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STEVE HEWITT

# "Happy-Go-Lucky Fellow": Lone-Actor Terrorism, Masculinity, and the 1966 Bombing on Parliament Hill in Ottawa

**Abstract:** *On 18 May 1966, Paul Joseph Chartier blew himself up outside of the Canadian House of Commons in Ottawa. His target had been members of parliament, but he succeeded in killing only himself. The bombing received widespread attention at the time and prompted an investigation involving both the* RCMP *and* FBI*. Using the more than 1,300-page file compiled by the police, I stress the importance of a historical approach to the study of terrorism as the article examines Chartier's deed in the context of lone-actor terrorism, both within Canada and internationally. Ultimately, I conclude that the reason Chartier carried out the attack is unknowable. However, I argue that a strong correlation existed between the motivation for Chartier's act of extreme violence and masculinity, a connection often ignored in scholarship about terrorism, especially lone-actor terrorism. Chartier fell considerably short of the hegemonic masculine ideals of postwar Canada, which he blamed, in populist fashion, on a corrupt Canadian political system. In the end, he turned to a traditional response by some men, both in Canada and internationally, an act of extreme violence, to salvage something from his life by striking back against those he blamed for his failures.*

**Keywords:** terrorism, counterterrorism, lone-actor terrorism, masculinity, perpetrator studies, RCMP, FBI, gender

**Résumé :** *Le 18 mai 1966, Paul Joseph Chartier s'est fait exploser à l'extérieur de la Chambre des communes à Ottawa. Sa cible était les membres du parlement, mais il a seulement réussi à se tuer. L'attentat a reçu beaucoup d'attention à l'époque et a mené à une enquête conjointe de la* GRC *et du* FBI*. Sur la base de dossiers de plus de 1300 pages compilées par la police, j'insiste sur l'importance d'une approche historique de l'étude du terrorisme dans mon article qui examine l'acte de Chartier dans le contexte de « terrorisme du loup solitaire » au Canada et à l'international. En fin du compte, même si la raison pour laquelle Chartier a commis l'attentant ne sera jamais connue, j'estime qu'il existe une forte corrélation entre la motivation pour cet acte de violence extrême et la masculinité, un lien plutôt ignoré dans la recherche sur le terrorisme, en particulier sur le « terrorisme de loup solitaire ». Chartier n'a jamais atteint l'idéal masculin dominant de l'époque de l'après-guerre au Canada, dont il a blâmé, à la manière populiste, le système politique canadien corrompu. Au final, il s'est tourné vers une réponse typique de certains hommes, au Canada et ailleurs, soit un acte de violence extrême, pour sauver quelque chose de sa vie, en riposte contre ceux qu'il a tenu responsables de ses propres échecs.*

**Mots clés :** terrorisme, anti-terrorisme, « terrorisme de loup solitaire », masculinité, études des responsables, GRC, FBI, genre

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*Hansard*, the record of parliamentary debate in Canada, contains an unexpected editorial intervention on the afternoon of Wednesday, 18 May 1966. Midway through a response by the minister of labour to a motion about the Seafarers' International Union, there appears a cryptic italicized addition: "*At this point a loud explosion was heard in the chamber.*"[1] Despite the sound of the blast that echoed around the House of Commons, the affairs of state carried on unimpeded. Only when the leader of the Opposition, John Diefenbaker, rose to inquire about an impending visit by the deputy prime minister of South Vietnam did it become apparent that something serious had occurred. Diefenbaker was interrupted mid-question by a New Democratic Party (NDP) member of parliament (MP) announcing that MPs who were doctors should leave the House, as their assistance was required outside. At 3:05 p.m., the sitting was suspended.[2]

Four medically trained parliamentarians were directed to a third-floor men's washroom near the then "Ladies' Gallery," seventy-five feet from the office of Prime Minister Lester B. Pearson. Inside the badly damaged marble-walled room, they encountered a middle-aged man lying on his back in a pool of blood and exhaling his last breath (see Figure 1). The explosion had "blown off" his right arm at the elbow, "amputated" his left hand, and "torn open" his chest and abdomen. Paul Joseph Chartier had just blown himself up with an improvised explosive device.[3]

Chartier's death inside the Centre Block of Parliament Hill, and the means by which and, more significantly, why it occurred, sparked considerable attention.[4] Because of the extraordinary nature of the act as opposed to more normalized types of everyday male violence, it proved difficult for the media and politicians of 1966 to contextualize and understand; they sought a frame of reference to interpret Chartier's deed. The immediate assumption was that he suffered from some type of mental illness. The *Ottawa Journal* referred to him in a headline as a "mad bomber," echoing the label applied by American newspapers to George Metesky, who carried out a series of bombings in New York City in the 1940s and 1950s.[5] The *Montreal Gazette* consulted experts for advice on the nature of the mental health issue that might be involved. Tommy Douglas, leader of the NDP, offered his own diagnosis, which reflected the nearest comparable contemporary event, describing Chartier as "another Lee Harvey Oswald – a psychotic."[6]

1 *House of Commons Debates*, 27th Parliament, 1st Session, Vol. 5 (18 May 1966), 5266.
2 Ibid., 5267–8.
3 Investigation Report of Detective J. Pittman and Constable J. Kelly, Ottawa Police, 18 May 1966, Access Request A2015-00097, RCMP files related to Paul Joseph Chartier, Library and Archives Canada (LAC) (henceforth RCMP files, LAC), 205; quotes about Chartier's injuries appear in Report of Lieutenant W.J. Redmond and Captain T.S. Martin, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 56–8; Superintendent C.J. Sweeny to the Commissioner, 30 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 52–3; "Statement of Dr. Hugh Horner, M.P. for Jasper-Edson," 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 149.
4 For the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) television coverage of the attack, see "1966: Bomb in Parliament Misses Its Target," CBC Digital Archives, 18 May 1966, http://www.cbc.ca/archives/entry/bomb-in-parliament-misses-its-target-in-1966.
5 "Mad Bomber on Way to Kill MPs – Papers," *Ottawa Journal*, 19 May 1966; Michael M. Greenburg, *The Mad Bomber of New York: The Extraordinary True Story of the Manhunt That Paralyzed a City* (New York: Union Square Press, 2011).
6 "His Mental Ills Hard to Label," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 May 1966; Tommy Douglas, quoted in "'Another Lee Oswald' – MPs Ask Closer Guard," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966; "Missed by Seconds," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966.

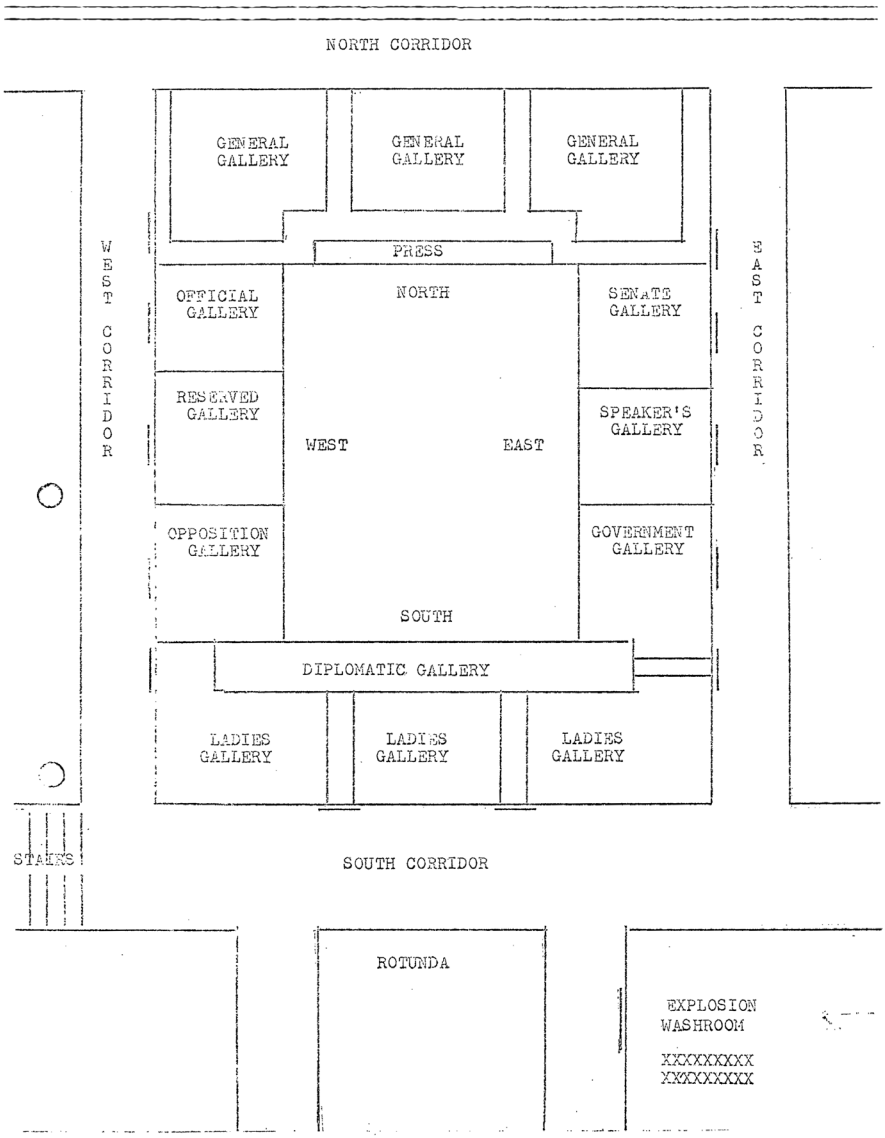


FIGURE 1 A police diagram of where Chartier's explosion occurred in relation to the House of Commons

*Source:* Access Request A2015-00097, RCMP files related to Paul Joseph Chartier, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), 327

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Understanding why Chartier came to detonate a bomb at the heart of Canadian parliamentary democracy frustrated not just the media and politicians but also police forces in Canada and the United States. More significantly, the motivation for acts of lone-actor terrorism, disproportionately carried out by men, remains a vital global concern in the twenty-first century.[7] Yet, such violence in Canada and elsewhere is not new – although it remains largely unstudied in a historical context. This is particularly true in relation to the intersection of masculinity and terrorism, despite that relationship receiving more attention in the present from scholars such as Michael Kimmel, Maleeha Aslam, and Douglas Kellner.[8]

To date in Canada, acts of lone-actor terrorism have been almost exclusively carried out by men.[9] The connection between masculinity and extreme violence will be

7 Paul Gill, John Horgan, and Paige Deckert found that men made up ninety-seven per cent of their data set of 119 lone-actor terrorists. "Bombing Alone: Tracing the Motivations and Antecedent Behaviors of Lone-Actor Terrorists," *Journal of Forensic Sciences* 59, no. 2 (2014): 427.

8 Michael Kimmel, *Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era* (New York: Nation Books, 2015); Michael Kimmel, *Healing from Hate: How Young Men Get into – and Out of – Violent Extremism* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2018); Maleeha Aslam, *Gender-Based Explosions: The Nexus between Muslim Masculinities, Jihadist Islamism and Terrorism* (New York: United Nations University Press, 2012); Douglas Kellner, *Guys and Guns Amok: Domestic Terrorism and School Shootings from the Oklahoma City Bombing to the Virginia Tech Massacre* (London: Routledge, 2016). For an older work that touches upon terrorism and men, see Robin Morgan, *The Demon Lover: The Roots of Terrorism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000).

9 The following is a list of sixteen post-Confederation incidents based on the definition of "lone-actor terrorism" offered in Ramón Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism: Global Patterns, Motivations and Prevention* (New York: Springer, 2012), 16–7, which is described later in the article: Fenian sympathizer Patrick J. Whelan killed Thomas D'Arcy McGee in Ottawa in 1868; Bhai Mewa Singh Ji killed an immigration officer in Vancouver in 1914 out of anger over the oppression of Sikhs; Chinese Nationalist League sympathizer Wong Chun killed a Chinese Cabinet minister in 1918 on Vancouver Island; Harry Waldeman Freidrich Hubach, in a 1965 protest against the Vietnam War, killed a security guard and attacked US warplanes in Edmonton; Chartier; Denis Lortie in 1984 killed three people at the Quebec National Assembly out of anger toward the Parti Québécois government; Charles Yacoub in 1989 hijacked a bus and had it driven onto Parliament Hill to protest the Lebanese Civil War; Marc Lépine in 1989 killed fourteen women in Montreal because of misogyny; Roger Warren in 1992 killed nine strike breakers in Yellowknife; Richard Henry Bain in 2012 out of anger toward the newly elected Parti Québécois government killed a man in Montreal; Justin Bourque in 2014 killed three police officers in Moncton because of anti-government ideology and hatred toward the police; Martin Couture Rouleau killed a Canadian soldier in 2014 in Saint Jean sur Richelieu, Quebec, because of Islamist ideology; Michael Zehaf-Bibeau killed a Canadian solider in 2014 in Ottawa because of Islamist ideology; Aaron Driver in 2016 detonated a homemade bomb in Strathroy, Ontario, because of Islamist ideology; Alexandre Bissonnette killed six worshippers at a mosque in Quebec City in 2017 out of Islamophobia and anger over immigration to Canada and Rehab Dughmosh, the only woman on the list, attacked workers at a Toronto-area Canadian Tire in 2017 because of her support for the Islamic State. This list is not definitive, and it cannot be, because despite widespread use of the label, there is no accepted definition of "lone-actor terrorism." This list does not include three further possible examples, because the alleged perpetrators all men, have yet to be convicted at the time of publication. Please contact me at s.r.hewitt@bham.ac.uk with possible examples of lone-actor terrorism in Canada not included in this list.

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examined with regards to Chartier's act, an intersection often missing in the existing lone-actor terrorism scholarship. Ultimately, I argue that a detailed case study of Chartier's bombing demonstrates the complexities around understanding why men commit acts of extreme violence. No simple or single explanation exists. Instead, there are intimations as to what led him on his deadly path. Evidence of a correlation between extreme violence and anger, alienation, and a wider sense of grievance does arise. The bomber's repeated setbacks in life, including his failures to meet hegemonic white middle-class standards of masculinity in the first two decades after the Second World War, fuelled these drivers. Blaming his plight on a corrupt political structure, Chartier intertwined his personal story with a wider societal one. His solution to both his failed life and the corruption he believed had caused it was to restore his honour through a course of action followed almost wholly by men: an act of extreme violence.

## LONE-ACTOR TERRORISM AND THE IMPORTANCE OF HISTORICAL SCHOLARSHIP

The 1966 bombing represents an act that, since the attacks of 9/11, has been commonly labelled as "lone wolf" or "lone-actor" terrorism. There is no single definition of a type of violence that was first given the overtly masculinized nickname "lone wolf" in the 1980s, although the practice itself dates back to at least the nineteenth century.[10] Some scholars avoid trying to define the concept and analyze what they present as examples of it instead.[11] Others offer multiple categories of lone-actor terrorists, or such a broad definition of the term that conceivably a bank robber involved in violence for the sake of financial gain might fit.[12] In response, this piece employs a

10 Ramón Spaaij and Mark S. Hamm, "Key Issues and Research Agendas in Lone Wolf Terrorism," *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism* 38, no. 3 (2014): 168. On the origins of "lone wolf" as a concept, see R.A. Bates, "Dancing with Wolves: Today's Lone Wolf Terrorists," *Journal of Public and Professional Sociology* 4, no. 1 (2012): 3; Edwin Bakker and Beatrice de Graaf, "Preventing Lone Wolf Terrorism: Some CT Approaches Addressed," *Perspectives on Terrorism* 5, no. 5–6 (2011): 43; Paul Gill, *Lone-Actor Terrorists: A Behavioural Analysis* (London: Routledge, 2015), 4–6. In their book, Hamm and Spaaij, suggest that the term "lone wolf terrorism" was "coined" by senior members of the FBI in the 1980s. Mark S. Hamm and Ramón Spaaij, *The Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2017), 6. See also Kathleen Belew, *Bring the War Home: The White Power Movement and Paramilitary America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2018), 127. For a challenge to the concept of lone-actor terrorism, see David C. Hofmann, "How 'Alone' are Lone-Actors? Exploring the Ideological, Signaling, and Support Networks of Lone-Actor Terrorists," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* (2018): 1–22. For the late nineteenth-century and early twentieth-century manifestations of lone-actor terrorism, see Richard Bach Jensen, "The Pre-1914 Anarchist 'Lone Wolf' Terrorist and Governmental Responses," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 1 (2014): 86–94.

11 A prime example of different definitions when it comes to lone-actor terrorism is that in Gill, Horgan, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 425–35, in which the authors label the Oklahoma City bomber Timothy McVeigh as a lone-actor terrorist; on the other hand, Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 17–8, does not.

12 Raffaello Pantucci, *A Typology of Lone Wolves: Preliminary Analysis of Lone Islamist Terrorists* (London: International Centre for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence, 2011), 1–39; Jeffrey D. Simon, *Lone Wolf Terrorism: Understanding the Growing Threat* (New York: Prometheus Books, 2016), chap. 1, loc. 519, Kindle.

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narrow definition of lone-actor terrorists drawn from the work of sociologist Ramón Spaaij. Lone-actor terrorists, according to Spaaij, "(a) operate individually, (b) do not belong to an organized terrorist group or network, and (c) their modi operandi are conceived and directed by the individual without any direct outside command or hierarchy."[13] The other component of this definition is what constitutes terrorism. Again, there are multiple definitions, albeit many share certain commonalities. For the purposes of this article, terrorism represents ideologically motivated – and this could involve religion or politics – violence, or the threat of violence by non-state actors (in contrast to state terrorism) against non-combatants.[14]

Chartier's act and its background fits with the characteristics of other lone-actor terrorists, both within Canada and internationally, and demonstrates that lone-actor terrorism is, in the words of Spaaij, "not a new phenomenon."[15] Furthermore, the Ottawa bombing shows that individuals like Chartier can have complex and difficult to determine motivations and precursors. Finally, his case reinforces the need for more gender analysis of an almost exclusively male phenomenon, in which, in some cases, individual failure leads to anger and alienation, which in turn triggers acts of extreme violence.[16]

Historicizing terrorism has much to offer. For instance, examining past acts of extreme violence such as the 1966 bombing can aid in contextualizing lone-actor terrorism in the recent present. On 22 October 2014, a lone-actor terrorist attack occurred in Ottawa at the National War Memorial, where an unarmed soldier, Nathan Cirillo, standing on ceremonial guard, was shot and killed. The gunman then entered the Centre Block on Parliament Hill, the same building where forty-eight

13 Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 16–7; Hamm and Spaaij, *Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 5.

14 For more on definitions of terrorism, see Alex P. Schmid, "Terrorism: The Definitional Problem," *Case Western Reserve Journal of International Law* 36, no. 2 (2004): 375–419; Jessie Blackbourn, Fergal F. Davis, and Natasha C. Taylor, "Academic Consensus and Legislative Definitions of Terrorism: Applying Schmid and Jongman," *Statute Law Review* 34, no. 3 (2012): 239–61. The Canadian Criminal Code definition of "terrorism" at the time of writing can be found on the Justice Laws Website at http://laws-lois.justice.gc.ca/eng/acts/C-46/page-12.html#h-26.

15 Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 23. Widespread discussion has occurred over the role of "whiteness" in relation to acts of extreme violence by men. See, for example, Kimmel, *Angry White Men*; Juan Cole, "Top Ten Differences between White Terrorists and Others," *Informed Comment*, 9 August 2012, https://www.juancole.com/2012/08/top-ten-differences-between-white-terrorists-and-others.html; Laila Lalami, "The Color of Terrorism and the Whiteness of the Lone Wolf," *The Nation*, 11 October 2017, https://www.thenation.com/article/the-color-of-terrorism-and-the-whiteness-of-the-lone-wolf/. For more on whiteness, see Teresa J. Guess, "The Social Construction of Whiteness: Racism by Intent, Racism by Consequence," *Critical Sociology* 31, no. 4 (2006): 649–73.

16 For more on hegemonic masculinity and masculinities, see R.W. Connell, *Masculinities* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005), 76–7; Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 4; Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino, "Introduction: Masculinities in Post-Industrial and Neoliberal Times," in *Canadian Men and Masculinities*, ed. Christopher J. Greig and Wayne J. Martino (Toronto: Canadian Scholars, 2012), 3. For more on the over-representation of men among lone-actor terrorists, see Simon, *Lone Wolf Terrorism*, chap. 4, Kindle.

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years earlier Chartier had blown himself up, firing shots before dying in a hail of thirty-one bullets. Some of the subsequent media coverage portrayed the violence as being unprecedented.[17] Chartier's case aside, this response was surprising in that the Ottawa attack occurred less than thirty years after the worst mass murder in Canadian history, in which 329 people, including 268 Canadians, died in a terrorist bombing of an Air India flight. Forgetting such violent acts speaks to the long-examined perception of Canada as a "peaceable kingdom," a notion fuelled in part by the tendency to downplay violence in Canada in relation to higher levels in the United States, and to a wider lack of historical memory.[18]

More generally, historical writing about terrorism affords other insights. It can challenge the domination by a narrow range of academic approaches that has led to, critics allege, some terrorism scholarship that is event-driven and that suffers from "ahistoricity and acontextuality."[19] As Lisa Stampnitzky argues, "terrorism is a problem with a history, and this history matters for the ways we think about it, the questions we ask, and the possible remedies we apply, as well as the questions that we don't ask."[20]

17 Tim Mak, "Terrorist Ends Canada's Innocence," *Daily Beast*, 22 October 2014, http://www.thedailybeast.com/articles/2014/10/22/terrorists-end-canada-s-innocence.html; Matt Coutts, "World Mourns Canada's 'Lost Innocence' after Attack in Ottawa," *Daily Brew*, 23 October 2014, https://ca.finance.yahoo.com/blogs/dailybrew/world-mourns-canadas-lost-innocence-after-attack-in-173718970.html; Susan Clairmont, "Canada Forever Changed after Hamilton Corporal Struck Down," *Hamilton Spectator*, 23 October 2014, http://m.thespec.com/news-story/4928719-canada-forever-changed-after-corporal-struck-down; "Editorial: The End of Innocence," *Calgary Herald*, 23 October 2014, http://calgaryherald.com/opinion/editorials/editorial-the-end-of-innocence; Joe O'Connor and Sarah Boesveld, "Ottawa Terror Attack: Seven Views on a Tragedy," *National Post*, 24 October 2014, http://news.nationalpost.com/news/canada/ottawa-terror-attack-six-views-on-a-tragedy.

18 Judy M. Torrance, *Public Violence in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1988), 66, 72, 100; Jeffrey Ian Ross, "Violence in Canada: An Introduction to Its Sociopolitical Dynamics," in *Violence in Canada: Sociopolitical Perspectives*, ed. Jeffrey Ian Ross, (New Brunswick, NJ: Transaction Publishers, 2009), 3. For more on the history of terrorism and violence in Canada, see David A. Charters, "The (Un)Peaceable Kingdom? Terrorism and Canada before 9/11," *IRPP Policy Matters* 9, no. 4 (2008): 1–44; Anthony Kellett, "Terrorism in Canada, 1960–1992," in Ross, *Violence in Canada*, 284–312; Dimitry Anastakis, *Death in the Peaceable Kingdom: Canadian History since 1867 through Murder, Execution, Assassination, and Suicide* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015).

19 Andrew Silke, "The Road Less Travelled: Recent Trends in Terrorism Research," in *Research on Terrorism: Trends, Achievements, and Failures*, ed. Andrew Silke (London: Frank Cass, 2004), 195. Silke found that for the 1990–9 period, political scientists accounted for 48.6 per cent of the terrorism-related scholarship that he examined; historians produced 4.2 per cent. Martha Crenshaw, "The Psychology of Terrorism: An Agenda for the 21st Century," *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (June 2000): 405; Richard Jackson, Jeroen Gunning, and Marie Breen Smith, "The Case for a Critical Terrorism Studies" (paper presented to the American Political Science Association, Chicago, 30 August–2 September 2007), https://www.researchgate.net/publication/31934822_Introduction_The_case_for_critical_terrorism_studies, 5.

20 Lisa Stampnitzky, *Disciplining Terror: How Experts Invented "Terrorism"* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 2–3.

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Historical research might also address what some contend is a dearth of primary source material about terrorism, which leads to research heavy on theory and, at times, speculation, but lacks core data sets.[21] One reason for this, as Marc Sageman and others argue, is a dearth of unfettered access by the vast majority of researchers to contemporary records accumulated by intelligence agencies and police forces because of their sensitivity.[22] This deficit, however, does not necessarily apply to the past. For this article, an Access to Information Act request to the Library and Archives Canada (LAC) produced an almost completely uncensored 1,322-page Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) file providing a detailed examination of Chartier's life. This file contains documents about and writings by Chartier, such as medical records, job applications, love letters, an autobiography, and a final manifesto. As the lead investigating agency, the RCMP compiled the file, but it includes reports from a number of other Canadian police forces, various government agencies in Canada, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and other US government agencies.[23]

## THE LIFE AND DEATH OF PAUL JOSEPH CHARTIER

Who was Paul Joseph Chartier? Was there anything in his background to explain why he chose to construct an improvised explosive device, take it into the Centre Block of Parliament Hill, and detonate it? Chartier's large police file, the size of which was expanded by the audacity of his violent act and the mystery around his motivation, offers considerable insight. It reveals a man with characteristics in common with many other lone-actor terrorists in Canada and internationally, including petty criminality, a history of violence and anger, broken relationships and spousal abuse, alienation, unemployment, and a transient existence.[24] Several of these same factors meant that Chartier's life differed not slightly but extensively from white middle-class Canadian constructs of ideal masculinity in the first two postwar decades.

21 Mia Bloom, "Are There 'Root Causes' for Terrorist Support? Revisiting the Debate on Poverty, Education, and Terrorism," in *Terrorizing Ourselves: Why U.S. Counterterrorism Policy Is Failing and How to Fix It*, ed. Benjamin H. Friedman, Jim Harper, and Christopher A. Preble (Washington, DC: Cato Institute, 2010), 47; John Horgan, *The Psychology of Terrorism* (London: Routledge, 2007), xv; Marc Sageman, *Leaderless Jihad: Terror Networks in the Twenty-First Century* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2008), 23–4.

22 Marc Sageman, "The Stagnation in Terrorism Research," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 26, no. 4 (2014): 565–80; Marc Sageman, *Misunderstanding Terrorism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 2016), 20; Jim Bonworth, Marie Eyre, Michelle McManus, and Daniel Peddell, "Influences and Vulnerabilities in Radicalised Lone-Actor Terrorists," *International Journal of Police Science & Management* 18, no. 2 (2016): 64.

23 LAC deleted one page in the entire 1,322-page file for privacy reasons. The remaining deletions, with the exception of one brief passage, also appear to be for privacy reasons to do with names, addresses, or both.

24 Horgan, Gill, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 427–8; Jude McCulloch, JaneMaree Maher, Kate Fitz-Gibbon, and Sandra Walklate, "We Won't Stop Lone-Actor Attacks until We Understand Violence against Women," *The Conversation*, 20 March 2018, https://theconversation.com/we-wont-stop-lone-actor-attacks-until-we-understand-violence-against-women-92923; Spaaij, *Understanding Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 49–54.

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FIGURE 2 An undated photo of Paul Chartier wearing his hairpiece
*Source:* Access Request A2015-00097, RCMP files related to Paul Joseph Chartier, Library and Archives Canada, 837

Misinformation abounded in some of the media coverage of the 178-centimetre-tall, overweight, balding but occasionally toupee-wearing, blue-eyed bomber (see Figure 2). His mother, who would describe him to a reporter as a "happy-go-lucky fellow who liked to sing," said he was between thirty-eight and forty years old. In fact, he was born in the tiny community of Bonnyville, Alberta, a provincial centre of Franco-Albertans, on 5 August 1921, and thus forty-four at the time of his death.[25] His French-Canadian Catholic parents came from Eastern Canada and moved westward in 1916. His father, who died in 1962, owned several hotels in Alberta until his retirement in 1956. Paul Joseph Chartier was one of nine children – four boys and five girls – who lived to adulthood in a family that avoided involvement in politics despite living in an environment that was at times hostile toward French speakers, particularly as a backlash against opposition in Quebec to wartime conscription.[26]

25 See, for example, "Explosion in Parliament's Centre Block Takes Life of 45-Year-Old Bomber," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 May 1966; "MPs Say Explosion Premature, Man's Bomb Meant for Chamber," *Globe and Mail*, 19 May 1966; Birth Certificate of Paul Joseph Chartier, RCMP files, LAC, 1003.

26 "FBI Interview with René Chartier," FBI Report, 24 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 373; Donald B. Smith, "French-Speaking Albertans," in *Peoples of Alberta: Portraits of Cultural Diversity*, ed. Howard Palmer and Tamara Palmer (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1985), 90, 99.

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After completing grade nine at a high school in Heinsburg, Alberta, Chartier left school at age fifteen in June 1937 to do farm work. Two years later, Chartier began working at the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company in the Northwest Territories.[27] His brother René had arranged the job for him. Here, he became a driller, which required the use of dynamite. In 1942, he quit the mine and returned home to work for his father until the following year, when he volunteered for the Royal Canadian Air Force (RCAF). Never leaving Canada while in the RCAF, Chartier received an honourable discharge in 1945. At some point in the immediate period after the war, he may have spent time driving a truck along the Alaska Highway, an aspect of his life that would feature in his partially fictionalized autobiography. He also went into business with another of his brothers, this time as co-owner of a hotel in Manitoba. This venture lasted until 1951, when Chartier sold his share and moved back to Alberta to work with his father. He then purchased his own hotel, thanks in part to a family loan. In October 1952, at age thirty-one, he married a woman fourteen years younger than him. Within two years, the marriage was in trouble, a development that eventually led to him selling his hotel.[28] They separated in 1958. After Chartier's death, his ex-wife told a reporter that he subjected her to domestic abuse, a possible common characteristic among those who go on to carry out acts of lone-actor terrorism and evidence of Chartier's propensity for violence. In terms that referenced dominant notions of white middle-class masculinity in both Canada and the United States in the era of the baby boom, she described him as "a man who didn't want a home or children and who couldn't stay at one job."[29]

By the mid-1950s, Paul Chartier's life had become increasingly unstable. Over the subsequent years, a series of job and business failures would occur, which he would later blame on a system fostered by corrupt politicians, first in Alberta, then around Canada, and finally across the United States. He toiled as a security guard and a truck driver in Edmonton, where he had repeated encounters with the law, including two separate assault charges that were subsequently dropped. A court later convicted Chartier of obstructing a peace officer. He worked next in Toronto, and in 1961, the year of his divorce, he moved legally to the United States. His fortunes failed to improve, however. Settling in New York City, Chartier found employment with several hotels as a detective and operated a gas station, losing a considerable amount of money on the latter. He moved to California, where he began a romantic relationship with a local woman that would last until 1964 when he ended it, although the two continued to correspond into the following year. Later, in early 1966, Chartier lived in Miami and ran another gas station, once more suffering a financial loss. While in Florida, police charged him with assault, although the case was later dismissed.[30]

27 "'Happy-Go-Lucky Fellow' – Mother," *Ottawa Journal*, 19 May 1966.

28 FBI report, 24 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 793–4.

29 "Statement of Ruth, Resident in Salmon, B.C," 24 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1020; Harry Bruce, "Journey into Madness," *The Canadian*, 17 September 1966; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 13; Douglas Owram, *Born at the Right Time: A History of the Baby Boom Generation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 5, 12–4. McCulloch et al., "We Won't Stop Lone-Actor Attacks."

30 Chartier, text of speech to Parliament, no date, RCMP files, LAC, 94; RCMP report, 14 August 1961, RCMP files, LAC, 1010; FBI report, 31 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 946; RCMP report, 20 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 55; Gill, Horgan, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 428.

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Chartier led an increasingly transient existence as he, in the words of an American official, "started to float from place to place."[31] Between 1962 and 1966, he had at least ten different jobs and eleven addresses.[32] The result of any employment he succeeded in obtaining was repeated termination for insubordination or for being "unreliable."[33] In the aftermath of the bombing, one former employer would label Chartier as a "drifter" and "odd-ball," and another as a "loner."[34]

Struggling to make a living, Chartier sought alternative ways to generate income, several of which demonstrated a desire for fame or attention or a certain level of narcissism that some studies have connected with terrorists. In Los Angeles, he made a forty-five-RPM record containing three songs and sent the recording to the *Mike Douglas Show* and to a Toronto television station, requesting that he receive at least seventy-five per cent of royalties from any sales. He also paid to have a film of himself singing made as a self-promotional tool.[35] An individual at the television station who heard the recording was less than impressed with Chartier's voice: "a sort of passable bathroom baritone – better than Mrs Miller, not as good as Dean Martin."[36] Having used the services of a "lonely hearts club" in order to meet a female partner after his divorce, the future bomber attempted to set up a similar enterprise in Los Angeles only for competing businesses to inform him that he would need a licence to do so. Most intriguing of all, under a pseudonym, he wrote a partially fictionalized autobiography, with a touch of the self-help genre thrown in, and spent several hundred dollars to have one thousand copies professionally printed by a publishing company in 1962. The poorly written and disjointed thirty-six-page effort fittingly had a rambling title: *What You Should Know – Sex: A Biography of Paul Roberts Life on the Alaskan Highway while It Was Being Built. This Story Will Help Dizziness Sore Back, and Mental Health*.[37] Priced at $1.50, he appears not to have sold a single copy; occasionally, he gave them away (see Figure 3).

In early April 1966, Chartier neared the end of his descent. Appearing unexpectedly at his brother René's residence in West Point, Virginia, he announced an intention to move back to New York City to begin working in the hotel business again. Although René later told the FBI that he had no knowledge of Paul experiencing mental health issues, during this final visit, he did notice mood swings that raised in his mind the possibility that his brother was using drugs.[38] By this point,

31 Memorandum from the US Embassy, Ottawa, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 224.

32 FBI report, 15 July 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1143.

33 Application for Employment, RCMP files, LAC, 135.

34 FBI report, 31 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 949; FBI report, 2 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 955.

35 Monica Lloyd and Pamela Kleinot, "Pathways into Terrorism: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly," *Psychoanalytic Psychotherapy* 31, no. 4 (2017): 375; "He Wanted to Be a Star," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966, 11. The three songs were "Falling in Love," "Be My Love," and "It's Just a Little Street Where Old Friends Meet." FBI report, 20 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1118, 1213.

36 As quoted in Bruce, "Journey into Madness."

37 Receipt from Sperber Press, 29 November 1962, RCMP files, LAC, 1167; Paul Joseph Chartier, *What You Should Know – Sex: A Biography of Paul Roberts Life on the Alaskan Highway while It Was Being Built. This Story Will Help Dizziness Sore Back, and Mental Health* (New York: Sperber Press, 1962), RCMP files, LAC, 967–86.

38 FBI report, 24 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 378.

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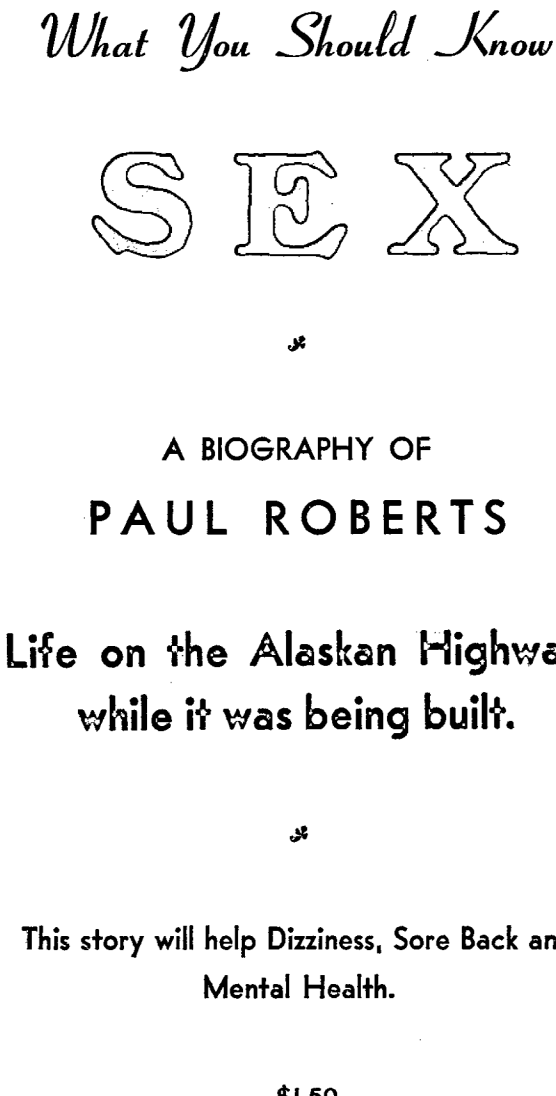


FIGURE 3 The cover of Paul Chartier's autobiography that he wrote under a pseudonym
*Source:* Access Request A2015-00097, RCMP files related to Paul Joseph Chartier, Library and Archives Canada, 967.

Chartier was also increasingly leading a cross-border life. Letters to his ex-girlfriend in California had been postmarked from four different Toronto addresses in 1965. After his visit with his brother, he returned to Ontario's provincial capital one last time, abandoning his car in Buffalo, New York, along the way, and began renting a

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room at 271 Major Street on 7 April.[39] His transiency prior to his violent act resembles another common characteristic of lone-actor terrorists.[40]

Back in Toronto, Chartier began preparations for what he referred to in militaristic language as an "operation," which he claimed had been under contemplation for at least a year. He had already made a visit to Ottawa in March, apparently on a scouting mission.[41] What inspired his style of attack is not clear. Some relevant examples of terrorism directed at legislatures existed. There was, of course, the unsuccessful Gunpowder Plot of 1605. The closest parallels to what Chartier attempted were a failed Fenian effort in London in the 1880s to throw bombs from a public gallery into the House of Commons, and Auguste Vaillant, an anarchist who in 1893 tossed an explosive from the public gallery at the French Chamber of Deputies, injuring twenty politicians. In 1954, four Puerto Rican nationalists opened fire from the public gallery of the United States House of Representatives, wounding five congressmen.[42]

Chartier first wrote to the clerk of the House of Commons asking for permission to give a speech in the chamber. His request was refused.[43] He then drafted and made carbon copies of a manifesto, entitled "If I Was President of Canada," that was critical of Canada's political and economic system (see Figure 4). One twenty-three-page version he mailed off to the *Edmonton Journal* on 11 May. The accompanying note asked the newspaper to "hold this, and print it when time requires it."[44] Acquiring the elements for his improvised explosive device was a remarkably easy task. He would use dynamite, the explosive of choice for terrorists since the 1880s.[45] Under the name of J.H. Henderson, one of at least three aliases he deployed at various points in his adult life, Chartier purchased ten sticks of dynamite, detonators, and a length of fuse for $4.10, about $31 in 2018 dollars, on 13 May. He told the seller that it was for "prospecting up north." Returning to his rented room, he made repeated calculations as to the burn time of the fuse. Significantly, he underestimated by one-and-a-half times how quickly his fuse would burn once lit. On 17 May, Chartier left Toronto on the 12:10 a.m. bus to Ottawa, arriving in the capital at 5:15 a.m. Accompanying him on the journey were five sticks of dynamite, detonators, and a length of fuse.

39 RCMP report, 30 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 255–6.

40 Gill, Horgan, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 429.

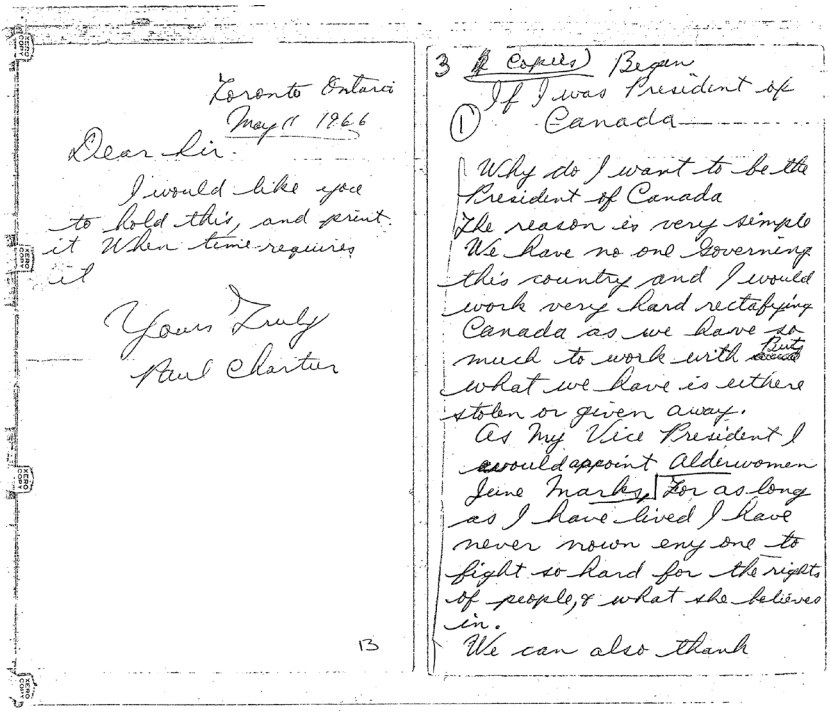
41 Bruce, "Journey into Madness."

42 Michael Burleigh, *Blood and Rage: A Cultural History of Terrorism* (London: HarperCollins, 2009), chap. 1, loc. 453, Kindle; Shaun Gregory, "France and the War on Terrorism," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 15, no. 1 (2003): 124; Olivier Hubac-Occhipinti, "Anarchist Terrorists of the Nineteenth Century," In *The History of Terrorism: From Antiquity to Al Qaeda*, ed. Gérard Chaliand and Arnaud Blin, trans. Edward Schneider, Kathryn Pulver, and Jesse Browner (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007), 127–8; Clayton Knowless, "Five Congressmen Shot in House by 3 Puerto Rican Nationalists; Bullets Spray from Gallery," *New York Times*, 3 March 1954.

43 Paul Joseph Chartier to House of Commons, n.d., RCMP files, LAC, 152; Clerk of the House of Commons to Paul Chartier, 2 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 621.

44 Chartier to the *Edmonton Journal*, 11 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 810; Paul Joseph Chartier, "If I Was President of Canada," n.d., RCMP files, LAC, 812–35; Arthur Blakely, "The Strange World of Paul Chartier," *Montreal Gazette*, 27 May 1966.

45 Richard Jensen, "Daggers, Rifles and Dynamite: Anarchist Terrorism in Nineteenth Century Europe," *Terrorism and Political Violence* 16, no.1 (2004): 116–53.


Toronto Ontario
May 11 1966
Dear Sir.
I would like you to hold this, and print it When time requires it
Yours Truly
Paul Chartier
13

3 (Copies) Began
If I was President of Canada
1
Why do I want to be the President of Canada
The reason is very simple We have no one Governing this country, and I would work very hard rectifying Canada as we have so much to work with But what we have is either stolen or given away.
As my Vice President I would appoint Alderwomen Jene Marks, For as long as I have lived I have never seen any one to fight so hard for the rights of people, & what she believes in.
We can also thank

FIGURE 4 A letter from Paul Chartier, seven days before the bombing, to the House of Commons, and the first page of his manifesto, "If I Was President of Canada"
*Source:* Access Request A2015-00097, RCMP files related to Paul Joseph Chartier, Library and Archives Canada, 402.

The rest of the explosives, including two small homemade bombs, remained behind to be discovered later by the Toronto Police.[46]

Once in Ottawa, Chartier stayed across the river in Hull, Quebec, at the Hotel St Louis, a location he had used, according to hotel employees, during his previous visit. Here he assembled the bomb, including packing it with shrapnel consisting of "nuts and machine screws" and encasing it in a copper metal box or tube. The nature of the device represented a clear effort to inflict as many casualties as possible.[47] Lastly, he tinkered with the final version of his manifesto on the hotel's stationery and studied a seating plan for the House of Commons. He then headed for Parliament Hill with the bomb concealed in his jacket, arriving early enough to claim a seat in the first row of the public gallery directly behind the Ottawa press corps. Local

46 "Chartier: Former Toronto Security Guard," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966; Attorney General of Ontario report, 31 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 888.

47 RCMP Crime Detection Library report, 20 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 188–9; RCMP report, 20 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 142–3.

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schoolchildren packed the various galleries. Around 2:30 p.m., Chartier rose with his hand in his pocket and asked an attendant, who later described him as "[smelling] of liquor," where the nearest toilet was and whether his seat could be saved for him.[48] No one again saw Chartier alive once he entered the washroom. There, he readied the bomb, estimated to contain, according to an explosives expert, four to eight ounces of "low-order high explosive" that newspapers said had the capability of killing twenty to forty people.[49] At 2:53 p.m., the time frozen on his shattered wristwatch, the apprentice terrorist struck a match and touched it to the fuse while in a toilet stall. Five to seven seconds later, it exploded, mortally wounding him and badly damaging the surrounding washroom. No one else was injured. The bomber carried three fuses that day. He ignited the shortest, roughly two inches in length, although the other two fuses would likely not have allowed him sufficient time to reach his target. Through incompetence, impairment from alcohol, or last-second doubt, he had detonated his bomb prematurely, preventing him from depositing his volatile package in the crowded parliamentary chamber.[50]

## CHARTIER'S MOTIVATIONS

But why had he lit the fuse in the first place? The milieu determined how the police framed their investigation into this question in 1966. Thus, just over thirty months after the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in Dallas, the FBI described the Chartier case as a "Lee Harvey Oswald type inquiry."[51] The Cold War was another important component of the context. Had Chartier been part of an organized conspiracy? Did he hold radical political views? Was he a Communist? Although he was of French-Canadian heritage, apparently due to a lack of any connection to Quebec, no consideration appears to have been given to him being a member or sympathizer of the Front de libération du Québec, a group that had carried out a number of bombings with dynamite since 1963. The extensive investigation, involving the RCMP, FBI, and several local forces, found in the end "no evidence whatever to connect this man with any subversive, religious, radical or other group, nor is there evidence that he was associated with any person in a criminal conspiracy in relation to the bombing incident in the Canadian Parliament."[52] He had acted completely on his own, but this still did not explain why.

Despite a history of anger and violence that would suggest the bombing may not have been completely out of character, investigators focused on what they perceived to be abnormal. The bomber's mental state became a central focus of police inquiries. Here, the portrait was mixed and points to the complexity of attempting to ascertain factors that motivate or, in the problematic parlance of the present, "radicalize"

48 "He Was Sitting in 13th Seat," *Ottawa Journal*, 19 May 1966; Report of Ottawa Police Department, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 184.

49 "Home-Made Bomb Had Force to Kill 30," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966.

50 Report of Lieutenant W.J. Redmond and Captain T.S. Martin, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 57; Report of Ottawa Police Department, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 180–1; Report of Ottawa Police Department, 19 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 768.

51 FBI report, 27 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 714.

52 RCMP to FBI, 15 July 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1141.

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individuals toward acts of extreme violence.[53] In Canada and the United States, the RCMP and FBI searched for evidence that Chartier had been treated for some type of mental illness or even been institutionalized. These efforts proved futile, with one exception.[54] In June 1965, the bomber had visited the Toronto General Hospital complaining of headaches. Two doctors examined him. The first found no physical problem but noted that a "long history of chronic faintness etc. related to activity and stress" indicated "a psychosomatic disorder." The other doctor concurred that Chartier's problem was a "psychological illness – mixed depression – mild hysterical illness in a rather psychopathic individual."[55] His medical files, autobiography, and letters mentioned the use of both Valium and an antidepressant, Deprol.[56] A court-appointed psychologist later used the 1965 hospital records to conclude that Chartier suffered "from a state of chronic anxiety for quite some time and . . . was mentally unbalanced prior to his death." A coroner's jury agreed with this interpretation.[57] Nonetheless, witnesses interviewed by the police, including one of his brothers and his ex-girlfriend in California, did not notice any evidence of mental illness, although they did comment on Chartier's lack of friends and acquaintances, indicative of a wider environment of alienation.[58]

In death, the bomber left behind two key texts that offer potential insight into both his mindset and motivation. One was his autobiography, which included an anecdote about a premature explosion in a mine caused by an improperly used fuse. A major preoccupation of his publication was on sexual intercourse; he portrayed it in a negative light, something equally evident in his letters to his partner in California.[59] Warning, "sex could ruin your life . . . as it did mine," Chartier advocated the mixing of sleeping pills with sexual intercourse to address physical problems he associated with the sex act. Furthermore, he described being sexually active in childhood and having a frank sexual conversation with a sister while still a child.[60] The police reported that the memoir demonstrated "his preoccupation with sex and veiled contempt for authority."[61] In the Cold War era, when North American society placed increasing emphasis on the importance of gender and sexual norms, the

53 Sageman, *Misunderstanding Terrorism*, 89–110, offers a useful problematizing of the entire concept of radicalization and how it is applied inconsistently as a term. For more on the concept of extremism, see J.M. Berger, *Extremism* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2018).

54 RCMP report, 31 May, RCMP files, LAC, 380; RCMP report, 22 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1289–91.

55 RCMP brief, 16 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 893.

56 Letter from Paul Joseph Chartier to his ex-girlfriend, 7 December 1964, RCMP files, LAC, 1245–6. For more on Deprol, see David Herzberg, *Happy Pills in America: From Miltown to Prozac* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 143.

57 Report of Ottawa Police Department, 30 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 253.

58 Special Agent in Charge, Los Angeles, to FBI Director, 2 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 960–1; "He Was Such a Normal Man, Says Chartier's Landlady," *Toronto Telegram*, 19 May 1966; FBI report, 11 July 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1133–4; FBI report, 1 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 1038–9, 1045, 1052–3; RCMP report, 6 June 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 306.

59 Chartier, *What You Should Know*, 967–86; Report of Toronto Police Department, 18 May 1966, 66.

60 Chartier, *What You Should Know*, 967–86.

61 RCMP report, 20 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 422.

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police deemed Chartier's attitudes toward sexual intercourse as more useful for explaining the bombing than his past involvement in normalized male violence, including spousal abuse.[62]

The autobiography appears less significant in terms of revealing Chartier's motivation than the other main text he left behind. Common to a majority of lone-actor terrorists in one data set, Chartier expressed his grievances in a piece of writing to ensure clarity as to why he had carried out the attack.[63] He died with a copy of the document in his jacket pocket; Chartier had already sent the first version of his manifesto to the *Edmonton Journal*. In the rambling essay that he referred to as speaking "for the people," Chartier expressed a desire to be "president of Canada": "We have no one governing this country and I would work very hard rectifying Canada as we have so much to work with. But what we have is either stolen or given away." The text avoided openly stating his intention to attack Parliament Hill, but it did allude strongly to that possibility: "[M]y first thought was to exterminate as many members [of the House of Commons] as possible. I also know that this might cost me my life, but then I figured someone might benefit by it and again I thought not all members are at fault."[64]

Although the document purported to be about the wider Canadian society and contained frequent references to "we," the issues raised intersected with Chartier's own life. He referred to having done work for "the Government" at rates of pay too low to make a living or support a family and blamed the government for divorces, separations, and suicides. He wondered what society offered "a man over 40 with [a] slight defect" and for "the non-skilled, older people. The ones that have not the ability to learn, the semi-invlaid [sic] and the sick, the one who has bad nerves, the one that has a bad heart, kidney, lungs, or the man who is only partly disabled."[65] Rampant economic inequality was the main problem: "Why should we live in a tormented world? I don't like everything about Communism, but this country is getting more like it every day. What we used to call Capitalism, used to be a good thing till big business took over. Now it is just like Communism, as the worker has nothing to say and no chance to get ahead. If at least the Lords of big business would stop and think it's us that put them there. If they would only take a little consideration of the working man. This I would do if I was President."[66] Solutions included a living wage, tax cuts for low-income workers, improved health care, affordable homes, better working conditions, the cutting of foreign aid, and the death penalty for the corrupt. He also complained about the cost of the CBC and the low prices received by farmers on Soviet wheat sales.[67]

62 Elise Chenier, "The Criminal Sexual Psychopath in Canada: Sex, Psychiatry and the Law at Mid-Century," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 20, no. 1 (2003): 77; Christopher Dummitt, *The Manly Modern: Masculinity in Postwar Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2007), 115; Lynne Segal, *Slow Motion: Changing Masculinities, Changing Men*, 3rd ed. (London: Palgrave MacMillan, 2007), 14; RCMP report, 20 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 422.

63 Gill, Horgan, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 429.

64 Chartier to the *Edmonton Journal*, 213.

65 Chartier, "If I Was President of Canada," RCMP files, LAC, 106, 214–5, 820.

66 Ibid., 223.

67 Ibid., 218.

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When authorities examined Chartier's body in the aftermath of the bombing, they discovered the manifesto. His was an act of politically motivated violence. Paul Joseph Chartier blamed what he saw as the failings of Canadian society on the political system and politicians. In his eyes, the country's political system was inherently corrupt, a belief encouraged by a series of scandals. In 1965, the dominant national scandal involved allegations that bribes to politicians had led to Quebec drug dealer Lucien Rivard's escape from prison. Guy Favreau, the minister of justice in the Pearson government, resigned as a result. Two months before the bombing, the case of Gerda Munsinger, a German woman and alleged security risk who had participated in sexual relationships with two Cabinet ministers in the previous Diefenbaker government, emerged, fuelling a major media frenzy comparable to the Profumo affair in the United Kingdom.[68] Across the various versions of the poorly written manifesto and in dehumanizing language, the bomber disparaged politicians whom he accused of "robbing us of a desent living" and of having a "to hell with you Jack I'm alwright" attitude. They were "turn coats" who in the past would have "been strung up by there heels." Now, Chartier offered them "a blast to wake you up."[69] As Michael Kimmel notes, "[p]opulism is not a theory, an ideology; it's an emotion. And the emotion is righteous."[70]

## LONE-ACTOR TERRORISM, MASCULINITY, AND VIOLENCE

There is no single or simple answer as to why Paul Joseph Chartier blew himself up in a Parliament Hill bathroom. Nevertheless, Chartier's deed does fit a wider pattern of lone-actor terrorism internationally and in Canada.[71] The common thread is the vast over-representation of men in carrying out such attacks. This reality, notes Kimmel, "creates hardly a ripple," and yet it cries out for more attention to gender in the form of masculinity.[72] Although it is more accurate to refer to plural masculinities, at times, "a singular vision of masculinity" can dominate.[73] R.W. Connell describes this type of masculinity as "culturally exalted" and as representing a "hegemonic masculinity."[74]

68 Bryan D. Palmer, *Canada's 1960s: The Irony of Identity in a Rebellious Era* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2009), chap. 3, loc. 1516–2087, Kindle; Denis Smith, *Rogue Tory: The Life and Legend of John G. Diefenbaker* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1995), chap. 13, loc. 12077–120, Kindle.

69 Chartier, text of speech to Parliament, n.d., RCMP files, LAC, 92, 94, 119, 828. For more on the dehumanizing of intended victims, see Hamm and Spaaij, *Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 54–5.

70 Kimmel, *Angry White Men*, xi.

71 See note 9 for other examples of lone-actor terrorism in Canada. For international examples, see Gill, Horgan, and Deckert, "Bombing Alone," 119.

72 Kimmel, *Healing from Hate*, 3.

73 Kimmel, *Manhood in America*, 4.

74 Connell, *Masculinities*, 77. For a useful reflection on trends in historical writing about masculinity, see John Tosh, "The History of Masculinity: An Outdated Concept?" in *What is Masculinity? Historical Dynamics from Antiquity to the Contemporary World*, ed. John H. Arnold and Sean Brady (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 17–34.

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What then were the characteristics of the dominant masculinity that many men felt pressured to perform?[75] In the twenty years after the Second World War, increased emphasis was placed on the family and fatherhood in a heteronormative context as a reaction against the disruptive forces of depression and war. The family, with men at the centre, was perceived to be a strong shield against the threat of communism in the Cold War, as it became, in the words of Mary Louise Adams, "a symbol of safety – not just on the individual level, but on the national level as well."[76] Reinforced in Canada at this time, as Robert Rutherdale and others document, was the male as the breadwinner within a "companionate marriage," and as a father active in the lives of his children.[77] Marriage, the key relationship between Canadian adults, included the sexual relationship between the wedded partners. Sexual intercourse, according to Adams, was viewed as a "'natural' part of a healthy life, even if it wasn't engaged in for the purpose of producing babies."[78]

Writing in an American context, Elaine Tyler May describes these family-centric values as being those of the white middle class. Those "who did not conform to them were likely to be marginalized, stigmatized, and disadvantaged as a result."[79] In the postwar period, Chris Dummitt argues that Canadian masculinity "linked modern values with masculinity" and, in the process, privileged "certain kinds of men by linking them with the dominant spirit of the times." This, he adds, "created a sense of alienation in many men," as "[m]anly modernism privileged rational and expert masculinity even as it sought to control other forms of manly aggression, passion, and the working-class or racial 'other.'"[80]

As both May and Dummitt observe, alienation arose in those men who fell short of these ideals of masculinity. In that respect, Chartier was not unique. However, the distance that he fell from the ideal fuelled a sense of rage against the Canadian political system and politicians. His list of deficiencies is long. Although he was in the military during the Second World War, he never left Canada, and his autobiography refers to disciplinary problems while in uniform. After the war, he failed multiple

75 For more on gender performativity, see Judith Butler, "Preface (1999)," in *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity* (New York: Taylor and Francis, 2014), loc. 163–90, Kindle.

76 Mary Louise Adams, *The Trouble with Normal: Postwar Youth and the Making of Heterosexuality* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1997), 23; Palmer, *Canada's 1960s*, chap. 3, loc. 1500–3, Kindle.

77 Robert Rutherdale, "Fatherhood, Masculinity, and the Good Life during Canada's Baby Boom, 1945–65," *Journal of Family History* 24, no. 3 (1999): 354, 358, 360; Robert Rutherdale, "New 'Faces' for Fathers: Memory, Life-Writing, and Fathers as Providers in the Postwar Consumer Era," in *Creating Postwar Canada: Community, Diversity, and Dissent, 1945–75*, ed. Magda Fahrni and Robert Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008), 241–67; Nancy M. Forestell, "The Miner's Wife: Working-Class Femininity in a Masculine Context, 1920–50," in *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*, ed. Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan, and Nancy M. Forestell (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1999), 149.

78 Adams, *Trouble with Normal*, 32, 33. For more on the history of masculinity in Canada, see *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities across Time and Place*, ed. Peter Gossage and Robert Rutherdale (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2018).

79 May, *Homeward Bound*, 13.

80 Dummitt, *Manly Modern*, 3, 5, 7.

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times as a worker and a businessman, despite living in an era of greater affluence, including low levels of unemployment.[81] He failed as a husband and breadwinner, not only by not providing for his wife but by allegedly abusing her. He failed as a heterosexual man, having an aversion not just to heteronormative intercourse with his wife and, later, his girlfriend but to the entire notion of heterosexual intercourse. He failed to become a father by not producing any children, thus not participating in the norm of the nuclear family. He failed as a family member, becoming estranged from most of his siblings. He had repeated encounters with the law, possibly had a drinking problem, and clearly suffered from alienation and a lack of self-discipline. Finally, he even failed in terms of his personal appearance. Overweight and balding, he attempted to hide the latter by wearing an obvious toupee. He thus did not conform to ideal notions of male bodies in the early Cold War period, when concerns abounded that growing levels of white male obesity represented the increasing feminization of men.[82]

Chartier demonstrated a self-awareness of his deviation from dominant masculine constructs. His manifesto indirectly referenced his own personal circumstances, including his employment history, family relationships, divorce, and financial incompetence.[83] Moreover, as with his hairpiece, he attempted to reinvent himself. In letters to his lover in California, he emphasized that he had always been "a good worker and provider" and that he had a "love" for sexual intercourse with women.[84] In job applications submitted while living in the United States, he erased his criminal record, restored his marriage, which now included two children, and became a US military veteran.[85] Finally, in his autobiography, he attempted at one point to restore his virility: "It was just a little later that I got back my sense and health, used sex moderately and regained my position as a man."[86]

Entrepreneurial reinventions repeatedly proved futile, and his downward spiral accelerated, including a charge, later dropped, for physically assaulting his elderly landlady in Miami two months before the bombing. Chartier sought a possible escape.[87] He could attempt to restore his honour by striking a blow against the corrupt system and those behind it, whom he blamed for his own and others' misery. In his study of why men engage in extremist violence, Michael Kimmel observes

81 Veronica Strong-Boag, "Home Dreams: Women and the Suburban Experiment in Canada, 1945–60," *Canadian Historical Review* 72, no. 4 (1991): 474; Chartier, *What You Should Know*, 982. The Canadian unemployment rate was 3.6 per cent in 1966; see "Canadian Unemployment Rates," DaveManuel.com, n.d., http://www.davemanuel.com/historical-unemployment-rates-in-canada.php. The American unemployment rate was 3.8 percent in 1966; see "Databases, Tables & Calculators by Subject," U.S. Bureau of Labour Statistics, n.d., http://data.bls.gov/timeseries/LNU04000000?years_option=all_years&periods_option=specific_periods&periods=Annual+Data.

82 Deborah McPhail, "What to Do with the 'Tubby Hubby'? 'Obesity,' the Crisis of Masculinity, and the Nuclear Family in Early Cold War Canada," *Antipode* 41, no. 5 (2009): 1032–3.

83 Chartier, "If I Was President of Canada," 214–23.

84 Chartier to Evelyn, 24 October 1964, RCMP files, LAC, 1234; 17 November 1964, RCMP files, LAC, 1243.

85 Applications for Employment, RCMP files, LAC, 135, 679, 938.

86 Chartier, *What You Should Know*, RCMP files, LAC, 979.

87 FBI report, 26 May 1966, RCMP files, LAC, 924.

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that such individuals "were somehow convinced to externalize their sense of emasculation, turn it into righteous political rage, and lash out at those forces that they came to believe responsible for their emasculation. Their failure was not theirs, as individuals; it was something done to them – by an indifferent state, by predatory corporations and rapacious bankers, by a host of 'others' who had preyed upon global sympathies to get special bargains. They were not failures; they were victims."[88]

In the case of Chartier, his bombing would serve as "propaganda by the deed," a classic terrorist motivation – hence the need for a manifesto to indicate why he had carried out the attack and potentially to inspire others.[89] However, the path followed also held the potential for someone who deviated from dominant norms of masculinity to compensate by embracing other "normative models of masculinities" that included "aggression or violence."[90]

## HISTORICIZING CHARTIER AND LONE-ACTOR TERRORISM

The connection between masculinity and extreme violence is receiving increased attention.[91] In *A History of Violence*, Robert Muchembled notes the historic linkage between men and murder: "The profile of the typical offender has changed very little since the thirteenth century. . . . Women are in a tiny minority. The majority of murderers are young men aged between twenty and twenty-nine."[92] In relation to the dominance of men in carrying out acts of terrorism, Fidelma Ashe and Ken Harland point to the significance of "violent masculinities," where "the constitution of masculinities depends on the particular constructions of men's gendered identities that become dominant or normative within specific societies, groups, and contexts."[93]

88 Kimmel, *Healing from Hate*, 20.

89 Marie Fleming, "Propaganda by the Deed: Terrorism and Anarchist Theory in Late Nineteenth-Century Europe," *Terrorism* 4, no. 1–4 (1980): 1–23.

90 Fidelma Ashe and Ken Harland, "Troubling Masculinities: Changing Patterns of Violent Masculinities in a Society Emerging from Political Conflict," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 37, no. 9 (September 2014): 750. Some versions of Canadian masculinity celebrated violence in a sporting environment. Richard Gruneau and David Whitson, *Hockey Night in Canada: Sport, Identities and Cultural Politics* (Toronto: Garamond, 1993), 178, 196.

91 David Plummer, "Masculinity and Terror: The Missing Conversation," *The Conversation*, 8 October 2014, https://theconversation.com/masculinity-and-terror-the-missing-conversation-32276; Janey Stephenson, "It's Not Muslims or People with Mental Health Problems Who Are Most Likely to Kill You in a Terrorist Attack – It's Men," *Independent*, 27 July 2016, http://www.independent.co.uk/voices/terrorist-attack-muslims-mentally-ill-japan-france-germany-men-its-toxic-masculinity-a7158156.html. For scholarly work on masculinity and terrorism, see Alan Bairner, "Soccer, Masculinity, and Violence in Northern Ireland: Between Hooliganism and Terrorism," *Men and Masculinities* 1, no. 3 (January 1999): 284–301; Megan A. O'Branski, "'The Savage Reduction of the Flesh': Violence, Gender and Bodily Weaponisation in the 1981 Irish Republican Hunger Strike Protest," *Critical Studies on Terrorism* 7, no. 1 (2014): 97–111; Ashe and Harland, "Troubling Masculinities," 747–62; "Gendering Perpetrator Studies," *Discover Society*, 1 March 2017, http://discoversociety.org/2017/03/01/gendering-perpetrator-studies/.

92 Robert Muchembled, *A History of Violence: From the End of the Middle Ages to the Present*, trans. Jean Birrell (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), 9.

93 Ashe and Harland, "Troubling Masculinities," 749.

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In the case of Canada, the Chartier example demonstrates, as do other lone-actor attacks in the country since Confederation, that there is no Canadian exceptionalism when it comes to extreme violence by men. Further, the 1966 bombing fits a wider international pattern in relation to such attacks, as do some of the other cases identified as lone-actor terrorists in Canada. In *Guys and Guns Amok*, Douglas Kellner profiles acts of extreme violence in an American context by lone, usually white, male attackers who externalize "rage and resentment in public acts."[94] Indeed, "amok" is a Malay word used to describe mass murders carried out by men as a response to perceived humiliation in their lives.[95] In her groundbreaking study of masculinity and Islamist terrorism, Maleeha Aslam observes that the consequence of "not having avenues to practise masculinity in a culturally ideal manner" can be the birth of "troubled masculinities . . . aggressive and emasculated, i.e. protest masculinities."[96]

The importance of history in relation to lone-actor terrorism becomes evident through a case study of Paul Joseph Chartier. It does so not through revelations of how Chartier could have been detected and stopped ahead of the bombing. In fact, it is the opposite: history illustrates the certainty of uncertainty and the complexities around understanding the drivers behind lone-actor terrorism. Chartier did not appear to the police, friends, or family as a threat in advance of the bombing because his pattern of failure, petty criminality, anger, and alienation applied to many men. Although he may have suffered from mental health issues, the evidence of their extent and how they might have contributed to his decision to carry out his "operation" remained unknowable at the time – this despite a comprehensive police investigation of all facets of his life, including his medical records. Even if they are frequent characteristics of lone-actor terrorists, and there is considerable debate about these categories, mental health issues or personality disorders do not, as Hamm and Spaaij note, in themselves cause acts of extreme violence.[97]

Instead, a case study of Chartier's life provides renewed emphasis on masculinity as an important correlative factor in generating anger and alienation and then in the choice of extreme violence as a means of resolution. In Canada, before the Parliament Hill bombing, lone-actor attacks had clear political overtones and ties to wider causes.[98] After Chartier, more men would lash out at targets because of inspirations that appear to have motivated the Parliament Hill bomber in 1966.

94 Kellner, *Guys and Guns Amok*, 116.

95 Ibid., 13.

96 Aslam, *Gender-Based Explosions*, 116.

97 Hamm and Spaaij, *Age of Lone Wolf Terrorism*, 54–5. For more on the linkage between mental health and terrorism, including lone-actor terrorism, see Lloyd and Kleinot, "Pathways into Terrorism," 367–77; Paul Gill and Emily Corner, "There and Back Again: The Study of Mental Disorder and Terrorist Involvement," *American Psychologist* 72, no. 3 (2017): 231–41; Emily Corner and Paul Gill, "A False Dichotomy? Mental Illness and Lone-Actor Terrorism," *Law and Human Behavior* 39, no. 1 (2015): 23–34.

98 See note 9 for a list of lone-actor attacks in Canada since 1867.

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