of the chaplain copy made, smuggled to the family, and I had the original handwritten one – this I turned over in Jerusalem when I testified at the Eichmann trial –now resides in archives Jerusalem, along with xx all the other documents, except one thing that I saved. It came to my knowledge in a very circuitous manner in one of the many letters I get asking for information about Hitler – asking about the Frank MS mentioned in the diary – and I had even discussed tentatively with some German publishers to publish, because I had his authorization to do so. Then someone points out there is another one, apparently publ. by the family which seems to answer description of the diary. Then I realized why Frank had instituted [sic] that both I publish the chaplain should be given a chance to read it, so that he would be squared away with the church. This was his device. Hell, he could have told me, after all I am going to die and I want my family to

have this and I would not have made any objection to it.

As it was a surprise to find the MS had already been published – and I had to tell the people in Jerusalem that it had already been published in case they were thinking of doing so. It was a little embarrassing to me to have turned it over in the belief that none of the material had been published. 1961-62.

TOLAND: Frank did himself a disservice [sic], because if you could have published it it would have been accepted, now it is not accepted.¹⁵⁹

Whether Frank disserved himself depends on the end Frank intended.

What circumstantial evidence might indicate that a July 9 Gilbert Nuremberg Laws-servant girl chat with Frank could trigger a calculatedly inaccurate Hamm Spoils contribution from Kaltenbrunner, seconded by Arthur Seyss-Inquart? Himself having been born near Hitler's Austrian birthplace, and himself having spent his youth in Linz, as had Hitler, Kaltenbrunner could know "Hitler Country". What ironic ingredient could Ernst toss into a heating Frank-Frankenberger stew? Braunau am Inn and Linz hardly are mutually remote. Between them lies a site only a 57 mile long-drive southwesterly of Linz, and just a 31 mile long-drive southeasterly from Braunau am Inn. Its name is Frankenburg am Hausruck. For that matter, Frankenburg am Hausruck lies approximately a 56 mile long-drive from Alt Aussee, Austria. The latter village was where Kaltenbrunner had his private residence.¹⁶⁰ There he was captured in 1945.¹⁶¹

Weigh whether a retired Gestapo chief more cunning than he looked buried a knife named Frankenberger into a First Lieutenant. Weigh whether Kaltenbrunner scorned a rear-echelon First Lieutenant who dealt with warlords (or at least policestate hierarchs)

while hubristically believing ("could not even lie skillfully") Ernst incapable of prevaricating proficiently to Gilbert. Speculate whether Frank proved sole capital-defendant to double-cross guileless Gilbert. And if Gilbert believed proficient prevarication to be easy ("could not even..."), then some might wonder what manner of Austrian father reared Gilbert. The Frank-Frankenberger story was elicited by whom, how?

SAX'S QUESTION FOUR: HOW IS FRANK'S JEWISH PATERNAL GRANDFATHER ASSERTION EXPLICABLE?

Frank Reviewed: Answer Number One

The fourth and ultimate question presented in Dr. Sax's 2019 study was how one explains Frank's alleged 1930 report about Hitler and a Jewish maternal grandfather. Prominently in autobiographical declarations of Dr. Frank during 1946 at Nuremberg, that attorney alleged: Frank's client, Adolf Hitler, instigated Frank's investigation into the client's family tree. Frank found his client's paternal grandfather a supposed Jew. That recounting runs rather in correspondence with dimensions of the 1932 real Nazi probe into Reinhard Heydrich's allegedly Jewish background.

Jailhouse revenge upon posterity's image of Hitler as Frank's motive renders comprehensible the construction off his story (the revenge element). It also renders comprehensible its various demonstrable shortcomings (the jailhouse aspect). For a Hans Frank making-up this Jewish grandfather tale in a Nuremberg cell must have been denied the research resources to embroider a lawyerly, sophisticated hoax. This explains Frank's ignorance of, e.g., the non-overlap in the lifespans of Adolf's paternal grandmother and her notorious grandson. Moreover, a Frank fictionalization of Hitler's antecedents would explain why Frank's Graz Jewish grandfather account (Graz II) parallels in part that Second World War documentation of Graz-linked delving into Hitler's ancestry (Graz I),

prepared at behest of Heinrich Himmler.

Thereby, Frank's 1946 assertion that Hitler could have had a Jewish grandfather can be explicable even were there neither any such Jewish grandfather, nor even any such 1930 attorney's report to client Hitler.

Gilbert Reviewed: Answer Number Two

In his 2019 rekindling of interest in a potentially Jewish paternal- grandfather of Hitler, Dr. Leonard Sax's references omit the names Gilbert and Goldensohn.¹⁶² But It is conceivable that Dr. Gilbert, however subconsciously, planted (with or without input from Kaltenbrunner and/or Seyss-Inquart) the impulse behind Frank's manufacture of an intrapsychic explanation for Hitler's antisemitism. Therefore, study Gilbert's own 1950 rendition (with emphases added) of the Frank-Frankenberger tale:

The question of Hitler's father's Jewish parentage would remain an academic one, *if we did not have some proof that he was aware of it*. For our discussion *it is important merely to note that Hitler was aware of the allegation*, though he refused to believe it, and it may not, in fact, have been true. *It was a sufficient threat to his ego-security for him to know* that his grandmother had been in a position to claim alimony from a Jew, even if it was on false pretenses.¹⁶³

Conveniently, and thanks to Frank ("grandmother had been in a position to claim alimony from a Jew"), Gilbert and the world netted evidence (not proof) that Hitler adequately enough was advised of the alleged Jewish grand-parentage to menace his ego-security. Nor would such a dysfunctional---however subjectively innocent----influence

of Gilbert on Frank prove Gilbert's sole professional drawback at Nuremburg. For Gilbert at Nuremburg misinterpreted testimonies allegedly suggestive of Hitler's psychology. Gilbert's misinterpretation led him to opine erroneously the timing of intensifications of the Nazis' genocidal Final Solution. See Appendix.

Thereby, Frank's 1946 assertion that Hitler could have had a Jewish grandfather can be explained with the hypothesis that Gilbert and/or Kaltenbrunner and/or Seyss-Inquart contaminated Frank's creation.

SAX'S QUESTION TWO: WHY DID HITLER RESIST PROBES INTO HIS FAMILY?

Hitler's Zeal to Smother Public Probes into His Family

Remember Graz I, Himmler's nonpublic investigation of Hitler's family. The second of Dr. Sax's four major questions for future research reads: "Why was Hitler so anxious to prevent any public investigation into his ancestry?"¹⁶⁴ There had been a blood-relative of (albeit not a descendant of) Maria Anna Schicklgruber who, according Gestapo reports was:

The tax officer Josef Veit,... One of the children of Josef Veit committed suicide in 1920 at the age of 21. A daughter named Aloisia...was placed in an asylum and died in Vienna [sic] in 1940. A daughter Josefa who was still alive was half-idiot and another Viktoria, now married Endhammer, was idiot.¹⁶⁵

Indeed did Aloisa come to be murdered in 1940 ("sie im Jahre 1940 verstarb"), and her surviving sister Josefa bear that brand of half-idiot ("lebe noch, sei aber ein

Halbidiot”).¹⁶⁶

Moreover, decades postwar:

Painstaking research by Dr. Timothy Ryback and Florian Beierl of the Obersalzburg Institut e.V in Berchtesgaden has revealed that on 6 October 1940, as part of the euthanasia program, Adolf Hitler’s second cousin on his father’s [Schicklgrubers’] side Aloisa Veit,, a forty-nine-year-old schizophrenic who suffered from depression and is described in official documents as an “abnormal personality” was gassed to death at Hartheim castle, near Linz....In 1944 a Gestapo report described the Schicklgrubers... as “idiotic progeny”. Much later, it was proved right and Aloisa V. was discovered to be only one of several cases of physical or mental disability in Hitler’s family, as revealed by the Obersalzberg Institute.¹⁶⁷

What so fixed Maria Anna’s grandson upon suppressing probes into his Schicklgruber clan? Disclosing Aloisa’s tragic end in the Hartheim Euthanasia Center, American historian Ryback hazarded Ryback’s guess: Mr[.] Ryback said: “Hitler’s secrecy about his own family was legendary. After 60 years we now know why. “This man really did have something to hide.”¹⁶⁸

Yet if Hitler’s father had lost touch post-1877 with this Schicklgruber-descended tax collector’s family, then how could the plight of Josef Veit’s progeny’s influence Adolf Hitler? It need not, for him to fear the worst.

Maser, even if unapprised of this tax official’s family-circle tragedy, confidently contributed: “Because of the close inbreeding in his family, Hitler is known to have been afraid of becoming a father, being tormented by the thought that any child he

engendered might be at risk.”¹⁶⁹ The dictator’s mother Klara was granddaughter of the aforementioned brother Johann Nepomuk. Thereby, if the aforementioned brother Johann Georg Hiedler were father of Klara’s husband Alois, then Klara’s grandfather was brother of Alois’s father. Whereas if *Nepomuk* sired Alois, then Klara’s grandfather and Alois’s father were the *same* man.¹⁷⁰ if Nepomuk did sire Adolf’s father Alois, then “Adolf himself was the issue of a union between Alois Hitler and the woman who was both the latter’s niece and the daughter of his half-sister.”¹⁷¹

Johanna Poelzl, one of Klara Hitler’s sisters, was a hunchback and another sister’s son---Adolf’s first-cousin Edward Schmidt---was a hunchback afflicted with a speaking handicap.¹⁷² Adolf surely witnessed this firsthand. He passed the summer Adolf was fourteen with Herr Anton and Frau Theresia Schmidt’s family in Spital, Austria.¹⁷³ Johanna Poelzl, an aunt of both Edward and Adolf, then lived in the Schmidts’ house.¹⁷⁴

Respecting modern eastern Europe, Portland State University’s Dr. Natan M. Meir observed during 2020:

In context of the medieval Christian-Jewish polemics, Christian theologians frequently portrayed Jews as ugly and deformed, even suffering from physical afflictions, because of their rejection of Christianity. The actual deformities of disabled Jews thus echoed long-standing Christian superstitions about Jewish bodily anomalies (e.g., the Jewish hunchback) embodying Jewish immorality. This notion adumbrates an idea encountered in modern eastern Europe: Jewish marginal people as a symbol for the entire Jewish nation, perceived by gentiles or even Jews themselves as inadequate, pitiable, malformed, and corrupted by their unnatural economic and social circumstances.¹⁷⁵

Regarding mid-nineteenth century Europe and the rise of modern states, Dr. Meir adds:

When Jewish notables and progressives (*maskilim*) began to argue in the middle decades of the nineteenth century for the granting of full civic and political equality to Jews, they also had to explain why the Jews were deserving of such rights....As Catherine J. Kudlick remarks, “Disability is a significant factor in the development of the modern state, by raising the questions of who deserves the government’s assistance and protection, what constitutes a capable citizen, and who merits the full rights of citizenship.”¹⁷⁶

One would wonder whether pitiable Aloisa Veit would be judged by kinsman Adolf as inadequate, and thus undeserving of full rights to governmental protection in his modern state. Too, suppose he were sensitive to his paternal grand-parentage in the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Then would one wonder whether he also would judge such kin as Aloisa a liability. For a marginal woman so incapable might be brandished by his opponents as a symbol for the entire Schickgruber family.

Hitler might mull kin more nearly related to him than Johanna Poelzl and Edward Schmidt. Before Adolf’s birth, Klara and Alois Hitler had lost all three of their children in the course of twelve months, five weeks.¹⁷⁷ These deaths climaxed with the third on January 2, 1888, only 25 days after the second.¹⁷⁸ Another of their children, Edmund Hitler, was born on March 24, 1894.¹⁷⁹ That fell fewer than four weeks before his elder brother Adolf’s fifth birthday. Measles slew Edmund at age six.¹⁸⁰

Hitler’s jumpiness about hiding his family background for fear it be turned against him demonstrated not paranoia but realism. During the Second World War, the U.S. Office of Strategic Services secret report on him opined: “When we consider that Klara

Poelzl may have lost one child before her marriage to Alois Hitler, another son born in 1885 died in 1887, another son born in 1894 died in 1900, and a girl born in 1886 died in 1888, one has grounds to question the purity of the blood.”¹⁸¹ *Purity of the blood. Liability*. Understandably, Adolf Hitler even in boyhood fearfully might have questioned his heredity himself.

Edmund’s elder brother was reminded of three already-lost siblings¹⁸² when Edmund died: Adolf’s first brush with death.¹⁸³ He had grown old enough to mourn, and to remember his grief. He was grown enough to remember Edmund’s interment. Neither Alois nor Klara passed that date in Leonding, Austria (where the family resided¹⁸⁴ on a site proximate to its cemetery¹⁸⁵). They spent it, forever bafflingly, on a trip into nearby Linz.¹⁸⁶ So in a driving snowstorm Adolf stood with neither father nor mother, witnessing his little brother’s interment into a grave for which no marker ever would be supplied by their parents.¹⁸⁷

According to Hitler biographer Robert Payne:

[T]here was a dramatic change in Adolf’s character during the year following his brother’s death. From being a rather cocky, good-humored, outgoing boy who found his lessons ridiculously easy, sailing through life as though all things were possible to him, he becomes a morose, self-absorbed, nervous boy, who never again did well in his lessons and continued to wage a sullen war against his teachers until they gave up in despair.¹⁸⁸

Quite suddenly something had snapped within him, a sickness of the soul or a sickness of the flesh...[T]he death of Edmund was probably the main cause, outweighing all others.

Whenever he looked out the bedroom window, he would be reminded
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of Edmund, for the grave lay just behind the high cemetery wall.¹⁸⁹

Consequently, Hitler's diehard resistance to public inquests into his family can be explained without hypothesizing a Jewish paternal grandfather.

Hitler's Generation in Europe Concealed Congenitally Mentally-Challenged Kin

In 2000, a British charity-operated institution held Katherine Bowes-Lyon. Therein dwelt the mentally handicapped, solely. It exemplified the level of facility affording unlockable toilet facilities, and where one or another male staff member could bathe an institutionalized female. The National Health Service met Katherine's fees. Katherine Bowes-Lyon was first-cousin of Queen Elizabeth II.¹⁹⁰

This marked at least the second institution wherein Katherine had been held. For during 1941, Katherine and another first cousin of Her Royal Highness, Katherine's sister Nerissa Jane Irene Bowes-Lyon, were consigned to the Royal Earlswood Asylum for Mental Defectives¹⁹¹ (subsequently the Royal Earlswood Hospital) sited in Redhill, Surrey.¹⁹² Nerissa died in 1986.¹⁹³ Upon having her funeral attended by Earlswood staff members alone, Nerissa was laid within her pauper's grave. Only a serial number and plastic tags marked her final resting place¹⁹⁴ in Redhill cemetery. Yet *Burke's Peerage* had recorded both sisters as deceased more than two decades earlier¹⁹⁵ a joint disposal either more or less dehumanizing than having both their names' rendered nonexistent by *Debrett's Peerage*.

Katherine and Nerissa's mother Fenella, until Fenella's marriage, was The Hon. Fenella Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis. Fenella's grand-nephew, Gerard Neville Mark Fane-Trefusis, is Devon's largest private landowner.¹⁹⁶ *Pauper's grave. Charity. National*

Health Service. He became 22nd Baron Clinton. In 1987, the Baron assured Britons that: "I have known for some time about the whole business. It's a family matter."¹⁹⁷

However, the 22nd Baron's ignorance proved Inconsistent with knowing about the entirety of his family's affair. For he proved ignorant about Charles John Robert Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis, 21st Baron Clinton. The 21st Baron annually had devoted 125 pounds toward care of the 21st Baron's *five* (not two) grandchildren installed in the Royal Earlswood Hospital, all having been deposited in the Royal Earlswood Asylum for Mental Defectives on the identical date.¹⁹⁸ Perhaps Charles John Robert Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis negotiated a volume-discount for locking into lifelong darkness his noble flesh-and-blood.

Quaere, whether (at any juncture between 1941 and 2000) someone among: (1) Fenella; or (2) lavishly open-handed 21st Baron Clinton; or (3) thrifty Gerard Neville Mark Fane-Trefusis, the 22nd Baron Clinton, the "family matter" man (whose kin Katherine's fees at a charity-operated institution were met by the taxpayers' National Health Service, i.e., not by the largest private landowner in Devon); or (4) Her Majesty The Queen (a.k.a. Katherine's first cousin) worried because their family truly had something to hide.

Comparably, Hitler's steadfast preclusion of public inquiry into his family can be explained sans hypothesized unease over an imaginable Jewish grandfather.

THE RESPONSES TO SAX'S TWO QUESTIONS RELATE

Sax's Question Two

Returning to tax official Josef Veit's anguished brood more specifically, the dictator's father Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler had a first-cousin named Josefa. For cousin Josefa's mother---who herself had been born Josefa Schicklgruber---was sister to Maria Anna Schicklgruber (who become Frau to Johann Georg Heidler). This cousin (the daughter-

Josefa) married Alois Veit. They produced a son named *Josef* Veit.

The granddaughter of Josefa and her husband Alois Veit was the Aloisa Veit put to death under her kinsman Adolf's authority in 1940. Thus the murder victim's grandparents were named Alois and Josefa.¹⁹⁹ The victim's parents were names Josef and Aloisa.²⁰⁰ This invites confusion. Picture intergenerational entanglings in retellings.

At this point, respective responses to Sax's fourth query (How is Frank's assertion Hitler could have a Jewish paternal grandfather to be explained?) and to Sax's second question (Why was Hitler so determined to preclude public probes into his ancestors?) converge. The road sloping downward to Aloisa's slaughter is a family's troubled history. Their history was potentially explanatory of precluded inquests into Hitler's kin (at issue specifically in Sax's second question).

Sax's Question Four

Aloisa's tragic road intersects another. Pursuing her road reveals: Frank's 1946 assertion regarding Adolf's paternal grandfather somehow sounded defensible, or at least more nearly defensible than it would without Hitler's real relatives (relevantly to Sax's fourth question). To reiterate: Aloisa was a direct descendant of Josefa Schicklgruber. Adolf Hitler was a direct descendant of Maria Anna Schicklgruber. Everyone in each sister's line was a relative of Germany's Austrian tyrant. But beware confounding sister Josefa with sister Maria Anna. For to confound the two sisters is to confound distinct Schicklgruber-descent lines. Mischief is the name of the offspring of separate Schicklgruber lines once confused.

For an anti-Hitler yarn promoted by Austria's secret police²⁰¹ well pre-1946 ran:

that Chancellor Dollfuss had ordered the Austrian police to conduct a

thorough investigation into the Hitler family. As a result of the investigation a secret document was prepared that proved that Maria Anna Schicklgruber was living in Vienna [not Graz] at the time she conceived. At that time she was employed as a servant in the home of Baron Rothschild. As soon as the family discovered her pregnancy she was sent back to her home in Spital where Alois was born....According to these sources, Adolf Hitler knew of the existence of this document and the incriminating evidence it contained. In order to obtain it he precipitated events in Austria and initiated the assassination of Dollfuss.²⁰²

Yet "incriminating" how? Anyway, if the Austrian police and Chancellor Dollfuss held incriminating evidence against you, would you think that to murder Dollfuss and precipitate events in Austria would constitute surest course to guarantee said evidence be: (1) obtained by you; or (2) published posthaste world-wide?

Familiarly by now, this Austrian secret police-propaganda once more melodramatically embraces a behind the scenes, national governmental-level inquest into the Hitler clan. It reaches to Hitler's maternal grandfather. Again, confidential documentation is prepared. Once again, official inquiry discloses a Jewish grandfather from outside Spital. Ominously for historians and biographers, this yarn inserts Maria Anna into Vienna where (as to be seen immediately hereinafter) Josefa (Aloisa's ancestor)---but not her sister Maria Anna (Adolf's ancestor)---belongs. This mistakenly fuses their two lines of descent. From that fusion is born Mischief.

To exemplify how credence comfortably could attach to Maria Anna Schicklgruber-Vienna-Rothschild nonsense (advanced by the Austrian secret police) needs review of the dictator's family digging no more deeply than his mother's generation. For Fraulein Klara

Poelzl (future mother of Adolf) at age 20 actually “went to Vienna, where she obtained employment as a household servant.”²⁰³ For after November 7, 1880,²⁰⁴ Klara left the household of Alois Hitler²⁰⁵ (formerly called Alois Schicklgruber), where she had toiled as servant girl.²⁰⁶ She returned to his home as resident housekeeper in 1884.²⁰⁷ The two married on January 7, 1885.²⁰⁸ Gustav Hitler, their first child, was born on May 17, 1885: Johann and Johanna Prinz, godparents of Gustav, were *Vienna* residents.²⁰⁹

Here one genuinely finds: (1) a non-Jewish female of childbearing age; (2) journeying to become a Vienna house-servant; plus (3) a lusty male householder with a servant-girl; preceding (4) a nonmarital pregnancy; which encompassed (5) a natal “Schicklgruber” as parent; who (6) parented a baby-boy named Hitler; whose (7) godparents’ address returns the story to Vienna. Thus summarized absolutely accurately, *Klara’s* biography is not totally unlike either the Austrian secret police account or Frank’s Nuremberg story (although those are both about Adolf Hitler’s *grandfather*). So credence casually could attach to fictions wrapped around a skeleton resembling Klara’s lifestyle.

Yet striking still more closely to Maria Anna Schicklgruber-Vienna-Rothschild silliness: Maria Anna Schicklgruber’s sister Josefa (Alois Hitler, Senior’s Aunt Josefa), born in 1799, actually did go to the village of Fuenfhaus, neighboring Vienna.²¹⁰ Since 1890, Fuenfhaus has been within Vienna.²¹¹ In 1826, Josefa married.²¹² This married sister-Josefa’s *daughter* Josefa was born in 1828. These identical first and last names invite any reteller to entangle two generations. Daughter Josefa would wed Alois Veit.²¹³ Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler corresponded with his cousin Frau Josefa Veit and her spouse Herr Alois Veit in September and October 1876.²¹⁴ Their son Josef Veit, born in 1860, fathered doomed Aloisa.

Here one actually does find: (1) one Schicklgruber sister---mother-Josefa--- went

to Vienna; and (2) through her daughter-Josefa, that formerly named-Schicklgruber sister actually did deliver an Alois into the extended Schicklgruber clan; because (3) he was daughter-Josefa’s bridegroom Herr Alois Veit. These three *perfectly true* points are not wholly dissimilar to either the Austrian secret police narrative or Frank’s Nuremberg tale. So credence casually could attach to fictions paralleling parts of these two different Josefas’ true-life adventures.

The Threatened Confusion of Two Lines of Descent

Exactly here, beware blending Maria Anna’s line of descent with Josefa’s line of descent. Thanks to a real pair of Josefas (mother and daughter) and a real pair of Aloises---Alois Veit (sister Josefa’s son-in-law) and Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler (sister Maria Ann’a son)---total truth can garble fictionally into: *Josefa Schicklgruber went to Vienna. Josefa bore an Alois. Josefa added her Alois to all Schicklgrubers’ extended-kin. Alois Schicklgruber fathered Adolf Hitler.* It almost makes sense.

If it did, then Frank’s maternal grandfather story would somehow sound sensible. This almost sensible snarl-up’s weakest twist is the first name of Adolf’s grandmother: Maria Anna (in fact), not Josefa (in Vienna). Yet what Christmas-celebrating Austrian Catholics or German Protestants possibly could confuse a “Mary “ and a “Joseph”? *Quaere*, whether sisters with names as distinguishable as Maria Anna and Josefa could ever blur together.

To begin with, of Maria Anna’s ten sisters and brothers,²¹⁵ only Josefa and their brother Leopold launched a line of direct descent.²¹⁶ Sister Josefa departed the Schicklgruber hometown of Strones and had become a wife in Vienna (as seen immediately hereinabove) by 1826. Sister Maria Anna was dead by 1847 (as seen hereinabove). Maria Anna’s husband Johann Georg Hiedler (of his family’s hometown of Spital²¹⁷) was dead

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by 1857.²¹⁸ The Schicklgrubers lost touch with Leopold's family by the mid-1870s.²¹⁹ Maria Anna's son Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler left no known record of contact with the Herr Alois and Frau Josefa Veit family post-1877, and probably had lost all contact with any Schicklgrubers as of wedding Klara in 1885.²²⁰ Adolf's father was dead by 1903.²²¹ Maria Anna's sister Josefa's grandson--- Josef Veit---died in 1904. Maria Anna's sister Josefa's great-grandchildren through that tax official, Josef Veit, represented a generation tragically in disarray.

Adolf Hitler exited Landsberg Prison at Landsberg-am-Lech on December 20, 1924.²²² He was 35 years of age. Therefore, he was of an age to number among 1799 Strones's Fraulein Josefa Schicklgruber's *great*-grandchildren (although actually, as if to mislead genealogists, he really was Maria Anna's grandson). On December 20, 1924, guess how many non-genealogists either knew or realistically would establish which Schicklgruber sister (Josefa or Maria Anna) ventured to Vienna a century before. If few or none, then sometimes sisters might blur into one another.

The Threatened Confusion of Everything Else

Yet suppose sisters named Maria Anna and Josefa might not blend into one another, unless confusion *further* could contaminate family lines. Husband Johann Georg blessed his Frau Maria Anna Heidler (dictator's grandmother) with her mother-in-law (the dictator's great-grandmother, through *either* her son Johann Georg or son Johann Nepomuk, and *his* son Alois begetting Adolf). This mother-in-law named Anna Maria Heidler survived Johann Georg's wife by seven years.²²³ So of this pair of similarly named female Heidlers, the younger woman expectably to die second (Maria Anna, tyrant's grandmother) actually died before the elder (Anna Maria, tyrant's great-grandmother).

Too, Adolf Hitler's mother Klara (Poelzl) Hitler had an aforementioned sister

named Johanna Poelzl.²²⁴ Klara (born in Spital on August 12, 1860²²⁵) and Johanna had been born to Herr Johann Poelzl and Frau Johanna Poelzl (herself niece of Spital native²²⁶ Johann Georg and daughter of Johann Nepomuk²²⁷). So Klara had a mother and a sister both named Johanna. Klara had a father and *maternal* grandfather and *maternal* great-uncle all named Johann. This invites confusion concerning Klara's kindred.

Moreover, Klara's husband Alois Hitler, Senior (born June 17, 1837²²⁸) was separated in age from spouse Klara by more than 23 years. But Klara was separated in age from stepson Alois Hitler, Junior (born in January 1882²²⁹) by fewer than 22 years. This might invite confusing one Alois Hitler in Klara's marital household with another. Alois, Senior was her husband. Alois, Junior was her step-son.

Consequently, weigh whether those two Josefa Schicklgrubers (mother and daughter), their spouses, their progeny, and spouses of their progeny produced fertile soil for *this* sort of malicious error-mongering: Maria Anna Schicklgruber went to Vienna. Then she was delivered of Baron Rothschild's illegitimate, half-Jewish baby: Alois Schicklgruber. Her son Alois fathered Adolf, one quarter-Jewish. Thereafter, a falsehood promulgated in 1946 by Hans Frank could somehow sound defensible. Mischief's repercussions could continue deeply into the third decade of the twenty-first century.

CONCLUSION

Hitler's Jewish Paternal Grandfather: Circumstantial Evidence

Mathias Erzbergner

The preceding discussion has responded to and enlarged upon the work of Dr. Leonard Sax. It is presented to facilitate future researches into claims that Hitler's maternal grandfather could have been Jewish. The Frank narrative unfolds with the impregnation of Hitler's grandmother in a Jewish employer's household, when resident therein as hired

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household servant. It has been seen hereinabove how several Hitler biographers attend to Hitler's verbal assault upon Mathias Erzberger. Herr Erzberger endured detraction as a cross between an Aryan servant and a Jewish master. Superficially, Hitler's invocation of that charge might seem disclosing discomfiture about Jewish blood running through his veins. However, a second glance undermines said speculation: Hitler explicitly distanced himself from that belittling of Erzberger.

The Nuremburg Laws of 1935

Too, it has been seen hereinabove that the anti-Semitic Nuremburg Laws of 1935 prohibited the employment in Jewish households of Aryan females of childbearing years. This supposedly signals Hitler's insecurity concerning his maternal grandfather's bequest to him of Jewish blood. Nevertheless, Hitler failed to focus fanatically upon that element of the legislation, at least insofar as he declined to engage intimately in devising sensitive features thereof. If Hitler were confident of his Aryan descent, then both behaviors become comprehensible. And as respected detective of the dictator's roots Bradley F. Smith could conclude: "The family tradition was that Alois's father was Johann Georg Hiedler, all investigators who have dealt with the problem agree that Adolf Hitler believed this. Even Frank stated that, after his investigation, Hitler still did not believe he was part Jewish."²³⁰

Dietrich's Hitler/Chambermaids, and Rosenbaum's Hitler Family Romance

Dietrich's Hitler/Chambermaids

However, Professor Waite does relate of the 1930s: "The mere mention of a German girl working as a household servant or charwoman was deeply disturbing to Hitler. His press chief recorded a peculiar incident which he was unable to explain but which indicates that

the very thought of a Catholic chambermaid was enough to trigger a violent emotional reaction in Hitler."²³¹ For the Third Reich's Press Chief Otto Dietrich remembered:

At one time Hitler was informed that the mother of the manager of the Party hotel in Nuremberg, the Deutscher Hof, had inserted into a Catholic family magazine an advertisement for chambermaids. The Fuehrer flew into a rage entirely disproportionate to the importance of the matter; the manager was dismissed out of hand and professionally blacklisted.²³²

Waite introduces this incident as one about *German* girls. But instead invoked in Waite's context of Hitler's unease about a Jewish grandfather is recruiting chambermaids presumptively *Catholic*. Obviously, the nerve Dietrich saw touched could *not* be Nuremberg's German girls as Deutscher Hof chambermaids. For unless Waite posits Hitler incensed because he hungered for hiring foreign chambermaids alone, Deutschland's Frauleins must serve. *Quaere*, whether Otto witnessed Adolf instantly envisioning a Catholic chambermaid's recruitment.

As if to help ascertain her appearance in Hitler's minds-eye, Rosenbaum mused on Hitler and three serving-girls who were Catholic:

Who was this woman, Maria Schicklgruber, who left such a maddeningly ambiguous legacy to Hitler and to history?...What is more interesting is how the serving-girl seduction romances of the other two Hitler women to figure prominently in subsequent Hitler-explanation controversies—his mother Klara, and his half-niece Geli Raubal—seem to reflect, even recapitulate the sexual mystery Maria Schicklgruber left behind. What

is it about the amorous master/ambivalent serving girl relationship that causes it to figure in three successive generations of Hitler women and the controversies surrounding them?

Consider Hitler's mother, Klara, often portrayed by chroniclers (taking their cue from her devoted son's description of her) as a simple, saintly self-sacrificing servant of her husband and children. In fact, a closer look at her role reveals Klara---a serving girl in the Alois Hitler household during his first two marriages---was capable of participating in complicated, illicit, clandestine (and borderline incestuous) intrigues with the imperious head of the household. We know, for instance, that at sixteen Klara was willing to move into the cramped quarters of a married man (Alois) twenty years older than she, a man not so distantly related to her (she was his niece), under pretext of being his serving maid.²³³

Femmes fatale sell books. Yet pinpoint where author Rosenbaum proves complex intrigue and "pretext." Was not Klara a serving maid? Was her move into an uncle's household embracing *two infants* proved "complicated" and "under pretext"?

Alois's second wife Franziska "Fanni" (Matzelberger) Hitler's 1884 lung illness impelled her departure from their home to the country air of Ranshofen.²³⁴ Klara returned to Uncle Alois's residence to care for his two children by Franziska: Angela and Alois, Junior.²³⁵ In 1884, they respectively were of ages one and two.²³⁶ As seen hereinabove, the wedding of Alois and Klara on January 7, 1885,²³⁷ shortly preceded the May 17 birth of their son Gustav.²³⁸ Suppose Klara were impregnated about August 17, 1884, while Klara resided with Uncle Alois. *Unwed, pregnant, Catholic housekeeper.*

But Franziska had perished of tuberculosis in Ranshofen on August 10, 1884.²³⁹ So judge whether teenaged Adolf could read the calendar thus: Klara arrives as a 23 year-
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old, maternally-minded, Catholic virgin. Adolf might picture---as Klara had incentive to help everyone envision---beleaguered Alois as a father grateful to Klara while a husband faithful to mortally imperiled Franziska (if to no one else before). Fertile confluence of Rosenbaum's master-storyline and Rosenbaum's serving-girl storyline might not have been reached until approximately August 17. As young Adolf could count, that date during Alois's widowhood fell nine months before Gustav's birth.

Adolf possibly was well aware August 17 fell a week past Fanni's death. For Klara and Alois had reason to remember a landmark date severing Fanni from Fanni's own infants and leaving Alois a widower. And Klara's two stepchildren *living with Adolf* had reason to hear the date their mother had died while *Klara* cared for them. August 17, 1884, dawned only after a freshly grieving, imperious widower had needed comfort for a week. Both he and his sympathizing niece (nurturer of his infants) knew they needed a stepmother. Estimate whether young Adolf, or many observers beyond Rosenbaum, would style Gustav's conception more probably as: (1) an element of Klara's self-serving, complicated, clandestine intrigues; or more probably as (2) the fruit of Klara's less calculating benevolence.

Rosenbaum's Hitler Family Romance

Instead of Klara immersing in the illicit, Smith says: "She frequently visited Franziska in Ranshofen and joined the ill girl's widowed mother in trying to nurse her back to health."²⁴⁰ Or in Toland's words:

Once more the compliant Klara was installed in the Pommer Inn [residence of Alois] and this time she became housemaid, nursemaid and mistress. Adolf Hitler's mother-to-be was such a goodhearted

girl she also did her best to help restore Fanni to health, visiting her frequently. Curiously, Fanni welcomed the ministrations of her rival.²⁴¹

Pinpoint anyone's production of evidence of either Fanni's or her mother Maria Matzelberger's unreceptivity to Klara's advent as caregiver for either Fanni or her infants. *Quaere*, whether Fanni or Maria or both knew Klara so unrivalrous of her own uncle's wife that when "Fanni welcomed the ministrations of" Klara there was naught curious about it. Weigh whether Gustav's conception is implicitly backdated to insinuate lurid, pre-August 10 adultery.

If Klara were adulterous Alois's mistress fixing to supplant Fanni as his wife, then the less probably would Klara do her best to restore Fanni's health. If Klara were adulterous Alois's mistress, then the less probably would Fanni greet Klara's aid. If Klara were adulterous Alois's mistress, then the less likely would Maria be godmother to Gustav (especially since a couple of distant relatives of the Hitlers were his godparents *also*).²⁴² If Klara were adulterous Alois's mistress, then the less likely would Maria become godmother to Klara's second child as well.²⁴³ Decide the pair better situated to appraise Klara's presence in the home of Fanni and of Klara's own uncle: Fanni and Maria, or Toland and Rosenbaum. Determine the pair more committed to defense of Fanni's marriage. Decide the pair more incentivized to smell the salacious.

Quaere, whether proof exists that Klara arrived to assume the role of adulterous husband's mistress: Klara's arrival corresponding to Rosenbaum's "complicated, illicit, clandestine" doings ("intrigues" undated and unidentified). Of Alois's address while Franziska was dying Rosenbaum writes: "young Klara remained, 'and this time,' says Toland, 'she became housemaid, nursemaid and mistress'."²⁴⁴ Ascertain that pair's proof

that Klara ever was anyone's mistress. Rosenbaum quotes Toland. Yet Rosenbaum forgets to mention Toland's failure to cite a source proving Klara as adulterous Alois's mistress.

True, Bradley F. Smith's work published by the Hoover Institution at Stanford University (preceding both Rosenbaum and Toland) did discuss Klara in Alois's home thus: "She was his niece, his mistress, his maid, and the nurse for his children. Almost precisely at the time Franziska died, Klara became pregnant."²⁴⁵ But Smith's first sentence ("mistress") is cited by neither Toland nor Rosenbaum.

Smith's subsequent "almost precisely" allows insinuation of adultery by an author absentmindedly separating by seven pages the dates of Fanni's death and of Gustav's birth.²⁴⁶ Interestingly, the latter page reiterates that Gustav "was conceived at almost the precise time that her [Maria Matzelberger's] daughter was dying."²⁴⁷ If Smith's readers more conveniently had been apprised expressly of the respective dates of death and birth, then they more readily could calculate for themselves the odds of Klara's pregnancy being adulterous or not. If Klara were a hotblooded seductress, then Smith's readers could calculate the odds Klara exercised iron self-control avoiding adulterous liason.

In truth, Alois proves Catholic enough to circumvent family disgrace by his niece bearing a bastard: Klara's parents and Johann Nepomuk still lived in Spital.²⁴⁸ Alois and Klara cooperate in an October 27, 1884, application for a Papal dispensation to marry.²⁴⁹ Consider whether that was a lightly educated and busily employed couple's paperwork produced about as promptly as possible upon impregnation about August 17. *Quaere*, whether the interpretation of the calendar by Adolf as speculated hereinabove accommodates this more nearly innocent Klara (whom Rosenbaum discounts): "simple, self-sacrificing servant of her husband and children." Rosenbaum fails to accent: (1) the extreme youth of Alois's babies; (2) Klara as Franziska's nurse; (3) precisely dating

Franziska's death; and (4) precisely dating Gustav's birth. Whether or not *sluts* sell books, Rosenbaum had a book to sell.

Rosenbaum adds of this third spouse of Herr Alois Hitler: Klara continued to call her husband what she called him when she was still his maid/mistress: "uncle." "Uncle." That's exactly what Adolf Hitler's own housemaid/niece Geli [Angela's daughter: Angelika] Raubal called him when she moved into his apartment in 1929 and they began their intense, controversial (then and now), and ultimately fatal relationship, the third erotic serving-girl drama in the Hitler saga.²⁵⁰

For the "Geli Raubal tragedy"²⁵¹ embedded "those elements that make it such an uncanny recapitulation of the family romance of Maria Schicklgruber and the mysterious stranger. There was, in Geli's case, a suspected Jewish seducer, a (rumored) pregnancy, and a tormented affair with the master of the house in which she served."²⁵²

Three Catholic household servants. One bore her baby Adolf. His loving allegiance universally is deemed to have run to Klara against her sometime employer: Alois, Senior. So Adolf hostilely could envision Alois as sexual predator of his servant Klara, just by reading the calendar for Klara's wedding-day and Gustav's birthday. As noted immediately hereinabove, Adolf resided with his elder half-siblings Angela and Alois, Junior. A bit of doomed little Gustav might have been recalled firsthand for Adolf by Alois, Junior. The latter was five years and eleven months old²⁵¹ when Gustav died on December 8, 1887.²⁵³ Yet even at that, Adolf need not have judged his father's predation on his mother as adulterous.

Once Hitler made his home Berchtesgaden home on the Obersalzberg at the Haus Wachenfeld, he beseeched his half-sister Angela (Hitler) Raubal to "take over the part of mistress of the house."²⁵⁴ Angela moved-in with both her daughters: Angelika "Geli"

Maria, and Friedel.²⁵⁵ In September 1929, he moved into a nine-room apartment in Munich.²⁵⁶ Angela remained in charge of his Berchtesgaden property but Geli moved-in with him.²⁵⁷ On September 18, 1931, Geli perished in her room from a pistol-shot in her heart.²⁵⁸

The Deutscher Hof and Hitler Family Romance

And it was in the 1930s that her uncle heard of that Deutscher Hof chambermaid-recruitment advertisement in a Catholic magazine. Thanks to his family romance, he could feel peculiarly sensitive/defensive about sexually vulnerable Catholic serving-girls--even those employed by Germans. However irrationally, he could fear the advertisement by the Deutscher Hof (the Party hotel) to beckon hostile gossip: "Adolf Hitler's grandmother and mother were both Catholic servant girls impregnated out of wedlock---Klara both incestuously and adulterously. So everybody can believe he carnally indulged himself with two in-his-home Catholics related to him by blood: Angela as his half-sister, and Geli as her daughter)." Nazi Party hotel-Nazi Party-Hitler-Catholic-serving woman. Thereby, discomfort over a *Jewish* impregnator of a serving-girl (producing Hitler's half-Jewish father) is speculation unnecessary to explain the Dietrich anecdote's abrupt, incensed reaction by Hitler (a response, realistically, never explainable to Dietrich).

Hitler's Jewish Paternal Grandfather: Midwived in Nuremberg by a Doctor

These Erzberger, Nuremberg Laws, and Dietrich points imply: Frank's book was engendered less likely by evidence from 1930 revolving around a possible Jewish grandfather triggering Hitlerian anxiety, and more probably was engendered by a doomed author's bitterness against Hitler in 1946. Rosenbaum emphatically frames this idea, with reference to a memoir by the son of Dr. Hans Frank: Niklas Frank. The younger Frank

depicts his father as a craven coward and weakling, but not one without a kind of animal cunning, an instinct for lying, insinuation, self-aggrandizement. For *this* Hans Frank, disgraced and facing death on the gallows for following Hitler, fabricating such a story might be a cunning way of ensuring his place in history as the one man who gave the world the hidden key to the mystery of Hitler's psyche. While at the same time revenging himself on his former master for having led him to this and by foisting a sordid and humiliating explanation of Hitler on him for all posterity. In any case, it was one Frank knew the victors would find seductive.²⁵⁹

Dr. G.M. Gilbert at Nuremberg accessed Hans Frank, Ernst Kaltenbrunner and Arthur Seyss-Inquart. Frank reviled Hitler by then. Meanwhile, Gilbert might have craved explanation of their chief's antisemitism through an intrapsychic formulation. For Rosenbaum related of the Jewish maternal grandfather account: "It remains, after four decades, one of the two great temptations of Hitler explanation lore (the other being the Geli Raubal perversion story), tempting because it offers the gratification of a totalizing, single-pointed explanation of Hitler's psychology."²⁶⁰

Ponder the prospect that Frank's Graz II tale about the Jewish paternal grandfather, allegedly substantiated by correspondence (not to be found today) held by a woman living near Graz, was the product of: (1) Frank's fading recollection of, or of rumors surrounding, a 1932 probe into Reinhard Heydrich's roots; and/or (2) scrambled reports of, or of rumors surrounding, that Heydrich probe hastily shared with Frank on or about July 9, 1946, by Seyss-Inquart and/or Kaltenbrunner; and/or (3) Frank's failing recall of, or of rumors surrounding, a wartime Gestapo inquiry into Hitler's family background (Graz I)—the future Fuehrer's kinsman Herr Josef Veit (1860-1904) himself having

resided in Graz, to die in Klagenfurt²⁶¹; and/or (4) scrambled reports of the Graz I project hurriedly shared with Frank on or about July 9, 1946, by Seyss-Inquart and/or Kaltenbrunner while (5) Frank or two or all three defendants were under the sway of Gilbert's craving for some intrapsychic seed of Hitlerian bestiality; or else that Frank's Graz II tale constituted the outcome of some combination of these factors.

Otto Dietrich: "The mystery of Hitler is the prism in which all the rays of tentative knowledge are broken up."²⁶²

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APPENDIX I: DR. GILBERT'S LOST GAMBLE

John Toland informed Dr. Gustave Mark Gilbert that Hitler's secretary Gerda Christian had been told of hearsay by her husband Lufwaffe Command Chief of Staff Eckhard. So this (1) hearsay pre-Eckhard passed to (2) Eckard, passing to (3) Gerda, passing to (4) Toland, passing to (5) Gilbert). Hearsay said that the death camps were Hitler's retaliation for RAF-USAAF bombings of German cities, i.e., Hamburg:

GILBERT: Goebbels shows that he knew [of Jewish death camps, beyond mere concentration camps] in his xx diary. Hitler was able to work out the pathological side of his character without getting any repercussions, which he would in any kind of normal society.

TOLAND: ...picture of Hitler in concentration camp...all death camps were in Poland he never went there....first Hitler used to go around visiting villages hit by bombs but 1941 refused to go out: Goebbels did. Anything to do with his guilt feeling? Frau Christian....making threat to England and America that they had gone too far, with the bombings of Hamburg and so forth...you will suffer xxxxxxxx for it. Her husband later told her that others had told him that this was the death camp threat.

GILBERT: I put that two and two together myself as I was listening to the testimony in Nuremberg and I remember a sudden deluge of people being sent to the death camps struck [sic] me as very odd and I thought this must have been Hitler's personal retaliation.

TOLAND: Hitting the motherland – calls is [sic] motherland more often than fatherland.

GILBERT: Yes.

TOLAND: Over there, even their ships they call he...but he called it she.

GILBERT: The secretary confirmed this, because I had a very distinct impression But I had a very distinct impression at the time that he was using the death camps – his way of retaliating against the world – punishing the people he branded as guilty – working out his own displaced aggression for his own guilt. It is a guilt feeling. He does not allow it to become guilt. His background, justified from the beginning that the whole war is a means of getting rid of the inferior warmongers – and everything that he is he attributes to the Jews. He calls the Jews guilty of the war when it is so manifestly obvious that he is the one that is guilty. I was sure that a man with that personality would step up the extermination any time his own guilt feelings rose. Vengeance, guilt and opportunity. He had them in his power and the fact that something unusual is going on at the time is indicated by the fact – an excuse. This is [sic] enabled him in his pathological way to live with himself – he had done something about the bombing – he had murdered millions more innocent people and this was his relief. This is the pathological system. I am certain this had to account for the death camps. I am sure if you check the dates of the worst bombings and the dates of stepping up the extermination, they will coincide.

TOLAND: He is proud of what he has done, yet he does not tell anybody. Never one order...²⁶³

I am certain. I was sure. I am sure.

A psychologist, Gilbert gambles on evidence not in his hands as few *historians the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* 105

should. Reveals one recent historian of the Holocaust, Peter Longerich:

It is possible to identify three further periods during the second half of the war in which the Nazi regime further escalated its *Judenpolitik*: the phase between the Allied landing in North Africa and the Warsaw ghetto uprising, hence the months November 1942 to May 1943, that is the period during which the Axis powers lost the military initiative; autumn 1943, when Italy left the alliance and the German Reich occupied further territories previously controlled by Fascist Italy; finally, the period from spring to summer 1944, during which the German Reich occupied Hungary and Slovakia.²⁶⁴

The North Africa landing extended the Nazi clutches over Jews of Tunisia and in France.²⁶⁵ So each Holocaust intensification coincided with a kind of Nazi *advance* over territories not yet stripped of unoffending Jewish inhabitants. According to noted Holocaust scholar Lucy S. Davidowicz: “At bottom, the success of the Final Solution throughout Europe depended on Germany’s opportunities and resources to carry it out, that is, whether or not Germany had uncontested and supreme control of a country or territory.”²⁶⁶ These escalations, *contra* Gilbert, were not temporally-reactive to Allied attacks inside Germany.²⁶⁷

Hungarian Jewry’s deportation and slaughter developed late in World War II.²⁶⁸ And, as a matter of fact, Admiral Horthy, the Regent of the Kingdom of Hungary (i.e., its head of state)²⁶⁹ misperceived the purpose behind a heavy American aerial bombing of Budapest on July 2, 1944.²⁷⁰ Horthy was convinced the Americans’ air raid was *retaliatory against* the deportation of Hungarian Jewry.²⁷¹ Here Horthy did not perceive heightening Final Solution action in Hungary as temporally *reactive to* Allied aerial attack inside

Hungary.

Indeed, the impending slaughter of Hungary’s Jews had been on the minds of their murder-plotters well in advance:

Hitler’s final stay at the Berghof from late February to mid-July 1944 coincided with the last chapter of the Holocaust: the deportation and murder of Hungarian Jews. It is likely that Hitler discussed this act of genocide with Himmler when the latter came to visit in early April. In an address to Wehrmacht officers in the Platterhof Hotel on 26 May 1944, he left no doubt as to the fate he had in mind for the Jews of Hungary.²⁷²

More specifically, in Hoess’s *The final solution of the Jewish question in Auschwitz concentration camp*,²⁷³ an appendix to his postwar autobiography, Commandant of Auschwitz Rudolf Hoess did confirm:

Crematorium II, later designated bunker V, was used up to the last and was also kept as a stand-by when breakdowns occurred in crematoria I to IV. When larger numbers of transports were being received, gassing was carried out by day in number V and numbers I to IV were used for those transports which arrived during the night. The capacity of number V was practically unlimited, so long as cremations could be carried out both by day and night. Because of enemy air attacks, no further cremations were permitted during the night after 1944. *The highest total of people gassed and cremated within twenty-four hours was rather more than 9,000. This figure was attained in the summer of 1944, during the action in Hungary, using all*

the installations except number III. On that day, owing to delays on the line, five trains arrived, instead of three, as expected, and in addition the carriages were more crowded than usual.²⁷⁴

Hoess here does not present the summer 1944 daily peak of gassing fatalities in Auschwitz as *reactive to* Allied aerial attacks (e.g., the heavy bombing of Budapest on July 2).

Gilbert lost the gamble that his supposed insight would be vindicated by the facts.

APPENDIX II: YOU CAN'T TELL THE PLAYERS WITHOUT A SCORECARD

MARIA ANNA/ANNA MARIA: Frau Maria Anna (Schicklgruber) Hiedler was the dictator's grandmother. Maria Anna was the daughter in law of Anna Maria Hiedler. The latter was the daughter of Maria Anna (not Anna Maria) Hiedler.

BROTHERS JOHANN: Johann Georg Hiedler and Johann Nepomuk Huttler were brothers. NEEDS UMLAUT OVER U These two brothers named Johann (not Johannes) were the grandsons of Johann (not Johannes) Hiedler and Maria Anna (not Anna Maria) Hiedler.

ALOIS: Alois Veit married the cousin of Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler, the dictator's father. For Alois Veit's wife, Frau Josefa (Schicklgruber) Veit was daughter of Maria Anna (Schicklgruber) Hiedler's sister, Josefa Schicklgruber. This Alois Hitler likewise fathered Alois Hitler, Jr. The latter was half-brother to the dictator.

ALOISA: Fraulein Aloisa Veit (d. 1940) was daughter of Frau Aloisa Veit. Fraulein Aloisia was also granddaughter of Herr Alois Veit. He married that cousin of Alois (Schicklgruber) Hitler.

JOSEF/JOSEFA: Fraulein Aloisa's sister, Josefa Veit, was daughter of Josef Veit, and granddaughter of (likewise) Josefa Veit. So the Fraulein who died in 1940 and her siblings had parents named Josef and Aloisia Veit plus paternal grandparents "reverse-named" Alois Veit and Josefa Veit. And the great-grandmother of these girls was Josefa Schicklgruber, sister of Maria Anna (the dictator's grandmother).

THERESE/THERESIA: Johann (not Johannes) Schmidt was the dictator's cousin, being the son of Herr Anton and Frau Theresia (Poelzl) Schmidt. Theresia was sister to Johanna Poelzl and Klara (Poelzl) Hitler, the dictator's mother. Theresia, Johanna, and Klara's parents were Herr Johann (not Johannes) Poelzl and Frau Johanna (Huttler) NEEDS UMLAUT Poelzl. This Frau Johanna (Huttler) Ploelzl was sister to Frau Josefa (Huttler) NEEDS UMLAUT Sailer and to Frau Walburga (Huttler) Romeder, whose husband was Josef. This trio were nieces of Johann Georg Hiedler (husband of the dictator's grandmother Maria Anna).

Theresia, Johanna and Klara's father Johann was the grandson of Herr Johann Poelzl and Frau Therese (not Theresia) (Ledermuller) NEEDS UMLAUT When Gustav, the firstborn of Herr Alois and Frau Klara Hitler, was baptized, his godparents were Johann (not Johannes) and Johanna Prinz (distant relatives of the Hitlers).

This line of the family is distinct from that of the sisters Josefa Schicklgruber and Maria Anna (Schicklgruber) Hiedler. Their parents were Herr Johannes (not Johann) Schicklgruber and Frau Theresia (Pfeisinger) Schicklgruber. Johannes, who married that girl named Theresia Pfeisinger, was the son of Frau Theresia (Sillip) Schicklgruber. Theresia, who married that boy named Johannes Schicklgruber, was the daughter of Herr Johannes (not Johann) Pfeisinger.

ANGELA/"GELI": Alois Hitler, Senior's first daughter was Angela Hitler (the dictator's half-sister). She became Frau Angela (Hitler) Raubal. Her daughter, Fraulein Angela "Geli" Raubal, was beloved of the dictator.

NOTES

An earlier version of this paper was presented at the ISIS Multidisciplinary Academic Conference, Institute of Strategic and International Studies, Key West, Florida (May 2013).

1. Hadas Gold and Radina Gigova, *Russia's Sergey Lavrov asserts Hitler "had Jewish blood," prompting Israeli government fury* (May 3, 2022) (bracketed word in original) https://www.cnn.com/Europe/live/news/Russia-ukraine-war-news-05-02-22/h_47108b656f24699854d304e87800c15 (5-2-22) (last visited May 27, 2022).
2. Leonard Sax, *Aus den Gemeinden von Burgenland: Revisiting the question of Adolf Hitler's paternal grandfather*, *Journal of European Studies* 49(2), (2019), pp. 143, 157.
3. *Ibid.*
4. *Ibid.*
5. *Ibid.*
6. Niklas Frank, *In the Shadow of the Reich*, p. 112 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1991) (Arthur S. Wensinger with Carole Clew-Hoey trans.). The factual review that follows in the text herein tracks Section Iiii of George Steven Swan, *William Styron's True Fiction: Hans Frank and Styron's Sophie's Choice*, *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north*, 7(4), (December 2015), pp. 188, 192-199 (The Pas, Manitoba).
7. Leon Goldensohn, *The Nuremberg Interviews: Conducted by Leon Goldensohn*, pp. 34, 39 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 2004).
8. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 144.
9. Werner Maser, *Hitler: Legend, Myth & Reality*, pp. 11-12 (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973) (Peter and Betty Ross trans.), citing Hans Frank, *Im Angesicht des Galens*, pp. 330ff. (München-Gräfelfing, 1953).

10. Robert G.L. Waite, *Kaiser and Fuhrer: A Comparative Study of Personality and Politics*, p. 330 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Incorporated, 1998).
11. Joachim Fest, *Hitler*, p. 15 (New York: Harcourt, Brace Jovanovich, Incorporated, 1974) (Richard and Clara Winston, trans.).
12. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. x.
13. Joachim Fest, *supra* note 11, pp. 15-16.
14. Bradley F. Smith, *Adolf Hitler: His Family, Childhood & Youth*, p. 19 and 19n.7 (Stanford, CA: The Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace, 1967), citing, inter alia, Franz Jetzinger, *Hitler's Youth*, p. 25 ((London: Hutchinson, 1958) (Lawrence Wilson trans.)).
15. Hans-Joachim Neumann and Henrik Eberle, *Was Hitler Ill?: A Final Diagnosis* (Malden, MA: Polity Press, 2013) (Nick Somers trans.).
16. *Ibid.*, p. 198 n. 67.
17. Robert Gerwarth, *Hitler's Hangman: The Life of Heydrich*, p. xviii (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2011).
18. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
19. *Ibid.*, Front Matter caption at photograph four.
20. *Ibid.*, p. 14.
21. *Ibid.*, p. 26.
22. *Ibid.*, p. 27.
23. *Ibid.*, p. 61.
24. David Downing, *Wedding Station*, p. 109 (_____: Soho Crime, 2021).
25. John Toland, { c a p t u r e d } by history, p. 321 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1977).

26. John Toland, *Adolf Hitler*, p. 231 (New York: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1976).
27. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 152, citing John Toland, *Adolf Hitler: The Definitive Biography*, p. 231 (New York, Anchor, 2002)).
28. Ron Rosenbaum, *Explaining Hitler: The Search for the Origins of His Evil* (New York: Random House, Inc., 1998).
29. *Ibid.*, p. 15.
30. Robert G.L. Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1993).
31. *Ibid.*, p. 149 (Waite's emphasis and ellipsis), citing at p. 448n.8 *Hitlers Zweites Buch*, p. 104 (Stuttgart: 1961) (Gerhart L. Weinberg ed.).
32. George Victor, *Hitler: The Pathology of Evil*, p. 18 (Washington: Brassey's, Incorporated, 1998) (footnote omitted), citing Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, p. 76 (New York: Evergreen, 1983).
33. Richard J. Evans, *The Hitler Conspiracies: The Protocols—The Stab in the Back—The Reichstag Fire—Rudolf Hess---The Escape from the Bunker*, p. 54 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020). Evans is a well-known as expert on Nazi Germany's history and on the scholarship thereof. See, e.g., Richard J. Evans, *Lying About Hitler: History, Holocaust and the David Irving Trial* (New York: Basic Books, 2001); and Richard J. Evans, *In Hitler's Shadow: West German Historians and the Attempt to Flee the Nazi Past* (London: I.B. Tauris, 1989).

But Evans, concededly fallible, contends devoid sourcing: “Real conspiracies exist, of course, and not every conspiracy theory is wrong. Richard M. Nixon, the Republican candidate in the Presidential elections [sic] of 1972, organized the burglary of the rival Democratic Party's campaign headquarters at the Watergate hotel in Washington, DC,

with the aim of planting concealed wiretapping devices.” Richard J. Evans, *The Hitler Conspiracies: The Protocols---The Stab in the Back---The Reichstag Fire---Rudolf Hess---The Escape from the Bunker*, pp. 4-5. *Organized* the burglary is at the level of error to accompany omission of sourcing.

34. Robert Gerwarth, *November 1918: The German Revolution*, p. 128 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2020).

35. *Ibid.*, pp. 214-215 (footnote omitted).

36. Adolf Hitler, *Hitler's Secret Book*, p. 76 (New York: Bramhall House, 1986) (Salvator Attanasio trans.). “...if Hitler's book of 1928 is read against the background of the intervening years it should interest not only scholars but the general reader.” Telford Taylor, *Introduction*, in *ibid.*, pp. xiii, xxv.

37. Konrad Heiden, *Der Fuehrer: Hitler's Rise to Power*, p. 110 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1944) (Ralph Mannheim trans.).

38. *Ibid.*, p. 112 (Heiden's bracketed insertion]. Emil Maurice was “an armed bohemian of the lowest order.” *Ibid.*, p. 387. “As is well-known, Hitler wrote most of the first volume of *Mein Kampf* in the prison at Landsberg-am-Lech, where he was confined after the unsuccessful Beer Hall Putsch in November, 1923. Hitler soon started dictating to his acolytes Emil Maurice and Rudolf Hess, who were imprisoned with him.” Telford Taylor, *Introduction*, in Adolf Hitler, *supra* note 36, p. xiii.

39. Sigmund Freud, *Introductory Lecture on Psychoanalysis*, p. 25 (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1977) (James Strachey ed. and trans.).

40. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28. “If anyone makes a breach of this kind in the determinism of natural events at a single point, it means that he has thrown overboard the *Weltanschauung* of science.” *Ibid.*, p. 28.

MIT's Alan L. Lightman articulates “...what one might call the Central Doctrine of Science: All properties and events in the physical universe are governed by laws, and those laws hold true at every time and every place in the physical universe.” Alan Lightman, *Splitting the Moon*, Guernica, (September 15, 2015) guernicamag.com/splitting-the-moon/ (last visited March 26, 2021). He elaborates: “The Central Doctrine of Science, and the view of most scientists, is that the laws are necessities.” *Ibid.* Does MIT intermittently declare scientifically necessary, temporo-spatially universal law-changes? Cf. Victor G. Afanasyev, *Fundamentals of Scientific Communism* (Moscow: Progress Publishers, 1981) (David Skvirsky trans.) (rev.).

In any case, the evidence quoted in the text sustains alternate interpretation, less lenient to three wayward authors than “forgetting”.

41. Adolf Hitler, *supra* note 36, pp. 76 and 192.

42. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 10, p. 329.

43. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 4.

44. *Ibid.*, pp. 16-17.

45. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 18.

46. John Toland, *supra* note 26, pp. 37-38.

47. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 88. In 1938, he passed a night in Leonding. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

48. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 4n.

49. Konrad Heiden, *supra* note 37, p. 39). “The author is aware of his indebtedness to [Konrad] Heiden in many respects. His was the earliest historical study of the phenomena of Hitler and National Socialism, and in the boldness of its inquiry and the freedom of its judgment it remains exemplary to the present day.” Joachim Fest, *supra* note 11, p.

767n.1.

50. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, pp. 14-15.

51. Robert G.L. Waite., *supra* note 30, pp. 128-129, citing Bernhard Lösener, *Das Reichsministerium des Innern und die Judengesetzgebung*, 9 Vierteljahrsefte für Zeitgeschichte, p. 273 (1961).

52. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 10, p. 331.

53. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 153, quoting Robert George Leeson Waite, *The Psychopathic God: Adolf Hitler* p. 128 (New York: Signet, 1978).

54. *The Nazi Party, State and Society 1919-1939*, p. 534 (New York: Schocken Books, 1984) (Jeremy Noakes and Geoffrey Pridham eds.) (vol. 1 of *Nazism 1919-1945: A History in Documents and Eyewitness Accounts*).

55. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 448n. 7.

56. *The Nazi Party, State and Society 1919-1939*, *supra* note 54, p. 534.

57. *Ibid.*

58. *Ibid.*

The impenetrable tangle of competing responsibilities and jurisdictions in the Third Reich did not reflect weakness at the top: it was the product of a consciously chosen strategy for maintaining power. It kept Hitler out of the wrangling between his paladins, meaning only he had to intervene when a decision from him became absolutely necessary. Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Downfall 1939-1945*, p. 610 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2020) (Jefferson Chase trans.).

59. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, pp. 534-35.

60. *Ibid.*, p. 535.

61. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 15 (Rosenbaum's emphasis). Does this insinuate

grandson Adolf's pornographic fantasies ("fantasies projected onto the blank line on the baptismal certificate") about Maria Anna? "I think the idea is that you can say anything about Hitler and the worse it is the more readily it is acceptable." DR. G. M. GILBERT, *The Toland Papers*, Int. I/T3/A/7, Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, (Hyde Park, New York).

Mr. John Toland deemed such transcripts of his tapes as Toland's "working notes" and "not the authoritative texts of the taped interviews."

62. Wilhelm Stekel, *Patterns of Psychosocial Infantilism*, p. 61. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 1952) (Nah Brind trans.). "I have nowhere seen evidence of any physical or psychological harm done by such early seductions of boys." *Ibid.*, p. 62. "But parents are not the protectors of their children's sexuality, except inasmuch as they may warn the children against the seductive enticements of nurses and servants." Wilhelm Stekel, *Auto-Eroticism A Psychiatric Study of Onanism and Neurosis*, p. 271 (New York: Liveright Publishing Company, 1950) (James S. Van Teslaar trans.).

63. *The Nazi Party, State and Society*, *supra* note 54, p. 540.

64. Adolf Hitler, *Mein Kampf*, p. 342 (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1939). Since 1933, the Reich has given young couples applying for it a loan of a thousand marks on marriage, all or part of which did not have to be returned if a number of children were produced within a specified time; during the first five years of the regime, approximately 880,000 marriages were promoted by this financial aid, at times as much as thirty per cent of all marriages, and actually the greater part of the money was not repaid.

Konrad Heiden, *supra* note 37, p. 656.

65. George Victor, *supra* note 34, p. 169.

66. *The Nazi Party, State and Society 1919-1939*, *supra* note 54, p. 537.

67. *Ibid.*, p. 538.

68. *Ibid.* (emphasis added). As it later actually transpired: “Western European half-Jews were often able to escape the rigorous laws applied far more relentlessly to half-Jews in the East.” Gitta Sereny, *Into That Darkness: An Examination of Conscience*, p. 182 n. (New York: Vintage Books, 1983).

69. Diane Cole, *Planning the ‘Final Solution,’* Wall Street Journal, January 20, 2022, p. A15. As late as the January 20, 1942, Wannasee Conference, a 2nd-degree Mischling had one Jewish grandparent, Peter Longerich, *Wannasee: The Road to the Final Solution*, p. 42 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2021) (Lesley Sharpe and Jeremy Noakes trans.), the most Hitler imaginably could have. Adolf Eichmann drafted the Conference’s agenda, *ibid.*, p. 54, and wrote the minutes thereof approved by Reinhard Heydrich. *Ibid.*, p. 59. His minutes declared that “2nd -degree Mischlinge [sic] will as a matter of principle be treated as persons of German blood,” *ibid.*, p. 78, but for exceptions irrelevant to Hitler. *Ibid.*, p. 80.

70. Robert Gellately, *Backing Hitler: Consent and Coercion in Nazi Germany*, p. 24 (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), citing Jeremy Noakes, *The Development of Nazi Policy Towards the German-Jewish “Mischling” 1933-1945*, in Leo Baeck Institute Year Book, pp. 291, 293 (1989). The 1939 census confirmed that the Greater German Reich encompassed 72,000 1st degree Mischlings and 42,000 2nd degree Mischlings. Peter Longerich, *supra* note 69, p. 42.

71. *The Nazi Party, State and Society 1919-1939*, *supra* note 54, p. 223.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 224.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 528.

74. *Ibid.* (emphasis added). Do not misinterpret the Third Reich’s confusing variety of jurisdictions and competing duties: “All that increased rather than limited the regime’s

efficiency because it created constant competition below the level of the Fuehrer and encouraged functionaries to anticipate the supreme leader’s will, start their own initiatives and in some cases trump one another with greater radicalism.” Volker Ullrich, *supra* note 58, p. 611.

75. Konrad Heiden, *supra* note 37, pp. 638-650.

76. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, pp. 146-47 and 243-50; Steven F. Sage, Ibsen and Hitler: The Playwright, The Plagiarist, and the Plot for the Third Reich, p. 283 (New York: Carroll & Graf Publishers, 2001). “In the main, the regime distinguished for a long time between useful and non-useful Jews. Jewish lawyers and civil servants were mercilessly removed, but Jewish doctors received much better treatment;...” Konrad Heiden *supra* note 37, p. 655.

77. “Wiesel said he embraces the non-familiar phrase: The opposite of hate is not love. The opposite of hate is indifference.” *Elie Wiesel Exhorts the Class of 2010 Not to Succumb to Indifference*, Lehigh University News (<http://www4.lehigh.edu/news/newsarticle.aspx?Channel=%2fChannels%2fNews%3a+201>). Nonetheless, “One who loves finds it most difficult to accept the fact that hate is the negative expression of love.” Wilhelm Stekel, *Sadism and Masochism*, p. 29 (New York: Horace Liveright Publisher, 1929) (vol. I of *Disorders of Instincts and the Emotions*) (Louise Brink trans.). Then of what is love the opposite? “To think of evil as injustice is a metaphysical mistake. Evil’s opposite is love.” Paul W. Khan, *Out of Eden: Adam and Eve and the Problem of Evil*, p. 126 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2007).

The terminology demands clarification:

But there are *two* different kinds of opposites, which logicians identify by the labels “contradictory:” and “contrary.” The contradictory of a term is

simply its denial or negation. For example, the contradictory of black is not-black; the contradictory of strong is not-strong. When we deny the application of a term to some entity, we make no positive assertion about the character, or even the existence, of that thing. The contrary of a term, on the other hand, is another independent term which we imagine to stand in some opposed relation to it. The contrary of black is *white*, the contrary of strong is *weak*. A pair of contrary terms can be conceived as lying at opposite ends of a continuum defined by the presence or absence of some property. The ancients, for example, thought that white and black lay at the ends of the spectrum according to whether color was present or absent. The several colors were thought to be aligned between the two extremes.

Robert Paul Wolff, *The Poverty of Liberalism*, pp.65-66 (Boston: Beacon Press, 1969) (Wolff's emphasis).

78. *The Nazi Party, State and Society 1919-1939*, *supra* note 54, p. 224n. 8.

79. *Ibid.*, 225. However, by not later than the Law for the Reconstruction of the Reich of January 30, 1934, Germany's federal system effectively was expunged. State governments, although surviving, were demoted to subordinate administrators for Reich authorities. *Ibid.*, p. 250.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

81. Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Ascent 1889-1939*, p. 15 (London: The Bodley Head, 2016) (Jefferson Chase trans.).

82. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich: A History of Nazi Germany* (Folio Society, 2004).

83. William L. Shirer, *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, p. 323 (New York: Fawcett

World Library, 1967). So dismissive was Shirer of the Hitler paternal grandfather issue that Shirer confuses as one man "Johann Georg Heidler, Adolf's grandfather", *ibid.*, p. 22, and husband of Adolf's paternal grandmother, *ibid.*, p. 23, with Johann Georg's brother Johann Nepomuk, *ibid.*, in whose home the future Fuehrer's father was raised. *Ibid.*

84. David Irving, *Hitler's War and the War Path*, p. xxiii n. (London: Focal Point Publications, 1991) (rev. ed.), citing Werner Maser, *Die Frühgeschichte der NDSAP* (Bonn: Athenäum-Verlag, 1965). The factual review that follows in the text herein tracks Section iii of George Steven Swan, *supra* note 6, pp. 188, 192-199.

85. David Irving, *supra* note 84, p. xxiii.

86. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 18.

87. In the words of University of Pennsylvania historian Benjamin Nathans:

If the Nuremberg Trial was "unique in the history of the jurisprudence of the world," then from a jurisprudential point of view that posed a problem. Modern legal systems rely substantially on precedent for their legitimacy. Establishing precedent requires that past and current cases share a certain minimum of analogous and therefore non-unique characteristics. The principle *nullem crimen sine lege* (there is no crime without law), moreover, prohibits holding defendants accountable for acts that had not been designated in advance as crimes. Since no law can anticipate all the circumstances to which it might eventually apply, one of the central tasks of jurisprudence is to extrapolate legal precedent to novel circumstances in a manner that is nonarbitrary and open to scrutiny.

Benjamin Nathans, *Stalin's Lawyers at Nuremberg*, *The New York Review of Books*, September 23, 2021, pp. 38 and 39.

88. Gustave, Gilbert (http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gustave_Gilbert). Some fancy Gilbert “a Jew who had fled Germany before the war”. David Irving, *Nuremberg: The Last Battle*, p. 181 (London: Focal Point Publications, 2004) (2nd ed.).

89. Nuremberg Laws for the Protection of German Blood and Honor, September 15, 1935 (<http://www.ess.uwe.ac.uk/documents/gerblood.htm>).

90. Gustave M. Gilbert, *Nuremberg Diary*, p. 258 (New York: Signet, 1961).

91. *Ibid.*, p. 408.

92. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, at 17.

93. Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 90, pp. 9-10.

94. The Nuremberg Laws on Citizenship and Race: September 15, 1935 (<http://frank.mtsu.edu/~baustin/nurmlaw2.html>).

95. *Ibid.*

96. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 152. During 1850, Jewish doctor Ludwig Kadisch (born in Burgenland) “requested permission from the Graz city council to establish an inn and Jewish restaurant to serve ‘the small, now settled Jewish community’...” *Ibid.*, p.

150. Albeit a kosher butcher (born in Burgenland) had been serving Graz parttime since 1850, *ibid.*, indicating local Jewish customers, Dr. Kadisch’s permission arrive only on December 11, 1861. *Ibid.* *Quaere*, whether this indicates a local Jewish populace either sparse or unwelcome.

97. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 13 (footnotes omitted). “...Werner Maser, whose 552-page biography was for many decades regarded as the definitive German-language biography of Hitler.” Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 148.

98. Ian Kershaw, *Hitler: 1889-1936 Hubris*, p. 8 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Incorporated, 2000).

99. Joachim Fest, *supra* note 11, p. 15.

100. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, pp. 25-26 (emphasis in original). While Gilbert was the first to believe the Frank story and to invoke it toward an intrapsychic key to Hitler, this also is true: “Konrad Heiden’s popular biography of Hitler, in which it is suggested he might be of Jewish origin, was published in Zurich. The book has had a decisive influence on a whole generation of historians and biographers.” Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 351n.32.

101. Hans Frank, *In the Shadow of the Gallows*, typescript. English translation in John Toland Papers, the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, New York 19538-1917 (p. 331 in original German manuscript).

102. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 26.

103. DR. G. M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int./T1/B/4.

104. Robert Payne, *The Life and Death of Adolf Hitler*, p. 31 (New York: Praeger Publishers, Incorporated 1973).

105. *Ibid.*, p. 15.

106. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 22 (Rosenbaum’s emphasis).

107. Joachim Fest, *supra* note 11, p. 19.

108. August Kubizek, *The Young Hitler I Knew*, p. 57 (Saint Paul: MBI Publishing Company, 2006) (Geoffrey Brooke trans.).

109. DR. G. M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T1/B 4.

110. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 10, p. 330.

111. Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 90, p. 25.

112. Gustave M. Gilbert, *The Psychology of Dictatorship: Based on an Examination of the Leaders of Nazi Germany*, p. 147 (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1950). The later book quotes “one of us had the courage,” *ibid.*, halving the “had had” of 1947.
113. Cannot controversy yet swirl around the name of Anna Freud? See, e.g., Suzanne Stewart-Steinberg, *Impious Fidelity: Anna Freud, Psychoanalysis, Politics* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2011).
114. Anna Freud, *Normality and Pathology in Childhood: Assessments of Development* 1965, p. 104 (New York: International Universities Press, Inc., 1964) (vol. IV of *The Writings of Anna Freud*).
115. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-15.
116. *Ibid.*, p. 177 n. 11.
117. *Ibid.*, p. 114.
118. *Ibid.*, pp. 223-24.
119. *Ibid.*, p. 224.
120. Robert Gellately, *Introduction*, in Leon Goldensohn, *supra* note 7, pp. xvii, xix.
121. *Ibid.*, p. xx.
122. *Ibid.*
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Ibid.*, citing Joseph E. Persico, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial*, p. 103 (New York: Viking, 1994).
125. *Ibid.*, citing Joseph E. Persico, *Nuremberg: Infamy on Trial*, p. 91 (New York: Viking, 1994).
126. *Ibid.*, p. xxi.
127. *Ibid.*

128. *Ibid.*, p. xxii.
129. *Ibid.*
130. *Ibid.*, p. 39.
131. After long hesitations and vacillations we have decided to assume the existence of only two basic instincts, *Eros* and *the destructive instinct*. (The contrast between the instincts of self-preservation and the preservation of the species, as well as the contrast between ego-love and object-love, fall within *Eros*.) The aim of the first of these basic instincts is to establish ever greater unities and to preserve them thus – in short, to bind together; the aim of the second is, on the contrary, to undo connections and so to destroy things. In the case of the destructive instinct we may suppose that its final aim is to lead what is living into an inorganic state. For this reason, we also call it the *death instinct*. Sigmund Freud, *An Outline of Psycho-Analysis*, p. 5 (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1969) (James Strachey ed. and trans.) (emphasis in original). This appears in Chapter II, entitled “The Theory of the Instincts”. *Ibid.* Even the philosophers have gotten into the act. See, e.g., James S. Gouinlock, *Eros and the Good: Wisdom According to Nature* (Amherst, NY: Prometheus Books, 2004).
132. William L. Shirer, *supra* note 83, p. 333.
133. *Ibid.*, p. 1028.
134. *Ibid.*, p. 1029. “The famous psychoanalyst had died in London in 1939.” *Ibid.*, p. 1029n.
135. Ian Kershaw, *supra* note 98, p. 8.
136. David Irving, *supra* note 88, p. 173.
137. *Ibid.*
138. Richard J. Evans dismissed this supposed Ludendorff-Hindenburg letter as

manufactured for Frank's Nuremberg memoirs. Richard J. Evans, *The Coming of the Third Reich*, p. 517 (New York: The Penguin Press, 2003), citing Fritz Tobias, *Ludendorff, Hindenburg, Hitler: Das Phantasieprodukt des Ludendorff-Briefs vom 30. Januar 1933*, in *Die Schatten der Vergangenheit. Impuls zur Historisierung des Nationalsozialismus*, pp. 319-43 (Frankfurt am Main: Propyläen, 1990) (Uwe Backes et al., eds.); and Lothar Gruchmann, *Ludendorffs 'prophetischer' Brief an Hindenburg vom Januar/Februar 1933. Eine Legende.*, 47 Vierteljahrshefte für Zeitgeschichte, pp. 559-62 (Oktober 1999) (Heft 4) (Institut für Zeitgeschichte, München) (www.ifz-muenchen.de/heftarchiv/1999_4.pdf).

139. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 18.

140. David Irving, *supra* note 84, p. xxiiin. The Gestapo memorandum is cited in Robert George Leeson Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 448n.2 ("Prints and Photographs Division, Library of Congress; see also Photostat Documents Gestapo File, in Institut für Zeitgeschichte Archiv, Munich") and is available at (<http://www.fpp.co.uk/Hitler/family/idiotische.html>).

141. Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 90, p. 373.

142. Robert Gerwarth, *supra* note 17, p. 289.

143. Phillip Sands, *The Ratline*, p. xvii (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2020); Ian Sayer and Douglas Botting, *Nazi Gold*, pp. 37 and 77 (Edinburgh: Mainstream Publishing, 2003) (2nd ed.) (reprinted 2016).

144. Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Hometown: Linz, Austria, 1908-1945* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1986) (1st ed.); Evan Burr Bukey, *Hitler's Austria: Popular Sentiment in the Nazi Era, 1938-1945* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

145. Phillip Sands, *supra* note 143, p. 54.

146. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

147. DR. G. M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T3/B/10.

148. Phillip Sands, *supra* note 143, p. 76.

149. *Ibid.*, p. 77.

150. *Ibid.*, p. xvi.

151. *Ibid.*, p. 360n.13.

152. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

153. DR. G.M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T1/B/6.

154. Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 90, p. 243.

155. DR. G. M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T1/B5. "Finally, as he [Frank] awaited the death sentence, he feverishly divested himself of a thousand-page essay on Hitler, to aid the writer in analyzing the mysterious character who had made men like him [Frank] do what they did." Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 110, p. 152. Gilbert's length of time for Frank to write proves credible. Hans's son Niklas Frank composed his own book, denouncing his father, "in a dope-filled binge that lasted twelve weeks." Stephan Lebert and Norman Lebert, *My Father's Keeper: Children of Nazi Leaders*, p. 144 (New York: Back Bay, 2002) (1st Back Bay paperback ed.) (Julian Evans trans.).

156. David Irving, *supra* note 88, p. 255.

157. *Ibid.*, 89, p. 275. Come August 1946: "Robert H. Jackson had been recalled to the United States. The sensation-hungry American public felt cheated because he had proclaimed that the trial would end in 1945." *Ibid.*, p. 253. "...he had been recalled in a manner properly cloaked in public expressions of regret." *Ibid.*

158. DR. G. M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T1/B/3. "Hans Frank, an educated

figure, was loquacious in his account of Hitler's complex psychology and sought to match the interviewing psychiatrist on his own terrain. He engaged in a discussion of the possibility that Hitler suspected he had a Jewish grandfather." Daniel Pick, *The Pursuit of the Nazi Mind: Hitler, Hess and the Analysts*, p. 177 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

159. DR. G.M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/B5. The Leon Goldensohn book has Frank on March 5, 1946, tell Goldensohn of "the three-hundred page autobiography I wrote, which I gave to Dr. Gilbert." Leon Goldensohn, *supra* note 7, p. 22. "It is likely" that was Frank's posthumously published memoir. *Ibid.*, p. 459n. 2. Imaginably, a date confusion emerged from Leon's premature death: "But a few small notebooks were typed up later under the supervision of Dr. Goldensohn's brother, Dr. Eli Goldensohn, who collected and organized all the original materials." Robert Gellately, *Introduction*, in *ibid.*, p. xxi.

160. Ian Sayer and Douglas Botting, *supra* note 143, p. 37.

161. *Ibid.*, p. 77-78.

162. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 160.

163. Gustave M. Gilbert, *supra* note 90, p. 63 (emphasis added).

164. Leonard Sax, *supra* note 1, p. 157.

165. <http://www.fpp.co.uk/Hitler/family/idiotische.html> (last visited February 24, 2021).

166. Annette Hinz-Wessels, *Aloisia Veit—Ein "Euthanasie" Opfer aus Hitlers Familie*, in Petra Fuchs, et al., eds., *Das Vergessen der Vernichtung ist Teil der Vernichtung selbst: Lebensgeschichten von Opfern der nationalsozialisten "Euthanasie"*, pp. 274, 281 (Gottingen: Wallstein Verlag, 2007). Aloisia's biography, *ibid.*, pp. 274-284, is one among

23 biographies of Nazi euthanasia murder victims recorded therein

167. Angela Lambert, *The Lost Life of Eva Braun*, p. 85n.38 (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2007).

168. Kate Connelly, *Hitler's Mentally Ill Cousin Killed in Nazi Gas Chamber*, *The Daily Telegraph* (London), January 19, 2005 (History News Network, Columbian College of Arts & Sciences, The George Washington University, Washington, D.C) (historynewsnetwork.org/article/9743).

169. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 356n.68.

170. Robert Payne, *supra* note 104, p. 9.

171. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 19.

172. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 197.

173. John Toland, *supra* note 26, pp. 16-17; Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, pp. 93 and 94n.12.

174. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 93.

175. Natan M. Meir, *Stepchildren of the Shtetl: The Destitute, Disabled, and Mad of Jewish Eastern Europe, 1800-1939*, pp. 31-32 (Stanford CA: Stanford University Press, 2020) (footnote omitted).

176. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5 (footnotes omitted).

177. Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 23.

178. *Ibid.*, 353n.1.

179. *Ibid.*, p. 24

180. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 13; Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 195.

181. alter Charles Langer, *The Mind of Adolf Hitler: The Secret Wartime Report*, p. 117 (New York: Basic Books, Incorporated, Publishers, 1972).

182. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 170.
183. Robert Payne, *supra* note 104, p. 22.
184. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 22.
185. Robert Payne, *supra* note 104, p. 22; Werner Maser, *supra* note 9, p. 7.
186. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 169.
187. *Ibid.*, pp. 170 and 183n. Was Alois one to behave unfeelingly while Klara acquiesced? The day they married, Alois left Frau Hitler for service at his customs station. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, pp. 37 and 43. But Alois did depart to work.

Whereas behavior commonplace *circa* 1924 among numerous communities of English miners was that, following his wedding celebration-meal, the new husband like every other man present depart to the pub. Florence Sutcliffe-Braithwaite, *Tesco and a Motorway*, London Review of Books, September 9, 2021, p. 19 (review of, *inter alia*, Margaret Hedley, *Women of the Durham Coal Fields in the 20th Century: Hannah's Daughter* (Stroud, Gloucestershire: History Press, 2021)).

188. Robert Payne, *supra* note 104, p. 22.
189. *Ibid.*, p. 23.
190. Chris Hastings, David Bamber and Jessica Berry, *Queen's Cousin in 'Sub-Standard' Care Home*, The Telegraph, August 13, 2000 <https://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/health/6352603/Queens-cousin-in-sub-standard-care-home.html> (last visited February 21, 2021).
191. Samantha Vincenty, *All About Nerissa and Katherine Bowes-Lyon, the Queen's Hidden Cousins*, Oprah Magazine, November 23, 2020 prahmag.com/entertainment/tv-mpovies/a34576867/queen-elizabeth-hidden-cousins-Nerissa-Katherine-bowes—lyon/ (last visited February 22, 2021).

192. Adrienne Westenfeld, *The Queen's Royal Cousins Are a Part of a Shameful Chapter in Royal History* esquire.com/entertainment/tv/a34728377/queen-elizabeth-cousin-katherine-nerissa-bowes-lyon-asylum-true-story-the-crown-season-4/ (last visited February 21, 2021).

193. *Royal Nieces Cover-Up Denied by Lord Clinton*, The Glasgow Herald, April 8, 1987 news.google.com/newspapers?id=SxA1AAAAIIBAJ&sjid=lyon&pg=2382%2C1684307 (last visited February 21, 2021).

194. Adrienne Westenfeld, *supra* note 192.

195. Chris Hastings, David Bamber and Jessica Berry, *supra* note 188; *Royal Nieces Cover-Up Denied by Lord Clinton*, *supra* note 193.

196. *Clinton Devon Estates* en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Clinton_Devon_Estates (last visited February 22, 2021).

197. *Royal Nieces Cover-Up Denied by Lord Clinton*, *supra* note 193.

198. *Ibid.* If Charles John Robert Hepburn-Stuart-Forbes-Trefusis, 21st Baron Clinton, paid 125 pounds per year for five institutionalized grandchildren, his expenditure averaged 25 pounds yearly toward care of each grandchild. How much was his willing outlay yearly toward each of his motorcars?

Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald wrote a story: “Let me tell you about the very rich. They are different from you and me.” F. Scott Fitzgerald, *The Rich Boy*, Red Book, January and February 1926 gutenberg.net.au/fsf/THE-RICH-BOY.html (last visited September 6, 2021).

199. Josef Veit (1860-1904), wikitree.com/wiki/Veit-205 (last visited February 2, 2021).
200. Aloisia Veit (1891-1940), wikitree.com/wiki/Veit-204 (last visited February 2, 2021).

201. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 13.
202. Walter Charles Langer, *supra* note 181, p. 112 (New York: Basic Books Incorporated, Publishers, 1972).
203. Konrad Heiden, *supra* note 37, p. 42; William L. Shirer *supra* note 83, p. 9. “All who write on the Third Reich are indebted to Heiden for material on the early life of Hitler.” *Ibid.*, p. 1145n.12.
204. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 32.
205. *Ibid.*, p. 28.
206. *Ibid.*, p. 33; William L. Shirer, *supra* note 83, p. 9.
207. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 6
208. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 37; Konrad Heiden, *supra* note 37, p. 42.
209. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 40.
210. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
211. Rudolfsheim-Funfhaus, en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rudolfsheim-Funfhaus#History (last visited January 29, 2021).
212. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 18.
213. Josefa Bohm (1828), wikitree/wiki/Bohm-333 (last visited February 2, 2021).
214. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, pp. 24-26 and 30.
215. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
216. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
217. *Ibid.*
218. *Ibid.*, p. 19. Of Herr Johann Georg and Georg’s Frau Maria Anna, Shirer states that “the parents of Alois apparently never lived together, even after they were married.” William L. Shirer, *supra* note 83, p. 8, as though to impede genealogists on their trail.

- But Smith finds of the newlyweds: “The household consisted of the new bride; the bride’s father, seventy-eight year-old Johann Schicklgruber; and the bride’s illegitimate son, five-year-old Alois.” Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 19. Other authority adds that the couple shared an ascertained address in Klein-Motten until death did them part: “Die Grosseltern Adolf Hitlers, Johann Georg und Anna Maria Hiedler [sic], lebten bis zu ihrem Tod in Klein-Motten Nr. 4.” Dollersheim Das Buch (Verein Information Waldviertel: 2002) (*Die Ortschaften von Dollersheim*). http://www.dollersheim.at/Ortschaftendollersheim/Das_Buch.html (last visited March 10, 2021).
219. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 18.
220. *Ibid.*, p. 39 and 39n.7.
221. Annette Hinz-Wessels, *supra* note 166, p. 280.
222. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 202.
223. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 21.
224. *Ibid.*, pp. 37 and 39.
225. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 11.
226. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 35.
227. *Ibid.*, p. 18.
228. *Ibid.*, p. 17.
229. *Ibid.*, pp. 32-33.
230. *Ibid.*, p. 159. On the other hand, family tradition conceivably might have held as much merely because some more quickly confused members learned a direct maternal ancestor of Adolf Hitler in 1650 was named Georg Heidler. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 3.
231. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 129, citing Otto Dietrich, Hitler, p. 156

(Chicago: 1955) (Richard and Clara Winston, trans.).

232. Otto Dietrich, *The Hitler I Knew: Memoirs of the Third Reich's Press Chief*, p. 128 (New York: Skyhorse Publishing, 2014).

233. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 13. Once wedded to twice-widowed Alois, Frau Klara Hitler lived with not only the husband of two predecessors but with his two other wives' dowries. Robert G.L. Waite, *supra* note 30, p. 161.

234. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, pp. 33 and 38.

235. *Ibid.*, p. 33.

236. *Ibid.*, 38.

237. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

238. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

239. *Ibid.*, p. 33. But Rosenbaum claims: "Even when the wife returned—soon to die— young Klara remained,...." Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 14. Perhaps Rosenbaum misread a source. It was Klara who returned to Alois's household during Franziska's illness, Klara having served in his household during his first wife Anna Glassl's illness. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 28. If Franziska really returned from Ranshofen, however, then Klara's retention as housemaid for her uncle's dying wife and nursemaid for their two infants could be self-explanatorily innocent as an imperative of familial loyalty.

240. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 33.

241. John Toland, *supra* note 26, p. 6.

242. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 40.

243. *Ibid.*

244. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 14.

245. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, p. 33.

246. *Ibid.*, pp. 33 and 40.

247. *Ibid.*, p. 40.

248. *Ibid.*, p. 39.

249. *Ibid.*, p. 36.

250. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 14.

251. *Ibid.*

252. Bradley F. Smith, *supra* note 14, pp. 32-33.

253. John Toland, *supra* note 26,

254. *Ibid.*, p. 229.

255. *Ibid.*

256. *Ibid.*, p. 235.

257. *Ibid.*, p. 236.

258. *Ibid.*, p. 254.

259. Ron Rosenbaum, *supra* note 28, p. 25 (emphasis in Rosenbaum).

260. *Ibid.*

261. Annette Hirz-Wessels, *supra* note 166, p. 280.

262. Otto Dietrich, *supra* note 232, p. 229.

263. DR. G.M. GILBERT, *supra* note 62, at Int.I/T2/B5.

264. Peter Longerich, *Holocaust: The Nazi Persecution and Murder of the Jews*, p. 433 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010).

265. *Ibid.*

266. Lucy S. Davidowicz, *The War Against the Jews: 1933-1945*, p. 359 (New York: Bantam Book Trade ed., 1986).

267. On the other hand, here is the effect in the Birkenau extermination camp of the

Allied liberation of Paris:

The German reaction came immediately. The soup was, if possible, worse than before. A Pole and three Frenchmen were hanged for disseminating “false news.” They shot the “Czar,” a Russian engineer, who, despite his nickname, was a rabid Communist. Nameless other thousands were again exterminated in the gas chamber this eve of the great Allied victory.

Olga Lengyel, *Hitler's Ovens*, p. 178 (Chicago Academy, Chicago Publishers, 2000). More generally: “The day after a heavy bombing of a German city, the Reich radio announced ‘reprisals.’” Wherever else the Reich sought revenge, they took it first in our camp with a monstrous election.” *Ibid.* p.168.

268. William D. Rubinstein, *The Myth of Rescue: Why the Democracies Could Not Have Saved More Jews from the Nazis*, pp. 187, 195 (New York: Routledge, 2000).

269. *Ibid.*, p. 188.

270. *Ibid.*, p. 195.

271. *Ibid.*, citing _____.

272. Volker Ullrich, *Hitler: Downfall 1939-1945*, pp. 445-446 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2020).

(Jefferson Chase trans.) (footnote omitted), citing Han Georg Hiller von Gaertringen (ed.), *Das Auge des Dritten Reiches: Hitlers Kameramann und Fotograf Walter Frenz*, pp. 111-113 Berlin n. d. (2006).

273. Appendix One *The final solution of the Jewish question in Auschwitz concentration camp*, in Rudolf Hoess, *Commandant of Auschwitz: The Autobiography of Rudolf Hoess*, p. 183 (London: Phoenix Press, 2000) (Constantine FitzGibbon trans.).

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274. *Ibid.*, p. 194 (emphasis added). Elaborated Housum Professor of History at Yale University Timothy Snyder, noted author of *Timothy Snyder, Bloodlands: Europe Between Hitler and Stalin* (New York: Basic Books, 2012):

The Holocaust was less comprehensive where Hitler's intentions encountered the rule of law, no matter how attenuated or perverted. The German ally Slovakia at first deported its Jews to Auschwitz, although it later reversed that policy. In the Netherlands, which were under German direct rule, three quarters of the Jews were murdered. Independent Bulgaria, Italy, Hungary, and Romania, although German allies, generally did not follow German policy, and the Italian army saved a considerable number of Jews. Romania had its own policy of killing Jews, which it reversed in 1942. *Hungary did not send its Jews to German death camps until invaded by Germany itself...*

Timothy Snyder, *Hitler's Logical Holocaust*, N.Y. Rev. Bks., December 20, 2012, pp. 63, 65 (emphasis added). Germany's troops entered Hungary on March 10, 1944. Volker Ullrich, *supra* note 272, p. 410. “Within only eight weeks, 430,000 Hungarian Jews were deported to Auschwitz-Birkenau.” *Ibid.*, p. 411.

“As we now know, once Horthy saw what the outcome of the Second World War was going to be, and bearing in mind the declaration the Allied powers had made that when the war was over anybody who had a hand in the extermination of Jews in Europe was going to be called to account, he ordered a halt to the deportations from Budapest, which was the area over which he had tight control.” Imre Kertész, *Dossier K.*, p. ____ (Brooklyn: Melville House Publishing, 2013) (Tim Wilkinson trans.). Germany forced Horthy's replacement with a fascist Arrow Cross Party government. Volker Ullrich, *supra*

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note 272, pp. 502-503. “The new Arrow Cross regime not only continued fighting on Hitler’s side but also tried to fulfill Germany’s wishes to annihilate Hungary’s Jews, sending thousands of Jews from Budapest to work as slave labourers in the Third Reich.”

Ibid., p. 503.

Finder’s Fee

Asparagus may be picked without my youngest son—
he’s blessing and curse (equal measures). It is done
because he’d found none on our foray past burnt boxcar
and collapsed sheep-barn-turned-pottery-studio
last month. Now, I lift tufts & pallets, part weeds
to locate fingers of deep-green. Two-foot-tall
(one visit later), verdant spikes of them appear,
jut upward like proud green alien heads
past planks out of which dozens spring
to be lopped at their bases, collected in,
brought away. I receive their vibrant bounty
toward breakfast while devising an apology
to my boy for a solitary outing in pursuit
of wild offerings which will elevate next
morning’s repast to gourmet groaning-table.
He may understand—he’s curse and blessing
to more or less equal extent. Sometimes
he accepts exclusion without a price to pay.

—Carolyn Creed



Honoré de Balzac:

A Critic of his Times, a Prophet of our Times

Ouarda Larbi Youcef

University of Abd el Hamid Ibn Badis

Mostaganem, Algeria

Abstract

In his multi-volume work, *The Human Comedy*, the French novelist, Honoré de Balzac, analyzes his society under the Restoration and the July Monarchy. The enterprise upon which he embarked allowed him to reflect and subsequently to reproduce the best, and above all, the worst in human nature. This article considers principally one of his novels, *Lost Illusions*. The latter, it is worth noting, was turned into a film directed by Xavier Giannoli and released in 2021 by Gaumont Cinema. The argument is that his society conjures up, unmistakably, the world in which we live, since the protagonists and the themes he tackles give a sense of replay.

Keywords: Balzac, censorship, money, poverty, press, social ties

People value you for your usefulness, regardless of your worth.”

—Honoré de Balzac

“All for ourselves, and nothing for other people, seems, in every age of the world, to have been the vile maxim of the masters of mankind.”

—Adam Smith

Introduction

For just over two decades (1829-1850), Honoré de Balzac, one of France’s foremost writers, had written novels, short stories, etc., which eventually came together in a multi-volume collection he titled *The Human Comedy*. The latter is an invitation to an interesting journey through key periods in the history of France, the Bourbon Restoration and the July Monarchy. In 1814, the monarchy was restored; in 1830, a liberal régime was established in which the bourgeoisie played a completely predominant role not only domestically but also on the foreign front as it demanded for the conquest of foreign territories, for example Algeria.

Accepting the invitation allows us to get an idea of French society at the time. Interestingly, we will notice against all odds that the society he unfolds is akin to ours, another human comedy or, to borrow from Mark Twain; *A Gilded Age* and *A Tale of Today* and therefore confirms the adage that history repeats itself. In fact, the themes that Balzac evokes like ‘cancel culture’, the freedom and power of the press, and the omnipotence of money, to name but a few, currently occupy the top of the stage. Indeed, Balzac’s

characters died ages ago but those who replaced them continue to play or are subjected to the same roles: for example, the voracious banker obsessed with financial gain and obsessive reign, the social climber, and the pauper who gets gradually impoverished.

Balzac’s “Lost Illusions”

Honoré de Balzac’s *The Human Comedy* [La Comédie humaine] is a fairly voluminous collection comprising ninety-three volumes. Notwithstanding its length, the reader in search of intrigue will be undeniably disappointed since Balzac, it is agreed on all sides, actually wanted it as a portrait of his society under the Restoration (1815-1830) and the July Monarchy (1830-1848), also being known as the “bourgeois monarchy.” To back, we can refer to one of his friends, the poet, playwright, Théophile Gautier. Their friendship began in 1835, when Balzac, the founder and director of a monthly literary magazine the *Chronique de Paris*, wrote positively about Gautier’s book *Mademoiselle de Maupin*. Balzac, Gautier pointed out, wanted through *The Human Comedy* “to paint society as a whole, from top to bottom, with its staff and its furniture.” (Taine, 41)

Lost Illusions, a volume from the above mentioned, is a trilogy. It consists of *The Two Poets* [Les Deux Poètes], *A Distinguished Provincial in Paris* [Un grand homme de province à Paris], and *Eve and David* [Ève et David]). It took this famous French novelist no less than six years to complete it, 1837-1843. Two key characters in his trilogy are Lucien, aged twenty-one, and Madame de Bargeton (Marie-Louise Anaïs), a member of Angoulême’s upper-middle class, aged thirty-six. Lucien is the son of Chardon, a pharmacist from the petty bourgeoisie, and Madame de Rubempré, a destitute aristocrat. After her husband’s death, she proved to be a very caring mother. However, despite the affection she had for her son, boredom gradually overwhelmed him as Angoulême (south-west of France) looked like the end of nowhere. It was a rural town that offered

no prospects for this poetry lover. One day, he introduced to Madame de Bargeton. The unexpected encounter completely changed his life. A love affair was in progress, and at some point, both decided to go to Paris.

Lucien and Madame de Bargeton's romantic Paris getaway meant they would be far from prying eyes. To this, we can add the hope they harbored to see the City of Light shine for them. She was very greedy for the Parisian socialites; he was eager to make a name for himself in poetry. But Lucien's expectations were short-lived. Madame de Bargeton's cousin, the Marquise d'Espard (Jeanne-Clémentine-Athénaïs d'Espard), one of the eminent personalities of Parisian high society, warned her against such a relationship, making it clear that everyone should know and conform to his rank. She told her that he was a commoner, and even though he took his mother's name, it made no difference; he was still Chardon (thistle), a name that smelled, for miles around, of the most common class.

The Marquise d'Espard also remarked that she was not afraid of having welcomed him into her salon. She knew gossip would ensue but did not care; she used to rule the waves in that city. This was certainly not the case with her naive cousin, Madame de Bargeton, who took the warning seriously and resolved to abandon him. The money that Lucien had brought vanished at top speed and so did his marvelous love story. Lucien was henceforth forced to lead a rather austere life in the midst of lost illusions. It was in these difficult times that he met a young writer, Daniel d'Hartez, and a journalist, Étienne Lousteau, and had to decide on a singular choice. He had to choose between pursuing his lifelong passion for poetry, a rather laborious, time-consuming, and poorly paid endeavor, or easy money through journalism.

Balzac and Cancel Culture

In *A Distinguished Provincial in Paris*, Lousteau gives Lucien a book written by a certain Raoul Nathan and asks him to write a review. He wants Lucien to give this book cutting criticism even though he knows it deserves a lot of credit. Nathan is a well-known journalist and a famous novelist. The request seems difficult to grant because so much distance from Lucien's intellectual honesty. He has nothing to say about such a good text, and even if he accepted, would be at loss to figure out how to proceed. Lousteau explains that it is not so difficult because "a book, even if it were a masterpiece, must become, under your pen a silliness, a dangerous and unhealthy work" (Balzac 1874, p. 284). When Lucien asks how, Lousteau answers: "You change beauties into faults" (284). Between intellectual honesty and easy money, Lucien made a quick decision; he chose journalism. At that moment, "Etienne's cruel lesson opened boxes in the imagination of Lucien, who understood this profession admirably." (289)

Contrary to what one might think, the characters in Balzac's works are for the most part not fictitious. In real life, Lousteau is a certain Jules Janin (1804-1874). Nicknamed the "court jester" and "the prince of criticism", Janin left the small press and ended up becoming a pioneer of political journalism. Over time, he became a drama critic. This money-motivated tergiversation earned him the title of 'opportunist' (Bara, p.1). He was highly critical of Balzac's *A Distinguished Provincial in Paris*, which he said was a toss-up because:

This fabulous novel takes place in a world unknown to the vulgar, with fantastic heroes, and even if the author is right, his story will still be marred by this boredom of the same literary details....Fortunately, this book is one

of the great number of novels that we have no regrets not to read, which appear today only to disappear the next day into immense oblivion (Janin, p. 178).

Janin's criticism was motivated by the fact that Balzac had always shown pure contempt for the press and the person of the king and his government.

Balzac and Freedom of the Press

Balzac compared the press to the Hydra of Lerna. However, a careful examination of his position vis-à-vis this institution reveals that it was the “sanitized or enslaved” that he had in mind and undertook to fight (Beaudoin 2010). Lucien, who claimed the title and surname of his maternal ancestors, de Rubempré, was informed by the Duke of Rhétoré that an ordinance from the king was obligatory. To obtain such an order, he had to use common sense. He had to turn royalist and pen articles in favor of the crown because the Restoration will get rid of the press,

....the only power to fear. We've already waited too long, she should be muzzled. Take advantage of its last moments of freedom to make yourself fearsome. In a few years, a name and a title will be more certain riches in France than talent (Balzac 1874, p. 318).

De Rhetore was right. The Restoration muzzled the anti-royalist press, a gesture which was at the origin of the revolt which allowed Louis Philippe to accede to the throne after having pledged to guarantee its freedom. But an assassination attempt (1835) prompted him to demand the implementation of restrictive legislation. On August 4, 1835, the Keeper of the Seals, Jean-Charles Persil (April 4, 1834-February 22, 1836), in

his address to the Lower House, declared to the deputies that he did not want to ruin the periodical press but rather those who wanted to ruin France:

There are two kinds of periodicals, the constitutional monarchical on the one hand; the Republican and the Carlist, on the other hand. Regarding the last two, we don't deny it; we are unwilling to bear them” (Celiez, p. 83).

As per the President of the Council of Ministers, Victor de Broglie (March 12, 1835 – February 22, 1836), he explained that the purpose of the bill was not to repress; it was only to avoid any possible offense and discussion on the person of the king” (83). On September 9, the debates crystallized in the following articles:

Article 19: In the event of a conviction against a manager for felony, misdemeanor or contravention of the press, the publication of the newspaper or periodical may not take place, during the entire length of the prison sentence and prohibition of civil rights....

Article 20: No drawing, no engravings, lithographs, medals, and prints, no emblem of whatever nature and species can be published, exhibited, or offered for sale without the prior authorization of the Minister of the Interior (88-89).

In 1830, Balzac became editor-in-chief and Honoré Daumier designer of two illustrated weeklies *La Caricature* and *Le Charivari*. Charles Phillipon, the founder, and Daumier were sentenced to six months in prison and fined 500 French francs for

“inciting hatred and contempt of the king’s government.” They depicted the king, among other things, as a pear, which suggested that he was a fathead. Three months after the implementation of this legislation, Balzac, determined not to submit to censorship, and totally against the sanitized and enslaved press, joined the *Chroniques de Paris*. He did not stay there long because his publisher accused him of being a “subversive” author (Beaudoin 2010). He then directed the *Revue de Paris* which, in addition to literary reviews, was politically engaged and served as a tribune against the king and the monarchy. Well aware of the destructive power of the press, now called the fourth power, he felt that if it “did not exist, it was better not to invent it”. (Balzac 89-90)

Balzac and the Power of the Press

From 1840, Balzac, who had practiced journalism, became one of its acerbic critics. In the *Chronique de la Presse*, he wrote that in France the press had become “a fourth power in the state: it attacks [ed] everything, and no one attack[ed] it” (Balzac 1840, 243). Currently, this ‘fourth estate’, a term coined by the philosopher Edmund Burke, has turned so powerful that it can make out of a king a subordinate and vice versa. Its primary vocation, which is to serve as a watchdog, to inform and enlighten, has given way to a less laudable mission: to praise and reshape public opinion. Balzac wrote prophetically. Motivated by political and financial gain and therefore indifferent to long-term consequences, a myriad of journalists can hardly claim to be its custodians of it. In *Lost Illusions*, journalist Claude Vignon noted this reality when he said:

Every newspaper....is a shop, where one sells to the public words of the color they want. If there were a journal of hunchbacks, it would prove day and night the beauty, the goodness, the necessity of hunchbacks. A

newspaper is no longer made to enlighten, but to flatter opinions. Thus, all newspapers will be in a given time, cowards, hypocrites, infamous, liars, murderers; they will kill ideas; systems; men, and will flourish through that (Balzac 1874, 594).

Besides the press as a fourth power stood the omnipotence of money.

Balzac and the Omnipotence of Money

In Balzac’s resolutely bourgeois society, money was all-powerful and more important than social ties. Balzac’s eponymous character, *Father Goriot*, once a rich and honest man, fell into poverty because of his two demanding daughters from whom he only asked for some care in return. When he died, Rastignac – in this novel he is a student – and Christophe, a servant, paid seventy French francs out of their own pockets for his funeral. The funeral was mediocre because of the pittance they were giving but they could at least say they had done their best. Religion, on the contrary, was unwilling to do more for a poor man. This is why,

[t]he two priests, the chorister, and the beadle came, and said and did as much as could be expected for seventy francs in an age when religion cannot afford to say prayers for nothing....The whole service lasted about twenty minutes (Balzac, 1839, p. 388).

Regarding *Father Goriot’s* relatives, it is true that two cars with **armorial bearings** (in bold by the author of the article) arrived at the cemetery, but his daughters and their husbands were not in. I don’t think their voluntary absence was a surprise; a society that becomes materialistic and individualistic does not leave time for cries, even less for

funerals even if they concern our beloved. Rastignac, who most likely feared a similar fate and was skeptical about honesty, resolved to enjoy his life to the fullest. While he was in the cemetery, he looked “at the luminous world he had wanted to reach...and said with magniloquence: “henceforth there is war between us” (389-90). But to reach this kind of world and win this coming war, the advice of an elder was indispensable.

Rastignac remembered Vautrin’s advice. Vautrin-whose real name is Jacques Collin-, a convict who escaped from prison, had told him that Paris resembled a New World forest populated by multiple tribes who “lived off the product of their social hunting” (147). Being “a hunter of millions”, Rastignac was spoiled for choice because “some hunt heiresses, others an inheritance; some fish for souls, others sell their customers hand and foot. (147). In *La Maison Nucingen* (La Maison Nucingen 1838; first title: La Haute Banque), he sold his clients bound hand and foot.

Rastignac became Delphine’s lover. She was the wife of Baron de Nucingen, a wealthy man engaged in “fraudulent financial operations.” Although aware of their relationship, de Nucingen saw no indignation in working with upstart and social climber, Rastignac. For both men, the money went on more. And in Balzac’s society, as in the new world order, it ruled the world. Balzac tells us that the banker did not care-does he today? -about the small purses because he saw himself as “a conqueror who ha[d] to sacrifice the masses to achieve hidden results; his soldiers [were] the interests of individuals” (Balzac, 1837.1904, p. 26).And anyone, who dare[d] compare the highest authority of the Bank to “a cutthroat would commit the most egregious calumny” (Balzac, 1837.1904, p. 120). A quarter century after the publication of *Lost Illusions*, A Tale of Today was underway. In 1899, the American economist and sociologist Thorstein Veblen prophesied in his *Theory of the Leisure Class* that “prowess and exploit may still remain the basis of award
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of the highest popular esteem, although the possession of wealth has become the basis of commonplace reputability and of a blameless social standing.” (Veblen, pp.24-25)

Conclusion

Balzac’s *Comedy* is decidedly not humorous since it tells the story of the individual within his society and surprisingly our story. Thanks to his work, or because of it, depending on which side of the track we are on, we discover their/our least pleasant aspects and how they took over and continue to take over. Should we bear the guilt of our perversion? The answer is “yes” so long we continue to place material values well above human ones. Balzac started writing his *Human Comedy* in 1829. A century later, human values took a back seat. At this juncture, an age that was supposed to prove and remain a golden age ended in a crash.

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Omens of the Sought-After

If I walk the length of the laneway
Without tripping in a pothole,
The longed-for news awaits me
At the mailbox beyond the ruts.

When I peel hard-boiled eggs
Into my flowered bowl, then chop
Toward deluxe egg-salad sandwiches,
The shell-less result grants my wish.

After I sleep a night beside my man,
And have avoided snoring him awake
(So he must plead, “Hey, turn over”),
Then morning delivers my reward.

Past all these mindful machinations,
Must there not rest redemption?
(If not for prayerful missions,
Where would all hope reside?)

—Carolyn Creed



The Nexus of Colonial Fiscal Policy and Administrative Centralization: Implication for Development in Benin, Nigeria 1918-1960

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Abstract

This paper examines the nexus of the British colonial fiscal policy and administrative structure in Benin, beginning with a review of the administrative and fiscal structure of the Benin traditional system, in order to illustrate the change wrought by the British while considering how the British fiscal policy and administrative centralization entrenched colonialism and maximized tax collection and exploitation. Despite the efficiency of the structure in generating revenue by eliminating tax leakages and furthering the objectives of British (colonial) rule, these changes did not engender their much desired socio-political

development at the local levels. Because the centralization of administration entailed revenue realized at various units regularly remitted to the centre to the detriment of development at the local levels, this paper concludes that fiscal reforms and administrative structure in colonial Benin aimed mainly at exacting resources for the metropolis (colonizer) and that this structure inherited at independence to a large extent continued to plague the post-colonial development of Benin. After identifying how Benin's colonial heritage has shaped its socio-political development, this paper recommends an overall restructuring of that fiscal structure to serve the needs of the locals.

Keywords: Colonial Benin, Authorities, Fiscal Policy, Direct tax, Revenue, Development

Introduction

Benin was part of the British protectorate of Southern Nigeria between 1897 and 1960, when it was occupied by the British, and when Nigeria, in which it was consequently incorporated, gained independence. Benin territories were administered as the Benin Division¹ under the Benin Province created by the British for administrative convenience. Other divisions in the province included the Ishan, Kukuruku and Asaba Divisions. However, the Benin Division was the largest in terms of landmass, demography, and also the most endowed area in agricultural and forest resources. Hence, it was of upper most interest to the colonial authorities in the formulation, regulation, exaction and management of tax system. The British (colonial) tax system was pivotal in the implementation of policies in Benin. Yet, studies on colonial rule have paid scanty attention to the nature,

1. For description of the colonial territory refers to as Benin Division, see, National Archives, Ibadan (hereinafter refers to as NAI), Benin Province (BP.) 40, vol. vi Annual Report, BP. 1937, p. 3; NAI, Chief Secretary Office (herein after refers to as CSO) 26/2 14617, vol. xiii, Annual Report, BP. 1938, pp. 1-26.

character, and consequences of this tax system. Emphases have been placed on the social and political consequences of colonial rule while neglecting the tax system, critical for the colonial administrative functioning.²

Equally neglected has been the aftermath of the colonial tax system particularly on the post-independence development. Conversely, available works on both colonial and post-colonial tax systems have adopted a macro-level approach³ thereby limiting our understanding of the workings and impact of the tax systems on the local or micro economy. As Bird and Zolt argue, "where a country ends up in terms of both tax levels and tax structure depends in large part on where it begins".⁴ This probably explains that the impact of tax depends on the nature and efficiency in which the system is put into use. This study examines the nexus of fiscal (tax) policy and administrative structures as channels through which the people experienced the legal and financial impact of the British rule. The payment of taxes pre-dated colonial rule but what was new was the means of payment. The pre-colonial tax system levied tribute on produce; the colonial tax was paid in legal tender introduced by the British. In both cases, taxes implied the recognition of the suzerainty of the ruler, prevented lawless acts, and imposed the will of

2. See respectively the works of P.A. Igbafe, *Benin under British Administration: The impact of Colonial Rule on an African Kingdom, 1897-1938* (London: Longman, 1979) pp. 287-340; Frank. Ikponmwosa, "Colonial Rule and Economic Development of Benin" (Ph.D. Dissertation, Department of History and International Studies, University of Benin, Benin City, 2014), pp. 148-276; M.H.Y. Kaniki, "The Colonial Economy, the former British Zones", in Albert Adu Boahen (ed.), *General History of Africa vii: Africa under Colonial Domination 1880-1939* (Paris: Unesco, 1985), p. 391; Olusegun Adeyeri and David K. Adejuwon, "The Implications of the British Colonial Economic Policies on Nigeria's Development", *International Journal of Advanced Research in Management and Social Sciences*, vol. i, No. 2, 2012.

3. See for example, Mkandawire Thandika, "On Tax Efforts and Colonial Heritage in Africa", *Journal of Development*, vol. 46, No. 10, 2011; Ewout Frankema and Marlous Van Warjenburg, *Endogenous Colonial Institutions: Lessons from Fiscal Capacity Building in British and French Africa, 1880-1940*, *Africa Economic History Working Paper Series*, No. 11, 2013.

4. Richard Bird and Eric Zolt, "Rethinking Redistribution: Tax Policy in an Era of Rising Inequality: Redistribution via Taxation: The Limited Role of the Personal Income Tax in Developing Countries", *UCLA Law Review* 52:6, 2005, p. 24.

power on those ruled.⁵

Political and Fiscal Structure of Pre-Colonial Benin

The political and fiscal structure of Benin revolved around the Oba (king), who was the fountain of authorities in the administrative set up. He presided over the state council that formulated socio-political and economic policies.⁶ Also, during the period, religion became intertwined with socio-economic activities as the rituals and sacrifices performed by the Oba were seen as what could promote the economic welfare and progress of his people. Therefore, payment of tributes by the people was a tacit obligation hinged on the superior political and religious (or spiritual) authority of the Oba. For example, annual tributes of agricultural produce, and production of items of utilities by craftsmen were given to the Oba.⁷ The remittance of tributes was organized at two levels including the central or metropolitan Benin City and the villages. At the central or metropolitan level, the respective ward heads, into which the city was divided, organized tributes collection, while the village heads (Edionwere) did the same at the outlying villages.⁸

The village heads governed their communities in a similar fashion like that of the Oba at the centre. For example, they, with the village councils, formulated policies for and settled disputes within their respective villages. Apart from the individual tribute

5. Lord Lugard, *The Dual Mandate in British Tropical Africa* (London: Frank Cass, 1965), p. 218.

6. The State Council also comprised of some senior titled Chiefs in the kingdom such as the Uzama, Eghaevbo N'Ogbe and Eghaevbo N' Ore as members. For details see, Philips A. Igbafe, "Benin in Pre-Colonial Era", *Tarikh*, vol. 5, No.1,1974, pp.1-6; Frank Ikponmwosa, "The Origin of Benin and Its Monarchy", in, Benin Traditional Council of Editorial Board (ed.), *The Benin Monarchy: An Anthology of Benin History*, 2018, p. 29.

7. Kokunre A. Agbontaen, "An Assessment of Four Centuries (15th-19th) of Benin arts production in evaluating the role of the craft guild system in Benin Polity", *African Study Monographs*, 18, (1), pp. 45-58; R.W. Hull, "Benin arts as Power", in, F. Kaplan (ed.), *The images of power, arts of the royal court of Benin* (New York: New York University Press, 1981), pp. 9-10.

8. Villages where there were Enigie (sing.- Enogie) i.e., Duke), and Edionwere (sing.- Odionwere), the Enogie exercised authorities and organized the remittance of tributes to the Oba. However, villages without Enigie had these functions performed by the Edionwere the oldest man in the village.

that was paid by all adult productive male, there were also communal tributes paid as occasion may require. In this regard, village head could levy tributes in goat, cow, keg of palm oil etc from members of the senior (*Edion*) age-grade, for the worship of the village's ancestors (*Erinmwini-Edion*), and deity (*Ebo*), when the need arose.⁹ Similarly, village heads could demand the forelimbs of some rare animals categorized in Benin as *Ahanmwini-Okhuen*¹⁰ such as antelopes and warthogs in the same circumstance that all elephant killed by hunters within the Benin forests had its tusk sent to the Oba. These items were considered as ritual gifts or vessels for the spiritual sanctification of the communities. In this regard, the payment of tributes was equally a form of worship to the village heads as it marked the people's recognition of their political and spiritual authority in the respective villages.

At the metropolitan and village levels, structures were established and the exercise of functions outlined that everyone knew his rights or privileges and obligations to the community and kingdom. Rules or conventions were not violated with impunity. This engendered peace and harmony that promoted economic activities among the people. For example, trade routes were made safe and convenient for the traders that engaged in trading activities within the kingdom. The routes were regularly maintained by the Oba, while essential services were designed for the comfort of the users. Of particular note, a seventeenth century traveler found that on the twenty-four mile route from Benin City to Gwato:

the king pays people to furnish travelers with water; and his officers are

9. Animals in the open and semi-open habitats, See, Uyilawa Usualnlele, "State and Class in Benin Division 1897-1959: A History of Colonial and Class Formation" (M.A., thesis, Department of History, Ahmadu Bello University, Zaria, 1988), p. 33.

10. Ibid., p. 35.

careful to keep at different places large pots full of water, quite fresh and clear as crystal, with a shell for drinking. But nobody would dare to take a drop without paying, and, if the official is not there, one leaves the money (cowry) on the spot and continues one's way.¹¹

Therefore, that was also sufficient reason for the payment of tributes as an obligation to the Oba, whether at village or ward levels in Benin City. The devolution of the administrative structure and tax system enhanced the political and economic powers of the village heads and placed them in good stead to manage the affairs of their villages. It also enabled them maximize collection from tributes and remit the required proportion to the Oba through the *Onotueyevbo* (plural- *Enotueyevbo*); "he who salutes the Oba for the village". He was the intermediary connecting the centre and the villages. Through him, the villages paid tributes and presented their petitions to the Oba while he also recruited soldiers for the state military in time of needs. The institution of *Onotueyevbo* checks the powers of the village heads, and ensures the people's interests were protected by the Oba.

The administrative set up and tax system promoted concerted efforts in the development of the local communities in Benin communities where every man, according to Ivie Erhahon, "speaks of himself as a child of his village or the region of the kingdom where he resides"¹² and therefore worked for its development. Concerted efforts stimulate specialization. For example, Oka and Useh villages were renowned for pottery while Oregbeni was known for elephant hunting. In turn, these specialists were obligated to

11. Quoted in Thomas Hodgkin, *Nigerian Perspective* (London: OUP, 1960), p. 124. Also see Gabriel O. Ogunremi, *Counting the Camels: The Economics of Transportation in Pre-Industrial Nigeria* (New York: Nok Publishers International, 1982), p. 67.

12. Ivie Erhahon, "Aspects of Edo Phonology: An Auto-segmental Approach" (M.A. thesis, Department of Linguistics and African Languages, University of Ibadan,), p. x.

offer their services to their village, heads and the Oba. This reinforces collective responsibility for the development of Benin localities which the tribute system has entrenched.

Development of Colonial Taxation and Administrative Structure 1897-1918

The year 1897 was a watershed in the history of Benin as it marked the British invasion occupation and the imposition of colonial rule. Ralph Moor, the British Consul-General for the Niger Coast protectorate enunciated immediately after the fall of Benin that:

[n]ow this is the Whiteman's country. There is only one king in this country and that is the Whiteman The Whiteman is the only man who is king in this country and to him only service is due...¹³

Consequently, policies were formulated to conform to Ralph Moor's desire in order to maximize the wealth of Benin for the interest of the Whiteman. One of such policy measures was the fiscal and administrative centralization instituted in the 'Native Council' that was responsible for the exercise of authorities in Benin. The council was headed by the British Resident with some selected local chiefs, appointed as members and classified as major and minor according to their usefulness to the colonial authorities. From this pool of chiefs in the council, the British appointed "paramount chiefs" to assert authorities in consolidated blocs of territories, especially far flung areas from Benin City. They organized the collection and remittance of taxes to the colonial authorities in line with the tribute system of the pre-colonial Benin, since there was not yet a universally accepted legal tender recognizable to the British. The tax rule stipulated that every household in each village was obligated to pay an annual tax of five tubers of yam in addition to one

13. Quoted in Igbafe, *Benin under British Administration*, p. 118.

goat for every ten houses.¹⁴

The Native Council represented an extreme centralization of power totally at variance with Benin traditional institution.¹⁵ As emphasized by Philip Igbafe,

this council which was made up of the major chiefs thus came to represent an extreme case of centralization of power in circumstances under which the elders in the Benin villages and the village councils were eclipsed. The members of the council gradually built up a stature of importance under the British regime.¹⁶

For all intents and purposes, the loyalty of this class of chiefs was diverted from the community in which they had traditional affinity to the British. Many of them began to see service to the ‘Whiteman’ as an opportunity to amass wealth rather than to serve their people. This led to widespread corruption among the paramount chiefs. For instance, Chiefs Bamawo and Iyamu who were in charge of Agbor and Urhonigbe respectively, made unreasonable exactions of all game killed in the towns and villages under them.¹⁷ Some other chiefs confiscated private property belonging to the people and in numerous instances ordered villagers to work for them in their private farms and estates in Benin City,¹⁸ thereby placing their subjects in the position of serving two masters—the ‘Whiteman’ and the Paramount Chiefs. In addition, many of the Paramount Chiefs lacked traditional affinity with the villages under their authority. For example, Chiefs

14. NAI, BD4/3/4: H.N. Nevins, “Intelligence Report on Benin Division”, 1924, p. 25.

15. Victor O. Edo, “The Benin Monarchy, 1897-1978: A Study in Institutional Adaptation to Change” (Ph.D thesis, Department of History, University of Ibadan, 2001), p. 34.

16. P.A. Igbafe, *The Nemeses of Power: Agho Obaseki and Benin Politics, 1897-1956* (Benin City: Mindex Publishing, 2016, Reprint), p. 13.

17. Philip A. Igbafe, “British Rule in Benin 1897-1920: Direct or Indirect?”, *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria (JHSN)*, vol. iii, no.4, 1967, p. 706.

18. Ibid.

Bamawo, Ebohon and Iyamu, were all appointed from Benin City to exercise authorities over far-flung districts of Agbor, Ishan and Urhonigbe respectively.¹⁹ This negatively impacted the legitimacy of the tax regime. Under this situation, the Paramount Chiefs exerted force or pressure (*ogbugbu*) as a tool in ensuring that the projected tributes or taxes from a particular village were realized. Hence Usanlele and Edo aver that

the European became synonymous with violence and the people summarized their experience of this time in the proverb: *Ebogha re, evben re* (the European arrives; trouble alights). The severity of colonial official retaliation registered in the peoples psyche. Henceforth, punishment among the Edo that was considered to be extreme was declaimed by the proverbial query: *Teimegbe Ovbiebo?* (did I kill a European?). This proverb expresses the people’s execration of the barbarity of British violence that can be likened to killing a fly with a sledgehammer.²⁰

The seeming lack of legitimacy of the tax regime was one of the reasons for the revolt and uprisings frequently targeted at colonial authorities in Benin. For instance, in 1905 when the people of Urhonigbe refused to pay the assessed taxes to the colonial authorities, military expedition was organized against them before they immediately complied with the payment.²¹ In a similar circumstance, “the neighboring Ishan area was earlier dealt with by a military expedition under Captain Hogg in 1904 for refusing to

19. Frank Ikponmwoosa and Ali Evbayiro, “The Native Courts System in Benin Division 1900-1945”, *University of Benin Journal of the Humanities (UBTH)*, vol.5, (i), 2017, p. 162.

20. Uyilawa Usanlele and Victor Osaro Edo, “Migrating out of Reach: Fugitive Benin Communities in Colonial Nigeria”, in Femi J. Kolapo and Kwabena O. Akuranga-Parry (eds.), *African Agency and European Colonialism: Latitudes of Negotiation and Containment (Essays in Honour of A.S. Kanya-Forstner)* (Lanham: University Press of America Inc., 2007), p.74.

21. Nevins, “Intelligence Report on Benin Division”, p. 26.

recognize the authority of the Native Courts to impose and collect taxes”.²² Consequently, between 1897 and 1907, military patrols were mobilized by the colonial authorities against communities that resisted the payment of taxes: such actions were regarded as acts of rebellion. The British eventually realized that the centralized system of administration was ineffective in promoting the legitimacy of its authorities. It was equally realized that the system of taxes paid in kind could not yield enough revenue for the administration, which compelled it to depend mainly on trade tax for sustenance before 1914. However, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 and the resultant decline in commodity prices made it an unreliable source of revenue.²³ This made it necessary for colonial authorities to abolish the tribute system and establish a new direct tax structure in Benin paid in currency.

Fiscal Decentralization and Administrative Centralization 1918-1960

By 1918, the British had brought two major changes to the tax system with long term consequences for the fiscal development of Benin. First was the introduction of direct taxation payable in British currency,²⁴ rather than the tribute system, in goods or services. This direct taxation had the advantage of generating required revenue for the authorities which was imperative, given the financial self sufficiency policy of colonies by the British. Second, and a necessary corollary to the introduction of direct taxation, was the decentralization of the tax system. In this regard, a two tier-tax structure comprising of village and district was established in Benin. Under this system, village heads were made

22. Ikponmwosa, “Colonial Rule and Economic Development of Benin”, p.131.

23. Leigh A. Gardner, *Taxing Colonial Africa: The Political Economy of British Imperialism* (Oxford: The University Press, 2012), p. 64.

24. As early as 1902, the colonial authorities had introduced the British and West Africa coinage in Benin to replace the use of the traditional currencies such as cowry and manila as means of exchange. See, Ikponmwosa, “Colonial Rule and Economic Development”, p.134; Walter I. Ofonagoro, “From Traditional to British Currency in Southern Nigeria: Analysis of a Currency Revolution 1880-1948”, *The Journal of Economic History*, vol. xxxix, (3), 1979, p. 648.

tax collectors in their respective villages. They were entitled to ten percent commission of every one pound they collected as tax²⁵ while the proceeds were thereafter remitted to the district heads that supervised tax collection at the districts, and in turn remitted the same to the central treasury in Benin City.

This system was built on the notion that the village heads knew their constituents and were better placed to collect taxes than the district heads. By remunerating them on a commission basis, the colonial authorities created a burning desire in the village heads to maximize revenue from taxation. The net result of this was a progressive increase in tax revenue. For instance, the tax revenue of Benin Division rose from £1,369 in 1919 to £5,307.14 in 1920.²⁶ In 1935, the colonial authorities were encouraged to build on this success by further decentralizing the tax system to simplify the process, guard against evasion, and eliminate corrupt practices, especially those perpetuated by the district heads. The colonial authorities buttressed the merits of this system, stating “it is found that the smaller the unit the easier tax collection becomes, for the small unit is probably better organized and more manageable than a large one”.²⁷

Another reason for the decentralization of the tax system was the unpopularity of the District Heads which stemmed from the corrupt practices in which they indulged.²⁸ For instances, Chief Osula, the District Head of Benin City, was accused of stealing six hundred and five pounds from the tax collection of 1932.²⁹ Earlier in 1928, tax assessment scribes who worked closely with the District Heads were accused of financial misappropriation. This resulted in the imprisonment of five out of the six assessment clerks in the

25. NAI, BP4/2/8, Annual Report, Benin Province, 31 December, 1921.

26. NAI, BP6/3/1919, H.N. Nevins, “Assessment Report”, Benin Division, Feb., 1928, p. 21.

27. NAI, BD.1675, vol. 11, Resident Benin Province to District Officer, Asaba Division, 05/06/1935.

28. The corrupt practices indulged by the district heads have earlier been explained in p.8 of this study. Also see, Igbafe, “British Rule in Benin 1897-1920: Direct or Indirect?”, p. 706.

29. NAI., BD.1675, vol.vii, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1932.

division.³⁰ The overall effect of this was that the colonial authorities were unable to maximize revenue from taxation, particularly in 1935 when only 55 percent of the estimated tax revenue was collected.³¹ This situation reinforced the need to deepen the tax structure to guarantee better efficiency in revenue generation.

Consequently, the function of the District Heads was abolished, while blank nominal roll sheets were issued to the village heads at the beginning of the financial year. The sheets were comprised of two categories of tax payers, the flat rate and the income tax payers. The rule was that all male adults who earned below 24/- were to be categorized under the flat rate scheme, while those who earned above this figure paid income tax. The village heads and the elders were responsible for categorizing the tax payers in the different schemes and forwarding their details³² to the Tax Office in Benin City. Subsequently, the village heads issued Demand Notes and Tax Tickets to the tax payers³³ paving the way for actual tax collection which lasted for about three months.³⁴ This was immediately followed by the remittance of the tax proceeds to the Tax Office (or Native Treasury) in Benin City and the prosecution of defaulters.

The reform made the village heads directly responsible to the British district officers (DO) for tax collection. This deepened the tax process, and ensured that every taxable adult (male) was captured in the tax net. The appointment of village heads as sole tax collectors also enhanced the legitimacy of the system. An arrangement which was bound

30. NAI, CSO26/2, File no: 14617, vol. v, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1928.

31. The total tax collected was £6,460:16 out of a total sum of £11,887:14. See, NAI, BD.11, Collection of taxes in Benin Division, 1935.

32. The details comprise information such as name, occupation and address of the tax payers.

33. The Tax Tickets indicated the total amount due to a village while the Demand Note spelt out the amount an individual tax payer had to pay as tax for the year. See, J.E. Jull Ado, "Intelligence Report on the Usonigbe (sic) and Usomehe village groups", Benin Division, Benin Province, April, 1937.

34. As a result of the old age of most village head that could not therefore enforced tax collection, the village council usually nominate a younger person to carry out this assignment.

to make the payment of tax less resented than when the District Heads collected it.³⁵ This made the system less coercive as the village heads utilized persuasive means to obtain taxes from the people. The level of compliance was high so that the Native Administration police were seldom invited to prosecute defaulters who refused to pay taxes within the prescribed period. This demonstrates that 'the carrot and stick approach' adopted under this system was quite effective in taxes collection. The introduction of nominal roll sheets was another innovation which improved the method of tax collection in Benin. This document provided a sort of data base that the Tax Office used when gathering information about the number of taxable adults as well as the income capacity of tax payers in the villages. This information enabled the assessment scribes estimate the tax amount due in the division in any given financial year. It ensured accuracy in tax collection and eroded the practice whereby the village heads had to use personal resources or impose extra levies to make up for the shortfall in revenue. Also, it abolished the part payment of taxes which was susceptible to corrupt practices. According to the District Officer of the Ishan Division,

the danger of the installment system is that it encourages the tax collector to receive installments of tax from the individual payer. This is a most pernicious system, as either the payer gets no receipt for his installment, or he receives a disc before he has completed his payment, and in the latter case, if the payer is dishonest, the tax collector is ultimately out of pocket.³⁶

The reforms led to the institution of the traditional ward (*Idumwun*) method of tax collection in place of the quarter head in Benin City. This method became necessary in

35. Igbafe, *Benin under British Administration*, p. 328.

36. NAI., BD.1675, vol. ii, District Officer, Ishan Division, to the Resident, Benin Province, 14/05/1935.

order to align the tax units with the indigenous territorial organization of the city.³⁷ Consequently, seventy-eight (78) traditional wards emerged and were recognized as separate tax units headed by the Odionwere, Olotu, or Okao.³⁸ They were entitled to five (5) per cent of the gross tax collected in their ward. These ward heads leveraged their traditional privilege to mobilize taxes for the colonial administration.³⁹ The village and ward heads also utilized their position as ritual functionaries in their respective domains to influence compliance to the payment of taxes. This seemed to establish the synergy between political legitimacy and tax policy as well as harmonious relations between colonial authorities and the traditional institutions.

Another aspect of the tax reform was the review of the assessment rate. This was necessary in order to improve the revenue from taxation. As a result, the flat rate was increased from 6/- to 7/-, while the tax rate for income of £50 and above was also increased from £1 to £1.5 in 1937.⁴⁰ This improved the finances of the administration considerably: it recorded a revenue surplus of £26,082 in 1938⁴¹ and subsequently. Similarly, the revenue from direct taxation also increased progressively from £2,799:18 in 1936/37 to £3,017:17 in 1937/38, and £12,001.1 in 1938/39.⁴² The division also recorded the largest revenue from tax in Benin and Warri Provinces in 1938/39 and the sixth highest tax revenue in the whole of Western Province in 1950.⁴³

37. Under the quarter head system, Benin City was divided into ten (10) artificial wards, and a headman was placed in charge of tax collection in each of the units.

38. The Odionwere was appointed by virtue of being the oldest man in the ward; Olotu was the head of the guilds or professional association in the ward, while Okao was a special appointee of the Oba. All these headmen were indigenes of Benin; H.F. Marshall, (Assistant District Officer), "Intelligence Report on Benin City, Benin Province, 12th August, 1939.

39. The Assistant District Officer made the point that tax collection was more successfully under the "Idumu" system than the previous method. See Macrae Simpson (Assistant District Officer), "A Political Intelligence Report on the Benin Division, Benin Province", 26th April, 1936, p. 47.

40. N.A.I., B.P.40, vol. vi, Annual Report, Benin Province, 1937, p. 12.

41. N.A.I. B.D. 41, vol. vii, Annual Report on Benin Division, 1938, p. 8.

42. NAI, BD.113, vol. iv, Tax collection, 1938-39.

43. The Western Province comprised of all the fifty-three divisions in the South-Western part of Nigeria including

However unlike the tax structure, colonial rule centralized the administrative structure and vested authorities in Benin-City. This was evident right from 1914 when the Native Council was replaced with the Native Authority System. Under this system, the monarchy was restored and the Oba Eweka II was made the head of the new administration. He was assisted by a council composed of some traditional chiefs including Iyase, Oliha, Oloton etc. However, available records⁴⁴ show that the legislative (or deliberative) functions of the council were performed by the colonial officers and their recommendations were merely promulgated by this body. The British established a pyramidal administrative structure whereby the Central or Oba's Council ratified laws made by the British Officers. The colonial authorities made no attempt to bring the village councils actively into the scheme of administration. They only functioned as implementers rather than initiators of policies.

Consequently, the village authorities acquired very little administrative training and experience. This meant that the village and ward heads were unable to perform the basic functions of local government such as legislative, budgeting and planning. In most cases, District Officers performed these responsibilities. The treasury which was stationed in Benin-City was under the firm control of the officer. Also, the center of power (Benin-City) was remote from the villages (or districts), and this restricted the village heads from gaining administrative experience in the centre. "All that the headmen were called upon to do in terms of disbursement of revenue was take turns to supervise the payment of salaries, listen to the budget or estimate being discussed and explained to them at the meeting by the District Officer who drew it up".⁴⁵ So, as late as 1951, the twenty-one

the Yoruba and Edo speaking peoples. See, NAI, BD.225, vol. ii, "Tax Schedule", Benin District, 1950.

44. See for example, Simpson, "A Political Intelligence Report", p. 8.

45. Sarah A. Shokpeka, *Local Government and Development: Perspective from Old Benin Province* (Benin City: University of Benin Press, 2008), p. 252.

elected district councils had very little administrative responsibilities to perform. Even the little responsibilities assigned them in terms of services to their local communities were made difficult because of the over-centralization of financial disbursements. The frustration emanating from frequent rejection of financial requests from the center diminished the effectiveness of the district councils⁴⁶, and this problem ran through the annual report presented by half of the district councils in 1952. For example, out of the twenty-one district councils, only seven wrote annual reports and they, according to Mr. Fox, the Assistant District Officer (A.D.O.), had no substance.⁴⁷

Perhaps, the main effect of the centralization policy was the lack of development in the division. For example, the village councils were not granted legislative powers to approve their budget; rather they depended on the center for financial support. For another, the budgetary allocation was shrewd in favour of the centre at the detriment of social amenities at the village or districts for rural dwellers. This made many of the rural dwellers complain that they received no tangible benefit from their taxes. On the eve of independence in Nigeria (to which Benin was incorporated), the British established an administrative structure that limited the social development of the districts. The colonial authorities were reluctant at expending resources for rural development, further exposing their intent to exploit as much wealth as possible for Britain. While the administrative structure was centralized in order to legalize and enforce British policies, the fiscal structure was decentralized to maximize revenue.

These administrative and financial structures have been inherited by the post-colonial political leadership in Benin and other parts of Nigeria. Currently, 'over-centralization' is the hallmark of this appropriation process with the various capital cities exercising

46. Ibid., p. 257.

47. Ibid.

absolute control over revenue of these states. The state governments have consistently starved the local governments with their legitimate funds. For example, they have deducted at the source finances from the statutory allocation for local government from the federal allocation.⁴⁸ Also, state governments usually appoint local officials to collect rates (statutorily assigned to the local governments) such as motor-park fees, commercial transport dues, and market rates, among others. This has rendered the local governments incapacitated in delivering services to the people at the grass-roots.

Conclusion

Colonial authority has shown that no system of rule can be effective without a great measure of financial independence. Hence authorities introduced their tax system payable in British currency in lieu of Benin's tribute system that was not reliable and dependable. There is no doubt that this tax system to a great deal, extended and consolidated British influence in Benin. It ensured a firm grip over the policy-making architecture of Benin in order to achieve fiscal and human exploitation. The revenues generated from the tax system were remitted to the central authorities, but did not make enough provision for local development of personnel and infrastructure. Inherited at independence, this administrative structure enabled the infiltration of the 'central controls it all' syndrome that became manifest between federal versus states, on one hand, and states versus local councils, on the other. These competing interests have spiked corruption in the system (though unknown during the colonial rule) and hindered development at the local levels. This is likely to continue until the system is modified to make enough revenue available for development at local level.

Conversely, however, there is also no doubt that the division on the whole bene-

48. A.O. Okoh, "Local Government Administration in Nigeria: The problems of Autonomy and Control", in A. O. Oronsaye (ed.), *Nigerian Government and Politics* (Benin City: United City Press, 1996), p. 148.

fited from the new tax system of the British. For example, the introduction of 'British currency' as a means of taxation stimulated trade in Benin and its environs. The use of universally accepted currency ensured a large volume of trade, within Benin and for export, which was largely made possible with trade by barter. For another, it created a new class of men (affluence) in Benin who became rich as a result of the role they played as tax collectors for the authorities and who earned their livings and amassed their wealth from the commissions they received from the taxes collected. On the whole, the direct tax system opened a new horizon of revenue generation for the colonial authorities in Benin on which the post independence government was leveraged.

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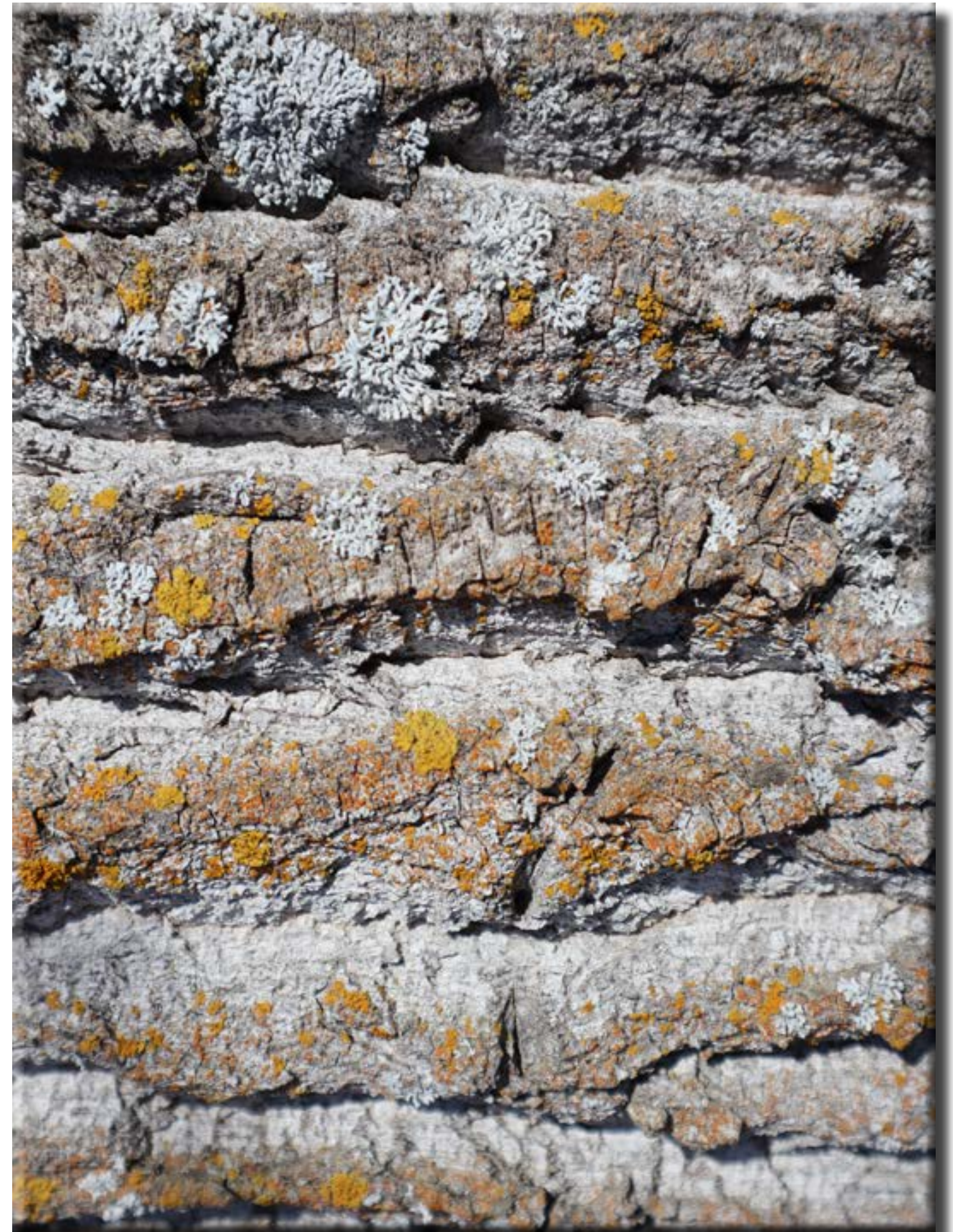
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Toujours la Jardinière

for Jackie

“Always the flowerpot”? No, it’s the female gardener here, whose eyebrows lift, delicate, as she considers the sobering concept of using her gardener’s skills to concoct poisons. We contemplate whodunits, occupations of evil-doers. Offering up hot libations, she remarks on aptness in gardener-as-villain plots, crimes of fatal dosages. Suddenly, I am glad for fragrant tea that tastes of trustworthy green leaves, constant and truthful, instead of weed-killer, belladonna, lethal apple-seed cyanide.

—*Carolyn Creed*



An Evaluation of Screen Printing as a Critical Meeting Point Between Textile and Graphic Arts Practices

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Abstract

Screen printing is a popular method of reproducing images from thumbnail sketches through stenciling or photo transfer to the final print process. Screen printing, also known as silk-screen printing or serigraphy, is a simple idea whereby colour is forced through a screen of silk and in most cases, cotton organdie are used for experimental purposes on a sheet of paper or fabric beneath. The method lends itself both to quick results and

to quite elaborate printing. In screen printing, a handful of material is required to carry out a successful task and so oil or water-based printing inks are needed for both relief and screen. Fabric dyes, water-based paints of various colours and a few chemicals for this purpose plus papers and fabrics to print on. There are a lot of nitty-gritty details to be taken into consideration for a successful work of screen printing to be accomplished; it is against this backdrop that the writers take a look at the details that are involved in this process including the materials involved. The writers also touched on some of the pioneers and exponents of this method of printmaking and their contributions to the advancement of knowledge in this area and finally the delicate meeting point of screen printing between graphic art and textile designs.

Keywords: Screen printing, Serigraphy, Paints, Cotton, Materials, Colour

Introduction

Screen printing is a technique whereby screen mesh is used for the transfer of designs into various media, be it paper, fabric, ceramic wares, or wood. This technique takes the printmaker through different stages before the goal of the final process is attained. More recently, according to Biegeleisen (1963), a more scientific approach to this age-long technique of silk screen printing has culminated in the development of intricate precision printing machines for use in the electronics micro-circuit industry. While an attempt has been made here to provide a better appreciation of the screen printing mechanism and in particular of print depth control, some printing modes are described and the effect of interplay between some of the more significant machine parameters in this respect are discussed. A straightforward support presumption is offered which allows a

calculation to be made of the amount of ink basically deposited in a given screen. Screen printing is an integral part of a generic process popularly referred to as printmaking; screen printing has developed from the ancient art of stenciling that took place in the late 1800s and over time, has transformed into an industry. Printmaking, as Gent (1999) sees it, is an artistic process based on the principle of transferring images from a matrix onto another surface, which, in most cases are paper or fabric. Traditional printmaking techniques include woodcut, etching, engraving, and lithography, while modern artists have expanded available techniques to include screen printing. In this essay, the writers decided to concentrate on screen printing being the main crux of this paper. Screen printing has been referred to severally as serigraphy or silk screen is an equally simple idea. Colour is forced through a screen of silk on a sheet of paper or fabric underneath it.

We are surrounded by printing, and most people think it is all done on some sort of gigantic machines. In reality, there are numerous things one can print even at home using the minimum of bought equipment and materials, although there are some limitations because one will get a more professional result if one prints with sophisticated equipment and materials. One can apply greater pressure and more evenly with a press and better prints can be made and more accurately with a vacuum screen printing table; as a consequence, or perhaps concomitantly, Biegeleisen (1963) thinks there has for the last fifteen years or so been an awakened interest in fast automatic screen presses capable of production speeds of two thousand to three thousand impressions per hour. He continues that these presses work in tandem with conveyors and drying ovens where the prints are ejected and stacked, all without human effort or physical exertion.

History of Screen Printing

The history of printing generally according to Kafka (1959) dated back to the early 3500 BCE, when the proto-Elamite and Sumerian civilizations used cylinder seals to certify documents written in clay. Other early forms included block seals, hammered coinage, pottery trace, and cloth printing. *Ab-initio*, a method of printing patterns on cloth such as silk, Kafka (1959) went further to state that woodblock printing originated in China around 200 AD, and was transferred to paper by the 7th century, culminating in the increase of book production in Asia. Movable types were invented in the Song dynasty in the eleventh century but received inadequate use compared to woodblock printing. Woodblock printing was also used in Europe until the fifteenth century when a process for mass-producing metal type and the printing press were invented to support an economical book publishing industry. McMurtrie (1962) averred that this industry enabled the communication of ideas and sharing of knowledge on an unprecedented scale alongside the development of text printing, new and lower-cost methods of image reproduction were developed, including lithography, screen printing and photocopying.

Stencils made by blowing colours over a hand held against a wall, Fig. 1 have also been discovered in Asia and Europe dating back to over 35,000 years ago, and after that, stenciling has been used as a remarkable painting technique on all kinds of materials. Stencils may have been used to colour cloth for a very long time; the technique probably reached its peak of superiority in *Katazome* and other techniques used on silks for clothes during the Edo period in Japan. In Europe, from about 1450 AD they were commonly used to colour old master prints, printed in black and white, and usually woodcuts. Stencils were also used for mass publications, as the type did not have to be hand-written.



Fig. 1 Hands at the Cuevas de las Manos upon Río Pinturas, near the town of Perito Moreno in Santa Cruz Province, Argentina

In China, seals were used since the Shang dynasty. In the Western Zhou, sets of seal stamps were enclosed in blocks of types and used on clay moulds for casting bronzes by casters and by the end of the third century BC these seals were also used for printing on pottery; also in the Northern dynasties textual sources contain references to wooden seals with up to 120 characters.

The seals had some religious connotations to them. Adherents of Dao also known as Daoists used these seals as healing devices by entrenching healing elements into the flesh of sick people. They were also used on food items thereby creating some kind of magical character to ward off disease. The first proof of these practices surfaced under the Buddhist background in the mid 5th century. Many centuries later seals were used to create hundreds of Buddha images.

In the West, the application of seal on documents, with an embossed personal or official insignia, normally from a signet ring, became conventional during the Roman

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Empire, and progressed through the Byzantine Empire, into the 19th century, when a wet signature became traditional.



Fig. 2 The intricate frontispiece of the Diamond Sutra from Tang dynasty China, the world's earliest dated printed book, AD 868 (British Library)

According to Iriwieri (1997), the art of printmaking was long practiced before it was formally institutionalized; quoting Kurth (1975), Iriwieri stressed that over the past 3000 years, impressions have been made in many different ways and that as at this day, there is hardly any surface that cannot be printed upon just as well as various substances to be used in the printing process. Generally, the art is thought to have started in China around the 8th century B.C. as wood cut prints which was used mainly to produce religious mementos while the production of low cost textbooks were inspired by illustrated wood block printed books in the 17th century. From this woodblock system, the contraption of printing from movable metal type was developed and this was credited to Johannes Gutenberg in Mainz in the year 1450 and this is where the present print process cut its first consciousness. At this time, silk screen printing also became popular in the process of product advertising.



Fig 3. Copperplate of 1215–1216 5000
-cash Jin dynasty (1115–1234) paper money with bronze movable type counterfeit markers

Added to the above, Wechsler (1967) noted that in the 1st century B.C. the Romans did stenciled letterings for use in teaching children the formation of letters while the Japanese and the Chinese used stenciling for textile decorations in the 4th and 6th centuries. Walls were decorated in England and France with the use of stencil and according to Iriwieri, these were probably the first recorded wall papers.

Having traced the history of print making and by extension screen printing, it would be important to also trace how this technique of printing got its roots and acceptance in the Nigerian art space. Although screen printing is somehow a new phenomenon in the Nigerian art space, this system probably started from the traditional body adornment such as *Iwu* in Benin cosmology, *Uli* body decoration in the East and the various tribal marks and facial scarifications. As a matter of fact, Nigeria has had its fare share of artistic tradition long before the coming of the colonial masters; Nigeria is well known in their various areas of tribal arts notable among which are the Benin bronze works, Nok

and Ife terra cotta and Igbo Ukwu pieces, same for the various ancestral worships and masking traditions, all having a depth in the cooperation and attitudinal representation of the people.

Art workshops at Oshogbo brought into limelight such artists as Bruce Onobrakpeya, Solomon Wangboje, Dan Omovbude, Jimoh Buraimoh and Taiwo Olaniyi took part in such workshops. Iriwieri asserted that screen printing was first introduced in Nigeria art space around 1950 whose pioneers were traceable to the Zaria Art school of which Wangboje and Onobrakpeya were pioneer graduates and whose contribution to the practice of screen printing was enormous. Although screen printing was originally used as information dissemination on commercial level, it has now become a veritable medium of self expression. A lot of workshops took place after the Oshogbo episode— notably, the Mbari Mbayo summer print workshop in 1964, Ulli Beier’s Oshogbo workshop, the Ori Olokun group in 1969, and the Zaria workshop of 1971 which produced more printmakers like Twins Seven Seven, and Ademola Williams. From here, universities and other tertiary institutions in Nigeria began to introduce printmaking into their curriculum, and to this day, these institutions and many more are introducing printmaking into their curricula, even at the post graduate levels.

Equipment, Tools and Materials

To successfully carry out the work of screen printing, there are basic equipment and tools that are needed without which the work will be hindered. As in case of other art practices and vocations, this equipment is a must in carrying out a job of screen printing. These materials are enumerated as follows:

1. Screen Frames;
2. Printing Base;
3. Squeegee;
4. Staple gun;
5. Gum strip / masking tape;
6. Mesh;
7. Glue/ starch/ lacquer/gum/other adhesives;
8. Racks;
9. Printing papers/fabrics;
10. Printing inks;
11. Chemicals and solvents.

Screen Frames

These may be made of wood or metal; however, the wooden frame is more common and affordable and consists of four pieces of wood tightly fastened together to form a rectangular or square shape. The mesh is fastened to the frame usually from behind and in fastening these pieces of wood together, these four techniques are recommended:

1. Butt joint;
2. Miter joint;
3. Shiplap joint;
4. Tongue and groove joint.

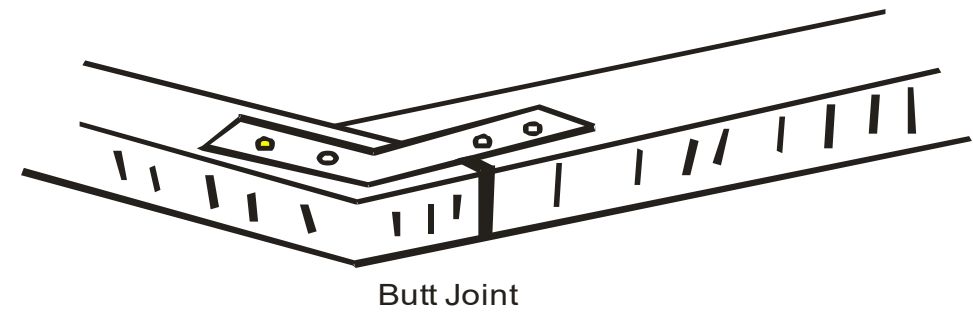


Fig. 4 Butt Joint

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

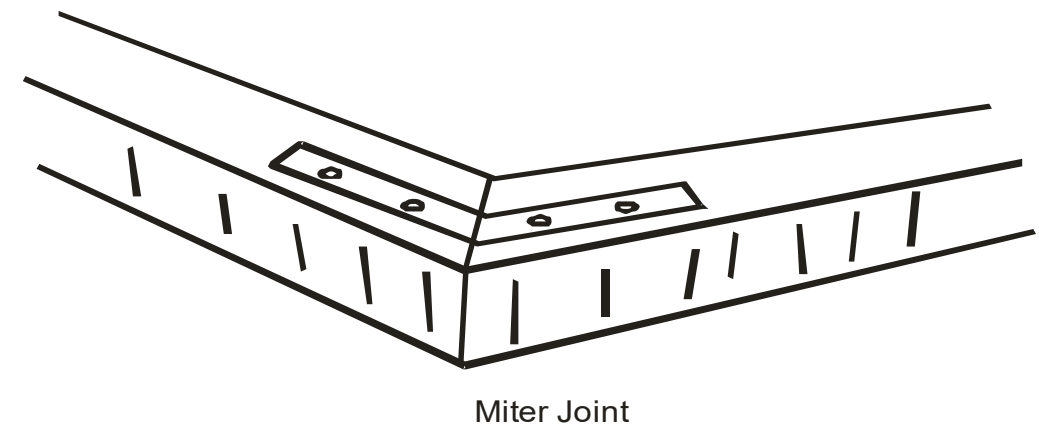


Fig. 5 Miter Joint

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

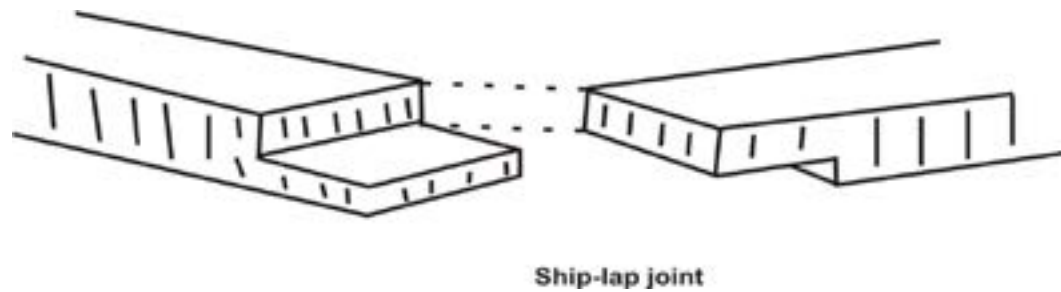


Fig. 6. Ship-lap Joint

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

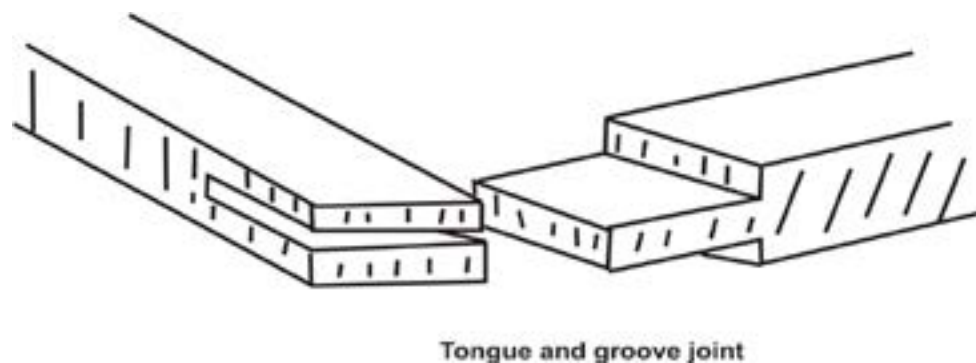


Fig. 7 Tongue and groove joint

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

Normally, the wood should be the soft type and should be well sanded and preferably kiln dried; the frame thickness is not fixed, and it is done on the specification of the printer. Figures 4 and 5 shows the interlocking corner joints normally recommended for rigidity in the construction of a professional printing frame.

The Printing Base

Kafka (1959) stressed that for a successful screen print job to be accomplished, there has to be a printing base which, more often than not consists of a thick, smooth flat board which should be warp-free and visibly larger all round than the screen frame that has to be hinged onto it. On this base that whatever material to be printed is placed, so this base could be made of ply board, masonite board or other suitable flat surfaces.



Fig. 8. A typical printing base

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

Squeegee

This is a heavy strip of rubber that is bolted between two pieces of wood with the attached rubber strip projecting a little beyond the wood, and it is used to spread ink through the perforated spaces of the stencil onto the fabric or paper beneath the mesh. Squeegees come in various sizes and shapes and can also be constructed independently into various sizes and shapes. Illustrating this, Simmons (1977) touched on the one-handed and the two-handed squeegees. Corroborating this claim, Iriwieri (1997) averred that the rubber blade of the squeegee comes in various degrees of texture which are soft, medium, and hard but also submitted that the medium blade is the best. The writers feel this is prob-

ably because of the degree of viscosity of the various types of ink therefore, the medium textured blade fits into the various ink types. Supporting Iriwieri, Hyatt-Mayor (2012) classified the squeegee blade materials into three types, which are Neoprene, Rubber and Polyurethane that also have their various characteristics according to the materials they are to be printed on and the ink types used. The squeegees also come in different shapes depending on the type of job to be done. To this end, Knobler (1980) identified the types of squeegee blades as being squared-edged, squared-edged with rounded corners, single-sided bevel-edged, double-sided bevel-edged, round-edged and double-sided bevel-edged with a flat point as diagrammatically represented in Figure 9.

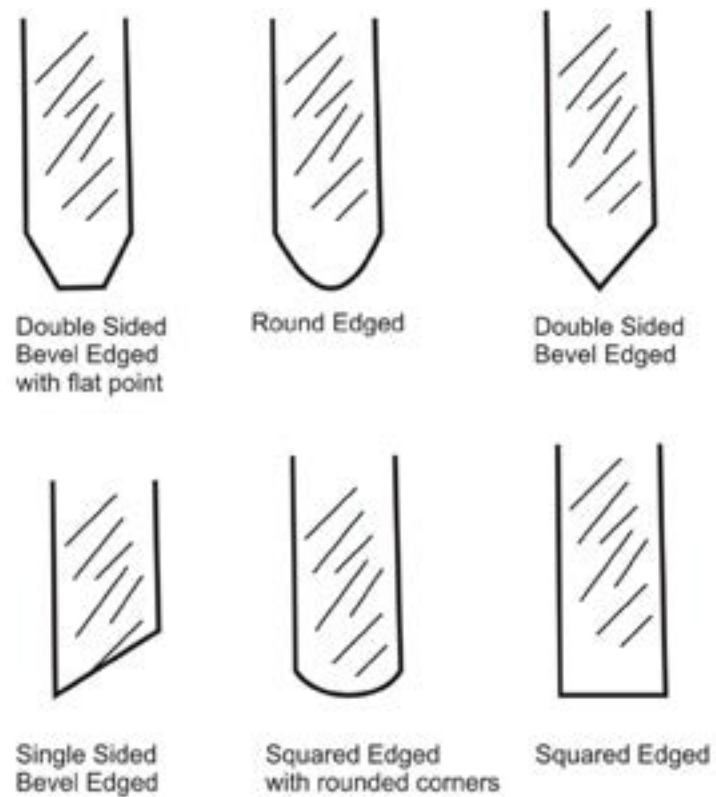


Fig. 9 Various Squeegee Blade shapes

Drawing: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

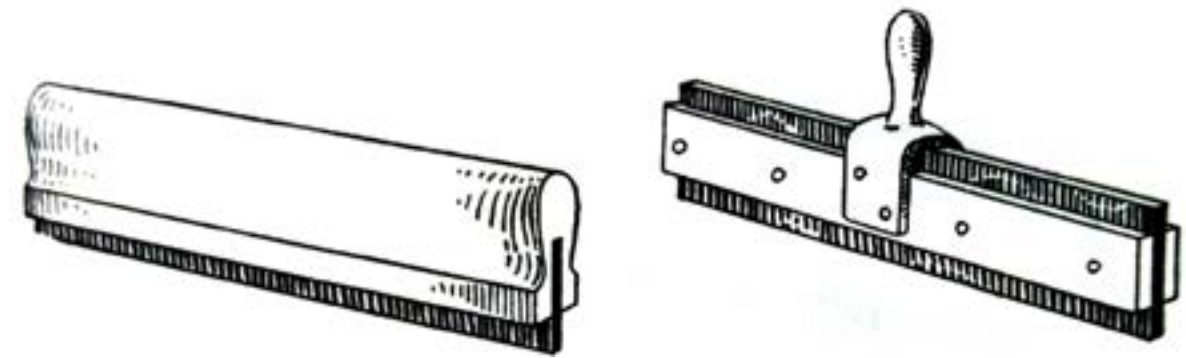


Fig. 10. Left: Two-hand squeegee Right: One-hand squeegee

Source: J.I. Biegeleisen, 1963

Staple Gun

The staple gun is an improved kind of staple machine loaded with staple pins and used in fastening the mesh onto the frame



Fig. 11. The staple gun

Photograph: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

Gum strip and Masking tape

These are self adhesive tapes. The gum strip is used with water, while the masking tape is self adhesive; both are used in blocking the sides of the stencil to prevent the leakage of ink into unwanted areas to be printed.

Having dwelt on some important materials needed for a successful work of serigraphy to be carried out, it is important at this point to mention some others, such as the printing mesh which consists of silkscreen, printing silk, organdie, polyester, and nylon. Staples and hinges are also needed for the attachment of the screen to the printing base for proper registration.



Fig. 12. Generic materials needed in the execution of screen printing

Source: R. Simmons, 1977, Photograph: Felix Osaigbovo, 2021

Other materials needed are glue, starch, litho crayon, gum, lacquer, and shellac. All these are used to block out areas of the stencil or mesh and for some intricate designs on the mesh before printing.

The racks are used in drying of prints, especially the slow drying prints, and also for storing of prints in the studio.

Chemicals and solvents are used in the preparation of stencils most especially the photo technique.

Figure 12 shows a vivid display of other materials needed.

Inks, Chemicals and Meshes

Before now, silk screen was probably the traditionally accepted type of mesh in use, but as time progressed, other variants of mesh started to surface, among which, according to Iriwieri 1997, are organdie, nylon, Dacron stainless steel, and copper mesh. Iriwieri averred that the visual and tactile qualities of fabric plus its receptiveness to colour quality makes it an exciting and interesting surface for the printmaker to explore, be it in the area of Graphics or Textile designs. In the realm of textiles there are two categories of fabric, namely, the natural and synthetic fabrics. The natural fabrics have cellulosic fibres like the jute, cotton, and linen; others are made of protein fibres like wool and silk, while synthetic fabrics include polyester, poly amide, acrylic, and acetate.

There are a variety of inks, in modifiers, solvents and chemicals used in the screen printing exercise. The screen printing inks include poster colours, enamel, fluorescent inks, lacquer inks, vinyl inks, oil-based inks, and acrylics. Ink modifiers are used with inks to achieve better print quality, and these include transparent base, gloss varnish, toners, reducers, retarders, binding varnish, and flattening powders.

Also, just as there are inks and ink modifiers, there are also chemicals and solvents
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used in conjunction with these inks. These are acids like acetic acid and alkalines like sodium hypochlorite, hydrogen peroxide, and ammonia. Ink and cleaning solvents are thinner, being kerosene, lacquer thinner, acetone, alcohol like ethanol and isopropyl, and turpentine.

Stencil Making Techniques

Biegeleisen (1963) and Iriwieri agreed that there are two major commercial techniques of stencil making; these are the hand-cut film stencil and the photographic technique but apart from the photographic technique, Kafka (1959) thinks that there are also some techniques that do not involve the photographic technique being different from the one corroborated by Biegeleisen and Iriwieri, done in a mixture of two incompatible solvents. Lending credence to this, Iriwieri supported Kafka's observation that when an image is created on the screen with water-soluble glue, a thin coat of lacquer is applied over the whole surface of the screen after the glue is dry. When the lacquer is dry, water is used to dissolve the water-soluble glue. After this is done, the glue will naturally lift up the lacquer and then wash away. This way, the glued-open areas become the positive while the lacquer which remains permanent stands as a block-out medium. The surface covered by the lacquer will not allow ink to penetrate while the open spaces created by the water-soluble glue will permit ink to penetrate through the mesh.

In any case, stenciling for a silk screen print job can be done for any of the rubrics below.

The Liquid Block-out Methods

The medium for this purpose may be glue, shellac, or lacquer. These mediums become hard when dry, thereby forming blocked areas. The film is placed over the artwork and

traced out this could be done using the sable brush with either lacquer, glue or shellac which are thinned for proper flow. This is painted around the traced outline leaving the design itself in clear silk, this in turn dries and the pinholes are touched with brush and it is ready to receive ink and squeegee. See fig. 13.

Also in the liquid block-out technique is the glue shellac method in which a positive image is made by first placing a guide image under the screen. The glue is applied directly on the image areas and left to dry after. Then, the whole surface is covered with thin coating of shellac. As the shellac dries, the glue is washed off with water. Thereafter, the screen is ready for printing.

For the glue-lacquer method, the positive image is drawn on the screen with glue having a guide under it. Water or poster colour can be added to the glue.

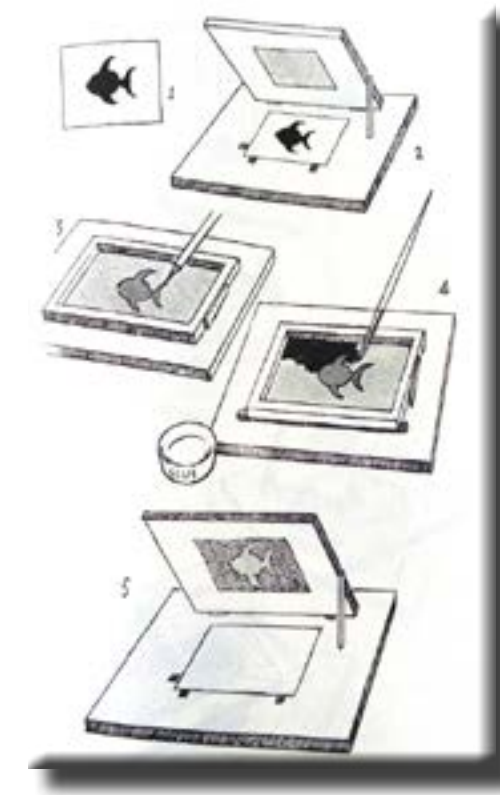


Fig. 13 Liquid block out stencil technique

Source: Biegeleisen

It is important to mention here that this liquid block-out technique is used in the Glue-Shellac method, glue-lacquer method, tusche stencil method, and the litho-crayon method. These various methods have their own merits.

Paper Block-out Method

This method is almost the same as the liquid block-out technique; the difference is that instead of liquid, a thin paper is used as a medium for masking. Paper stencils are used after carefully cutting out the positives; the cut stencils are placed beneath the screen and taped on its four edges before the printing process starts as shown in Fig. 14 and 15.

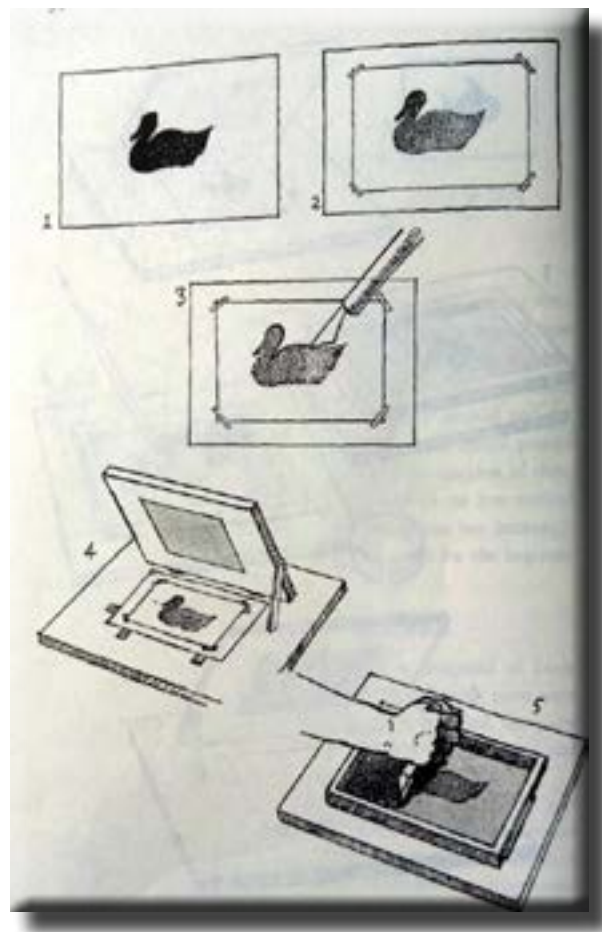


Fig. 14 Paper block out stencil technique

Source: Biegeleisen

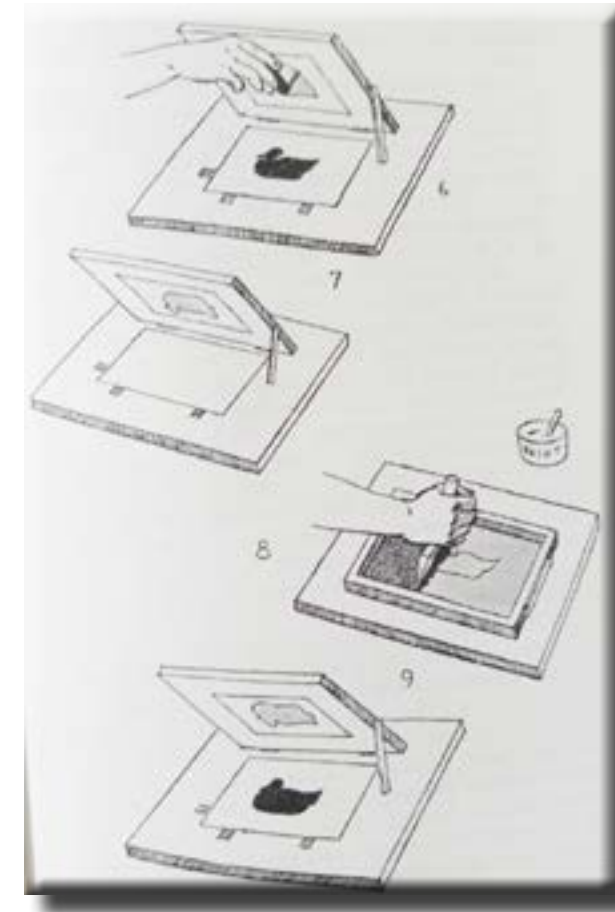


Fig. 15 Paper block out stencil technique (contd)

Source: Biegeleisen

Hand-Cut Film Method

This technique was probably introduced around 1931, according to Dennis and Jenkins (1990), and its later technical development, although not its introduction, has been generally credited to Joe Ulano of New York. Originally, profilm, a kind of film of a shellac composition that has a glassine paperback. It was made to stick to the screen from behind via the use of hot iron to dissolve the stencil onto the scree. Subsequently, Ulano and other profilm companies started improving on their films, and different variants were manufactured, giving birth to today's lacquer films, such as Nufilm, Blufilm, Ulano film, and Profilm. Using the hand-cut film method, original art work can be made in *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* 199

pencil, ink, or paint, Here, only the outlines or boundaries of the design are important. Because of the transparency of the film, it is placed over the art work which becomes very visible before the cutting starts. When the complete design is traced and cut, the parts within the cut areas are lifted and the upper end of the lacquer is stripped off, leaving the exposed area of backing sheet showing through. The film is then lowered on the screen and stuck or gummed onto it; lacquer is rubbed on the upper part of the film to soften it, making it adhere the more to the screen and then is dried before printing starts as is shown in Figure 16.

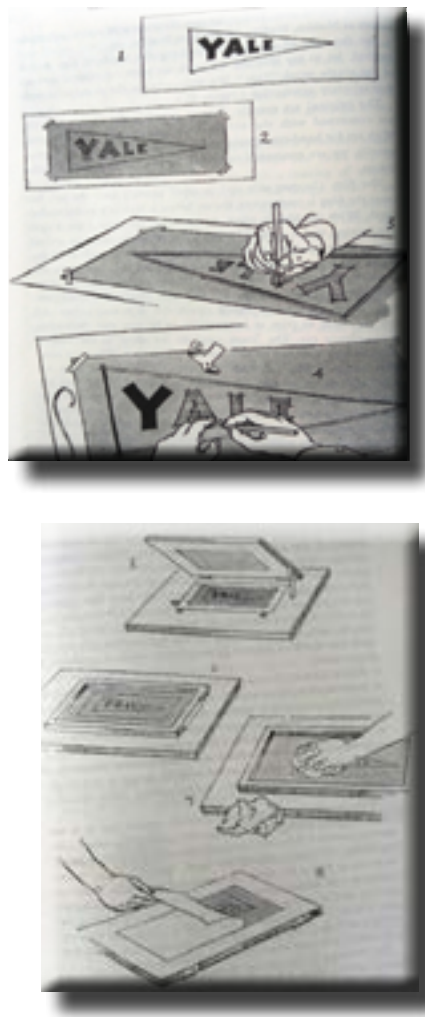


Fig. 16 Hand-cut film stencil technique (cont'd)

Source: Biegeleisen

The Photo Stencil Method

This technique involves the principles of light. Light passing through unobstructed mediums to chemically sensitized areas can create chemical changes, hardening them up, and reinforcing design spaces. The two main photo-stenciling techniques are the direct and indirect or transfer methods. In the direct method, the screen is first coated with photosensitive gelatinous solution. In part, this will eventually dissolve. Where the gelatin is not dissolved, it will harden, forming a somewhat of a stencil state. Thereafter, a squeegee can be used to print on any medium, paper or fabric. The direct or transfer method involves a gelatinous film sheet sensitized instead of the screen. After its exposure and development, the film is transferred onto the screen. The photo film has two laminated sheets made of two thin tissues. One side has a gelatin emulsion; the side underneath is transparent and acts as support as the stencil sticks to the mesh. Thereafter the back is carefully peeled off, revealing the stencil.

Of all the methods discussed, the photographic method is thought to be the best option ,because it generally brings out the best of the finished prints.

Screen Printing: the meeting point

Having dwelt on the various aspects of screen printing regarding their origins, materials, techniques, and methods, this essay will consider how screen printing acts as a nexus for textiles and graphic art practices. There is a very huge similarity between textile arts and graphics. Apart from the fact that both are classified as industrial arts or applied arts, they are involved in precision work which means that every element in the designs, whether graphics or textiles, must be precisely constructed. Both deal with the use of colours, fabrics, and papers. Above all, both synergize perfectly in the sphere of screen printing. Just as graphic artists use screen printing to do banner works, print on T-Shirts, caps, and other dress paraphernalia, textile artists also use the screen printing method to design their fabrics, especially printed textiles. Screen printing is one of the major activities that brings these two vocations together.

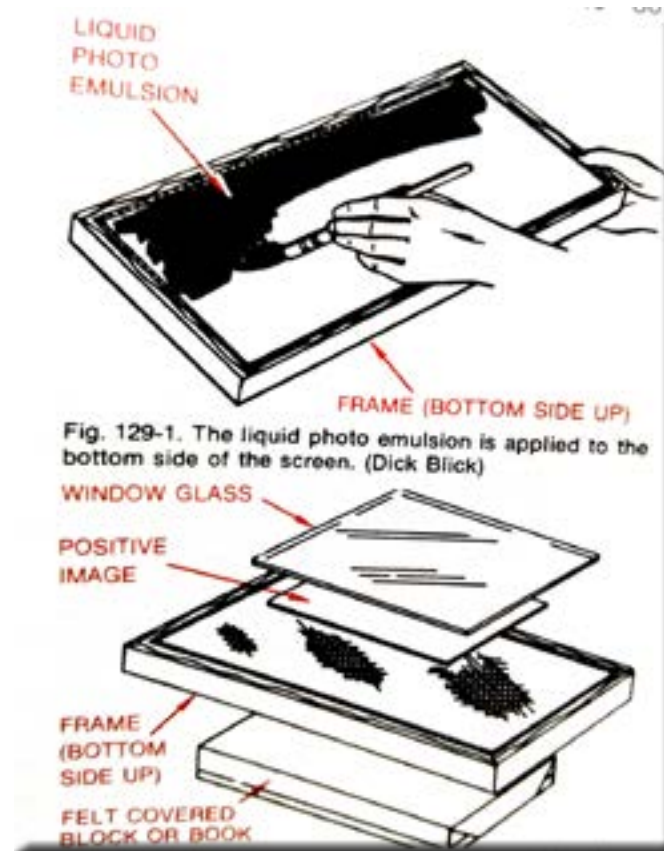


Fig. 17 Photo stencil technique

Source: Dennis and Jenkins

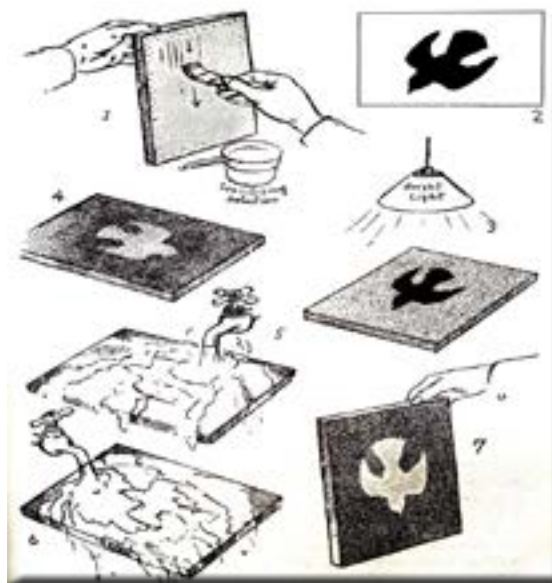


Fig. 17 Photo stencil technique (cont'd)

Source: Dennis and Jenkins

Conclusion

Screen printing is probably the most recent of the four known traditional printmaking processes, the others being relief, intaglio and lithography. Screen printing when mastered is a very intriguing process of producing designs on various media. Requiring very limited resources to accomplish a huge task and for surface decoration, it is an invigorating medium for the textile designer. The writers of this essay only dealt with the manual aspect of serigraphy. There are semi-automated and automated variants.

With the recent development of a variety of screen and stencil materials, Iriwieri (1997) thinks that the possibility of expanding the horizons of the art is massive. The screen printing process, at different times and locations, has been referred to as silk screen, mitography, serigraphy and fabri-culture. It is instructive to state here that in full

process colour printing, the principles of CMYK is always preferred. This means that the four process colours of Cyan, Magenta, Yellow and Black will always take pre-eminence when full colour works are to be done.

Irivweiri has noted that this art practice, though very versatile, is still being played down by students and scholars in preference to computer-generated designs. It will be the duty of government and other policy making bodies to make sure that the practice of this art is formalized and institutionalized. It was against this backdrop that the possibilities of expanding the potentials of the screen printing process amongst other processes have been explored.

The following procedures according to Omoruyi (2018), sums up how screen print job is carried out, not minding if the printmaker is using any of the techniques explained in the course of this paper. The first step is for the printer to draft the design in pencil or ink on paper. After that, the design may be painted out in the desired colours. Then the design in colour is separated for exposure onto different films. This is done by making it opaque. Thereafter the mesh is mounted by stretching the mesh on a wooden frame and fastened with stapler. Then, the screen is washed to remove excess industrial impurities on it. In preparing a screen for photo stenciling, a required quantity of photo emulsion and a corresponding amount of sensitizer is mixed in a ratio of three to one (3:1): that is three spoonfuls of emulsion and a spoonful of sensitizer. This is mixed properly and applied with a soft brush evenly on the mesh. This should be done where white light is non-existent. In order for it not to fail, this should be done in the dark room where the coated mesh is left to dry.

After this stage, the exposure is next; the design is to be made with jet black ink or printed in laser jet printer on a laser film or, if used on paper, kerosene is rubbed liberally

on the paper thereafter, the design is placed on the screen, and a plane glass sheet placed over it to hold it in place. Thereafter, it is exposed to sunlight between five and seven minutes: this is the recommended time for it not to be over- or under-exposed. After this, the mesh is removed from the sun and washed with clean running water. At this stage the printing process is ready to be used either on fabric or any other medium.

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Patch of Passive Aggression

Once found, that plant which sprouts
no matter how infrequently its space
receives visits—its *locus germinatus*—
will abide, in garden and thorny heart.

Peek at parsley plots or don't peek—
no matter, as seed-leaves stick out
in company with hardy weeds,
portulaca, also lamb's foot.

Do nothing through rain,
through blister sun,
through breeziness sublime—
no inactivity feels too slothful.

In absence of care—like children
who suffer benign neglect & turn
into Nobel winners, bootstraps
pulled up solitarily—grows parsley.

—Carolyn Creed



A Syntactic and Semantic Analysis of Ogba Ideophones

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Abstract

Ideophone is term used in linguistics and phonetics for any vivid representation of an idea in sound, just as it occurs through onomatopoeia. This paper examines the syntactic and semantic characteristics of Ogba ideophones. The qualitative research design was adopted in analyzing the data collected using the descriptive content analysis with a population of 14 native speakers. The findings of this paper reveal that semantically, Ogba ideophones can be classified into ideophones of organization, attitude, texture, colour, size, smell, temperature, and taste. This paper also established that syntactically, Ogba ideophones can be classified into adjectivals, adverbials and nominals.

Keywords: ideophone, Ogba, native speaker, adjectival, adverbial, nominal

1. Introduction

The Ogba is an Igboid language spoken in Rivers State among the people of Ogba Local Government Area in Ogba/Egbema/ Ndoni. Little or nothing has been done as regards the analysis of the language as it is sometimes misunderstood as a dialect of Igbo,. But Ogba is a full-fledged language, though it shares similarities with the Igbo language. This study therefore, aims at analyzing the Ideophones of the Ogba semantically and syntactically. Ideophones are evident in all languages of the world, although the extent of usage of these ideophones differ in languages of the world. The Ideophone generally has been thrown to the side as it is rarely talked about, and neither is its usefulness considered even though Emenanjo (2015) notes that scholarship has been provided to those who want to delve into the study of ideophones of African languages. According to Voelte and Kilian-Hatz (2001), some linguists barely think of ideophone or its usefulness as well as the 'class' ideophones belong to, because they believe that the concept only makes sense within the context of a specific language. Voeltz and Kilian-Hatz (2001) suggest that the cause of this negligence may depend on the fact that ideophones exceed or surpass traditional categorization boundaries in languages, making it problematic to categorize them in general grammatical classes.

An ideophone is a term used in linguistics and phonetics for any vivid representation of an idea in sound, such as it occurs through onomatopoeia, that is, ideophones are similar to onomatopoeia, but it differs from it in so many ways (Crystal 1997:189). It is the 'central unit' or 'maximal unit of sensible expression', or 'ontological sentences' in sound symbolism (Maduka-Durunze 2011). Therefore, ideophones 'accomplish the simultaneous connections between sound and sense or form and functions'.

Welmes (1973) regards the ideophone as a clear representation of a concept, idea or

thought in sound which may be seen as a predicate quality or an adverbial in the aspect of manner, state, intensity or action. Ideophones have the following characteristics:

- i. They are complete thoughts or impressions that create images.
- ii. They express or reflect emotions;
- iii. They completely express actions or ideas.
- iv. Ideophones echo or mirror impressions or perceptions.
- v. They are quite prominently reduplicated. (Usman and Iliyasu 2015:176)

Ideophones are pervasive in Ogba. They are words used by speakers to represent a clear impression of a certain action, sensation or perception as well as to elicit sensory events e.g smell, colour, shape, action, sound, state, manner, intensity or movement. These ideophones in Ogba are often onomatopoeic in nature. This means that they imitate the sounds of actions or situations they refer to. The objectives of this study is to identify the semantic and syntactic characteristics of the Ogba ideophones.

This paper is organized as follows: section 1 is the introduction while section 2 is the significance of the study. Section 3 is the methodology and section 4 discusses the characteristics of ideophones in Ogba. Section 5 is the summary and conclusion.

2. Significance of the Study

The significance of this study cannot be overemphasized as little or no work has been done on the ideophones of the Ogba language. This research hopes to throw more light on the semantic as well as the syntactic characteristics of the ideophones of the Ogba language. This study will equally aid language scholars and researchers as well as native speakers who would want to investigate similar aspects of the Ogba language.

3. Methodology

The researcher employed descriptive survey method to carry out this research as well as to elicit data from the native speakers. The researcher used face-to-face interview in asking the native speakers questions and recording their responses. Therefore, the research was qualitative in nature. The population of the study are the native speakers of the Ogba language. Bunce and Johnson (2006) recommends that a qualitative study requires a minimum sample size of respondents. Therefore, the researcher used 14 adult native speakers to carry out this research; seven male and seven female. The respondents were professionally selected and interviewed. Interview was conducted and the responses of the respondents were recorded and then properly analysed.

4. Characteristics of Ogba Ideophones

The nature and structure of ideophones sets them apart from other word classes in various languages. Therefore, we can say that ideophones are unique utterances in languages across the world. Although, ideophonic structures differ from one language to another, they may have some resemblance in their semantic, syntactic and functional classification. In Ogba, ideophones, as a word class, are inherently cohesive. However, the researcher observed that ideophones in Ogba language behave like nominals, adverbials and adjectives. The context in which these ideophones can be used in Ogba may be different from that of other languages in the world. Unlike other word classes, an ideophone in Ogba possesses its peculiar structure as well as its phrasal categorization.

4.1 Semantic Characteristics of Ogba Ideophones

Just like ideophones of other languages, ideophones in Ogba language use sounds

to represent a concept. Some of these concepts can be grouped into categories of organization, attitude, texture, colour, size, smell, temperature, and taste. This study analyzes examples of these concepts in selected Ogba ideophones:

- Ideophones of organization;
- Ideophones of attitude;
- Ideophones of temperature;
- Ideophones of smell;
- Ideophones of texture;
- Ideophones of taste.

4.1.1 Ideophones of Organization

Ideophones in Ogba can be used to state how orderly something or someone is or how disorganized a thing or person is. Examples of such ideophones are: jagajaga-jaga ‘a form of being disorganised’ and yayaya ‘a state of being disorganised’.

4.1.1.1 Jagajagajaga – Scattered

(a) ijè ki bù jagajàgàjaga

Ways poss is ideophone

‘Your ways are not straight’

(b) Nwa ni mm̀ràlà ime nwedekà jagajàgàjaga

Brother your know how do things poss
ideophone

‘Your brother knows how to do his things in a
disorganized manner’.

(c) Kunim nwe droni là ijè ki ñi jagajàgàjaga
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Tell me what cause that things poss is ideophone

‘Tell me why your ways are disorganized’.

(d) uzò ya dī jagajàgàjaga

Road that is rough

‘The road is rough’.

(e) òdala kpuzù ki dī jagajàgàjaga

What that road poss is ideophone

‘Why is your way not straight?’

4.1.1.2 Yayaya – Scattered

(a) òsà nwe òjèwòme dīli mem̄ yayāya

All thing that they do is make me ideophone

‘All they are doing is disorganized.’

(b) òsà kpe dī yayàya

Every where is ideophone

‘Every where is scattered.’

(c) Le lā kpi jè mme nwe kī yayàya

See pp how you do thing your ideophone

‘Look at how you are doing in a confusing way.’

(d) ò mmàra l’ime nwe kā yayàya

She knows to do thing poss ideophone

‘She knows how to disorganize her things.’

(e) ulò dī yayàya

House is ideophone

‘The house is scattered.’

The sentences in (1-10) show that the ideophones ‘jagajàgàjaga’ and ‘yayàya’ which can be glossed as ‘disorganize’ are used to express semantic notion of organization.

4.1.2 Ideophones of Attitude

Ideophones in Ogba can be used to express the position of the body, manner, feeling, or even the way a person carries his or herself. Some ideophones that can be used to show attitude in Ogba are:

- jījījī ‘shake’
- ògàgà ‘pride’
- gràgràgrà ‘stubborn / rough’
- waswīī ‘cool’
- piompiòmpiom ‘walk about’

These are demonstrated in the following sentences.

4.1.2.1 jījījī – ‘shake’

(a) L’ùtù no òsà èwù de nkem jàmam jījījī

Pp morning poss all body the poss is doing
ideophone

‘This morning, all my body was shaking.’

(b) Obù nkem m̀ràm jījījī ìhèdi nnùrù m̀kpu

kà watakirì ya
Heart my make ideophone when I hear shout the
child small the

‘I was scared when I heard the cry of the child.’

- (c) Kinika èwu ki jàmani jìjìjì
Why body poss make-prog ideophone
‘Why is your body shaking?’

- (d) Onye là òbùlà òmè nu nwe nchùrù kàm kuni èwu kwò
òme`mma wò jìjìjì
Person prep any will hear thing want to me body tell
will make them idph
‘Whoever will hear what I want to tell you will be surprised.’

- (e) èwu nkèm òli mā jìjìjì
Body my is do ideophone
‘My body is shaking.’

4.1.2.2 ñgàga ‘pride’ / ‘pose’

- (a) ñgàgà ki abōma
Ideophone poss not good
‘Your pride is not good.’

- (b) ñgàgà ki kramala
Ideophone poss too much
‘Your pride is too much.’

- (c) Le lā nwatakri òli li me ñgàgà

Look pp child small is making ideophone

‘Look at this child is posing.’

- (d) A-di m l’ime ñgàgà l’ime kà chukwu
Pref- make I Prog-do ideophone inside of God
‘I am being proud in God.’

- (e) Kinì kì jè meni ñgàgà
Why you are making ideophone
‘Why are you being proud.’

4.1.2.3 gràgràgrà ‘stubborn’ / ‘rough’

- (a) òsà nwe kī bù gràgràgrà
All thing you is ideophone
‘All your things are in a hard way.’

- (b) Uzò nwatakirì jème gràgràgrà omāsiwomò
Way child small is doing ideophone I do not like it
‘The way the child is rough, I do not like it.’

- (c) gràgràgrà ki di kramala
Ideophone your is too much
‘Your stubbornness is too much.’

- (d) àdèlo kī mè wùre gràgràgrà ki jè?
Where you will take ideophone your go
‘Where will you go with your roughness?’

- (e) i wula nwè gràgràgrà ni mmèrì
Have you what ideophone your cause

‘Have you seen what your stubbornness has caused?’

4.1.2.4 waswĩi – ‘cool’/ ‘calm’

- (a) Madù ni o dìfì mè nwe kà waswĩi
Person the he is-prog make things poss ideophone
‘This person is doing his things in a calm way.’
- (b) Kinĩ l’emèrè ki jème waswĩi
What happen you doing ideophone
‘What happened that you are being calm?’
- (c) Kpe kun im nwane m okwu nikunim ewu ka
luru waswĩi
As I told brother my talk you told body
his became ideophone
‘As I told my brother what you told me, he became very calm.’
- (d) Kpe nhum ije ka nwanem ewu nkem luru
waswĩi
As I saw way of sister body my
became ideophone
‘As I saw the way my sister is walking, I became very calm.’
- (e) Ije ki di ma iko waswĩi
Way you is like just ideophone
‘Your movement is very calm.’

4.1.2.5

Poimpiompiom – ‘walk about’

- (a) Kini lemere ki jabari piompiompiom
What happen you going ideophone
‘What happened that you are going about.’
- (b) Piompiompiom ki di l’inigam nsobu
Ideophone your is give me heart-ache
‘Your moving about is disturbing me.’
- (c) Madu ni di l’ibari piompiompiom
Person dem is going ideophone
‘This person is going up and down.’
- (d) Nwatakri no di l’ibari piompiompiom
child dem is prog-go ideophone
‘This small child is walking about.’
- (e) Le la kpo ja gari piompiompiom
see prep how always move ideophone
‘See how he is walking about.’

We observe from the data that the ideophones ‘jĩjĩjĩ’ ‘shaky’, ògàgà ‘pride’, ‘gràgràgrà’ ‘sturbbon/ rough’, waswĩi ‘cool’, and piompiompiom ‘walk about’ in sentences (11- 34) are used in Ogba to demonstrate the notion of attitude.

4.1.3 Ideophones of Size

Ideophones in Ogba can also be used to show the size of something or someone. Ogba ideophones can be used to show how big or small an object or person is.

The expressions that can be used to depict such are: *krikrikri* ‘smallish’, and *the quint: an interdisciplinary quarterly from the north* 219

kriri ‘slim’. These are illustrated in the following:

4.1.3.1 *krikrikri* – ‘smallness’

- (a) Cha ekwo ni *krikrikri*
cut leave the ideophone
‘Cut the leaf into small piece.’
- (b) Azu ni krala idi *krikrikri*
fish the too much is ideophone
‘The fish is smallish.’
- (c) Achuru m ikpa isi nkem *krikrikri*
Pref-want I inf-plait hair mine ideophone
‘I want to plait my hair so small.’
- (d) Mgbodi ka di *krikrikri*
Finger his is ideophone
‘His fingers are so small.’
- (e) Eze de ka di *krikrikri*
Teeth the his is ideophone
‘His teeth are small.’
- (f) O bu azu *krikri* ka mummy riri
It is fish ideophone that mummy ate
‘It is the small fish that mummy ate.’
- (g) Azu ni di *krikri*
Fish the is ideophone
‘The fish is small.’

4.1.3.2 *Kriri* – ‘slim’

- (a) Madu ni di *kriri*
Person the is ideophone
‘This person is slim.’
- (b) *Kriri* ka madu ni o masiwo m o
Ideophone the person the it don’t like I it
‘The slimness of this person is what I do not like.’
- (c) Nwiya di *kriri*
Wife is ideophone
‘His wife is slim.’
- (d) O bu nwaiya di *kriri* ka Moses l’uru
It is woman is ideophone that Moses married
‘It is the slim woman Moses married.’
- (e) Osa umu di ka nwaya ni di *kriri*
All children of that woman poss is ideophone
‘All that woman’s children are slim.’

From sentences (35 -46), we observe that the Ogba ideophones *krikrikri* ‘smallish’, *kriri* ‘slimness’ illustrates the notion of size of the subject NPs.

4.1.4 Ideophone of Smell

Ideophones in Ogba can also be used to express how something smells. For instance, the smell of ‘urine’ is expressed as *mammiri mammiri*, *ururo* for ‘rotten’, *ogwuogwu* for ‘medicine’. These are demonstrated in the following:

- 4.1.4.1 Ururo – ‘smell of rottenness’
- (a) Uve ni di l’isi ururo
Pear the is smell ideophone
‘The pear is smells in a rotten way.’
- (b) Obo ni di l’isi ururo
Orange the is smell ideophone
‘The orange smells as if it is rotten.’
- (c) Anu ni di l’isi ururo
Meat the is smell ideophone
‘The meat smells as if it is rotten.’
- (d) Agwa ki di l’isini m ururo
Character yours is smell me ideophone
‘Your character is very bad.’
- (e) Egua ni di l’isi ururo
Beans the is smell ideophone
‘This beans smells as if it is rotten’
- 4.1.4.2 Ogwuogwu – ‘smell of medicine’
- (a) Nwori m je ri di l’isinim ogwuogwu
Food I am eat is smell ideophone
‘The food, I am eating smells like medicine.’
- (b) Pineapple m jara di l’isonim ogwuogwu
Pineapple I’m drink is take ideophone
‘The pineapple I’m eating tastes like medicine.’

- (c) Ulogwu di l’isinim ogwuogwu
Hospital is smell ideophone
‘The hospital smells like medicine.’
- (d) Nwe ni di l’isinim ogwuogwu
Thing the is smell ideophone
‘This thing smells like medicine.’
- (e) O we ni di l’isinim ogwuogwu
Soup the is smell me medicine
‘This soup smells like medicine to me.’

- 4.1.4.3 Mammiri mammiri – ‘smell of urine’
- (a) Osa kpe di l’isi mammammiri mmammiri
Every where is smell ideophone
‘Everywhere smells like urine.’
- (b) Odidika imulo dil’isi mmammiri
mmammiri
Is like inside house is smelling ideophone
‘Its like the room is smells like urine.’
- (c) Ekwa ki di l’isinim mmammiri mmammiri
cloth you is smell me ideophone
‘Your cloth smells like urine.’

From the above data, we demonstrate that ideophones such as *mammiri mammiri* ‘urine’, *ururo* ‘rotten’, *ogwuogwu* ‘medicine’ etc. are used to indicate the

smell of something.

4.1.5 Ideophones of Temperature

The Ogba ideophone can be used to express the temperature of an object. The ideophone used to express temperature is '*kputukputu* 'boiling very well'. This is demonstrated in the following:

4.1.5.1 *kputukputu* – 'boiling very well'

- (a) Owe ni buru kputukputu kammela husi da
soup the boil ideophone before carry down
'The soup was boiling very well before I carried it down.'
- (b) Arusu di lime kputukputu
Rice is make ideophone
'The rice is boiling.'
- (c) Iji ni o bola kputukputu som?
Yam the it boil-perf ideophone well
'Has the yam boiled very well?'
- (d) Mini ni di l'oku di l'igbo kputukputu
Water the is prep fire is Prog'boil ideophone
'The water on the fire is boiling very well.'
- (e) Arusu ni abowo kputukputu
Rice the not-boil ideophone
'The rice did not boil very well.'

- (f) Owe di lime kputukputu
Soup is make ideophone
'The soup is boiling very well.'

The examples in sentences (60-65) show that the ideophones *kputukputu* 'boil very well' in Ogba is to show the notion of temperature.

4.1.6 Ideophones of Texture

Ideophones in Ogba can be used to show how smooth or rough, hard or soft the surface of an object is. In Ogba, ideophones used to depict the texture of an object include *riaria* 'soft' *kakarala* 'strong' etc. These are illustrated in the following sentences.

4.1.6.1 *Riaria* – 'soft'

- (a) Arusu ni di riaria
Rice the is ideophone
'The rice is too soft.'
- (b) Garri ni di riaria
Garri the is ideophone
'Garri is too soft/ over soft.'
- (c) A choro m riaria ka azu
I love ideophone of fish
'I love the softness of the fish.'
- (d) Riaria ka azu o masila mo
Ideophone of fish it is good not me
'The softness of the fish, I don't like it.'

- (e) Riaria ka garri ni o ma woma
Ideophone of garri the it is not good
'The softness of the garri is not good.'

4.1.6.2 Kakarala – 'too strong'

- (a) Okro ni o kakarala
Okro this it ideophone
'This okro is too strong.'
- (b) Oka ni o kakarala
Corn this it ideophone
'This corn is too strong.'

The ideophones *riaria* 'soft' and *kakarala* 'strong' as used in sentences (66-72) indicate the notion of texture in Ogba.

4.1.7 Ideophones of Taste

Ideophones in Ogba can also be used to depict how something tastes. In Ogba, the ideophone 'riririri' is used to show how sweet something tastes. Example is *riririri* 'too sweet'. This is demonstrated in sentences 73- 77:

4.1.7.1 *riririri* – 'too sweet'

- (a) Nworiri so riririri
Food the taste ideophone
'The food is sweet.'
- (b) Minienyi ni so riririri

Honey the taste ideophone
'The honey is so sweet.'

- (c) Ogwu ya so riririri
Medicine that taste ideophone
'The medicine tastes sweet.'

- (d) Owe ni so riririri
Soup the taste ideophone
'The soup is sweet.'

- (e) Riririri ka owe ni mmramma
Ideophone of soup is good
'The sweetness of the soup is good.'

The ideophone 'riririri' 'so sweet' is used to show the notion of taste in Ogba. From the foregoing, we have been able to classify Ogba ideophones using their semantic notion. It is pertinent to note that the Ogba can have other ideophones which are not stated in this paper.

4.2 Syntactic Characteristics of Ideophones in Ogba

In Ogba, ideophones can be classified into their various classes based on their function. Ogba ideophone can belong to any of the three word classes. They are:

- Adjectives
- Adverbs
- Nominal

4.2.1 Ideophones as Adjectives

Ideophones in Ogba can function as adjectives in that they can give more information about the subject or object in sentences. Examples of such ideophones are *riririri* ‘sweet’ *yayaya* ‘scattered’ *kririkri* ‘slim’ *jagajagajaga* ‘rough’ These are illustrated in the following:

- 4.2.1.1 (a) Owe ni so riririri
Soup the taste ideophone
‘The soup is sweet.’
- (b) Ulo di yayaya
House is ideophone
‘The house is scattered.’
- (c) Osa umu di ka nwaya ni di kririkri
All children of that woman poss is ideophone
‘All that woman’s children are slim.’
- (d) Osa umu di ka nwaya ni di kririkri
All children of that woman poss is ideophone
‘All that woman’s children are slim.’
- (e) Uzo ya di jagajagajaga
Road that is rough
‘The road is rough.’

We have shown from sentences (84 - 87) that some ideophones like *riririri* ‘sweet’ *yayaya* ‘scattered’ *kririkri* ‘slim’ and *jagajagajaga* ‘rough’ can func-

tion as adjectives in Ogba.

4.2.2 Ideophones as Adverbs

Ogba ideophones can be used to specify the mode of the action of the verb. It can also be used to heighten the intensity of meaning of the verbs in the sentence. Examples of such ideophones are *kputukputu* ‘very well’, *ururo* ‘rotten’, and *krikrikri* ‘smallish’ This is demonstrated in the following sentences.

- 4.2.2.1 (a) Iji no obola kputukputu som?
Yam the did it boil ideophone
‘Has the yam boiled very well?’
- (b) Arusu ni abowo kputukputu
Rice the did not boil ideophone
‘The rice did not boil well.’
- (c) Obo ni di l’isi ururo
Orange the is smell ideophone
‘The orange smells as if it is rotten.’
- (d) Achurum ikpa isi nkem krikrikri
I want to plait hair mine ideophone
‘I want to plait my hair small.’

From the data above, it can be seen that ideophones such as *kputukputu* ‘very well’ *ururo* ‘rotten’ and *krikrikri* ‘smallish’ can be used as adverbs in Ogba.

4.2.3 Ideophones as Nominals

In Ogba, ideophones can also function as nominals. They mainly serve as subjects of the sentence. Examples of such include *piompiompiom* ‘walk about’, *riririri* ‘sweetness’, *gragra* ‘stubbornness’, and *kriri* ‘slimness’.

- 4.2.3.1 (a) *Piompiompiom ki di l'inigam nsobu*
Ideophone your is give me heart-ache
‘Your moving about is disturbing me.’
- (b) *Riririri ka owe ni mmramma*
Ideophone of soup is good
‘The sweetness of the soup is good.’
- (c) *Gragra ki ni kramala*
Ideophone your too much
‘Your stubbornness is too much.’
- (d) *Kriri ka madu ni o masiwo mo*
ideophone the person the it don't like me
‘The slimness of this person is what I do not like.’
- (e) *Nganga ki kra mala*
Ideophone poss is too much
‘Your pride is too much.’

From the data above, it can be seen that ideophones such as *piompiompiom*

‘walk about’, *riririri* ‘sweetness’ *gragra* ‘stubbornness’ *kriri* ‘slimness’ can be used as a nominal in Ogba.

5. Summary and Conclusion

So far, we have examined the semantic and syntactic classifications of ideophones in the Ogba language. This paper established that syntactically, ideophones can be classified into nominal, adverbial and adjectival ideophones. We established that an ideophone can function as a nominal when it serves as subject or object in a sentence, while it functions as an adverbial if it is used to specify the mode of the action of the verb or to heighten the intensity of meaning of the verb in a sentence. We also noted that ideophones in Ogba can function as adjectives if they can be used to give more information about the subject or object in sentences.

We also ascertained that semantically, Ogba ideophones can be grouped into categories of organization, attitude, texture, colour, size, smell, temperature, and taste. We observed that an ideophone shows organization, when it is used to describe how orderly or disorganized an entity is and it shows attitude if it can be used to express the position of the body, manner, feeling or the way a person carries his or herself. We also have shown that Ogba ideophone can show size if it is used to show how big or small an object or person is. Ideophones in Ogba can also be used to express how something smells and the texture of the surface of an object that could be either smooth, rough, hard, or soft.

Beware the Underfoot

in tribute to John Irving for his “Beware the undertow”

My theory states that once you flinch
from poison ivy—clearly see its ‘leaflets three’—
chemical change occurs in nerve-ends
of eyelids, ankles, hands, nose, neck.

Next time you walk any woods
Or *prowl the underfoot* in one
child’s parlance, nerve ends must
absorb oily irritant from all sides.

Probe the wilds while expectant
of itchy grief: the underfoot will get you.

—Carolyn Creed



Interviewing Steven Bignell

Sue Matheson
University College of the North
The Pas, Manitoba, Canada

INDie filmmaker, Steven Bignell has been writing, acting in, and directing films since 2004. In 2019, he participated in the National Screen Institute's New Northern Voices full-time, four-week pilot program, at the University College of the North. NSI New Northern Voices offered students unprecedented access to film, TV, and digital media experts and opportunities to develop their storytelling skills and make a short film. Sue Matheson talked with Steven about making movies and his film, *The Tomahawk* (2023), funded by the National Screen Institute and Manitoba Film and Music. *The Tomahawk*, will premiere in The Pas, Manitoba, on Canada's National Film Day, April 19th.



Matheson: Let's start by introducing you. Who is Steven Bignell?

Bignell: I'm a father. I have two sons. I also have stepchildren, stepdaughters, as well. I am from Opaskwayak Cree Nation. I've been living in OCN, The Pas, most of my life,

but I went to Winnipeg, when I was younger, to my mother. I went to school at R. B. Russell, and there I graduated in 1991. Then I went to Red River College and learned how to run a printing shop, make business cards, and then everything changed and went digital. I moved back in 1993. I was a single father with two small boys.

Matheson: Where did your interest in movies come from?

Bignell: I liked art, pencils, crayons, pencil crayons, drawing stuff, you know. I won my first art award in grade six. I picked up I could make money off this. The contest was at Mary Duncan School, and the prize was 50\$. That was a lot of money for a ten-year-old. I drew a large picture of hoodlums smashing stuff up. After, I did portraits and sold them for ten dollars, and as I got older, I got into acrylic paint and did sketches—I did a piece at Mary Duncan School thirty years ago and I was at the school lately and there it was on the wall when you walk in. UCN has my artwork. You can see my work in the Mamawechetotan Center. My work is in offices, in people's homes, in Finland, in France, in Greenland, as far south as Mexico. I don't do it all at once, I do two hours here, an hour at a time until the picture is finished. This morning, I was working on a large painting, half wolf and half bear, split down the middle, with the pawprints around it, it's all in blue.

Matheson: How did you get into filmmaking?

Bignell: A friend who lived in Regina, he called about me working in film. He knew I was interested. I thought about it and decided to try it, so I went to Regina for a year. I lived at his house and got myself an agent. I worked as an extra. The first job I got I remember finding the street filled with big trucks, semi-trucks...the only house on the

block was the filmmaker's studio. I was in *Tideland* (2005)¹ starring Jeff Bridges. It was a psychedelic like *Alice in Wonderland*. The extras weren't allowed to talk to the actors, but I was in the same room with Bridges who had long hair. After my scene, I stayed all day and watched the crew work.

Another film was *Just Friends*.² Ryan Reynolds was the lead before he became a big star. I had four lines and played a rapper. (laughs) I don't like rap, and I never listened to any rap so I learned how to make the moves from movies. When I showed up, they put a band on my head. I had long, long hair then. After the first take, I took a break. I told myself not to be nervous. Then I did three more. There were four takes, and they chose the best one I did that morning. It was bright sunshine like today, but it wasn't warm. There was a very cold wind, lots of wind chill. There was a hockey scene. We had to cover our ears with our hands to keep warm. (laughs) I can be seen for two seconds watching the game.

Matheson: After being an actor in Regina, what did you do next?

Bignell: In The Pas, I got together with my friends and started making films. I began with a little camera like the one you have there. We were learning what would happen if we tried things, what it would be like if we would do this or this. I learned how the camera worked, how to make a scene do what I wanted. I bought Windows MovieMaker and learned how to edit and what could be done with the program. And I began buying equipment bit by bit. It took a long time. Now we have better equipment and good

1. A fantasy-horror, *Tideland* (2005), directed by Terry Gilliam, was shot in Regina, Katepwa, and the Qu-Appelle River Valley in Saskatchewan. in September 2004.

2. *Just Friends* (2005) was shot in January 2005 during the winter in Regina and Moosejaw, Saskatchewan, when the temperatures went down to -34°C (-29°F). The Palomino House is located at 3270 Albert Street in Regina. Three of the supporting actors, Fred Ewanuick, Mike O'Brien, and Cavan Cunningham went on to be regulars in the CBC sitcom, *Corner Gas* (2004-2009).



cameras.

Matheson: Were other films being made in The Pas then?

Bignell: Gabe made *Finding Sergeant Partridge*³ in 2014. It's a documentary about a Cree soldier from OCN who went over to Europe and had an affair. He came home and didn't know there was a baby. Then, years later his daughter came looking for her father. He was dead by that time, and she didn't know she had three sisters and a family over here. It's twenty minutes long.

Matheson: Please tell me about making *The Tomahawk*.

Bignell: It's been a lot of work, a lot of work. I looked for films about aboriginal veterans, and there weren't any. I had this idea, and I wrote the script. It's like a story board, the story is in pictures. And I made a lot of sacrifices. I made all the costumes, the Canadian uniforms and the German uniforms. I made the guns and bought props for the movie. I got my firearms license, and met with the chief and council about permission to shoot the film at OCN. I asked about permits.

Fast forward to 2019—UCN put on the New Northern Voices program with the National Screen Institute. I didn't hesitate. I applied right away and called Gabe [Constant, *The Tomahawk's* DOP] and said, let's do this. It was a crash course. Every week there was a new person to work with. Then I edited the script with Jordan Wheeler—we had four meetings, one a week. We'd talk about the script and every week we'd trim it. It went from 25 to 15 pages. The lead uses my given name, Asene Napew (Rock Man). Sarah Simpson-Yellowquill helped me a lot with the RBC Emerging Filmmakers'

3. *Finding Sergeant Partridge* is available at <https://www.winnipegfilmgroup.com/films/finding-sergeant-partridge/>

competition. She helped me prepare and rehearse the pitch. We came in second, but we had a back-up plan. It's always good to have a backup plan.

Matheson: How long has it taken to make *The Tomahawk*?

Bignell: Three years. The movie is like the tip of the iceberg...we had the casting call in early November. Six people showed up at the Legion. They were all from here. Keith Colomb, he is the lead, Paul, he had acting experience, and had been an extra. Griffin Wadelius, he plays a German soldier, he had theatre experience, stage acting. At the audition, we found out he could speak German. I said we have to cast him. He had a baby face, I wanted that, he looked only 14 or 15 years old, just a boy, the age of the character. Michelle Martin was cast as Mary. We knew she was serious about the role. She traveled a long way to audition. She called us while she was driving in from Moose Lake. We waited for her, and we did the audition when she arrived.

Matheson: Why did you decide to do location shooting at Clear Lake?

Bignell: I was looking for a place with thick forest. So we drove out to look at the Caves, and we found the spot. It was perfect with a trail and trees and the snow... When we were shooting, I was wishing for warm weather, no blowing snow. I was worried about the sound. It was so warm we were able to take off our jackets. People kept stopping by and asking if they could watch. We said yes...but they would have to be quiet. I was worried that we needed permits and permission to shoot the film. We only needed to have parking permits.

Matheson: Why did you name the film *The Tomahawk*?

Bignell: I decided on *The Tomahawk*, because it is simple, straightforward name. The tomahawk is also of significance to Paul. It was handed down to him. Maybe from his father, maybe it was handed to his father from World War One and also handed down in the family before that. I'm working on a script about this right now, a prequel.

Matheson: *The Tomahawk* sounds like it is part of a series.

Bignell: Film is all about ideas. What if, what if there were two boys, one aboriginal and one white who were best friends, and hung out together until they were ten? What if the white boy's father was a teacher, a German who had to go back to Germany. Fast forward ten, fifteen years, and the boys are in Europe...on different sides in the war and meet each other again. What would happen?

Matheson: Has anyone seen *The Tomahawk* yet?

Bignell: Not yet. People want to see it, but I've been telling them that I got to keep the film under wraps. I've been telling them to come and see it on April 19th.

Matheson: Are you working on another movie now?

Bignell: I'm writing another horror film, *Black Ice: Darkness*. Ten years ago, I made *Black Ice*. It's a Youtube fan film,⁴ about Bigfoot. Why is Bigfoot always the bad guy in movies? In the stories, Bigfoot never kills anyone, he scares some campers. So, I did a different take on Bigfoot. He's just a shy guy. We are taught to leave beings like Bigfoot alone, not make fun of them.

4. A Flat Broke Production, *Black Ice* is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-zQbqAmuReo>. The trailer for *Black Ice* is available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=XAUz0KOUj14>

Matheson: Can you tell me about making *Black Ice*?

Bignell: No one came to the casting call, so I did the lead and improvised with Gabe. We played off each other. *Black Ice* was shot in one night in the winter out in the bush. It's about...what if Wendigo met Bigfoot?

Matheson: Can you tell me what it was like shooting a movie like that?

Bignell: There were four or five of us out there. You can't say that W— word out loud, but the help kept saying W—...he thought we were joking. Finally, we had to tell him to stop. I can tell you that after the shoot when we were packing up the cars, I kept looking at the trees. It was pitch black. You couldn't see anything. I kept feeling like something was in the treeline watching us. I asked Gabe and he felt the same thing...

Matheson: So *Black Ice: Darkness* is going to be a sequel to *Black Ice*?

Bignell: (nodding, laughs) *Black Ice: Darkness* has lots of jump scares...lots of jump scares. It's going to be shot out in the bush. It's about a bunch of high school kids or college kids who go on a hunting trip. They get picked off one by one. Right now, I'm looking for funding. We made *The Tomahawk* for less than \$12,000.00. UCN would be a perfect place to shoot some of the scenes for *Black Ice; Darkness*.

Matheson: Do you think The Pas could be a center for Aboriginal and Northern filmmaking?

Bignell: I think so. There's a lot of talent here—there are dancers, actors, singers, musicians...The Pas and OCN have good places to shoot a film. Last year I was working as a location scout for another movie looking for period buildings. You don't have to go

to the city and take courses in film production. You can make movies here.

Matheson: After *The Tomahawk's* premiere on Wednesday, what happens next?

Bignell: *The Tomahawk* will go to the film festivals. It's been entered in national festivals like the Gimli International Film Festival and the Yorkton Film Festival. We've entered it in foreign film festivals like the Sante Fe International Film Festival. We're waiting for the other film festivals that haven't opened up. It will be going to the Toronto International Film, the imagineNative Film Festival, the LA Skins Film Festival, the Winnipeg Aboriginal Film Festival, Cinefest Sudbury, the International Short Film Festival Oberhausen, the Indigenous Film and Arts Festival, the American Indian Film Festival, and the Keilibia International Film Festival.



FILM REVIEW:

Survival, Ambition and Schism: The Fragmented Female Subject in Tuhinabha Majumdar's Documentary, *Aamaar Katha: Story of Binodini*

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Frugally threading its way through metaphors from drama, theatrical-musical performance and the evolving fragile feminine subject, Tuhinabha Majumdar's National Award-winning Bengali documentary *Aamaar Katha* (2014) reveals some familiar and unsettling expanses formative to the personal-professional life-cycles of its central protagonist, the Indian-Bengali legendary thespian Notee Binodini. Majumdar's documentary¹ follows an autobiographical and non-linear narrative, basing itself on Binodini Dasi's *Amar Katha* (1913) and *Amar Abhinetri Jiban* (1924-25), translated as "My Story" and "My Life as an Actress" respectively. The documentary is as informative and factual as it is poignant and emotional. Intertextuality comes

1. Tuhinabha Majumdar is a renowned Indian documentary filmmaker, writer and editor. His documentaries (including *Midnight Bioscope* [2012], *City within a City* [2014] and *Aamaar Katha* [2014]) have been foundational in establishing his role in dealing with subversive themes and voicing hitherto voiceless protagonists and societal segments. He received the National Film Award for Best Historical Reconstruction/Compilation Film and Best Biographical Film (both in 2014), the Golden Conch Award for Best Fiction Film and Best Film at the Mumbai International Film Festival (2012) and the Best Film of the Festival Award at the Mumbai International Film Festival (2012).

across as a predominant narrative technique in a highly visual mode of presentation, wherein celluloid space finds itself interspersed with historical quotations from newspapers and specific illustrations from Binodini's 1913 autobiography as a backdrop. As Manish Gaekwad's has argued, the narrative and technical summation of the film under the genre of "performative cinema" can be explained with precision through the use of the medium of a "multi-art ensemble."

As an actress, Notee Binodini played mythical figures (such as Sita and Draupadi) problematizing female pride, the female body, marriage and other gendered issues pertaining to female autonomy, agency and assertiveness across chronological ages and value systems. As Gaekwad further notes, Binodini belonged to a lineage of prostitutes and was raised to be a courtesan. Due to the inclusion of concerns surrounding identity, caste and class, her writing is perceived and treated as political by the director. Regarding his audio-visual presentation technique, the filmmaker has revealed that he selected

four contemporary theatre actresses to experience the text and create a dialogue between the past and the present—through their own body and movement, to record their performance and to relive the part of Notee Binodini on stage ... each play a version and age of Binodini, reflecting on her state of mind. The film blends jatra music with the paintings of Gogi Saroj Pal projected onto architecture from the Renaissance period. (qtd. in Gaekwad, "A documentary")

The inclusion of autobiographical and poetic texts written by Binodini is instrumental for Majumdar's documentary firstly at the level of inspiration, gaining relevance as

a motivational tale of a woman's resilience and unapologetic pursuit of agency and power in 19th-century Bengal. However, the texts also prove to be generative for the documentary in terms of their factual reality and how they are formative, one piece at a time, to Binodini's attempt at actualizing her personal-professional ambition, only ending in disappointment, tragedy and isolation. Majumdar portrays the actress and writer at succeeding stages, beginning with her adolescence and culminating in rueful old age. At unexpected strident junctures, accounts of her struggles or humiliations are interspersed with musical renditions by bands of folk *Jatra* musicians. The melodies and lyrics played by such musicians are haunting and raucous at the same time, like the ageing Binodini's inner schism between stunned silence and screaming anguish, two facets of her that never reconcile with each other.

According to the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* in 2022, the word "Jatra" refers to a non-religious form of South-Asian folk theatre. The repeated use of ornate crowning masks worn by four different female protagonists represents the subsequent ages of Binodini: an adolescent theatre debutante, a young grieving mother, an ambitious actress and an ageing writer seeking retribution through her autobiographies. The use of masks as a device also provides a symbolic shift between complex psycho-emotional states, the memory of dramatic performance, hysteria and trauma. Jatra masks are known to be constructed of "Paper pulp, wood, cloth and Indian cork ..., with colours and designs added in afterwards" (MAP Academy). However, in the depiction of Binodini's emotional self, the masks are but appendages to an ongoing emotional churning within.

As C.M. Naim et al. have indicated, the *jatra* "originated in Bengal in the 15th century as a result of the *bhakti* movement, [pertaining to] devotees of Krishna." The

female devotees' adulation of Krishna during the *bhakti* movement is mirrored in the documentary in Binodini's expectations as they are invested in her theatrical-personal male mentors. Exemplary of this is the fact that, in the end, the theatre expected to be named 'The B Theatre' as a tribute to the actress was named 'The Star Theatre' by the same men whom she chose to deify, but who only exploited her body, emotions and theatrical talents. Majumdar's film is instead characterized at its very outset as a tribute to Binodini, though it is also ominously defined in the very next frame as a "text of betrayal," and, further on in the narrative, as a "text of pain." Through his tribute the director supports the courage, resilience and forceful protest of Binodini, who voices through her writing the persecutions she experienced.

Binodini's identities manifest at varied times, as prostitute-courtesan, child prodigy, sinner, fallen-woman, muse, professional-performer, ambitious career-woman, naïve trader of self, a bereaved mother, isolated crone and, finally, a writer expounding an emphatic tale of protest in a state of catharsis. Majumdar narrates instances from the actress' elusive life through certain non-linear, yet contextually-sequential fragments, beginning with a 'Preface,' whose need is simultaneously justified by what Binodini herself characterizes as 'my story of pain'—which indicates an entire lifetime of lost innocence, lost dignity, lost material property, lost privacy, and, finally, sanity—virtually lost.

Binodini belonged to the first generation of professional actresses—paid women-recruits—who performed in the Bengali theatre and were referred to as 'prostitute-actors.' The stature of the prostitutes existed in contrast to that of the Bengali gentlemen or 'babus,' who were believed to be high-class gatekeepers of their own class-pride. Subsequently, an aged Binodini wryly confesses that, in revealing her life

as an author, she has merely wasted ink to paper, for her anguish is inexpressible and possibly even unresolvable.

Nine-year-old Binodini is apprenticed to Ganga Baiji, gaining popularity with the musician's visitors but not without guilt or doubt, shyness, or fear. Questions of morality and chastity come to the fore, with no definite means of resolution. At a monthly salary Binodini is apprenticed to the National Theatre. This is a crucial stage that marks her transition into Nati Binodini—an actress-apprentice working for a salary—in a new life mired in politics and gendered exploitation, as a novice foil to seasoned divas, but still uncertain in her craft and her mind. She is constantly self-conscious of her poverty, as a daughter of poor folk, of never being dressed appropriately (sometimes she has to wear a sari without a blouse—a rather immodest way to dress in those conservative times).

Foregrounding adulation, the director cites the praise received by Binodini as a textual insert in the film, mentioning that, during the 19th century, *The Englishman*, *The Statesman* and other newspapers of the era attributed the epithets “Signora” and “flower of the native stage” to Natee Binodini of the Bengal theatre. The next narrative segment, marked “The Bengal Theatre,” indicates the shutting down of the Great National Theatre. Binodini is hired on a salary and, in her next professional phase, she works with Girish Babu—who is considered as the father of Bengali theatre—until the final phase of the Star Theatre. The two shared a teacher-disciple bond characterized by utmost dedication (Binodini would play the chief women characters in Babu's plays). The question of unpaid leave on grounds of illness leads her then to leave the National Theatre and seek refuge with Girish Babu, who promises the dream of a new theatre—The Star Theatre—negating Binodini's wish to immortalize her own

name by instating “The B Theatre,” which went against the will of the male theatre fraternity. The betrayal leads to the mental-emotional breakdown of the thespian.

Throughout the course of her life, Binodini's need for survival drew her incessantly to the theatrical stage, while the mechanics of her personal-political relationships continued to be governed by her deep ambition and urge for prosperity, making her susceptible to a male-governed economic structure and public theatrical set-up of the 19th-century Bengal stage. Furthermore, the trope of the painting of the pronouncedly red-lipped made-up woman, mesmerized by the red flower she gazes at closely throughout the documentary, may be viewed as representing the persevering ambition of Binodini—quite akin to a woman obsessed with acquiring the chimeric fame and glory of a theatre named after her— “The B Theatre” —a goal that keeps fading away and is never realized. For a beautiful and fragile flower is but a symbol, like a dream, and must wilt. It lacks the durable material permanence of acquired ambition, as attained by the masculine, opposite to Majumdar's representation of the fragile-fragmented feminine failure. Necessarily, tropes pertaining to gender need to be balanced out beyond the lop-sided tendency to perceive the feminine as dissonant / “mad” and the masculine as intensely coherent / “stable”—particularly in the emotional arts.

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FILM REVIEW:

Humanizing the Non-Human: A Review of Jerzy Skolimowski's *EO*

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Making 'another donkey film' after Robert Bresson's infamous *Au hasard Balhazar* (1966) seemed such a dangerously bold endeavor, but not for Jerzy Skolimowski.¹ The Polish New Wave director stunned Cannes with his donkey-centric *EO* (2022) and ended up receiving the Jury Prize for his efforts. The film starts from the same premise as Bresson's film: telling the story of a donkey from a donkey's perspective. *EO* is the story of Io, a donkey who is passed on from owner to owner, experiencing human benevolence and cruelty in his involuntary journey around Europe from a Polish

1. Jerzy Skolimowski is an award-winning Polish art film director/screenwriter, an important figure of the second generation of the Polish New Wave known for his popularization of national cinema in Europe and around the world. His filmography is generically varied including more than 20 films, most notable among them are: *Le départ* (1967), which won the Golden Bear Prize at the Berlin International Film Festival; *Deep End* (1970), which premiered at the Venice Film Festival and was received with critical acclaim; *Moonlighting* (1982), which was awarded the Best Screenplay Prize at the Cannes Film Festival; and *Essential Killing* (2010), which scooped two major prizes at the Venice Film Festival, an unprecedented occurrence in the Festival's history back then. In 2016, Skolimowski's prolific career was crowned with the Venice Film Festival Golden Lion for Lifetime Achievement.

circus to a horse farm, from a petting zoo to a soccer fanclub, from a veterinary clinic to a fur farm, to wind up eventually escaping from an Italian villa to a slaughterhouse.

One of the essentially insurmountable challenges in trying to tell a donkey's story from the donkey's point of view is the fact that animal subjectivity is inaccessible to humans. The latter can never claim total identification with a donkey, and even human empathy is just that, *human*. Animal perspective is impenetrable to us and any attempt at representing it would ultimately amount to humanizing the animal. This is what Lars Bernaerts et al. refer to as the "*double dialectic* of empathy and defamiliarization" inherent in non-anthropocentric narratives, whereby the centrality of the non-human focalizer

prompt[s] readers to project human experience onto creatures and objects that are not conventionally expected to have that kind of mental perspective (in other words, readers "empathize" and "naturalize"); at the same time, readers have to acknowledge the otherness of non-human narrators, who may question (defamiliarize) some of readers' assumptions and expectations about human life and consciousness. (69)

This is exactly what is felt in Skolimowski's film: the world from the donkey's eyes is defamiliarized to the viewers who struggle to come to terms with the arbitrariness of his existence and the irregularity of his perspective. To attenuate this defamiliarization, the donkey is endowed with human emotions which facilitate empathy. Io feels love for his first owner Kasandra (Sandra Drzymalska), anger at his tormentors, jealousy of horses and loneliness despite being surrounded by doting children and other animals. He even has flashbacks and daydreams represented in hallucinatory red-lit sequences

and aerial drone shots, strategically woven into the diegesis to give the audience a stylized glimpse of the donkey's consciousness, thus conferring a certain psychological depth on the animal. The cinematographic construction of the donkey's mind is made more compelling by the psychedelic soundtrack of composer Pawel Mykietyn who pastiches rock, synthetic and orchestral music into "a kind of swooning techno opera that bridges classicism with grunge" (Bowen). This humanization of the non-human problematizes "the (im)possibility of cross-species understanding" at the heart of posthumanist and animal studies (Karkulehto et al. 4). In *EO*, just like in *Balthazar*, "l'homme est confronté à une subjectivité muette qui lui reste impénétrable. Dans son monde rempli de mots, de sens, de projets, l'homme se montre incapable de déchiffrer l'animal [Man is confronted with a mute subjectivity that remains impenetrable to him. In his world filled with words, meaning, and projects, Man is unable to decipher the animal]" (Tello, my translation). Even more than Bresson, Skolimowski goes to great lengths to en-voice the muteness of this animal subjectivity, to give the donkey more than an onomatopoeic 'Hi-Han' (the French translation of the film's title), a human or humanly-intelligible voice. It is as if the film reactualizes the same question famously posed by Thomas Nagel in "What Is It Like to be a Bat?", except that the bat here is replaced by a donkey.

For Nagel, knowing "what it is like for a *bat* to be a bat" (or any other 'alien' life form) is cognitively impossible: "if I try to imagine this," he writes, "I am restricted to the resources of my own mind, and those resources are inadequate to the task," which renders any "extrapolation from our own case [...] incompletable" (439). For Skolimowski, answering this question proves to be a virtuosic cinematographic feat

that could render the film a textbook example of David Herman's "narratology beyond the human"² in its treatment of the "dialectic interplay" which takes place "between anthropocentric and biocentric storytelling" (*Narratology Beyond the Human* 4) and produces "acts of self-narration that cross species lines" ("Animal Autobiographies" 82). Faced with the silence of the animal-hero and the human ignorance of his mental processes, Skolimowski resorts to the power of close-ups, POV shots and editing, recreating the now-primitive Kuleshov effect in a 2022 film.

Every film student is familiar with Lev Kuleshov's experiment and the passage from "The Principles of Montage" describing it: "[w]e shot two such scenes [of an actor starving for freedom and starving for food], exchanged the close-ups from one scene to the other, and it became obvious that the actor's performance, his reaction of joy at the soup and joy at freedom (the open cell door) were rendered completely unnoticeable by montage" (192). Of course, almost a century later, this seems to be a naïve and mechanistic view of an artistic medium as complex and expressive as cinema. However, given the fact that what prompted the Soviet filmmaker to conduct the experiment is his belief that actor performance is neither the medial essence nor the representational specificity of cinema (188), the appeal to the Kuleshov effect is appropriate and justifiable in *EO*, where the main character is not even human, let alone an actor.

The expressive and humanizing potential of editing is perceivable in all the

2. Since 2011, Herman has written a number of papers on animal narratology, culminating in his 2018 book *Narratology Beyond the Human: Storytelling and Animal Life*, informed in part by his previous work on the subject, notably "Storyworld/ Umwelt: Nonhuman Experiences in Graphic Narratives" (2011), "Toward a Zoonarratology: Storytelling and Species Difference in Animal Comics" (2012), "Narratology beyond the Human" (2014), "Building More-Than-Human Worlds: Umwelt Modelling in Animal Narratives" (2016), "Animal Autobiography; or, Narration beyond the Human" (2016) and "Animal Minds across Discourse Domains" (2017).

scenes where the donkey is ascribed human emotions. Hence, close-ups of Io's face sandwiched between shots of his beloved Kasandra caressing him suggest his longing for his days at the circus, and POV shots from his eyeline spliced together with long shots of horses running freely or being groomed with care imply his envy and self-pity. In a cinematic storyworld where the hero is incapable of meaningful verbal or bodily language, the shortest (and one might argue, most felicitous) route to immersive storytelling is to approximate animal subjectivity to human subjectivity through the adoption and adaptation of the Kuleshov effect, even at the risk of creating a *post hoc ergo propter hoc* affective illusion. Before Skolimowski, Bresson also experimented with the Kuleshov effect in *Balthazar*, and even made it into one of the rules of filmmaking in general as is evident in the following aphorisms from his *Notes on the Cinematographer*: "Images will release their phosphorus only in aggregating" (91), meaning that "an image must be transformed by contact with other images, as is a color in contact with other colors" (20). *EO* elaborates on this premise, employing a "donkey-cam" (Mintzer) or "Donkeyvision" (Solomons), wishing to cinematographically construct a donkey's psyche, but ending up with a formally animal-centric yet still thematically anthropocentric animal story.

A film cannot possibly resolve an epistemological question as complex as the representation of non-human alterity—a question still inconclusively discussed in various fields of the humanities and expounded in many artistic creations in different media and genres. The most a movie like *EO* can do is raise the issue, put the non-human Other in the foreground, frame him as a focalizer, shed humanist assumptions about human moral, psychological and intellectual superiority, and hope to undercut

anthropocentrism. The last aim is only achieved partially, showing what humans want to see through a donkey's eyes and forfeiting defamiliarization in favor of eliciting empathy. Unable to represent the donkeyness of the donkey, *EO* settles for spotlighting his humanness.³

3. The expressions "donkeyness" and "humanness" of the donkey are inspired by Bernaerts et al. who aver that non-human narratives enable readers "to recognize the ratness of the rat, the monkeyness of the monkey and the humanness of the rat and the monkey as well as the ratness and the monkeyness of humans" (74).

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FILM REVIEW:

Intergenerational Trauma and Absurdist Nihilism in *Everything, Everywhere, All at Once*

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Intergenerational trauma, depression, passive suicidality, stressed familial bonds, being a queer child in an immigrant household and a multiverse that resembles the mind of someone with ADHD, all of these subjects stand at the center of *Everything, Everywhere, All At Once* (2022, henceforth *EEAAO*). Directed by Daniel Kwan and Daniel Scheinert—also known as the Daniels¹—in the film absurdism and nihilism are intermingled with the immigrant experience and intergenerational trauma to form the idea that, if nothing matters, why not be kind and love? Despairingly poignant, what stands out in the film is specifically the relationship between protagonist Evelyn Quan Wang (Michelle Yeoh) and her daughter Joy (Stephanie Hsu) as they navigate the

1. In 2016, the two made their directorial debut with another A24 film, *Swiss Army Man*, which starred Daniel Radcliffe, Paul Dano and Mary Elizabeth Winstead. Like *EEAAO*, the film is an absurdist black comedy and was a critical success.

trauma of abandonment that has existed throughout generations of their family line. Amidst the martial arts action scenes, infinite and absurdist multiversal worlds, and passive suicidal ideation, there exists a tremor of pain in which mother and daughter continue to search for and save each other throughout the multiverse despite their inability to exist without hurting each other. It is exactly this longing for a parent or child, despite being unable to accept them or love them the way they long to be cared for, that is at the root of this film, and it is what propels it beyond its marketing as a simple action and science fiction film based on a multiverse.

EEAAO is divided into three parts. The first, *Everything*, introduces Evelyn who owns a laundromat with her husband Waymond Wang (Ke Huy Quan). The two of them navigate taxes and a divorce, while Evelyn also significantly struggles with her daughter Joy, who initially wants her queer relationship with another woman to be seen and accepted by her mother. After having denied her daughter's relationship and queerness to her father out of fear that he will reject Joy like he did with her, Evelyn and Waymond make their way to the IRS building to sort through their taxes with Deirdre Beaubeirdre (Jamie Lee Curtis). It is here that Waymond is taken over by another version of himself from a different universe (the alphaverse), in which he explains the danger Evelyn and her family are in due to a chaotic villain named Jobu Tupaki (Stephanie Hsu). Evelyn must learn how to travel through the multiverse by partaking in completely random and chaotic actions so that she can access and gain powers that her alternate selves have learned in order to defeat Jobu. She learns that the latter is the alphaverse's form of Joy, who, after having been pushed past her limits by alphaverse Evelyn, can now access all universes without issue in order to

search for Evelyn in every universe.

In part two, *Everywhere*, Evelyn has been able to access all forms of her being in every multiverse like Jobu. She realizes that her nemesis has been seeking her out because she *wants* to be defeated; she wants Evelyn to end her existence, which is represented in an Everything Bagel. Jobu explains that, by placing all her hopes, dreams, failures and pain created by the relationship with Evelyn into it, the bagel has become a black hole because nothing can hold everything without collapsing in on itself. The bagel, standing for the depression that Jobu/Joy feels in every universe, has become the perfect symbol of a nihilistic wish for death at the hands of the immigrant parents' demand for their child to succeed at everything. Because Jobu/Joy can never reach her mother's standards, she has inevitably fallen into herself, or the black hole that is symbolically represented as the Everything Bagel. It is then that Evelyn realizes that Jobu has been searching for her because she wants to find *one* reason to live, which Evelyn fails to convince her of.

Part two climaxes with two major revelations for Evelyn and Jobu: first, Waymond explains to Evelyn that the issues of their marriage, in which her father disowned her for marrying Waymond and moving to America, lies in the fact that she thinks he is naïve for being kind and soft. He explains that kindness is the only way he has strategically been able to get through life, and begs her to understand that if nothing matters, then why not be kind? The second revelation is found in a final emotional scene between Joy and Evelyn. In a side universe to the film's original one, Evelyn claims Joy and her girlfriend Becky in front of her father, which angers Joy. The latter tells Evelyn that, no matter what they do, mother and daughter cannot be

together because they only end up hurting each other. Evelyn realizes that the pain she has put her daughter through is the same pain she suffered after her own father abandoned her so many years ago, the trauma of rejection following them throughout the years in a cycle. She explains that she does not understand nor know how to help Joy with the intergenerational trauma she has inadvertently continued, but she refuses to forsake Joy like her father did her. She adds that through all the universes the two of them have travelled, Jobu/Joy has spent it all looking for her, Evelyn, which means that throughout all the pain and heartache, Joy has been searching for her mother and the love she needs and wants from her. This occurs parallel to the original timeline of the film, in which Evelyn fights to keep Jobu from succumbing to the Everything Bagel. Although the two reconcile on the parallel timeline, Jobu cannot stop herself from surrendering to the depression and pain that have haunted her, and she begs her mother to just *let her go*. Evelyn, realizing this is what Jobu needs, lets her daughter yield to the blackhole, letting go of the reins she had on Joy her whole life. Seconds after having done so, Jobu finally reaches out to her mother, overtaking the intergenerational trauma that haunted them into a new world of awareness and active love.

The final part of the film, *All At Once*, returns to the IRS building, the whole family reunited in the original timeline. The final shot of the film shows Joy, Waymond, Gong Gong and Evelyn as they sit in front of Deidra while she explains to them their tax situation. Evelyn smiles at the sounds of the other universes that impede on her reality in a constant flux, and the film closes with her family gently calling her back to focus on their reality. The ending shows that the whole family, although not

completely saved from the intergenerational trauma that haunted them in the first two parts, is able to move on and accept each other's flaws to create a more cohesive unit of love. The conclusion of the film speaks to director Daniel Kwan's statement about the piece, in which he says, "We're trying to create a new form of generational healing. We have to teach our children to be more emotionally intelligent so that they can create a better world. It's more than just one family, it's crucial to our society" (Peng 2022).

In her review on the film, Cici Peng believes that "The multiverse is not just a sci-fi trope, but a way of exploring the breadth of immigrant anxieties, and also desires" (2022). The immigrant experience—its anxieties and traumas—is quite clearly the essence of *EEAEO* that has stuck with many children and grandchildren of immigrants, myself included. This spirit is one of hopeful nihilism; a hope that maybe the issues that have intergenerationally haunted our lives through immigration can be quelled and satiated by the idea that, if everything is pointless and nothing matters, then why do we not just inexplicably and unconditionally love each other, regardless? Why do we keep searching for our mothers in an endless barrage of depression, especially when most of that depression occurs at the hands of our mothers and their mothers before them? Why do we not decide to love each other unconditionally when that is all we long for as parents and children of the immigrant experience? Why does this trauma that travels lifetimes keep showing up in our relationships with one another and how do we manage to overcome it despite the constant fear that it will never end? *EEAEO* attempts to answer these questions, yet it does so while also revealing the idea that maybe these questions will never be answered and, sometimes,

we just have to accept the inevitability that things will nihilistically never change and we must continue to build and mend these familial relationships, nevertheless.

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