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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS

As students of history, it is in our nature to seek to create a narrative from the past. However, crafting a history of this journal's conception is no easy task. In just one page, it would be impossible to adequately sum up a years' worth of organising, planning, struggling, swearing, etc. However, we shall endeavour to do our best and learn in the process, which after all, is what undergraduate studies are all about.

Throughout this process, we the executive editors have hoped that this journal and symposium will hopefully present a valuable learning experience for our fellow students, and may continue to do so for years to come. Our goal with this project has always been to foster interest and excitement in historical research. Finding one's path towards a career in academia has always been a uniquely challenging process, which has only become more difficult over the pandemic as the connections, relationships, and experiences which foster interest and access to graduate studies have become more difficult to come by. Through engaging in this process, we hope to provide an opportunity for student's not only to develop important skills to help them on their academic and professional journeys, but to build the passion and confidence to do so. Lowering barriers to academia stands not only to benefit students, but enrich the scholarly landscape as a whole. The inclusion of new and diverse perspectives offers the opportunity to deepen our understanding of history and what factors, trends, and events have shaped the world around us. In starting the Endnote, we hoped to create something which could benefit students and the University community, which is especially meaningful for those of us graduating this year.

With this being said, it is a privilege and a delight to present the inaugural issue of the Endnote. Through this journal, we have sought to showcase the insightful scholarship students at Toronto Metropolitan University have to offer and how the next generation of historians are approaching a diverse range of topics. In reading the contributions of seven exceptional young scholars, we hope you enjoy the opportunity to see how the disciplines future investigates the past. We hope you take this chance to learn, reflect, and enjoy!

Katie Carson, Neea Jacklin, and Paige Parsons
The Endnote executive team and founders

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ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

It is deeply humbling to have so many people to thank for making this journal come to life. Firstly, to the history department for their many contributions through this year-long process. The advice, and support of faculty members and administration took this project from an idea to reality. A particular note of thanks to the faculty who participated who reviewed submissions, your expertise was an integral part of the process. Thank you as well to our copy editors, Eve Cassavoy and Denis Lim, for helping us create a polished and grammatically correct final product. There would not have been a final product, however, without the contributions of our authors, whose insight, creativity, and time given to this project would be remiss not to thank. This project would also have not been possible with the generous financial support of the Department of History, the Faculty of Arts Student Project Grant, and the Society for Social Science, Arts, and Humanities. Finally, thank you to everyone who has expressed interest and shown your support to this project. We hope you enjoy the final product as much as we do!

The Endnote Editorial Team

Supported by: Department of History—Toronto Metropolitan University, Student Project Grant—Toronto Metropolitan University Faculty of Arts, and the Society of Arts, Social Science, and Humanities.

FORWARD

The editors of this journal – who also organised an associated conference – asked me to share some thoughts on the value of undergraduate History, which I am most happy to do. Perhaps the biggest reason to study the subject is that it is just so very interesting! We can enrich our lives by exploring our common humanity through the successes and failures of those who lived before us, and we can appreciate the different cultures and contexts in which they faced the challenges of their lives. We can enjoy (or frown upon) their tastes, and we can take pleasure in recovering the "small things forgotten" of everyday existence through the millennia. Furthermore – and importantly – we can gain a rich and nuanced understanding of how our world came into being, and consequently we can generate ideas and foster actions for the betterment of everyone who shares the planet with us, both now and in the years to come.

History students develop research, analytical, and communications skills that are important in preparing them to take their place in the world as individuals, as citizens, and as workers. History's skills may be applied broadly after graduation, as we see in the diverse realms in which former students pursue their futures. Some continue in History through finding employment in the heritage sector or by enrolling in a master's degree in the subject or a related discipline (and perhaps a doctorate afterwards). Some enrol in professional programs, such as law, journalism, information management, library science, teaching, public administration, or museum studies. Others enter the labour force upon graduation, obtaining jobs in business, government, or the non-profit sector; and in all of these areas, employers seek the intellectual and problem-solving skills that people develop through their engagement with History during their undergraduate years.

I would like to congratulate the students who organised publication of this journal and hosted its allied conference (as well as the people who assisted them along the way). The individuals who submitted papers and undertook revisions – which all historians encounter in publishing their work – also deserve praise for their efforts. As the organisers and authors move through university or prepare to graduate, their participation in this project contributes to their professional development and to strengthening their competitive profile, whether they continue formal studies after graduation or enter the workforce equipped with their new degree in one of the most fascinating subjects anyone can study.

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THE FINAL FRONTIER:

The Implications of the Space Race on Modern Space Exploration

Abdullah Zaidi

INTRODUCTION

With the notable launches of the Artemis I rocket and James Webb telescope, the subject of space exploration has orbited back into public discourse. Scholars continue to draw parallels between the current focus on spaceflight development and that which occurred within the Cold War. This famous competition, known as the Space Race, marked the expansion of ideological tensions into the cosmos. During this period, both the United States and Soviet Union struggled to be the first to achieve several scientific feats, the most notable of which was landing man on the moon. While these accomplishments marked revolutionary advancements in technology and human accomplishment, they also had lasting impacts that are considered in modern space exploration. First, partnerships between science and government established in World War Two enabled the Soviet launch of the first satellite into space, and have been improved upon in modern times. Next, the United States' role as the unequivocal leader in spaceflight stems from its establishment of space-related infrastructure in the wake of Soviet achievement, as well as the decision to make advancements in space a nationalistic endeavour. Finally, the waning relevance of the Soviet Union in modern space-related discourse is a result of the weaknesses and failures found in their Space Race strategy, specifically that of disorganization and undue focus on propaganda. Through the understanding of space as a platform upon which nations could achieve their political goals, the Space Race highlighted the strengths and weaknesses of both the United States and Soviet Union, ultimately yielding

significant technological, economic, and ideological results that remain relevant in modern space endeavours.

SCIENTIFIC "COLLABORATION" AND THE INTERNATIONAL GEOPHYSICAL YEAR

Although later developments in the Space Race encouraged the politicization of space to further national differences, initially, the concept of a new frontier provided remarkable opportunities for collaboration that extend into the modern day: a scientific desire for exploration. Following the end of World War Two, since the conflict had bolstered the rapid development of rocket technologies, space exploration enthusiasts and organizations around the globe wished to utilize these advancements to achieve extraplanetary travel. This culminated in the creation of the International Geophysical Year (IGY) in 1957-58: a collaboration that enlisted 67 countries and 60,000 scientists in an effort to create a platform for scientific exchange.[1] Including both the Soviet Union and the United States, the former recognized as a "chief contributor in nearly all areas," this collaboration pioneered relationships and treaties that continue to this day.[2] Not only was this alliance between nations, but with the inclusion of independent rocket societies, the IGY created opportunities for private-public relationships in spaceflight: "Private firms competed for government contracts and winners selected and supervised their own subcontractors."[3] This form of systems management is akin to that found today with the likes of SpaceX and Blue Origin, once again exhibiting the ways in which the Cold War's Space Race created the foundations for international relations regarding spaceflight.

It is important to understand that the incredible potential of merging scientific advancement and military or political power was not unique to the IGY. Additionally, within the broader context of the nuclear arms race, it becomes clear that the project was not solely collaborative. In his attempt to end the war and brandish the United States' military prowess before a global audience, President Franklin D. Roosevelt established the Office of Scientific Research and Development (OSRD) in 1941. He installed scientist-administrator Vannevar Bush as Director of the Board who, later that year, helped convince Roosevelt to set in motion the process to harness atomic energy.[4] Following the devastating success of The Manhattan Project—the ultimate

1 Mai'a K. D. Cross, "The Social Construction of the Space Race: Then and Now," *International Affairs (London)* 95, no. 6 (2019): 1410-1412.

2 Ibid, 1412.

3 Andrew S. Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race: Comparing Two Systems in their Competition to Land a Man on the Moon," *Acta Astronautica* 148, (2018): 376.

4 Barton J. Bernstein, "Seizing the Contested Terrain of Early Nuclear History: Stimson, Conant, and Their Allies Explain the Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb," *Diplomatic History* 17, no. 1 (1993): 40.

culmination of Bush's proposal—the Second World War came to a swift end. The colossal value contributed by the OSRD was unmistakeable. As such, the United States, now under the Truman administration, did not relent in its amalgamation of scientific and militaristic endeavours. US defense policy shifted its focus to immediate retaliation in the case of any Soviet aggression.[5] The power granted by the atomic bomb loomed over the geopolitical uncertainties plaguing Europe in the postwar period. The United States had the clear nuclear advantage, so a strategy rooted in pre-emption would yield unmatchable consequences for any opposers.[6] However, when the Soviets boasted their own atomic arsenal in 1949, the one-sided threat of requital transformed into a guarantee of mutually-assured destruction. This shared sense of vulnerability only justified further armament.[7] Accordingly, Moscow and Washington continued to leverage existing technologies, but meaningful advancement in nuclear development required further expansion of science-government relationships.

This escalating, interdependent partnership in the early postwar period extended directly into the conceptualization of the IGY. Threats of espionage discouraged any collaboration among the scientific community, especially regarding rocketry.[8] Both blocs continued mobilizing scientific resources into government-run agencies. In the West, Bush was made Chairman of the new US Research and Development Board in 1947, overseeing all military programs.[9] With the help of executive secretary Lloyd Berkner, the two coordinated efforts to edge out the Soviets in various research areas. Berkner, who possessed a background in aeronautics, was an advocate for the use of science to inform foreign policy. He consulted for the Truman government on communications during the war, "using international scientific meetings to gather information about the state of knowledge in the Eastern bloc."[10] Employing the same strategy, Berkner was encouraged by the Eisenhower administration to propose the idea of a Third Polar Year to notable colleagues James Van Allen and Sydney Chapman. The idea quickly transformed to a worldwide initiative rather than one confined to the poles, and after approval from international committees, the IGY was arranged.[11]

5 Arthur A. Joyce et al., "The Nuclear Arms Race: An Evolutionary Perspective [with Commentaries]," *Politics and the Life Sciences* 7, no. 2 (1989): 194.

6 Francis J. Gavin, "Same as It Ever Was: Nuclear Alarmism, Proliferation, and the Cold War," *International Security* 34, no. 3 (2010): 24.

7 Joyce et al., "The Nuclear Arms Race," 195.

8 Christy Collis and Klaus Dodds, "Assault on the Unknown: The Historical and Political Geographies of the International Geophysical Year (1957-8)," *Journal of Historical Geography* 34, no. 4 (2008): 566.

9 Fae L. Korsmo, "The Genesis of the International Geophysical Year," *Physics Today* 60, no. 7 (2007): 38-39.

10 Ibid, 39.

11 Collis and Dodds, "Assault on the Unknown."; Korsmo, "The Genesis of the International Geophysical Year."

From its inception, the project had explicit militaristic and political implications. Both blocs eagerly submitted extensive agendas for the program, keen on showcasing the potential of their research thus far. The polar regions in particular offered many advantages. Geographically, an American presence in the Arctic would leave the Soviet Union vulnerable towards the north.[12] Study of the ice could also enable innovation in seismology and "detection of underground nuclear weapons testing."[13] Furthermore, since the arms race had put an emphasis on rocketry, upper-atmospheric testing during the IGY was extremely valuable. The space effort was a natural effect of these advancements. In 1955, Eisenhower outspokenly approved plans to create a satellite during the IGY.[14] Although the same project had secretly been underway in Russia, Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev refused to confirm any such program until 1956.[15] Despite these different approaches, both parties took steps to prioritize the development of nuclear arms. Eisenhower chose a non-ballistic base for the project's rocket, ensuring that further publicization of the initiative would not leak compromising information.[16] Contrastingly, Khrushchev's secrecy allowed him to enlist engineer Sergei Korolev to adapt his own cutting-edge missile technology for the task.

THE SPACE RACE

The contributions in the IGY ultimately led to the successful launch of Soviet Union's Sputnik I satellite a year later, on October 4th 1957. Instantly, the dynamic of cooperation shifted into that of intense competition. The ideological differences that pervaded the Cold War seeped into the topic of space, with Khruschev "cit[ing] Sputnik as proof that—thanks to its superior system—the USSR was surpassing the West."[17] Although nations around the world initially applauded the accomplishment, the zero-sum nature of the conflict inspired fears in the West about potentially falling behind, and leaving the domain of space entirely under Soviet influence.[18] In response, Eisenhower founded new scientific organizations, increasing funding for air and space research. Crucially, he scrutinized existing programs focused not only on satellite technologies, but also those concerning ballistic missile efforts as well.[19] After all, the rocket that delivered Sputnik was

12 Korsmo, "The Genesis of the International Geophysical Year," 38.
13 Collis and Dodds, "Assault on the Unknown," 571.
14 Roger D. Launius, "An Unintended Consequence of the IGY: Eisenhower, Sputnik, the Founding of the NASA," *Acta Astronautica* 67, no. 1 (2010): 255.
15 Korsmo, "The Genesis of the International Geophysical Year," 42.
16 Ibid.
17 Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race," 377.
18 Cross, "The Social Construction of the Space Race."
19 Launius, "An Unintended Consequence of the IGY," 256.
20 Korsmo, "The Genesis of the International Geophysical Year," 42.

none other than Korolev's R-7 Semyorka, marking the debut of the world's first intercontinental ballistic missile.[20] For the East, the sheer scale of this achievement dispelled western narratives that illustrated their rivals as savages "incapable of becoming an influential world power," effectively challenging the United States' declaration as the forerunners in all leading technologies.[21] The propagandization of these successes led to a fierce desire between the nations to trump the other, and thus space transformed into a tool to legitimize influence, the winner of the Space Race being viewed as the global leader in various categories.

Nonetheless, the nuanced relevance of the Space Race extended far beyond propaganda within the context of the Cold War, and the immense opportunity presented by space cannot be overstated. Rather than a unidimensional battlefield with purely militaristic implications, Mai'a K. Davis Cross defines space as "a diverse arena for policy," positioning its role as a platform which merely demonstrated the interplay of existing Cold War elements. Any achievement or struggle within space, one of the Cold War's "central theaters," was seen as a reflection of the conflict's actors.[22] Triumphs were attributed to nations' capabilities, thought to be enabled by their ideologies. Simultaneously, any shortcomings could be seen as a representation of systemic failure on the world stage.[23] This is not to downplay the militaristic nature of space exploration at this time: pursuit of the cosmos was limited by the military capability to develop robust rocket technology.[24] Heightened tensions within the Space Race were also extensions of similar hostility that preceded this chapter of the Cold War. Moreover, the legal systems that divided land territory did not encompass outer space, signifying that anything beyond the stratosphere was geopolitically undefined.[25] Combined with satellite technology's capacity for surveillance, the legal consideration of space only intensified pressures to create an unrestricted sphere of influence around the Earth. This would not be addressed until years later with the 1967 Outer Space Treaty, which spearheaded the vast international and corporate presence seen today.[26] Until then, the exclusive rivalry between the United States and the Soviet Union continued to raise the stakes of competition in space. Therefore, while outer space—like the IGY—acted as a grand symbol in human achievement, its role in the Cold War had incredibly political, nationalistic connotations.

21 Samantha Kallen, "Nationalism, Ideology, and the Cold War Space Race," Constellations 10, no. 2 (2019): 5.
22 Cross, "The Social Construction of the Space Race," 1405-1406.
23 Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race," 377.
24 Cross, "The Social Construction of the Space Race."; Kallen, "Nationalism, Ideology, and the Cold War Space Race."; Asif A. Siddiqi, *Challenge to Apollo: The Soviet Union and the Space Race* (2000).
25 Collis and Dodds, "Assault on the Unknown," 559.
26 Ibid, 561.

These ramifications, along with the United States' fears of being usurped on the world stage, would only worsen with Yuri Gagarin's successful mission into orbit in 1961. Still, hope was not lost. The moon presented a symbolic opportunity for the West to recoup their losses, and prove their technological prowess. Declared in his famous "Space Challenge" speech in late 1962, President John F. Kennedy rallied the American people behind the vision of landing mankind on the moon, wishing to reinvigorate the nation's reputation as the undisputed world superpower.[27] While this furthered the blending of American nationalism with success in space, it acted as an important message: the United States was unwilling to back down to the Soviets.

Unfortunately, this message went unacknowledged in the East. Unlike the Americans, the Soviet Union were trailblazers in spaceflight, and viewed the West to be in no position to make challenges. The initial dismissal of this challenge by the Soviets was also indicative of a key component of Eastern culture, and one that served a substantial role in their loss of the Space Race: secrecy. Khrushchev was not keen on revealing information before it was strictly relevant, and opted to let Soviet accomplishments speak for themselves. This practice was evident in the case of both Sputnik and Gagarin's launches, in which the Soviets were wary to "brag about experimental breakthroughs unless they were actually successful."[28] In fact, this secrecy helped mask any failures or weaknesses within the Soviet space program, helping the nation maintain a façade of leadership on the world stage. However, this made the free exchange of information that enabled the aforementioned public-private partnerships in the United States unviable in the East.[29] Instead, they "encouraged scientific isolation and lack of disciplinary work," leading to struggle in keeping up with the United States' momentum in their lunar goal.[30] Connecting to the idea of using space as a platform to establish prestige, the subject of Soviet secrecy within the Space Race is important in global narratives because it allowed the United States to remain the sole voice within the realm of spaceflight endeavours. This is an influence that remains in the 21st century. Eventually, due to multitudinous factors—including the very public attempts of the United States government to remain at the forefront of science—the West was successful in reaching the moon first with their historic Apollo 11 mission in July 1969.[31]

This ultimate victory illustrated what scholars contend is perhaps the most crucial differentiation between the Soviets and Americans: their goals, and

[27] Kallen, "Nationalism, Ideology, and the Cold War Space Race," 3.
[28] Cross, "The Social Construction of the Space Race," 1413.
[29] Trevor Brown, "The American and Soviet Cold War Space Programs."; Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race," 377.; Siddiqi, *Challenge to Apollo*.
[30] Brown, "The American and Soviet Cold War," 183.
[31] Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race," 378.

how they utilized space as a platform to achieve them. Literature suggests that the conflation of national identity and success in space encouraged the pursuit of "grand actions . . . translate[d] into geostrategic influence."[32] For example, rather than focus its resources merely on monumental firsts in spaceflight with the Sputnik satellite, American scientists were concerned with, among other things, evolving the booster system that would eventually lead the Apollo mission to the moon.[33] Oppositely, the Soviet Union were disorganized in their extraplanetary efforts, seeking shorter-term goals that eventually collapsed along with their influence on spaceflight. In the time following their successful Sputnik launch, Soviet scientists worked "directly on bio-astronautic flights, whereas the United States emphasized programs such as communication satellites."[34] This undue focus was directly influenced by Soviet ideologies that would prohibit any economically-motivated action, thus preventing the monetization of space. This created financial constraints, limiting the amount of propulsive technological developments that could be pursued simultaneously. At the systemic level, while NASA was founded in 1958, no such organization emerged in the East. Khrushchev was committed to rocket design, but only to wield any spaceflight successes for propaganda.[35] Consequently, the responsibilities for research and development fell primarily in the hands of Korolev's design bureau, which posed further organizational issues after his death.[36]

In conjunction with the difficulties created by Soviet secrecy, a lack of structure or real goals beyond that of brief propaganda limited Eastern productivity, deterring the Soviet Union from being the fierce competitor it once was in outer space. Soviet achievements were commendable, but it is the conclusiveness of the moon landing, and the American patriotism that accompanies it, that remains of the utmost significance in conversations surrounding the Space Race. The ability to launch satellites and human beings into orbit has become increasingly common, while the feat of landing mankind on the moon has yet to be accomplished by another nation. Simply put, the United States viewed space as a frontier that would maintain its relevance in the future, and wished to establish infrastructure that would serve the nation's economic and interests moving forward, the benefits of which can still be seen.

CONCLUSION

The modern relevance of the United States within aerospace, both in terms of its global influence and infrastructure, is directly

[32] Brown, "The American and Soviet Cold War," 180.
[33] Ibid, 179.
[34] Ibid, 180.
[35] Launius, "An Unintended Consequence of the IGY," 256.
[36] Erickson, "Revisiting the U.S.-Soviet Space Race," 377.

rooted in the Space Race competition of the 20th century. Within the Cold War, space provided opportunities to establish influence on the world stage, supporting the ideology of those who triumphed within it, creating a sense of nationalism that intensified the competition. Eastern and Western goals differed, with the East proving their strength through the initial successes of Sputnik and Yuri Gagarin. After these achievements however, the Soviet's space endeavours began to fall short, as they faced economic difficulty and failed to develop technology to keep up with the West. Meanwhile, the United States viewed space as a tool in creating long-term economic stability, initially losing in the competition in favour of establishing a strong sphere of influence. The collaborative nature of the US space program stems from not only the Second World War, but the nuclear arms race that followed. The open exchange of scientific data between non-state actors during the IGY invited a system of ongoing private-public partnerships. These systems not only allowed the West to effectively monetize the development of cutting-edge technologies, but create nationwide support for the space program through its supreme achievement of landing man on the moon. With another Space Race looming, the United States remains an eminent force in rocketry and spaceflight, while the Soviet Union's struggles to find the influence it once had.

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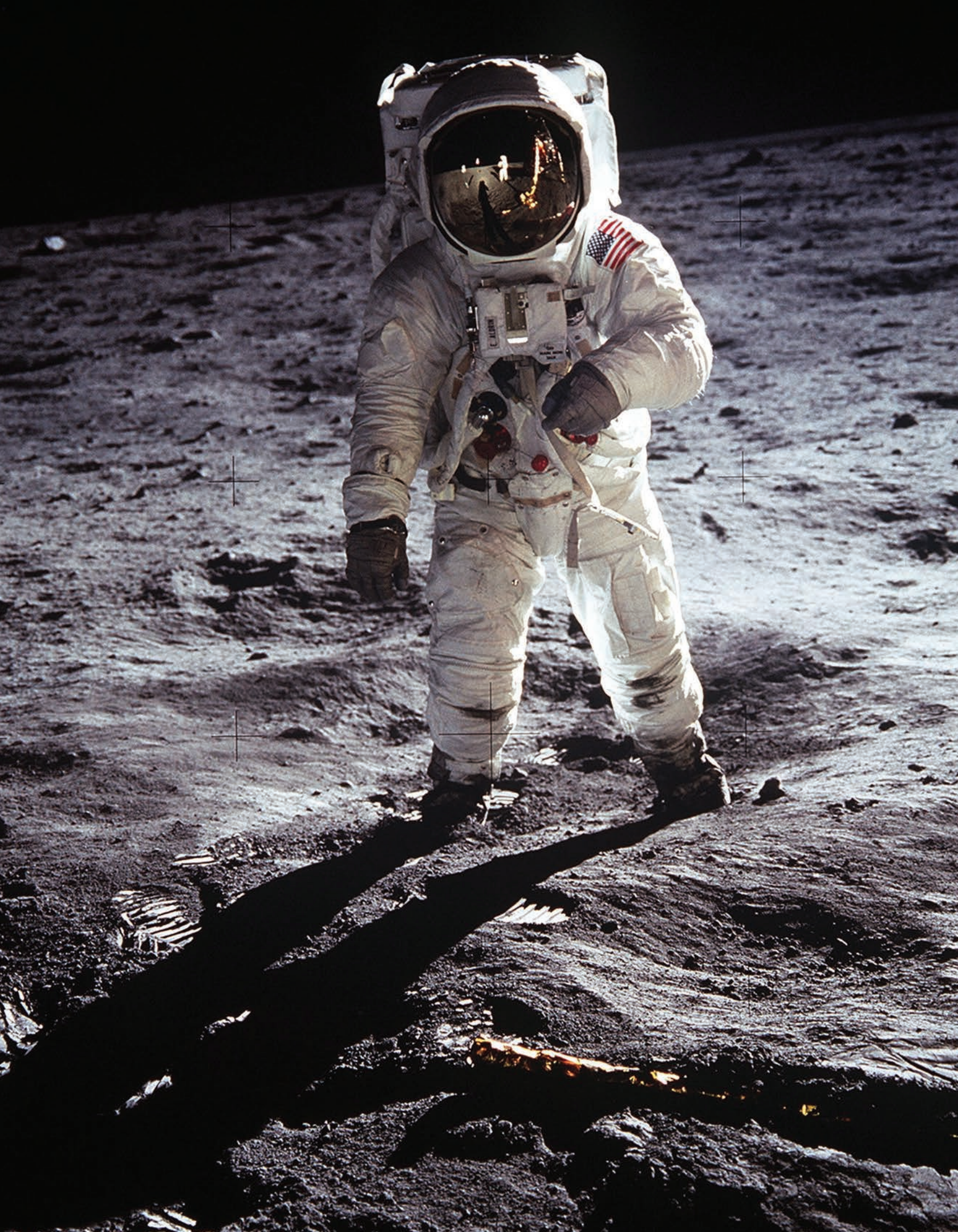

THE SHADOW OF GRIEF IN POST-WAR CANADIAN COLLECTIVE MEMORY

An Analysis of the Double Purpose of Post First World War Commemorative Techniques

Rachel Fournier-Peneff

The Great War, known today as the First World War, took place on the European continent from July 28th, 1914 to November 11, 1918. The assassination of the Austrian Archduke Franz Ferdinand by a Serbian nationalist on June 28, 1914 at Sarajevo, Bosnia led to the Great European Powers to quickly fall into the dangers of alliance systems. There were two separate alliances: the Triple Alliance, made up of Germany, Austria-Hungary, and Italy; and the Triple Entente, which included France, Russia and Great Britain. Canada's official entry in the First World War was on August 4, 1914 when Britain declared war on Germany on behalf of the whole British Empire.[1] With the First World War causing the catastrophic death toll of approximately 60,000 Canadians and 140,000 wounded,[2] it is no surprise that the war touched and altered the lives of most men, women, and children in Canadian society.[3] Never before in Canadian history have so many Canadians violently lost their lives in a short period of time and never had so many families shared this common experience of losing relatives in quick succession. As a result, following the end of the war, Canada was darkened by a shadow of death and mourning.[4] Quickly, the Canadian government and members

of society rallied together to erect various monuments, memorials, and cenotaphs in remembrance of the fallen soldiers of the First World War. This essay will identify the various ways Canadian soldiers and veterans that served in the First World War were commemorated following the end of the war. Physical commemorations of the sacrifice of these soldiers, such as memorials, symbols, and literature, became an outlet of mourning through the justification and continued remembrance of the war.

Post-war Canadian society deemed it necessary to commemorate fallen Canadian soldiers and returning veterans to honour their courage and sacrifice. As a result, across Canada local and national war memorials and cenotaphs were erected to provide a focal point for commemoration and a place to remember.[5] For example, the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier (Figure 1) is a monument at the National War Memorial in Ottawa, Ontario. Its initiative was started in spring of 1998 and the construction was completed in May 2000. The monument contains the remains of

Figure 1: "Memorials and cenotaphs". Legion. https://www.legion.ca/remembrance/remembrance-all-year/memorials-and-cenotaphs#:~:text=Unlike%20monuments%2C%20which%20are%20structures,help%20us%20to%20never%20forget.

numerous unknown soldiers who perished during the battle of Vimy Ridge, in France. The goal of the monument was to honour all of the fallen soldiers, including those who were not recovered or identified, and those who rest in foreign lands.[6] Due to the war being situated on the European continent, only five percent of the nation's war dead were buried in Canada. In this regard, "most Canadian families had no grave they could conveniently grieve at and so were denied access to an important source of consolation".[7] Significantly, war memorials are perceived by Canadians as a permanent structure which "help

1 "Canada and the Beginning of the First World War". Government of Canada. August 4, 2014. https://www.canada.ca/en/news/archive/2014/08/canada-beginning-first-world-war.html.
2 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 411.
3 Ibid., pg. 3.
4 Ibid., pg. 411.
5 Lloyd, David W. "Tourism, Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Australia and Canada, 1919-1939." in *Battlefield Tourism: Pilgrimage and the Commemoration of the Great War in Britain, Australia and Canada, 1919-1939*, London, UK: Bloomsbury Academic, 1998, pg. 187.
6 "Memorials and cenotaphs". Legion. https://www.legion.ca/remembrance/remembrance-all-year/memorials-and-cenotaphs#:~:text=Unlike%20monuments%2C%20which%20are%20structures,help%20us%20to%20never%20forget.
7 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 422.
8 "Memorials and cenotaphs". Legion. https://www.legion.ca/remembrance/remembrance-all-year/memorials-and-cenotaphs#:~:text=Unlike%20monuments%2C%20which%20are%20structures,help%20us%20to%20never%20forget.

us to never forget":[8] The emphasis on remembrance aids grieving individuals and communities because it assures them that the memory of their loved ones will not be forgotten. Therefore, for countless Canadians cenotaphs and memorials, such as the Tomb of Unknown Soldier, filled a void and provided a location to mourn for people who had no other means.[9]

Several communities across Canada decided to erect their own war memorials in honour of fallen soldiers from their own community. One of the towns that built a war memorial in memory of their deceased community members was Arcola, Saskatchewan. In September 1927, 1,500 people and 60 local veterans attended the ceremony of the unveiling of the war memorial. Lieutenant-Governor Henry W. Newlands revealed the memorial, which consists of a white marble statue of a soldier standing at attention; and beneath him a plaque lists the names of twenty-three locals who died during the First World War (Figure 2).[10] During the unveiling ceremony, "Newlands complimented the townspeople for keeping alive the memory of these dead war heroes with such a splendid monument".[11] This emphasis on remembrance demonstrates that war memorials provided spiritual relief to grieving families because these structures will reside within the town for centuries to come. Hence, war memorials have a double meaning. On the one hand they served to be a physical remembrance of fallen soldier. On the other, they provided comfort and an outlet of mourning for grieving families because allowed individuals to participate in the erection of these memorials and focuses their attention to assure the eternal remembrance of a loved one. Linking all these memorials together, is the main common denominator of a sense of personal grief. The Canadian collective memory of the First World War

Figure 2: "Arcola War Memorial". War Monuments in Canada World Wide Web Site. https://www.cdli.ca/monuments/sk/arcola.htm.

9 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 423.
10 Ibid., pg. 409-410.
11 Ibid., pg. 410.
12 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 410.

was the experience of the death of a loved one.[12] This commonality highlights that Canadians were relieved that the legacy of fallen soldiers would be permanently remembered. Through this continuous remembrance, Canadians sought to give meaning to the war in an effort to gain solace.

When comparing various paintings, Canadian literature, and architectural design of war memorials, one can notice a common symbolic thread. Arguably among the most prominent of these symbols for the post-war commemoration of fallen soldiers are symbols of Christianity. For example, unveiled on July 1st, 1924, the Cross of Sacrifice (Figure 3), located in the old part of Quebec City, honoured Canadian soldiers killed during the First World War. Placed under the base of the monument was a handful of dirt from Vimy; a nod to the site of Canada's most decisive involvement in the war.[13] Importantly, it is not uncommon to see symbols of Christianity intertwined with symbols of remembrance of Canadian soldiers. The symbolic presentation of Christianity was purposely done in an attempt to justify mass casualties caused by the First World War. Canadian soldiers were compared to Jesus Christ because both had given their life so humanity could both benefit and survive. With this faith, it is argued that soldiers are the demonstration of God's love and each soldier was a sufferer

Figure 3: Monique. "La croix du sacrifice". Les croix de chemin au Québec un patrimoine à découvrir. April 10, 2015. https://www.patrimoineduquebec.com/ajouts/2015/04/10/la-croix-du-sacrifice/.

along with Christ. Hence, once this view was strengthened in the Canadian public consciousness, it was utilized as a simple way to comprehend the war.[14] Thousands of widows and parents who had lost their loved ones were questioning the meaning of death; therefore "the figure of Jesus Christ and the notion of redemption through sacrifice . . . offered real solace".[15] Moreover, the symbolism of Christianity is also present within numerous war poems. For instance, in Francis Cecil Whitehouse's poem, "The Archers of Mons", there are various literary devices that allude to the presence of God supporting Entente soldiers while on the battlefield. For example, the poem situates Entente soldiers on the battlefield fighting against the Germans, Entente soldiers cry

13 "Croix du Sacrifice". Government of Canada. March 3, 2022. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/fra/remembrance/memorials/national-inventory-canadian-memorials/details/6148.

14 Vance, Jonathan F. Vance. "Christ in Flanders." in *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*, Canada: UBC Press, 1997. pg. 36.

15 Ibid., p. 36.

"a Heavenly Guard, / Or old Crusaders sent once more to Earth / For His good purposes! / They – were the Will of God!".[16] As such, in post-war Canada there are numerous tales of soldier eyewitnesses, who saw visions or apparitions of Jesus Christ, angels, or St George. The presence of such spirits or visions was described as comforting the soldiers and motivating them. Through the invocation of Christianity in poetry, Canadians concluded "that divine intervention has enabled [Entente] soldiers to triumph because their cause was just".[17] Therefore, the symbol of Christianity became a hidden outlet of mourning because "by drawing a parallel between the sacrifice of Christ and the sacrifices of 1914-18, the war took on a sense of purpose".[18] In brief, there was an attempt to stray away from the narrative that the First World War was a battle that was led by ignorant politicians and generals, causing the senseless death of thousands of young men and women. Instead, Canadians have given a meaning to the deaths of Canadians in the First World War. This meaning and justification provides appeasement for grieving families that are looking for a meaning behind the mass casualties that the whole nation endured.

Commemoration of veterans and fallen soldiers of the First World War took many shapes and forms. Another avenue for remembrance was Canadian literature. Many Canadians expressed their grief about the tragedies of the war through creative outlets, such as writing novels and poetry. Canadian literature is deeply filled with post-war symbolism. That is to say, Canadian literature reflected the dominant Canadian narrative of the justification of mass casualties through a Christian lens. This can be seen in several of the works of Canadian novelist, Ralph Connor. When the First World War broke out, Connor volunteered for service as an army chaplain in the 43rd Cameron Highlanders. His involvement in the war cast a dark theme over several of Connor's novels.[19] Sharing the suffering of many Canadians, Connor was mourning the death of his close friend R.M. Thomson. Consequently, the war took a personal toll on Connor, inspiring him to highlight "the sacrifices made by those who had fought and the difficulties of the men in readjusting to life back in Canada".[20] This can be seen in his novel *Sky Pilot in No Man's Land*, in which the protagonist saw one of his fellow comrade

16 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 418.

17 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 417-418.

18 Vance, Jonathan F. Vance. "Christ in Flanders." in *Death So Noble: Memory, Meaning, and the First World War*, Canada: UBC Press, 1997. pg. 36.

19 Dummitt, Christopher. "The "Taint of Self": Reflections on Ralph Connor, his Fans, and the Problem of Morality in Recent Canadian Historiography". Social History, no. 91 (May 2013), pg. 72.

20 Dummitt, Christopher. "The "Taint of Self": Reflections on Ralph Connor, his Fans, and the Problem of Morality in Recent Canadian Historiography". Social History, no. 91 (May 2013), pg. 72.

as "just a common man, but uncommonly like God".[21] By depicting soldiers through the metaphor of Christianity, Connor falls into the common post-war Canadian collective memory that "the fallen had died to save Christianity and western civilization from another dark age".[22] Therefore, for the generation of the post-war period, giving a meaning and purpose to thousands of death was an essential technique for them to cope with the grief.[23] In brief, across Canada one can notice a pattern of symbols within local literature and memorials. All these symbols are in an attempt to push the same message: that the war was necessary. This common narrative eases the pain of grieving individuals because it illustrates that the death of their loved ones was not in vain.

One of the most famous symbols that is repeatedly used time and time again in media discourse, memorials, literature, and more, is the poppy. The poppy is one of the most enduring and powerful symbols of remembrance of fallen soldiers. Its association with the First World War originated in the war's battlefields when wild red poppies bloomed in the mud of the Western Front battlefields of Northern France and Belgium. The poppies covered the devastating landscape with their fiery red colour during battle and long after the war had ceased.[24] The poppy became an incredibly important symbol for Canadian remembrance of the war. During remembrance week of early November, Canadians across the nation are seen wearing a paper poppy. Throughout the year at memorials and graves, in military cemeteries, there often lies wreaths and small poppy crosses to highlight remembrance of their sacrifice.[25] That is to say, the poppy became a "promise that the memory of the dead would not be allowed to fade".[26] The assurance of a prolonged remembrance of the sacrifice and service of Canadians is a type of outlet of mourning because families were comforted with the knowledge that their loved ones will not be forgotten.

In addition, it was poetical literature that enabled and establish the poppy as a universally respected symbol for the fallen. More specifically, the poem "In Flanders Field" by Canadian Medical Officer, John McCrae, popularized the metaphor of the poppy.[27] The poem was composed in May 1915 during the Second Battle of Ypres[28] and was published in England's *Punch* magazine in December

[21] Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 418.
[22] Ibid., pg. 411.
[23] Ibid., pg. 411.
[24] Iles, Jennifer. "In remembrance: The Flanders poppy." Mortality, no. 3 (July 2008), pg. 201-202.
[25] Iles, Jennifer. "In remembrance: The Flanders poppy." Mortality, no. 3 (July 2008), pg. 201-202.
[26] Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 426.
[27] Iles, Jennifer. "In remembrance: The Flanders poppy." Mortality, no. 3 (July 2008), pg. 204.
[28] Ibid., pg. 204.

1915.[29] As mentioned, reading or writing was used as a coping mechanism for many soldiers serving in the First World War. McCrae composed his famous poem the day after one of his closest friends was killed in fighting and buried in a makeshift grave.[30] With McCrae's poem popularising the symbolism of the poppy, the flowers symbolism was adopted as a Flower of Remembrance of the war dead in France, Britain, the United States, and Canada and other commonwealth countries. Hence, the symbol of the poppy and McCrae's poem are still linked to the voices of those who have died in the war. It is through these symbols that Canadians have collectively memorialize the war dead. These symbols, literature, and war memorials are ambiguous in the sense that they serve as a tool for remembrance, but also as an element to establish the justification and the necessity of the war effort. By doing so, the techniques of commemoration in Canada became an outlet for mourning veterans, families, and individuals.

To conclude, following the end of the First World War, families were experiencing profound grief for the loss of their loved ones. Many of them questioned the very purpose of the war, asking: why did they have to die? What was the point? Why must have 60,000 of our young men have to die? Was there a meaning to this mass casualty? These questions lead mourners into a deep spiral of grief, depression, and sorrow. The erection of memorials provided a healing channel for millions of Canadians. The permanency of these monuments, federal holidays, literature, and symbols assured families a continued remembrance of their loved ones. Families got a sense of closure through the emphasis on 'lest we forget' because their loved one's death would be honoured for eternity. In addition, the efforts of justifying the thousands of deaths and wounded by the war countered the narrative of "pointless deaths by stupid politicians and avaricious financiers".[31] By straying away from the narrative that the war had essentially caused thousands of senseless deaths, these efforts successfully ameliorated Canadians' grief because soldiers' deaths were portrayed as not being in vain. Instead, soldiers' actions were compared to Jesus Christ because, similarly to Christ, soldiers sacrificed their life to keep mankind closer to God by saving their freedom to worship and live as free citizens. Nevertheless, whichever narrative one chooses to believe, it does not undermine the hardship and struggles endured by these soldiers, nor their courage that Canadian soldiers had experienced during the First World War. It truly is a courageous act to rise up to the face of death in the name of one's nation and beliefs.

29 "John McCrae". Government of Canada. June 14, 2022. https://www.veterans.gc.ca/eng/remembrance/people-and-stories/john-mccrae.

30 Ibid.

31 Mackenzie, David. ed., *Canada and the First World War: Essays in Honour of Robert Craig Brown* (Second Edition: UTP, 2018), pg. 427.

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ASPIRIN AND THE BIRTH OF THE ANALGESIC INDUSTRY

Neea Jacklin

INTRODUCTION

Substantial scholarship already has been done regarding the history of Aspirin — both its predecessors in antiquity and its development in the laboratories of Bayer AG in Leverkusen, Germany, at the end of the nineteenth century (as well as the controversies surrounding this development). Rather than simply reiterate the research of past authors, this paper aims to summarise these findings, and proceed to the next stage in the historical narrative: evaluating Aspirin's place within the history of the over-the-counter drug industry. The commercial and clinical success of Aspirin by Bayer in the first half of the twentieth century had less to do with any unique properties of Aspirin itself, given that the drug was created within the *zeitgeist* of the synthetic drug trend, and was based on long-standing historical precedents. Rather, the success of Aspirin can be attributed to a shift in consumer tastes, as well as a unique marketing campaign by Bayer. It is due to these factors that Aspirin remains one of the most widely known and used drugs on the market, while its contemporaries have vanished into obscurity.

HISTORICAL PRECEDENTS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF ASPIRIN:

While the commercial manufacture of Aspirin is a product of the late nineteenth century, the use of the willow plant in medicine has a long history. The compound in willow responsible for its analgesic and antipyretic properties, salicin, was first obtained by Eduard

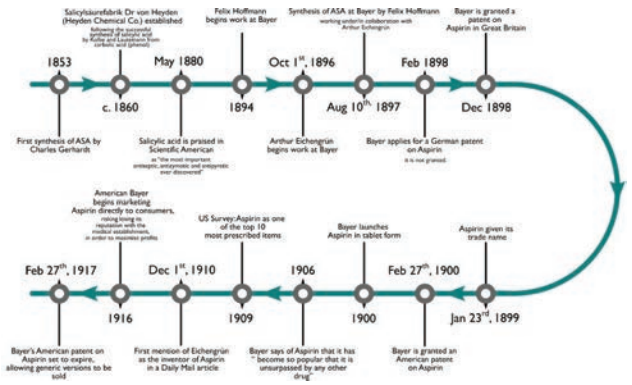

Figure 1. Timeline of significant events in ASA discovery

Buchner, of the University of Munich, in 1828. The following year, French chemist Henri Leroux became the first to crystallise pure salicin.[1] Prior to the work of modern chemists in determining the exact nature of the active ingredients in willow bark, however, physicians in antiquity were aware of willow's benefits. In Ancient Egypt, the Ebers Papyrus describes inflammation resolving when the patient ingested willow leaf-based teas.[2] The belief was that willow was able to "draw the heat out" of the inflamed wound.[3] Similarly, Mesopotamian tablets dating from the Assyrian (c. 4000 BCE) and Babylonian (c. 605-562 BCE) periods mention the employment of willow leaves to treat pain, fever, and inflammation.[4]

In the ancient Greek tradition, willow-based decoctions and willow leaves are mentioned by Hippocrates, recognised as the father of modern medicine, for pain associated with childbirth and some ocular complaints.[5] In the first century of the common era, Greek pharmacist Dioscorides, employed by the Roman army, utilised the bark of the white willow tree (*Salix alba*) to reduce inflammation, as a general analgesic, and in the treatment of gout.[6] Willow products are also mentioned by other significant figures in the history of medicine, including Celsus, Pliny the Elder, and Galen, who utilised it in the treatment of various types of wounds.[7] Outside of the western medical tradition, willow leaves, bark, sap, roots, and catkins were used for an equally wide variety of medicinal purposes in China, South Africa, and South America.[8]

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Reverend Edward Stone, of England, made the first "scientific" study of the effectiveness of willow bark on a group

1 J.G. Mahdi, A.J. Mahdi, A.J. Mahdi, and I.D. Bowen, "The Historical Analysis of Aspirin Discovery, its Relation to the Willow Tree and Antiproliferative and Anticancer Potential," *Cell Proliferation* 39 (2006): 149.

2 H. Lévesque and O. Lafont, "Aspirin throughout the ages: an historical review. L'aspirine à travers les siècles: rappel historique, *La Revue de Médecine Interne*, 21 suppl. 1 (2000): 9s.

3 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148.

4 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148; Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 8s.

5 Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 8s, 9s; Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148.

6 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148; Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 10s.

7 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148; Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 10s.

8 Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 10s.

9 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 148.

10 Rev. Edward Stone, "An Account of the success of the bark of the willow in the cure of agues," letter to the Right Honourable George, Earl of Macclesfield. 1763.

11 Rev. Edward Stone, "An Account of the success of the bark of the willow in the cure of agues," letter to the Right Honourable George, Earl of Macclesfield. 1763; Lévesque and Lafont, "Aspirin Throughout the Ages," 10s.

of diseases referred to as *the agues*, now believed to be malaria.[9] In a 1763 letter to the Earl of Macclesfield, then the president of the Royal Society, Stone described his findings of willow bark to be "efficacious in curing aguish and intermitting disorders."[10] He clarified that although he is using the "bark of an English tree," he had once tasted it, and, on finding it to be bitter, suspected a relation to Peruvian bark, known to assist in the treatment of similar ailments, as it contained quinine.[11]

Although it was not known at the time, the widespread use of willow in the treatment of various symptoms stemmed from the fact that willow and its derivatives do not work by attacking the microorganisms responsible for causing disease; instead, they simply treat the symptoms, naturally lending these products to myriad possible uses.[12]

DEVELOPMENT OF ASPIRIN AT BAYER:

The much shorter history of salicin and its derivatives in modern chemistry began in 1853, when Charles Gerhardt, a French chemist, was the first to synthesise acetylsalicylic acid.[13] While this achievement by Gerhardt is significant, it is not what propelled acetylsalicylic acid (ASA) to commercial success; it is only in the final years of the nineteenth century that the development of salicin-derived compounds from humble traditional remedies to a widely commercialised household name took place.

According to the popular narrative, which has come into question in recent years, on 10 August 1897, Felix Hoffmann was the first to synthesise ASA in the newly constructed pharmaceutical research laboratories of Fabrikfarben Bayer, formerly a dye manufacturer in Leverkusen, Germany.[14] This narrative depicted Hoffmann as the benevolent son, searching for an alternative to salicylic acid for his father's rheumatism.[15] Salicylic acid had been commercially available since the 1860s, by the Heyden Chemical Co., following its successful synthesis by Kolbe and Lautemann.[16] While this compound is also a derivative of salicin, thereby possessing similar analgesic and anti-inflammatory properties to the willow discussed previously, without the addition of an acetyl group, this compound is harsh on the stomach, causing side effects ranging from mild discomfort to gastric bleeding.[17] It is entirely possible, therefore, that this part of the story of the discovery of Aspirin is true — Hoffmann

12 Diarmuid Jeffreys, *Aspirin: The Remarkable Story of a Wonder Drug*. (London: Bloomsbury, 2004), 34.
13 Thijs J. Rinsema, "One Hundred Years of Aspirin," *Medical History* 43, no. 4 (1999): 502.
14 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 502, 503.
15 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 502.
16 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 149.
17 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 149; J.R. McTavish, "The Industrial History of Analgesics: the Evolution of Analgesics and Antipyretics," in *Aspirin and Related Drugs*, ed. Kim D. Rainsford (London: Taylor & Francis, 2004), 29.

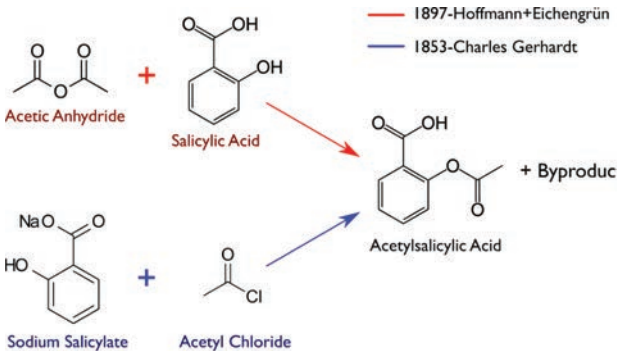

Figure 2. Two historical synthesis pathways of ASA[18]

may very well have hoped that his research in pharmaceutical chemistry could benefit his own father.

However, the structure of Bayer's pharmaceutical research department made it unlikely that Hoffmann was the sole creator of this new drug. In 1896, Bayer chemist and research manager Carl Duisberg negotiated the purchase of a drug by the name of Protagrol, created by Arthur Eichengrün.[19] In these early years of Bayer's entry into the pharmaceutical field, it was their standard practise to purchase drugs directly from their inventors, taking over manufacturing and marketing, but not yet taking part in the development of new substances.[20] Subsequently, Eichengrün was offered a job at Bayer, where his tasks were "to occupy himself [...] with the synthesis of new physiologically active preparations."[21] His first day of work was 1 October, 1896, and Duisberg, in a letter to Friederich Bayer Jr. on the same day wrote that "we hope he will be able to solve a lot of problems for us."[22] Eichengrün became the head of the pharmaceutical laboratory department, with Hoffmann working under him.[23]

In 1897, Hoffmann and Eichengrün had been researching derivatives of salicylic acid,[24] possibly with some intention of creating a new drug to help rheumatism patients, including Hoffmann's own father. The highly collaborative structure of the pharmaceutical department, encouraged by Eichengrün, as well as Eichengrün's position as head of the department, makes it unlikely that he was not involved in Hoffmann's synthesis, even if Hoffmann performed the experiment by himself on 10 August. Neither Duisberg nor Hoffmann mentioned Eichengrün's involvement.[25] The first mention of Eichengrün as the inventor of Aspirin was a *Daily Mail* article, published in December 1910.[26] The fact that Eichengrün did not stake an early claim on the creation of Aspirin is held against him by some authors, who believed that he only laid claim to the invention once it had become

18 McTavish, "Industrial History," 31; David R. Lide, ed. *CRC Handbook of Chemistry and Physics*. Vol. 85. CRC Press, 2004.
19 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 503.
20 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 503.
21 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 503; Bayer-Archiv, 103/17.E.2.a. Eichengrün: 'Pharmazeutisch wissenschaftliche Abteilung,' undated c. 1901.
22 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 503, 504; Bayer-Archiv, 169/3, Pharmazeutische Conferenz vom 29 und 30 November 1898, p. 23.
23 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 504.
24 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 504.
25 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 506.
26 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 505.

a commercial success, while the present author argues that instead it showed his collaborative spirit, and an unwillingness to undermine the success of the drug in its prime by antagonising his colleagues.

It is important to keep in mind that the development of Aspirin coincided with the rise of antisemitism in Europe, both before the First World War, and in the interwar years, when much of the blame for Germany's losses from the conflict was falsely attached to Jewish citizens. Eichengrün was Jewish, and for this reason, it is possible that his work was purposely kept away from the public eye. How much of a role this played, and whether the intention was to shield Bayer and Eichengrün himself from targeting by antisemitism, or simply due to prejudice, can only be speculated.

During the Second World War, Eichengrün wrote a letter while imprisoned at Theresienstadt Concentration Camp, which was published (in a revised form) by the German journal *Pharmazie* in 1949.[27] In this letter, he describes his role as a supervisor in the Bayer pharmaceutical department, and suggests some animosity between himself and another chemist, Heinrich Dreser, who performed the tests on Aspirin and published the 1899 brochure *Pharmakologisches über Aspirin* on his findings.[28] Eichengrün states in the letter that, although work done in the laboratory was largely a collaboration, he was the one that "defined the research strategy,"[29] supporting the hypothesis that, although Hoffmann may have performed the experiment, Eichengrün's work was foundational. He wrote that the idea of acetylating salicylic acid was his, and he used this process later in his career, not at Bayer.[30]

The debate surrounding the true story of Aspirin's invention continues until today, however, the author argues that, based on Bayer's philosophy of collaboration, and Eichengrün's position of leadership within the company, compounded by political and social motivations for keeping his name far away from what would become an extremely profitable discovery for Bayer, there is sufficient evidence to support Eichengrün as the driving force behind Aspirin's development.

Regardless of its paternity, on 23 January 1899, the acetylsalicylic acid compound was given the name Aspirin, and in March was registered as a brand name. The following year, Aspirin tablets became available for purchase from medical practitioners; by 1915, it was available without a prescription.[32]

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27 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 506. The present author was unable to locate this specific article; however other articles from the same volume of *Pharmazie* are easily accessible online. While this is not conclusive evidence that *Pharmazie* or indeed anyone else is deliberately preventing access to Eichengrün's own account of the Aspirin story, it is nonetheless worth mentioning.

28 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 506.

29 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 506.

30 McTavish, "Industrial History," 31.

31 Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 505.

32 Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 149.

FACTORS SURROUNDING COMMERCIAL SUCCESS

When considering Aspirin's commercial success, it is important to situate its creation within its environmental context. In the nineteenth century, physicians had adopted an idea of medical "nihilism" - the refusal to treat patients' symptoms without an understanding of the disease causing the symptoms.[33] This sounds reasonable; patients generally tend to have better outcomes if they can be properly treated early into the progression of disease. However, this philosophy hindered medical care. Physicians were hesitant to prescribe anything at all; for more benign symptoms, it was believed to be preferable for the "healing powers of nature" to simply cure the symptom in time.[34]

Naturally, for many patients, this was unbearable. Therefore, charlatans were able to successfully peddle their so-called "patent medicines" — preparations of doubtful medical value, typically containing high doses of narcotics and/or alcohol. The invasion of charlatans into the medical profession enraged physicians, who did not believe that patients should have the ability to self-medicate, even for such complaints as a cold or simple headache. Furthermore, in order to maintain their own professional integrity, and to distance themselves from charlatans, physicians' and pharmacists' professional associations forbade the advertisement of drugs to consumers, regardless of whether a prescription was required. This limited the sale of drugs to recommendations from physicians, or asking the pharmacist in the case of non-prescription drugs. Asking pharmacists, required a person to know the name of the drug they wanted to request.

"Patent medicines" posed a further problem once new synthetic, *patented drugs* became available: their legitimacy and ethics were called into question. For traditional *materia medica* in widespread use, the ingredients came from nature, and differences from one to another brand were negligible, so it was seen as pointless to differentiate between brands. A pharmacist could dispense one or the other, under the same name, and the drug was referred to by its common name, such as 'tincture of opium.' Drugs were produced by small manufacturers, and sold directly to medical professionals, never marketed to the public.[37] For new synthetic drugs, however, this method of dispensing would no longer work effectively. Patents protected the trade names of these drugs, such as Aspirin, and trade-name prescribing by doctors became

33 McTavish, "Industrial History," 26.
34 McTavish, "Industrial History," 26.
35 McTavish, "Industrial History," 30.
36 For example, hydrochloride of hydroxy-N-ethyltetrahydroquinoline, a quinine substitute created in 1882 at the University of Erlangen, was known by the trade name *Kairin*. (McTavish, "Industrial History," 27.)
37 McTavish, "Industrial History," 34.

commonplace, much to the dismay of pharmacists.[37]

A significant disadvantage of trade-name prescribing was that pharmacists were legally obligated to dispense exactly the drug prescribed — without being allowed to substitute for another brand of the same chemical. This led to tensions between physicians and pharmacists, as pharmacists felt that they were not able to exercise their skill and experience under such circumstances. Furthermore, Bayer aggressively took legal action against pharmacists that were found to be filling 'aspirin' prescriptions with non-Bayer-brand acetylsalicylic acid.[38]

Bayer had not been able to patent Aspirin in Germany, on the grounds that it was not considered a novel product; however they were able to obtain a patent in the United States, which was granted on 27 February, 1900.[39] U.S. patent law protects new medicines from competition from generic versions for seventeen years, so Bayer had until 27 February, 1917 to maximise their profits from Aspirin, and they were acutely aware of this limitation.[40] It is likely that this time constraint was one of the significant driving factors that led to Bayer risking its previously spotless reputation, having been on the U.S. *New and Non-official Remedies* (NNR) list since 1907[41] by taking a drastic and wholly unprecedented step: marketing Aspirin to the public.

Initially, Bayer had sold Aspirin in tablet form - one of the first companies to do so in Germany.[42] The tablets came to the consumer in branded packaging, which stated the name "Aspirin." Technically, this was not a formal piece of advertising, which would have risked Bayer's status as an "ethical"[43] company, but it expanded the sale of Aspirin. Consumers became familiar with the name, and could ask for it directly from the pharmacist, without first visiting a doctor for a recommendation.[44] This irritated both pharmacists and physicians alike, but did not officially tarnish Bayer's reputation.

In 1913, Fabrikfarben Bayer established the Bayer Co., Inc., an U.S.-based company, that was separate from the German one. It was this sister company that assumed the risk of marketing to consumers through a 1916 newspaper campaign across the U.S.[45] It is important to note that, although this attracted scorn from the medical community, and Bayer Aspirin was dropped from the NNR the following year, these "advertisements" were careful to avoid encouraging consumers to *buy*

38 McTavish, "Industrial History," 34.
39 McTavish, "Industrial History," 31.
40 McTavish, "Industrial History," 33.
41 McTavish, "Industrial History," 35; The NNR list included only those drugs which were considered to be "permissible in modern ethical practice;" ie, were not "patent medicines."
42 McTavish, "Industrial History," 34; Rinsema, "One Hundred Years," 506; Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 149.
43 "Ethical" here is used by McTavish to mean "company which does not market its drugs to consumers directly."
44 McTavish, "Industrial History," 34.
45 McTavish, "Industrial History," 36.

Aspirin. They did not make any claims, nor list any ailments which could be cured by taking Aspirin — they simply wanted to increase the visibility of the brand.[46] Despite no longer appearing on the NNR, Aspirin "remained as popular as ever."[47]

During the First World War, one would expect that anti-German sentiment in the U.S. would have caused Aspirin sales to plummet; however, this was not the case. By establishing "American Bayer," which was bought by the American firm Sterling Products Ltd. in late 1918,[48] Aspirin could continue to be sold as an *all-American* product during wartime, as emphasised in figure 3, below.[49] Bayer's sister companies in America and Canada continued to earn profits from Aspirin, even after the expiration of the US patent in February, although this money was no longer reaching German Bayer. It looked as though nothing could stop Aspirin from keeping up the momentum of profits it had built for itself.


"BAYER CROSS" ON ASPIRIN

Always Ask for Genuine "Bayer Tablets of Aspirin"

BAYER

Only Aspirin Tablets with the safety "Bayer Cross" on them are genuine "Bayer Tablets of Aspirin," owned and made by Americans and proved safe by millions of people. Unknown quantities of fraudulent Aspirin Tablets were sold recently by a Brooklyn dealer which proved to be composed mostly of Talcum Powder.

"Bayer Tablets of Aspirin" should always be asked for. Then look for the safety "Bayer Cross" on the package and on each tablet. Accept nothing else! Proper directions and dosage in each Bayer package.

Aspirin is the trade mark of Bayer Manufacture of Monoaceticacidester of Salicylicacid.

Figure 3. Newspaper advertisement from 1919, emphasising the American production of Aspirin.

THE DECLINE OF ASPIRIN AND FUEL FOR FUTURE DEVELOPMENTS

Aspirin's success on the market was not unique. Together with other synthetic drugs, phenazone and acetanilide, Aspirin remained at the peak of the drug market into the early 1950s.[50] Paracetamol (or acetaminophen), first created in 1893 with limited success, was reintroduced in 1956.[51] Initially, there was little interest, as the market for non-prescription analgesics was already saturated. Acetylsalicylic acid was created with almost the sole purpose of reducing gastric irritation caused by its widely used predecessors, salicylic acid and sodium salicylate. Following almost forty years of successful use and sales, through a world war and an international influenza pandemic, it was discovered, in 1938, six

46 McTavish, "Industrial History," 36, 37.
47 McTavish, "Industrial History," 37.
48 McTavish, "Industrial History," 37.
49 "Bayer Cross on Aspirin," *Morgan City Daily Review*, May 26, 1919, https://chroniclingamerica.loc.gov/lccn/sn88064293/1919-05-26/ed-1/seq-4/
50 K. Brune, B. Renner, and G. Tiegs, "Acetaminophen/paracetamol: a history of errors, failures and false decisions," *European Journal of Pain* 19 (2015): 956.
51 Michael J.R. Desborough and David M. Keeling, "The Aspirin Story - From Willow to Wonder Drug," *British Journal of Haematology* 177, no. 5 (2017): 677; Brune, Renner, Tiegs, "Acetaminophen/paracetamol," 956; McTavish, "Industrial History," 33.

years after the invention of the gastroscope, that Aspirin consumption was, ironically, linked to gastritis.[52] This side effect drove the development of alternative analgesics. Once paracetamol was found to be gentler on the stomach, and entered the market, it began to displace Aspirin as the most popular analgesic.[53]

CONCLUSION

Aspirin's discovery and subsequent status as one of the most widely used analgesics in history was an almost inevitable outcome of the pharmaceutical revolution at the turn of the twentieth century. With a history of more than three millennia, willow and its derivatives provided a valid starting point from which Bayer, under the direction of Arthur Eichengrün, perfected a new and highly desirable product. The popularity of both "patent medicines" and other, shorter lived synthetic *patented drugs* proved that there was a significant consumer market for non-prescription, easily accessible analgesics. As the result of a risky marketing strategy by Bayer, aggressive prosecution of pharmacists who did not dispense Bayer Aspirin when prescribed, and the creation of internationally-based sister companies. From these strategies, Aspirin was able to dominate the market, and maintain its position through the first half of the twentieth century. However, the discovery of gastritis linked to Aspirin use led to a renewed interest in research and development of new analgesics: paracetamol (1956) and ibuprofen (1962). Aspirin's future as the world's most popular analgesic is uncertain, but new research into its potential as an anticancer and cardiovascular disease preventing drug[55] ensure that it will remain a staple for years to come.

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52 Desborough and Keeling, "The Aspirin Story," 677.
53 Y.K. Loke, "Aspirin or Paracetamol - What's Good for You?" *Journal of Pharmacy and Therapeutics*, 34 (2009): 247.
54 Desborough and Keeling, "The Aspirin Story," 677.
55 Desborough and Keeling, "The Aspirin Story," 680; Mahdi, Mahdi, Mahdi, and Bowen, "Historical Analysis," 152.

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An account of the success of the bark of the willow in the cure of agues. In a letter to the Right Honourable George Earl of Macclesfield, President of R. S. from the Rev. Mr. Edward Stone, of Chipping-Norton in Oxfordshire. 1763. https://doi.org/10.1098/rstl.1763.0033


Manganelli
Antica Drogheria
...dal 1879

PROCUREMENT OF THE NINETEENTH AMENDMENT

Maisha Karim

Women's fight for equality in the United States began with women recognizing themselves as equal to men as people to the nation and under the law. Women were oppressed under the domestic sphere of life and had little to no rights in the United States despite their vital role in contributing to the economy as producers and consumers. The United States Constitution ratified in 1787 made no mention of the female gender and left the determination of voting rights to the states[1] but with the overarching male supremacy during the 1700s, almost all states implemented voting rights to white men alone. Women rebelled against their exclusion from democratic rights under the Declaration of Independence.[2] Initially suffragists in the 1800s including Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, were commonly known as abolitionists who fought to end racial slavery alongside enfranchising women due to their common root of oppression.[3] However, with the achievement to end racial slavery with the Thirteenth Amendment and the lack of reform to help women's rights, suffragists diverged into their independent movement that sought to end women's disenfranchisement. It was during the 1900s Progressive Era when the mainstream two women's suffrage movements, the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWASA) led by Carrie Catt Chapman from Stanton and Anthony and the National Women's Party (NWP) led by Alice Paul, was at its height. Although the two suffragist

organizations were at odds with each other about political endeavours, both had the same goal of achieving the Nineteenth Amendment, gaining suffrage for women.

Mainstream suffrage organizations including the National American Women's Suffrage Association (NAWSA) and National Women's Party (NWP) becoming independent from abolitionists and increasingly widespread led required tactical advances towards the Nineteenth Amendment. Suffragists like Paul, Chapman, Anna Howard Shaw, Stanton, and Anthony during their lives, used strategies including resisting the Fifteenth Amendment that disenfranchised Black American men, parading to publicize their objective, lobbying president Wilson's government in front of the White House, using the Maternal Feminist claim and sustaining the economy during World War One. However, NAWSA and NWP racist tactics further Black women's lack of integration into society and resist their value, forcing African American women to create organizations like the National Association of Colored Women (NACW).

Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863, to free slaves in the eleven states that had seceded from the Union, but Stanton and Anthony desired to bring emancipation at an even faster rate.[4] They issued a meeting for 'The Loyal Women of the Nation' on January 25, 1864.[5] Stanton and Anthony tried to make all American women who wanted suffrage to sign a petition to end slavery constitutionally by appealing that 'while slavery exists anywhere there can be freedom nowhere.'[6] However, their dedication to abolitionism was cut short; when the Thirteenth Amendment was ratified, the United States Constitution only abolished racial slavery with no regard for women's rights. Stanton and Anthony were outraged by the government and shifted their exasperation toward Black Americans, specifically African American men. The mainstream suffrage movement including NAWSA and NWP, was rapidly filled with prejudice against Black Americans. The source of their prejudice was contingent on the Fifteenth Amendment that now recognized Black American men under the United States meaning they could vote as a citizen.[7] Leaders of the movement began using racist arguments including rigorous criticism of the American government and the public for extending the vote to black men who were former slaves instead of 'literate, educated and more worthy' white women.

1 Carolyn M. Moehling and Melissa A. Thomasson. "Votes for Women: An Economic Perspective on Women's Enfranchisement." The Journal of Economic Perspectives, vol. 34, no. 2 (2020). p. 4

2 Jennifer K. Brown, "The Nineteenth Amendment and Women's Equality." The Yale Law Journal, vol. 102, no. 8 (1993). p. 2175

3 Marjory Nelson, "Women Suffrage and Race." Off Our Backs, vol. 9, no. 10 (1979). p. 6

4 Winifred Conkling, Votes for Women!: American Suffragists and the Battle for the Ballot. Algonquin Young Readers (2020). p. 81

5 Ibid.

6 "Women's Emancipation Petition with Circular from Elizabeth Cady Stanton, January 25, 1864." U.S. Capitol Visitor Center.

Racial discrimination becoming the prominent rationalization used by the mainstream women's suffrage movement put Black American women in a strained position in society. Black women were both women and racial minorities and often under low socioeconomic status due to the other two disadvantages, which makes them one of the most underprivileged categories of people in the American population during the late 1800s. The mainstream women's movement persistently excluded Black women from their movement due to already existing prejudice against Black men. Often leaders of suffrage organizations like NWP's Paul would write off Black women's struggle as a race issue that had nothing to do with the suffrage movement. This segregation of Black women led to the formation of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) by Sarah J. S Garnet.[8] Ida B. Wells was another renowned abolitionist that opposed women's disenfranchisement and the lynching of African American men in the southern states. Wells was on the verge of being lynched by a southern mob because she spoke out against the evidence that claimed three shopkeepers were lynched for raping a white woman and her demand for justice when three of her acquaintances were lynched.[9] African American women were not only disenfranchised and racially discriminated against, but they faced substantial repercussions when they spoke out against their oppression, leaving them with no one to turn to. Despite their oppression, Black women continued to coordinate suffrage organizations for their liberation as women of colour. Some of the most prominent organizations by Black American women were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and NACW. Through these organizations, Black women united under similar objectives including the disenfranchisement of women, racial segregation of Black Americans, and the lynching of African American men.

After the death of both Stanton and Anthony, NAWSA was in a state of disorder until Chapman took over the organization and professionalized it in ways Shaw could not. Although Shaw was typically robust, her last years of presidency drained her[10] until Chapman reigned over NAWSA in 1915 where she successfully attempted state delegations as a tactic to publicize NAWSA. NWP was another mainstream Women's Liberation organization led by Paul. However, Paul's methods of mobilizing women differed radically because she attempted to recreate militant tactics used by the suffragists in the United Kingdom. The mobilization of both the NAWSA and NWP towards professionalism was

7 Julie A. Gallagher, "Fighting for Rights in the 1910s and 1920s (Excerpt)." 100 Years of Women's Suffrage: A University of Illinois Press Anthology. (Urbana, Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2019). p. 124

8 Ibid. p. 124

9 Maurice Hamington, "Public Pragmatism: Jane Addams and Ida B. Wells on Lynching." (The Journal of Speculative Philosophy. 2005) p. 168

10 "Compromised Leadership: NAWSA Presidency, Part I (1904–1908)." Anna Howard Shaw: The Work of Woman Suffrage. (University of Illinois Press. 2014) p. 94

limited to NACW and NAACP. Black suffrage organizations did not have the same advantages as white 'mainstream' arranged suffrage organizations because of the discrepant privileges. Where Black suffrage organizations could only appeal at local levels to other Black individuals and supporters including segregated churches and educational institutions, white suffragists planned to appeal to the government by parading in public.

Publicizing a movement with ideas as radical as women's enfranchisement by parading in public was quite possibly one of the boldest moves the suffragists could have taken. Their public demand for a formal role in politics shifted women's connotation in the domestic sphere to the public sphere, breaking many of the separate spheres ideologies in which women should be separated.[11] Many suffragists would give street speeches about their oppressions against men to pedestrians, often causing pedestrian traffic or a general sense of chaos. A suffrage parade in New York in 1915 had approximately 25 000 women, 57 of whom had marching bands, 74 on horseback, and 145 decorated automobiles, making it one of the largest suffrage parades in the United States.[12] Although many pedestrians, especially anti-suffragists, found the parades to be obnoxious, parading was a large source for mainstream suffragists to spread information about their objective and find more supporters. The idea of taking up space in public as a woman was strenuously looked down upon, despite the preconceived notions about them doing 'devil's work,' suffragists continued to assert themselves in 'unfeminine' ways to be equal to their male counterparts in politics.

One of the most overt ways the mainstream suffragists attempted to have their voices heard was through lobbying the government. This tactic was organized and displayed during the First World War when the United States had stayed neutral in its decision. On January 9, 1917, at two o'clock,[13] one thousand suffragists and women from the National Woman's Party (NWP) led by Paul, lobbied outside the White House in Washington D.C. By 1917, president Wilson had already decided to join the Allied forces in the Great War and to fight for democracy, which was exactly what the picketers attempted to use against him. President Wilson exclaimed his fight for democracy and equality overseas in countries like Germany was hypocritical to the United States' treatment of both women and other minorities. During the 1917 lobbying, women held up signs that said 'Mr. president you say liberty is the

11 Holly J. McCammon, "'Out of the Parlors and into the Streets': The Changing Tactical Repertoire of the U.S. Women's Suffrage Movements." Social Forces, vol. 81, no. 3. (2003). p. 789

12 Ibid. p. 791

13 "Suffragists Are First to Picket White House: Changing Strategies of NAWSA and NWP: Confrontations, Sacrifice, and the Struggle for Democracy, 1916–1917: Explore: Shall Not Be Denied: Women Fight for the Vote: Exhibitions at the Library of Congress: Library of Congress." (The Library of Congress)

fundamental demand of the human spirit.'[14] Numerous women were arrested for lobbying outside the White House, and in jail, some women, including Paul, refused to eat until women were enfranchised. This chaos of having to force-feed women and jail and having women outside the White House criticizing the government was embarrassing for president Wilson. Media coverage was prevalent during this time and suffrage began to be taken seriously by the government and the public.

With the amount of failure the suffrage organizations had been facing, they began to shift their argument to appeal to all people. Instead of gaining suffrage to become equal to their male counterparts in the political sphere, women argued their differences as a final attempt to get the vote. Suffragists made maternal arguments including their higher morality because they could have children and their pacifist views. This claim was controversial but effective because it re-illustrates the preconceived notion that women were emotional and unable to rationalize. The strength of this argument came from the fact that women were not necessarily arguing anything radical like gender norms in a patriarchal system. They were simply reusing enforced gender norms like maternity, to their advantage and mobilization towards their enfranchisement.

The unprecedented First World War strained the United States population. Losing mass amounts of able-bodied men to war after conscription was difficult for a high-functioning society and there were not enough working-class women to make up for the loss. Fortunately, the war implemented less class system structure and most women moved into the work industry because the abundance of paid labour positions opening up created an appeal. The mobilization into the work industry during the war to sustain the economy was viewed as a war effort on American women's part. Although the war effort was not an exact strategy the suffrage movement had planned to get the vote, it continued to work in their favor. The American government started to view women as equal members of the nation and after the war, the Nineteenth Amendment was passed on August 26, 1920.

Procuring the Nineteenth Amendment was never simple, American women had to fight for it, and depending on their race and class, they had to fight even harder. Former abolitionists using racist arguments was the first time it was apparent how low mainstream suffragists would stoop to gain suffrage. Lobbying the president, being arrested, and force-fed in jail shows the spirit of the movement. Although this was a highly proud moment for women suffragists, it was different for every woman. The motivation for enfranchisement and the aim itself was not shared by many women, some women continued to be apathetic to the cause,

[14] "New York Pickets at the White House, January 26, 1917." (The Library of Congress)

[15] Joe C. Miller, "Never A Fight of Woman Against Man: What Textbooks Don't Say about Women's Suffrage." The History Teacher, vol. 48, no. 3 (2015) p. 438

many visible minorities and working-class women were actively discouraged and had little means to participate in a radical movement, and many conservative women feared their loss of protection from men if they became political actors. According to Chapman, one out of three women were suffragists, one out of three opposed female suffrage, and one out of three did not care.[15]

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TEN RUPEES

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TEN RUPEES

INSTABILITY AND THE STRUGGLE FOR DEMOCRACY IN MYANMAR

Jordan Le Roux

On 1 February 2021, Myanmar's military junta staged a coup d'état and arbitrarily detained elected State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi. Suu Kyi is the daughter of Aung San, arguably the country's most famous advocate for independence from British colonial rule throughout the 1930s and 40s, and she founded the National League for Democracy (NLD), a liberal democratic party that has remained the most popular party in Myanmar since the 1990s.[1] The junta – or the Tatmadaw, as they are officially known in the country – defended their move as constitutional through widespread, though unsubstantiated, claims of fraud in the November 2020 election. In accordance with constitutional policy, the Tatmadaw enacted a nation-wide state of emergency for the period of one year. However, almost two and a half years after the initial coup d'état, the Tatmadaw remains in control with no change to the structure of government, the continued detainment and subjection of the country's elected leaders to secret trials where they are found guilty of uncorroborated crimes, and the injury and deaths of countless citizens in protests taking place all over the country.[2] This

1 Hlaing, Kyaw Yin. "Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar: A Review of the Lady's Biographies." 359.
2 International Crisis Group. *Responding to the Myanmar Coup*. 1-2.

is not the first time that the country of Myanmar has grappled with military abuse and misuse of power; the country (formerly known as Burma) has been subjected to authoritarianism from the Tatmadaw at several junctures following its independence from Britain in 1948. Overbearing military control and power as a response to colonialism in Myanmar has thwarted attempts for democracy since its first military coup in 1962.

Myanmar's first coup occurred in 1962 and turned the Union of Burma into the Socialist Republic of the Union of Burma, shutting down free elections (four of which had occurred since 1948) and thrusting the military to the center of power and control for the entire country.[3] In the sixty years that have followed the country's first coup, only two free and democratic elections have been had by Myanmar. The Tatmadaw has been, in whole or in part, involved in the country's government ever since that day. While the first coup was "relatively bloodless," the Tatmadaw would show in future conflicts that it had no qualms against "swiftly and brutally suppress[ing] dissent".[4] This has been exemplified time and time again through Myanmar's history since the mid-20th century, most recently with the instances of government-perpetrated bloodshed and violence towards protestors of the coup throughout the years of 2021-2022, which has garnered international attention.[5]

After several governmental reforms at the beginning of the 21st century, many truly believed that, while still in need of further development, Myanmar was on a path to achieving democracy that was more hopeful than it had ever been before. The 2021 coup undid years of progress made by State Counsellor Aung San Suu Kyi and Myanmar's National League of Democracy (NLD) and has left the country at the hands of the Tatmadaw's brutality. While most of the West has condemned the coup and imposed sanctions on the military regime, Myanmar's military has turned to Russia and China for economic support, which has left Western world leaders with incredibly difficult choices to make about how to best combat Myanmar's predicament. Throughout the mid-20th century to the present day, the country of Myanmar has been primarily characterized by its ongoing struggle for democracy, with almost all the issues the country currently faces stemming from this struggle. Additionally, the roots of their struggle are traced back to the 1962 military coup, which has intertwined the military and government as inseparable entities to this very day. Tracing this long history of political instability in Myanmar is the most essential key to pinpointing why the country is in the state of crisis that it is, and understanding the role of the government and military over the years is crucial in formulating the best course of action to diffuse Myanmar's conflict between the two.

[3] Turnell, Sean. "Myanmar's Fifty Year Authoritarian Trap." 83.
[4] Turnell, Sean. "Myanmar's Fifty Year Authoritarian Trap." 80.
[5] Kurlantzick, Joshua. "Can Burma Reform?" 136-138.

It is important to contextualize Myanmar's (Burma's) global significance and place as a player in the Southeast Asian front of World War II to understand its development over the past several decades. Burma was a valuable resource to Japan during the war primarily because of its shared border with China to the North, but also due to its wealth of resources such as an abundance of rice and oil as well as minerals like tungsten, lead, and nickel.[6] Japan occupied Burma in 1942 and blocked all supply routes to China, forcing the Allies to supply Chiang Kai- Shek's Republic of China by air.[7] Like much of the world at the end of WWII, Burma was decimated – especially since multiple countries were battling on its front, leaving no area or ethnic group untouched by some aspect of the war. Upon achieving independence from Britain in 1948, Burma needed to find its footing on the Southeast Asian economic and political stage but struggled to do so; which became a struggle that still permeates the country of Myanmar in every aspect today. Under colonial rule, the Burmese people were excluded almost entirely from any area of economic development, except as rice cultivators and other jobs in the trades or farming sector. This meant that the Burmese population was left with an "inadequate workforce" of civilians, and a government that was not prepared to run a modern economy on par with the other nations of the world.[8] Despite this, Burma was able to hold three parliamentary elections during the short period between 1948-1962, however, this semblance of democracy would soon vanish for decades to come with the coup d'état of 1962.

On 2 March 1962, the Tatmadaw leader Ne Win enacted a coup d'état which replaced the elected government with a military one. He strived for a socialist society centered around and completely controlled by the military. Ne Win's economic and international policies are best summed up through the ideologies he developed during military rule, dubbed "The Burmese Way to Socialism." This plan involved a complete and total isolationist policy from the rest of the world, in order to run Burma without the "needless" involvement of other countries, and the economic systems and strategies set in place by the British during colonial rule.[9] Though this pursuit proved to be disastrous for the economy, it has been argued that 2 March 1962 is the date that Burma truly became independent – not by virtue of a document signed into law by foreign parties, and not at all bound to the conventions of a capitalist economy or the Western bloc, in general.[10] The Burmese Way to Socialism was a policy of strict isolation and neutrality that meant that Burma refused to side with either

6 Hendershot, Clarence. "Burma's Value to the Japanese." 176.
7 Sewell, Horace S. "The Campaign in Burma." 496-497
8 Brown, Ian. "Tracing Burma's Economic Failure to Its Colonial Inheritance." 739.
9 Aung-Thwin, Maureen, and Thant Myint-U. "The Burmese Ways to Socialism." 68.
10 Aung-Thwin, Maureen, and Thant Myint-U. "The Burmese Ways to Socialism." 74.

the United States or the Soviet Union in the Cold War. Therefore, it meant that they avoided involvement in nearly every Cold War conflict that affected their neighbours. There were no plans of expansion or hostility towards any neighbouring countries – Burma's military was and remains a unique structure that mostly serves to quell internal discord and maintain the suppression of democracy amongst its own population.[11]

While the Burmese Way to Socialism may have protected the country during the era of Cold War threats, it decimated the economy and led to unrest among the civilian population, eventually leading to a surge of civilian protests in 1988, collectively known as the 8888 uprising. By 1987, Burma was one of the least developed countries in the entire world. In last-ditch attempts to neutralize the black market, Ne Win made a hasty declaration; all high-denomination bank notes were to be considered worthless, effective immediately, and no compensation was to be given to those affected by this new law.[12] This devastating announcement, along with ongoing and increasing police and military brutality, human rights abuses, and outrage with both the Burmese Way to Socialism and the general state of the totalitarian military regime, providing kindling for widespread protest in the country to inflame the following year. Protestors largely included students and members of the NLD in Burma and lasted throughout the year, peaking in August and September. Then, on 18 September 1988, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC) was established. The SLORC's mission and purpose was to quell the widespread dissent and protest in the population through any means necessary – and so, in the days that followed its inauguration, the Tatmadaw plowed through the streets of Burmese cities, firing into crowds of protestors – men, women, children, students, monks and even the elderly.[13] Ne Win, who resigned earlier in the year, described the nature of Burma's military policy when it came to brutality against its own citizens best in a farewell speech given on 23 July 1988; "If the military shoots, it has no intention of shooting into the air. It shoots straight to kill."[14]

The aftermath of the devastating crackdown on the 8888 Revolution, was, firstly, the country's change in name. The SLORC decreed in 1989 that the country of Burma would be henceforth known as Myanmar, and that its largest city, Rangoon, would be known as Yangon. Because this change came as an order from the totalitarian junta only a year after the brutal events of September 1988, many citizens and members of the NLD preferred the use of Burma, in defiance to the junta. This includes Aung San Suu

11 Clapp, Priscilla. *Myanmar: Anatomy of a Political Transition.* 9-10.
12 Kurlantzick, Joshua. "Can Burma Reform?" 136.
13 United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. "State Law and Order Restoration Council / State Peace and Development Council/ National League for Democracy/Burmese Dissidents."
14 Moe, Kya Zwa. "For Myanmar Military, Rule No. 1 in Riot Control Is Shoot to Kill."

Kyi, who has been regarded as the most influential political figure in Myanmar since the late 1980s.[15] Because of Suu Kyi's vehemently pro-democracy ideologies and popularity among civilians, she was seen as a threat to the Tatmadaw and regularly targeted by them. Hundreds of articles and more than five books have been published by the Tatmadaw describing why she is an unfit leader of Myanmar and attempting to spread public resentment against her – attempts which have never once succeeded.[16]

Surprisingly, after the 1988 tragedy and Suu Kyi's house arrest in July 1989, the Tatmadaw announced that they would hold a parliamentary election in 1990.[17] This marks the unofficial beginning of a new Tatmadaw tactic; one of trying to appeal to the civilian population and defend their actions with seemingly valid reasons, rather than unabashedly admitting their wrongdoings and abuses. This tactic will appear again in the 2021 coup, with the Tatmadaw trying to save face and give lip service to democracy. Some ninety-five parties ran in the election, reflecting the range of political beliefs and ethnic groups in the country, but the only ones with a realistic chance of victory were the Tatmadaw (led by Commander in Chief Than Shwe) and Aung San Suu Kyi's NLD.[18] In fact, the Tatmadaw's belief in their assured victory, though delusional, was another key reason they allowed the 1990 parliamentary election. This belief turned out to be entirely wrong, with the NLD winning in a landslide victory of 392 out of 485 seats, even with Suu Kyi still under house arrest. This enraged the Tatmadaw who immediately cancelled the election and refused Suu Kyi's release, destroying any hope for democracy heading into the 1990's. Through the decade the junta drastically tightened its hold on Myanmar's society and began a process of rapid militarization, tripling the size of their military between 1988 and 2000.[19] The press became more heavily censored than ever before and universities remained disbanded ever since the 8888 protests, the Tatmadaw even going so far as to disperse the students and faculty members geographically to prevent fraternization and the forming of student democracy groups.[20] Sanctions from the international community increased, though had little to no effect throughout the early 2000s. As a new millennia approached, Myanmar fell into further self-imposed economic and political disarray.[21]

The next twenty years were spent severely suppressing the democracy movement in Myanmar by targeting NLD

15 Dittmer, Lowell. "Burma vs. Myanmar: What's in a Name?" 885.
16 Hlaing, Kyaw Yin. "Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar: A Review of the Lady's Biographies." 360.
17 Kurlantzick, Joshua. "Can Burma Reform?" 136.
18 Hlaing, Kyaw Yin. "Aung San Suu Kyi of Myanmar: A Review of the Lady's Biographies." 362.
19 Kurlantzick, Joshua. "Can Burma Reform?" 136-137
20 Turnell, Sean. "Myanmar's Fifty Year Authoritarian Trap." 80.
21 International Crisis Group. *Responding to the Myanmar Coup*. 11.

leaders and combating international sanctions by increasing friendly relations with bordering countries.[22] A new constitution was also developed in 2008, which gave the military significant control over the government. 25% of the seats in Myanmar's Parliament were to be reserved for members of the Tatmadaw, the ministers of defense, home affairs, and border affairs were to be Tatmadaw appointees, and six of the eleven seats of the country's National Defense and Security Council are reserved for the Tatmadaw Commander-in-Chief and his appointees.[23] The military control of the government that was brought into the country's legislation by the new 2008 Constitution was reassuring to the Tatmadaw – though the new document had provisions allowing opposition parties to run in elections, they believed the overarching control that the Tatmadaw had been given over several important areas of the political process was enough to keep the country relatively under their control. With this assurance, some restrictions on civilian rights and freedom of speech were lifted, and gradually, Myanmar began to open their economy, though with military rule still persisting – this time, through a "nominally civilian" military funded government party elected in November 2010, the Union Solidarity and Development Association.[24] Elected Prime Minister Thein Sein was expected to more or less continue the government's pattern of civilian suppression and military focus as he ascended into power, but his inaugural address shocked both Myanmar citizens and Tatmadaw generals when he revealed this was not his aim. Plans for sweeping economic, political, and social reforms were proposed – these included promises to listen to civilian concerns, encourage political participation among citizens, and work to both release political prisoners and invite those exiled back into the country.[25] He also met and discussed with Aung San Suu Kyi, bringing her back into Myanmar's political sphere despite Tatmadaw protests. For the first time since the failed election in 1990, hope for democracy began to swell among Myanmar's citizens and the international community. This hope continued for the rest of the decade, culminating in the November 2020 parliamentary election – where, despite all constitutional attempts by the Tatmadaw to swing the political process in their favour, Aung San Suu Kyi and her NLD won in a landslide victory.[26]

The state that Myanmar lies in today is a stark contrast to the decade of political reform that occurred with Thein Sein and Aung San Suu Kyi as its figureheads. The Tatmadaw claimed that the NLD's victory was a case of election fraud, and staged the February 2021 coup which shocked the international community, as for nearly a

[22] Clapp, Priscilla. Myanmar: *Anatomy of a Political Transition.* 4.
[23] International Crisis Group. *The 2008 Constitution.* 6-7
[24] Turnell, Sean. "Myanmar's Fifty Year Authoritarian Trap." 82.
[25] Clapp, Priscilla. *Myanmar: Anatomy of a Political Transition.* 6.
[26] International Crisis Group. *Responding to the Myanmar Coup*. 1.

decade the country had made what seemed like significant steps towards democracy. Despite severe restrictions on the press and internet and social media use throughout the country, news breaks every day about Myanmar's disastrous state of affairs; Aung San Suu Kyi, having years tacked onto her military-issued jail sentence for several "crimes" she is said to have committed, advocates for democracy being taken in as political prisoners, the exile of Myanmar's own citizens for speaking out against the coup, and the deaths of protestors at the hands of their own military. Myanmar's slip back into a totalitarian regime seemed, in simple words, easy; and many researchers, historians, and those in the field of human rights have speculated as to why this is the case. The truth about Myanmar's reforms in the past decade is that they were, like most of the country's history; rife with instability. While discussion around democracy was promoted and encouraged, there were no steps taken to keep the Tatmadaw at bay when the time came for an election – over the 2010s, the constitution had not been amended and still gave them tremendous power over essential parts of the political process in the country, and the overall size of and spending on the Tatmadaw had not drastically lessened. Democracy, as an ideal, was already the preferred form of government for the majority of Myanmar's populace – they did not need to be convinced of its importance. Reforming Myanmar has little to do with raising popular support for a reformed country, and has everything to do with preventing and lessening the power of the Tatmadaw from growing any further. Myanmar's citizens have been ready and eager for change ever since the country's first coup in 1962, when the military and government became intertwined as one entity. Their separation is imperative to bringing Myanmar into a new stage of existence – one entirely free from the oppressive military rule it has known since the beginning of its modern history.

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Circulus Arcticus
I. Tazata hic ufsriam a Plinio ponitur
TARTARIA
Mare de Sala vel Bachu seu Chualensko more
PERSIA
FARSIA
CHINA
INDIA INTRA GANGEM
INDIA EXTRA GANGEM
INDOSTAN
MARE ARABICVM et INDICVM
Golfo di Bengala
Gangeticus Sinus
Zeylan
Maldiva
Cauchinchina
Camboia
Siam
Malaca
Borneo
Desertum Lop
Desertum de Belgian
Desertum Dovisi val
Lacus Cincui Hay
Ormus
Zocotora
Canal de Cordu
Murus 400 Leucarum contra Tartarorum eruptiones, extructus.
Æquator

INDOCTRINATION, DISCIPLINE, AND NECESSITY:

A Critical Book Analysis of *Hitler's Army* by Omer Bartov

Toni Tassoni

On 22 June 1941, under the codename "Operation Barbarossa", the *Ostheers* (Eastern faction of the German Army)[1] charged into Soviet territory on a mission to claim *Lebensraum* (living space) and exterminate the "Judeo-Bolshevik" threat.[2] Enduring an early harsh Russian winter, the battleground quickly changed from the previously successful *Blitzkrieg* (lightning war) to a ruthless struggle of relentless crisis and hardship.[3] Although the eastern war executed an annihilation policy, the *Wehrmacht* cultivated a delusion of innocence, distancing themselves from the brutal actions carried out by the *Sicherheitsdienst* (Security Service or Secret Police, SD), and claiming to be engaged solely in warfare.[4] The debate around *Wehrmacht* participation in the eastern atrocities focuses on the extent the army partook in or simply accommodated the SD with their violent actions against occupied civilians. In *Hitler's Army*,[5] Omer Bartov details his argument around the concept of motivation of the *Wehrmacht*, attempting to explain the ferocity demonstrated specifically at the eastern front. Through his dissection of the *Wehrmacht*, he argues that the distorted reality of National Socialist (NS) ideology, aided by violent orders and depraved discipline, proved effective in indoctrinating the *Ostheer* into committing atrocities throughout Eastern Europe. Bartov's argument comprehensively destroys the *Wehrmacht* myth, highlighting the army's deliberate participation in Eastern brutality. Historians have continued to develop this argument by focusing on

specific attributes of the *Ostheer*, growing the body of literature that agrees with active *Wehrmacht* participation. David Harrisville, for example, examines this cruelty through the self-portrayals of the *Ostheer* by exploring their justifications, perceptions, and retelling of events that fed the *Wehrmacht* myth.[6] In addition, Felix Römer delves into the role of ideology and its significance on the Criminal Orders given to the army during their eastern battles, thus demonstrating compliance within the rank and file.[7] Bartov illustrates the complexity of indoctrination and the multiple factors that account for the army's compliance, perseverance, and reasoning. By discussing the role of ideology and discipline, as well as the propagandized necessity of *Vernichtungskrieg* (war of annihilation), it becomes clear how the *Ostheer* would adopt robust genocidal and quasi-suicidal convictions. This process of indoctrination demonstrates how formerly ordinary men could participate actively in indiscriminate violence, and accordingly dismantles the myth of the *Wehrmacht*'s innocence.

Bartov opens his argument with a description of the *Wehrmacht*'s failure to employ an effective strategy on the eastern front; he details the lack of forethought in the application of *Blitzkrieg*, and in the creation of supply and communication lines. This culminated in an ongoing, severe resource crisis and a large-scale failure of technology, ultimately forcing the army to resort to fighting tactics reminiscent of the First World War.[8] Building on the descent into chaos, Bartov examines the social organization that aspired to maintain "primary groups": divisions of troops and leadership kept together from deployment to cultivate a strong connection and cohesion. However, continuously high losses triggered a manpower crisis for all positions within the rank and file, undermining the desire for cohesion in favour of reorganizing divisions to replace the loss of troops.[9] Desperate to compensate for these logistic crises, Bartov illustrates the use of martial law to produce cohesion inside divisions, and the frustration taken out on civilians as a result. The *Ostheer* was ordered to

1 Although *Ostheer* is the name of the Eastern faction of the German Army during the Second World War, this essay will also use *Wehrmacht*, the name of the entire German Army, interchangeably.
2 David A. Harrisville, The Virtuous *Wehrmacht*: Crafting the Myth of the German Soldier on the Eastern Front, 1941-1944 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2021, p. 1.
3 Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991), p. 16, 17, and 38.
4 Harrisville, p. 4 and 5.
5 Omer Bartov, *Hitler's Army: Soldiers, Nazis, and War in the Third Reich* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1991).
6 Harrisville, p. 6.
7 Felix Römer, "The *Wehrmacht* in the War of Ideologies: The Army and Hitler's Criminal Orders on the Eastern Front" in *Nazi Policy on the Eastern Front, 1941: Total War, Genocide, and Radicalization*, ed. Alex J. Kay, Jeff Rutherford, and David Stahel. Vol. 8. (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2012).
8 Bartov, pp. 15, 16, 22, 19, 17, and 20
9 Bartov, pp. 30, 31, 33, 37, 38, 44, 45, and 56.

carry out criminal offences ranging from theft to massacre; when combined with self-initiated violence and permissible violence, discipline morphed into a vessel to simply inflict brutality.[10] Lastly, Bartov analyzes the process of indoctrination of the *Wehrmacht* using central themes of NS ideology encompassing antisemitism, anti-bolshevism, glorification of war, and quasi-religious devotion to the *Führer*.[11]

To substantiate his claims, Bartov draws on memoires, letters and correspondence from the eastern front, speeches, and peer-reviewed sources to construct his revealing examination of the *Ostheer*. One limitation of Bartov's book is his choice in centralizing his argument on the eastern front and Russian campaigns, as the events and the ideology differ dramatically when compared to the western front. The eastern front, spanning from Poland to Russia, had two major ideological goals, the acquisition of *Lebensraum* and the extermination of "Judeo-Bolsheviks." *Lebensraum* in the east was a prominent theme in NS ideology, and "Judeo-Bolshevism" was born and bred within Russia. Furthermore, according to NS racial hierarchy, those deemed Slavs and Jews were considered *Untermenschen* ("subhuman"), groups that made up the population of the Eastern countries the *Ostheer* targeted which made their annihilation more essential, as they were some of the lowest on the hierarchy. These conditions were not present on the Western front and therefore the *Wehrmacht* would experience warfare and occupation differently than in the east. Isolating the *Ostheer*, in this regard, would allow Bartov to make more concrete conclusions without the interference of the west in his interpretation.[12]

NS ideology emphasized antisemitism and anti-Bolshevism.[13] These two seemingly opposing groups were commonly merged before the establishment of the *Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiterpartei* (German National Socialist Workers' Party, NSDAP) during the ethno-nationalist movement, known as the völkisch movement, of the late nineteenth century in which Judaism and Bolshevism were used interchangeably up to 1918. Fueled by the defeat of the First World War, the "stab in the back" myth was directed at the Jewish population and manifested anger toward them. Additionally, the German people were becoming fearful of the Bolshevik Revolution and connected that with the supposed strength of the Jewish community within that revolution. Phrases like "Jewish Bolshevism" or "Judeo-Bolshevism" became familiar concepts.[14] As NS propaganda heightened the anger and took hold of Germany, the *Oberkommando des Heeres* (High Command of the Land Forces, OKH)

10 Bartov, pp. 60, 61, 95, 71, 72, 62, 63, 82, 83, and 73.
11 Bartov, pp. 107,125, 130, 131, 115, 117, 120, 121, 122, 118, 170, and 171.
12 Bartov, pp.131, 72, 73, and 128.
13 Bartov, p. 107.
14 Brian E. Crim, "'Our most Serious Enemy': The Specter of Judeo-Bolshevism in the German Military Community, 1914–1923." *Central European History* 44, no. 4 (2011), pp. 626, 640, 637, 635, 627, and 640.

perpetuated the idea that the Soviet Union was controlled by Jewish Bolshevism,[15] thus permitting military brutality during combat. By combining the Reich's "biological" enemy[16] and their greatest political threat, the *Wehrmacht* was able to justify atrocities using NS ideology. They saw Russian civilians as a threat to the world they wanted to build. This propaganda was spread both at the home front and within the *Ostheer*, allowing the racial-political hatred to become ingrained at the individual level. Ideologically driven initiatives strengthened this integration, proving itself useful on the battlefield.

The *Ostheer*, Bartov notes, was made up of many young men who had served in the *Hitlerjugend* (Hitler Youth), remarking that more young men joined the ranks as the war continued. This would mean the army would have a growing indoctrinated body of soldiers each year, that would have been empowered by ideology before fighting on the eastern front, only to be further empowered by ideology during their battle.[17] Moreover, NS ideology gave the army, what Aristotle Kallis referred to, as a "license" which authorised the suppression of conventional morality while accepting violence.[18] This license gave way to the destruction of "Judeo-Bolsheviks" and those who were deemed an "other",[19] while at the same time, they maintained their image of themselves as moral and just individuals.[20] As the *Ostheer* received barbaric directives like the Barbarossa Decree and the Commissar Order,[21] soldiers could act without restraint. This entrenchment of ideology in the formation of self-image and entitlement to cruelty facilitated an environment where brutality was endorsed and went unquestioned. When coupled with NS anti-"Judeo-Bolshevik" propaganda, the *Ostheer* could eliminate their enemy with encouragement from their brothers in arms, their superiors, and the *Führer*. Acting upon ideologically justified horror implies a strong personal belief in the ideology itself. However, could censorship reinforced within the regime create false interpretations of personal belief in NS ideology?

Communication from the front lines, whether to family on the home front or to other battalions elsewhere on the eastern front, reveals the thoughts and reflections of the soldiers. Numerous letters speak about unwavering persistence and confidence in the ideas pushed through by ideology, appearing as if, "they perceived reality at the front just as [Hitler] did in the safety of his bunker, sharing his fantasies of conquest and grandeur, of racial

15 David Stahel, "The Wehrmacht and National Socialist Military Thinking." *War in History* 24, no. 3 (2017) p. 344.
16 Bartov, p. 154.
17 Bartov, pp. 56, 109, 138, and 177.
18 Aristotle Kallis, "'Licence' and Genocide in the East: Reflections on Localised Eliminationist Violence during the First Stages of 'Operation Barbarossa' (1941)." *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism* 7, no. 3 (2007), p. 8.
19 Kallis, p. 12.
20 Harrisville, p. 29.
21 Harrisville, p. 27.

genocide and Germanic world rule." The propagandistic nature of the letters reflects true faith through the repetition of NS dogma; more so when some letters expressed an almost suicidal welcome for dying during their missions.[22] Despite this, the censorship system could have disallowed the true feelings of a soldier to be seen by ensuring they do not disclose military intelligence, comment on politics critically,[23] and alarm authorities about any defeatism or resistance within the rank and file.[24] The censor, however, was not in control of what was written as soldiers could convey their genuine feelings[25] and interpretations of their actions.[26] Personally expressed belief in NS ideology was evident in the letters sent from the eastern front, and was able to be expressed relatively freely so long as it did not reveal secret information or demonstrate signs of defeat or disloyalty. With propaganda ringing throughout many letters, the indoctrination of the *Ostheer* is clear as soldiers appear eager to share the ideological interpretations of their experiences with their families. This indoctrination had to be thorough to such an extent that ordering brutality would be met with zeal and complete compliance, demanding discipline from the army and themselves.

Throughout the eastern campaign, the *Wehrmacht* was ordered to commit crimes against the civilians of occupied Poland and Russia ranging from theft to murder. Soldiers were given general rules about who could be brutalized, as well as specific commands (for instance, the Commissar Order), and were expected to be vicious while doing so.[27] *Wehrmacht* leaders adhered to these malicious orders without pause, exhibiting enthusiasm to take part in *Vernichtungskrieg*.[28] Although there was some dispute about the level of cruelty necessary, the idea of "unnecessary harshness" was taken liberally, and executed at the discretion of the troops, which often resulted in barbaric wholesale slaughter and destruction.[29] Through license and strict obedience to ideology, discipline within the *Ostheer* was abused to mobilize brutality and direct violence at inferior races and ideological enemies. Soldiers were not only empowered and encouraged by NS propaganda to commit savage acts against Polish and Russian civilians, they were further encouraged and expected to do so with vigour and ferocity. However, this discipline was difficult to control, and

22 Bartov, pp. 147 and 51.
23 Stephen G. Fritz, "'We are Trying to Change the Face of the World'--Ideology and Motivation in the *Wehrmacht* on the Eastern Front: The View from Below." *The Journal of Military History* 60, no. 4 (1996), p. 686.
24 Harrisville, p. 59.
25 Fritz, p. 687.
26 Harrisville, p. 88.
27 Bartov, pp. 61, 73, 84, 85, and 129.
28 Römer, pp. 80 and 92.
29 Ben Shepherd, "Hawks, Doves and Tote Zonen: A Wehrmacht Security Division in Central Russia, 1943." *Journal of Contemporary History* 37, no. 3 (2002), pp. 353 and 358.

brutality was not limited to direct orders or expectations from higher command; thus, by commanding criminal activities as an act of war, it invited individual soldiers to lose their sense of self-control in favour of their own appetite for violence.

First demonstrated in Poland, battalion commanders had struggled to control their troops as they rampaged through civilian towns on self-directed expeditions of rape, plunder, and violence. As a side effect of ordering brutality, sometimes believed to have been "too compassionate" and not cruel enough, soldiers took responsibility to incite terror and destruction against those deemed *Untermenschen* by NS ideology.[30] This self-initiated violence31, although uncontrollable, aligned with ideological doctrine, and therefore was not met with adverse consequences by the military justice system.[32] In contrast to the unruly and unhampered conduct of the *Wehrmacht*, Loelle calls attention to the stern punishment, *Sippenhaft*, and its effectiveness in maintaining order. *Sippenhaft*, or family liability punishment, allowed for the imprisonment of family and confiscation of property,[33] and although *Sippenhaft* was only implemented for military crimes like desertion, it was successful in cultivating fear[34] and forcing reluctant soldiers into compliance.[35] Here, the role of discipline presents itself in two extremes and speaks to the whirlwind of motivations at the eastern front: permissible self-initiated chaos inflicted on *Untermenschen* motivated by ideological endorsement and leadership commands, and the fear-inducing punishment motivated by a need for cohesion and obedience. It is important to note that ideology remains at the helm of discipline's role as themes of German superiority and racial hierarchy were employed in both self-initiated terror on "Judeo-Bolshevism" and the institutionalized threat of *Sippenhaft*—and this permeation of ideology was all-consuming, melding into other schools of thought or elements on the eastern front.

Ideology's interplay with the political and military elements became a single entity, where isolating one from the other did not accurately depict their interdependency. Along with the aforementioned look into ideologically justified terror and corrupted discipline, all soldiers of the *Wehrmacht* were required to make a personal oath of loyalty to the *Führer*,[36] pledging obedience to Hitler rather than the country or its

30 Bartov, pp. 68, 69, 129, 85 and 89.

31 Harrisville, p. 71.

32 Regina Mühlhäuser, "Reframing Sexual Violence as a Weapon and a Strategy of War", 2017 quoted in Maris Rowe-McCulloch., "Sexual Violence Under Occupation during World War II: Soviet Women's Experiences Inside a German Military Brothel and Beyond." *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 31, no. 1 (2022), p. 21.

33 Robert Loeffel, "*Sippenhaft*, Terror and Fear in Nazi Germany: Examining One Facet of Terror in the Aftermath of the Plot of 20 July 1944." *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 1 (2007), p. 52.

34 Robert Loeffel, "Soldiers and Terror: Re-Evaluating the Complicity of the Wehrmacht in Nazi Germany." *German History* 27, no. 4 (2009), p. 516 and 529.

35 Loeffel, 2007, p. 54.

36 John Wheeler-Bennett, The Nemesis of Power, 1980 quoted in Bartov, 1991, p. 118.

citizens, and erasing any distinction between the leader and the nation.[37] This oath of loyalty would prescribe the army to carry out missions that aligned within both political and ideological scopes. Another level of this interplay is exemplified by the implementation of educational officers into infantry divisions for the purpose of political and ideological guidance and council.[38] Specifically, educational officers were charged with maintaining, or in increasingly desperate situations, inspiring motivation and keeping up morale through the application of propaganda.[39] These examples illustrate the narrowing materiality soldiers had to their surroundings, adopting a mental and moral filter in which reality can only be viewed through the lens of NS ideology.[40] The rigidity of this distorted reality is amplified by the ideology's nature of absolute beliefs that could not be questioned or challenged, forcing a "blindness" to any deviation from the ideological lens.[41] The differentiation between political, military, and ideological elements was treated as one to motivate thought and direct action effectively. Hindsight permits the relative separation of each, this robust amalgamation cycled within itself and relied on all three elements to maintain the fabricated reality during the eastern campaign and perpetuated the effectiveness of indoctrination. Assessing and reassessing experiences on the eastern front in such a way enables the *Ostheer* to continuously fight to accomplish the ideological goal of the entire campaign.

Vernichtungskrieg was the confrontation and termination of Germany's deadly and greatest enemy, with the "essential goal" of the utter destruction of the "Judeo-Bolshevik" power system and the extermination of "Asiatic influence" within Europe.[42] Hitler's genocidal objective linked the massacre of Russians, consisting of Bolshevik supporters within the Red Army and civilian population,[43] with the extinction of bolshevism and "eternal Jewry."[44] *Vernichtungskrieg* was recognized as a vessel wherein *Endsieg* (final victory)[45] was possible, thereby destroying their ultimate political enemy and proving a social Darwinist superiority, which was a codified understanding of survival in NS ideology.[46] This allowed the policy of annihilation to increase both in geographical scale and level of brutality.[47] Regardless of the ideological weight, it can be assumed that some individuals

37 Stahel, p. 347.
38 Bartov, pp. 133 and 134.
39 Fritz, p. 695.
40 Bartov, p. 127 and 147.
41 Stahel, pp. 354 and 356.
42 Bartov, pp. 131 and Christian Streit, *Keine Kameraden,* 1991 quoted in Bartov, 1991, p. 129.
43 Jürgen Förster, "Barbarossa Revisited: Strategy and Ideology in the East." Jewish Social Studies 50, no. 1 (1992), p. 23.
44 Ortwin Buchbender and Reinhold Sterz, *Das andere Gesicht*, 1982 quoted in Bartov, 1991, p. 162.
45 Stahel, p. 339.
46 Förster, p. 23.
47 Kallis, p. 11.

were engaged in a personal battle over the morality of killing non-combatants. Accordingly, extermination was relabelled as liberating the Russian people from the civilization's adversary (bolshevism) and recontextualized Russian suffering derived from bolshevism, consequently defusing *Wehrmacht* responsibility.[48] Still, the *Ostheer* willingly inflicted indiscriminate carnage in accordance with the annihilation policy. Felix Römer attributed this to blind obedience and the long-term demonization of the Russian people.[49] *Vernichtungskrieg* characterized the eastern campaign as a battle for the Reich's political and ideological survival, by eliminating "Jewish Bolshevism" and its fundamental threat to National Socialism as a whole. Through propagandizing the necessity of the annihilation policy and *Endsieg*, the conquest of *Lebensraum* was within reach and the promise of Hitler's *Volksgemeinschaft* (people's community) could be employed on the eastern stretch of Europe. This campaign's significance intensified beyond the range of politics and ideological survival, spiralling into the fear of survival on an existential and apocalyptic level.

Vernichtungskrieg was proclaimed as an anti-Bolshevik "racial" crusade through which German culture was to be protected by God's soldiers (*Ostheer*) against the devil's hordes (Bolsheviks). The crusade structured the possibility of defeat as the equivalent of the complete destruction of civilization, surrendering to Satan, and total apocalypse[50]— a reasonable cause for panic among the predominant Catholic German society.[51] Conceptualizing Soviet Russia as, not only an "Asiatic" state- but also a satanic state, facilitated advanced Russian dehumanization and justified their extermination through religious terms of worth and value, believing them to be "godless"[52] and "demonic".[53] This religious spin posed a threat to German society and the mortal souls of the *Ostheer* at the hands of their enemy. The level of violence employed because of the political and ideological hatred of "Judeo-Bolshevism" could be amplified further in the name of their quasi-religious crusade. Additionally, the reimagining of the Eastern War as a spiritual battle between the holy and hellish, presented the *Wehrmacht* with a spiritual outlet to process their grief and desperation as the war intensified.[54] Through a synthesis of NS propaganda and the *Führer* myth,[55] soldiers looked to God and deified Hitler for national and personal salvation, and portrayed the death of their brothers in arms as martyrdom.[56] Upholding Hitler

48 Bartov, p. 157.
49 Römer, p. 92.
50 Bartov, pp. 71, 124, 34 and 35.
51 Harrisville, p. 96 and 97.
52 Harrisville, pp. 64 and 123.
53 Römer, p. 82.
54 Bartov, pp. 117, 118, 120, 122, 124, 125, 126, and 127.
55 Kershaw, "'The Hitler Myth': Image and Reality in the Third Reich", 1987, quoted in Bartov, 1991, p.144.
56 Harrisville, p. 99, 123, and 121.

at the cosmic level as God and viewing death as a righteous sacrifice to the cause demonstrates the degree of blending between the mythical and material, and the lack of external thought outside the bounds of NS ideology. Particularly, the ideological lens penetrated the psyche of the *Wehrmacht* at a nearly primal state, relying on their belief in their purpose and their leader in times of desperation and existential fear. The necessity of *Vernichtungskrieg* was propagandized on the grounds of ideology, race, politics, and religion and the atrocities throughout the eastern war reflect this perceived obligation to German survival.

The war on the eastern front between Germany and Russia was an ideological storm that justified brutality and centralized the idea of survival. NS ideology focused on antisemitism, anti-Bolshevism, and racial ranking which was spread throughout the *Wehrmacht* through the large enlisted *Hitlerjugend* population and the communication from the front itself. Influenced by ideology, *Ostheer* discipline radicalized, ordered, and self-initiated violence toward civilians. The duality of lost individual control and maintained institutional control cultivated a culture of fear and violence to be deflected onto the *Untermenschen*. How the political, military, and ideological elements could be brought together to create a single viewpoint can be demonstrated through the employment of *Vernichtungskrieg* as a racial extermination policy and a religious crusade. Bartov effectively expresses how indoctrination transformed the *Ostheer* into a ferocious army, determined to commit genocide in the name of National Socialism and their *Führer*. Identifying all the aspects that ensured the atrocities in the east spell out the identity that Hitler forged through National Socialism, personified by the *Ostheer*. Struggle, persistence, violence, loyalty, ideology, and death before defeat all defined the identity Hitler wanted for his *Volksgemeinschaft*, each exemplified by the *Ostheer*. The suffocating amount of NS propaganda and ideology spewed at the *Wehrmacht* made indoctrination difficult to avoid, especially under the constant barrage of military fire and the consistent state of crisis. Despite this, the army continued on its mission to advance further into Russia while executing the annihilation policy, refusing defeat and welcoming death when victory seemed distant. This is the identity of National Socialism, a concept that does not co-exist with the myth of *Ostheer* innocence and non-involvement.

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"THE TYPE OF PERSON WHO WILL GO AFTER MOBY DICK IN A ROWBOAT"

An Exploration of the Power of the Historical Narrative through Trans Joy

Katie Carson

Historical narratives play an integral role in our understanding of the past. Created using available primary documentation and the existing literature, historical narratives decide what information, themes, and conclusions are used to understand a given time period, group, or individual. While such narratives can improve understanding of historical events and shed light on past injustices, a dominant narrative can also encourage a singular lens on a particular area of history. Such is the case in trans* history, where historians must contend with historical records and cultural dialogues which reinforce a dominant view of trans experience that excludes trans voices. For this reason, it is necessary to seek historical documents and approaches which complicate understandings of trans existence in order to create nuanced historical trans narratives. To this end, this paper explores the impact of dominant narratives of suffering on understandings of trans identity and suggests the inclusion of trans joy as a way to complicate these narratives. To do so, the practices of the Museum of Transology are examined and applied to the existing archive as an alternative approach to creating historical narratives which focuses on trans joy and trans voices

speaking on their own experiences. In doing so, this paper seeks to demonstrate that histories can empower historically marginalized voices and contribute to a more complex understanding of what it means to be trans.

Primary documents are a vital tool in constructing historical narratives. Historians rely on materials and documents created during a particular time-period to give insight on events, practices, and norms of that era. Such documents are useful not only in the information they contain, but in which kinds of documents are preserved in the historic record. Often, documents seen as having value for posterity are created by or for those in positions of power. For this reason, the study of historically marginalized groups is often complicated in how these groups are represented within these documents.[1] This can be seen in many of the documents engaging with trans people. When searching within traditional archives, historical documentation of trans existence is often found within materials which are openly ignorant or hostile to their trans subjects.[2] As these documents are written by those in a position of power, they rely on outside perspectives to define and describe trans identity and experiences. For this reason, crafting a history of trans existence must contend not only with the marginalization trans people have historically faced, it must also contend with their marginalization within the historical record as well.

The treatment of trans individuals within these documents, even when countered by a historian, has the ability to impact how these histories are approached. Suffering, in particular, is a hallmark of many of these documents. Throughout western society, trans people are often subjected to narratives of suffering. In order to access medical transition, individuals have to perform the extent of their dysphoria. To enact legislative change, trans people have to demonstrate that their suffering is great enough for laws to change.[3] The field of history, too, is complicit. Often, trans histories focus on the violence and mistreatment enacted on trans communities and individuals.[4] Suffering at the hands of doctors, police, and exclusionary feminists is used to chronicle trans people's place in society. While it is necessary to acknowledge and seek justice for these wrongdoings, it is equally important to explore the impact of telling trans histories using narratives based in suffering. Dominant narratives, particularly those concerning marginalized groups such as trans people, play a significant role in shaping the

1 Michelle Caswell, Marika Cifor, and Mario H. Ramirez, "'To Suddenly Discover Yourself Existing': Uncovering the Impact of Community Archives," *The American Archivist* 79, no. 1 (2016): 57.

2 C. Riley Snorton, *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 143.

3 Florence Ashley, "Don't be so Hateful: The Insufficiency of Anti-Discrimination and Hate Crime Laws in Improving Trans Well-being," The University of Toronto Law Journal 68, no. 1 (2018): 8.

4 C. Riley Snorton, *Black on Both Sides: A Racial History of Trans Identity* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), 141.

general public's understanding of these identities.[5] People who may not have a trans person in their life look to these narratives to inform them about the trans experience. For this reason, a dominant narrative is often the only one accessible to the general population. The prevalence of suffering within these narratives, while sometimes well-intentioned, presents considerable challenges.

Narratives, particularly for groups and individuals whose voices are barred from mainstream discourse, play a considerable role in shaping general understandings of identity. In the context of mainstream trans narratives, the centrality of suffering can imply that it is not only something trans people experience, but also that suffering is central or inherent to transness.[6] These narratives are problematic because of how they normalize trans suffering and also, they misplace its source. Instead of being viewed as a product of an unjust society, suffering is treated as a natural part of the trans experience.[7] Conflating trans identity and suffering has the capacity to truncate understanding of the trans experience. When suffering is accepted and expected, information that counters this idea struggles to find a place within the narrative. As a result, it is difficult for evidence that does not position itself within the context of these dominant narratives to receive recognition.[8] This further reinforces suffering as the norm, and also controls how trans issues are discussed. Not only do conversations on topics outside of suffering not occur, they are not expected to. When the suffering society enacts against trans people dominates these narratives, the totality and complexity of the trans experience is erased.

While singular narratives are perpetuated throughout society, this issue uniquely presents itself within the realm of historical inquiry. This is exemplified by Finn Enke's study of the construction of trans histories, which focuses on the trans-feminist history of the 1970s.[9] Here, Enke challenges the characterization of second-wave feminism as a trans-exclusionary movement and instead draws focus to how trans feminists were accepted and supported by the organizations and communities, they were a part of. Further, Enke demonstrates that the presence of a dominant historical narrative of exclusion has the power to impact cultural memory. By focusing histories of 1970s feminism on the injustices perpetrated against trans women by exclusionary feminists, these instances come to be seen as the defining moment of this era. While it is vital that these injustices be remembered, when the

5 Sarah Ray Rondot, "Against a Single Story: Diverse Trans Narratives in Autobiographical Documentary Film," *Auto/biography Studies* 34, no. 1 (2019): 90.

6 Andrew Davis, "Trans Joy: Celebrating Diverse Transgender Narratives," *Chancellor's Honors Program Projects* (2022): 4.

7 Davis, "Trans Joy: Celebrating Diverse Transgender Narratives," 3.

8 Talia Mae Bettcher, "Trapped in the Wrong Theory: Rethinking Trans Oppression and Resistance," *Signs* 39, no. 2 (2014): 390.

9 Finn Enke, "Collective Memory and the Transfeminist 1970s: Toward a Less Plausible History," TSQ: *Transgender Studies Quarterly* 5, no. 1 (2018): 10.

only way we discuss trans women of this era is through their exclusion, it functions to erase the contributions and presence of trans women in the history of feminism. Moreover, this historical exclusion helps build the precedent to justify the exclusion of trans people from contemporary movements on the ahistorical basis that they were not a part of these spaces in the past. The case of trans feminists' exclusion demonstrates the potential damage of incomplete understandings created by single narrative histories. Not only do they deny agency for trans people of the past, but also for trans people of the present as well.

Enke asks, "how might we highlight the mixings in the past and simultaneously envision a less polarized present."[10] To this end, they encourage historians to reject the construction of simplified histories that champion “normative categorical distinction” in the name of presenting a singular theme that encapsulates a historical period.[11] Instead, Enke urges creators of history to embrace “mixture and change” in order to present more complex narratives that better represent the multifaceted nature of historical events and individuals.[12] When this perspective is applied to trans histories, it encourages the inclusion of narratives that focus on the positive and affirming experiences that come with being trans in order to complicate and challenge dominant narratives of suffering. This approach helps create more complex and robust histories, and also works to challenge mainstream notions of what it means to be trans.

To this end, it is worthwhile to consider the creation of histories centered on trans joy. Within the context of the trans experience, joy refers to happiness, euphoria, and satisfaction gained from one's trans identity.[13] Trans joy may be experienced through being immersed in community, reaching a fuller understanding of self, or simply being able to live as one's true gender. Expressions of trans joy not only demonstrate that trans people can be happy and fulfilled but that transness itself can be a source of positivity and actualization. The presence of trans joy also helps to negate the idea that narratives of suffering can fully encapsulate trans history and experience. Centering historical narratives which demonstrate that trans people loved and were loved, and above all loved themselves, helps to deny the efficacy of dominant narratives of suffering and validates joy as an inherent part of the trans experience. In this way, historians can utilize narratives of trans joy to create more complex histories and help build a more nuanced understanding of the trans experience, which denies suffering as a primary way to understand transness.

Trans joy and its impact can already be seen in historical practice, most notably by the Museum of Transology. The Museum represents the most extensive collection

10 Enke, "Collective Memory,” 10.
11 Enke, "Collective Memory,” 11.
12 Enke, "Collective Memory,” 11.
13 Ace Lehner, "Trans Failure: Transformative Joy in Consumer Culture," *Cultural Politics* 18, no. 1 (2022): 95.

of material culture in the UK dedicated to representing the lives of trans, non-binary, and intersex people.[14] The Museum is set apart both by what it collects and how it collects. A handwritten tag accompanies each item donated to the Museum that records the object's significance to the donor.[15] Objects in the collection include items such as a My Little Pony plush, which the donor explains, represents how the show helped them manage their dysphoria, and a pair of high heels a donor wore near the beginning of their transition when they were asked to be a bridesmaid in their cousin's wedding.[16] Each object represents something special to the donor about their own trans experience, and this practice is intended to ensure that this context is preserved in the collection from the moment of acquisition. This ensures that visitors and future historians can engage with trans people's stories presented on their own terms. By employing this collection practice, the Museum works to build trans histories by and for trans people. Instead of relying on external sources such as medical and police archives, which can perpetuate negative historical narratives, the Museum is actively working to create an archive where trans people describe themselves in ways that are meaningful and significant to them. This ensures trans people have a voice in the historical record and builds this record in a way that validates the trans community as a source of historical knowledge. In this way, the Museum of Transology is not only actively building a historical record which validates trans existence for future generations, it is doing so in a way that preserves and champions trans joy.

The Museum of Transology provides an example of how historical practices can successfully center narratives of trans joy. However, this practice can be deployed not only as a collecting mandate but through research in the historical record as well. The Museum's practice of championing trans history built on what trans people find meaningful in their own experience can be applied to existing archival sources to build new narratives of the trans past. One area where this can be applied is within the archive of 20th century trans periodicals. Consisting of magazines, newsletters for clubs and societies, and brochures for in-person gatherings, these publications helped to build and maintain community, bringing trans people together through common interests and shared identity.[17] Periodicals included sections such as articles on trans issues, advice columns, and advertisement meet-ups and trans-friendly services.

14 "About," Museum of Transology, Accessed December 10th, 2022, https://www.museumofTransology.com/about.

15 "About," Museum of Transology.

16 "My Little Pony," Collections, Museum of Transology, Accessed December 10th, 2022, https://www.museumofTransology.com/collections/cabinetofcuriosity/mylittlepony; "Silver Shoes," Collections, Museum of Transology, Accessed December 10th, 2022, https://www.museumofTransology.com/collections/cabinetofcuriosity/silvershoes.

17 Christine Howey, "Fantasia Fair: 20 Years of Moments that have made a Difference," *Transgender Tapestry* no. 69 (1994): 71.

Another typical section in many trans publications were personals and personal profiles. As the name suggests, these profiles served to spotlight a particular individual in the community. Profiles ranged in length from a few sentences to multiple pages and served multiple purposes.[18] Many personals advertised the writer's desire to correspond with other members of the community for friendship or romantic and sexual connection. Some expressed the desire to assist others in their gender and presentation or were seeking help themselves. Other profiles sought to celebrate an individual for an achievement or participation in an event. Longer personal profiles often detailed some aspect of the writer's lived experience as a trans person, while others simply sought to introduce an individual to other community members.

These profiles provide a unique historical insight into how trans people of the past expressed themselves and their identity to members of their own community. Whereas records of trans people found in the notes of doctors, police, or mainstream newspapers offer external explanations and understandings of what it meant to be trans, these profiles provide an insider's perspective.[19] Within these personal profiles, trans people were granted autonomy over how they expressed themselves, something they were often denied in other areas of society. Furthermore, because these profiles appear in trans publications, it was understood that they were being written for an audience made up of members of the trans community and their supporters. The writers of these profiles were not attempting to explain, defend or justify their existence. Instead, they served the purpose of forging connections and celebrating the trans experience.[20] These profiles preserve how trans people of the past understood themselves, what they loved about themselves, and what others loved about them. The presence of these profiles in the historical record allows trans people of the past to speak for themselves on their own terms. In this way, a study of trans personal profiles provides an opportunity to construct a historical narrative of trans identity grounded in trans individual's understanding of themselves. A history by trans people, for trans people.

As these profiles did not require a writer to justify their identity, the writers were free to discuss how they felt about being trans and detail other aspects of their lives. For example, many profiles discuss how being trans is something they love about

18 "Personal Profiles Participants, Fantasia Fair 1981," Directorie, 981, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 1; Jean Marie Stine, "Heck Yes We're Transgendered! 100 TGs who are Out, Proud, and Successful," Transgender Tapestry Issue 80, Fall, 1997, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 17.

19 Sarah Ray Rondot, "Against a Single Story: Diverse Trans Narratives in Autobiographical Documentary Film," *Auto/biography Studies* 34, no. 1 (2019): 90.

20 Katherine Scully, "Advertising Utopia: Queer Expressions and Hope in Online Personal Ads," MA Dissertation, (California State University, Long Beach, 2022): 11.

themselves and how happy they are to be a part of the community.[21] For them, being trans was a source of confidence, joy and fulfilment. Many profiles also discuss their friends and spouses who love and support them, their hobbies, achievements, likes and dislikes, characteristics that provide richer detail of their lives beyond the fact that they were trans.[22] Finally, in a world that encouraged trans people to hide their identity, the multitude of personals in trans publications not only helped trans people connect with one another, they helped demonstrate to readers that they were part of a large, interconnected community. These profiles demonstrate how stories of trans experience can be told —with the love, reverence, and respect they were shown by themselves and their communities.

What follows is a gallery presentation of personal profiles spanning multiple publications. Profiles from each publication are accompanied by a short description of the publication and the role the profiles played within it. By reading the profiles themselves, the diversity of language, perspective, and experience contained within personal profiles can be better appreciated. Further, when viewed together these profiles work to create a narrative of trans identity far removed from those of the medical or legal establishment. When taken individually or as a collective, the profiles in this gallery offer the viewer an opportunity to consider the power of the document to create historical narratives and to revisit or build their own understanding of trans identity and history.

21 Merissa Sherrill Lynn, and Delores Carter, "Personal Listings," The TV-TS Tapestry Issue 35, Spring, 1982, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 34.

22 Dallas Denny, "Out and Proud," Transgender Tapestry Issue 93, Spring, 2001, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 41.

23 "Personal Profiles Participants, Fantasia Fair 1981," Directorie, 1981, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 1-2, 4.

FANTASIA FAIR 1981[23]

Fantasia Fair is a yearly conference held in Provincetown, Massachusetts, which provides a space for trans (this included individuals who identified as transvestites, transsexuals, crossdressers, and other identities) individuals and their supporters to socialize and attend workshops over the course of the week long get-together. As Provincetown is a popular Queer tourist destination, attendants could openly express and explore their gender presentation. Many participants would return each year to immerse themselves in the community, meet new and old friends, and celebrate their identity among like-minded individuals. These personal profiles spotlight attendants of the 1981 Fantasia Fair who had filled out a questionnaire on their experience. Interestingly, the profiles include an entry from Virginia Prince, a well-known leader in the community.*

BETTY JOHNSON From Rochester NY, Betty describes herself as a big gal enjoying life, outgoing and happy. She also describes herself as an optimist. "I am the type of person who will go after Moby Dick in a rowboat and take the tarter sauce along."

VIRGINIA PRINCE From Ca., Virginia describes herself as 5'8, red blonde hair, a young 68, has lived as a woman for 15 years, and is very active and interested in most everything. Virginia enjoys flying sailplanes, travel, Psycho-Anthropology (on which she is writing a book), motor homing, and current events. She dislikes people who smoke near her. Virginia is the founder of FPE, co-founder of Tri Ess, and the original editor and publisher of Transvestia Magazine. She is looking forward to meeting old friends and making new ones, and to counselling anyone who seeks her help.

KATHLEEN ANN KARTER Kathleen is from you name it, Egypt, Japan, etc, but she generally likes to call New Orleans home. She describes herself as 39 and holding, somewhat past petite, and not the best looking broad in the world. Also, she is somewhat shy around people she doesn't know, but usually happy, and an extrovert around friends. She enjoys music and sports (especially football). Kathleen is a member of Shangri La and TVIC Southeast. She is a veteran Fair goer, and looks forward to really being herself and to see old friends again whom she misses and loves dearly.

"... looks forward to really being herself and to see old friends again whom she misses and loves dearly."

TRANSGENDER TAPESTRY ISSUE 80, FALL 1997[24]

Transgender Tapestry was a magazine founded in the 1970s which covered a broad range of topics related to the trans community. In issue 80, the magazine ran an article titled "Heck Yes we're Transgendered! 100 TG's who are out, proud, and successful," which celebrated the personal and career achievements of prominent trans individuals, demonstrating that trans people could and were living happy and successful lives. The magazine also included a personals section, where individuals could submit a profile and express their interest in correspondence with other members of the community. In the case of Teri, the term M-FTS stands for a male to female transsexual.*

10. GARY BOWEN

It's difficult to imagine a more successful literary career than Gary Bowen, founder of the American Boyz, who as an author has sold 200xx published stories to his credit. That's more than many writers produce in a lifetime. And Gary's career is just getting warmed up, with more stories already scheduled for a half-dozen forthcoming anthologies. At this rate, when he finally lays down his pen many years from now, Gary may be batting one thousand. Stories written, that is!

"Must appreciate unbridled femininity"

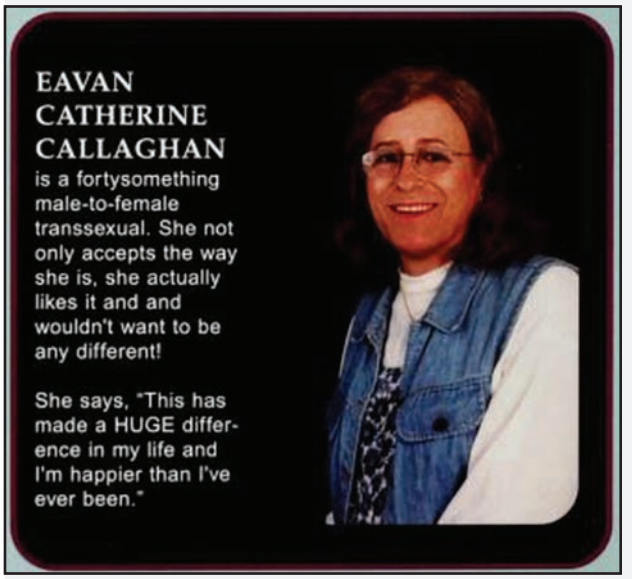
Heck Yes!
We're Transgendered

TERI SHANNON
(NY-P-M5339-K5768-82)
Single, sane lovable, young for 40s, pre-op M-FTS with vivid imagination seeks Mr. Right for romantic candle-lit evenings, possibly longer. Well built 30-40s gentleman must appreciate unbridled femininity and support my quest to lose remaining inhibitions. Shapely, 5'10", 165. Not a good correspondent, will travel northern NY. Photo appreciated.

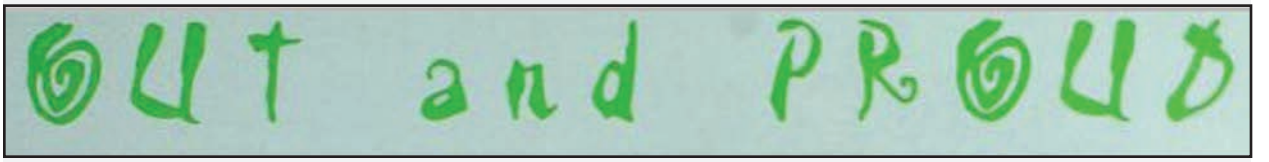
[24] Jean Marie Stine, "Heck Yes We're Transgendered! 100 TGs who are Out, Proud, and Successful," Transgender Tapestry Issue 80, Fall, 1997, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 17, D28.

TRANSGENDER TAPESTRY ISSUE 93, SPRING 2001[25]

Due to the popularity of the article on 100 out, proud, and successful trans people in Issue 80, as well as calls that people had been missed in the original article, Transgender Tapestry began a series called "Out and Proud" where readers could submit a profile. The popularity of the original article and its continuation in subsequent issues demonstrates the desire to see fellow trans people represented in a positive light on their own terms. This section created a community space where individuals could introduce themselves to other readers and celebrate themselves for being trans, out and proud. These profiles contain details about the writer's career, personal interests, and relationship with their own identity.



"I'm happier than I've ever been"



[25] Dallas Denny, "Out and Proud," Transgender Tapestry Issue 93, Spring, 2001, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 41-42.

NEW TRENNS MAGAZINE VOL 2, NO.6, 1971[26]

Calif. - Male. TV. Early forties, fairly new to TV world. Wishes to meet male full time gay TV who would appreciate sincere loving relationship where we could live together as mates and I could dress as often as possible permanent and full time. Affection and loyalty guaranteed. No kooks please as I am considered stable, intelligent and not bad looking. Box EC-649.

"...stable, intelligent, and not bad looking."

THE TRANSSEXUAL VOICE, APRIL 1992[27]

POST-OP TRANSSEXUAL - I HAD SURGERY THREE YEARS AGO, AND I LOVE IT. I ENJOY MEETING OTHERS AND HELPING IF I CAN. I AM 42, 6'2"; LOVE COOKING, SHOPING AND JUST HAVING FUN. WRITE TO DENEE, POST OFFICE BOX 721, ALBEMARLE, N.C. 28992 OR CALL (704)982-1028.

New Trenns Magazine and The Transexual Voice were periodicals dedicated to the transvestite and transsexual communities respectfully, although both publications saw overlap in their readership. Each had a section where individuals could have a profile published. Both publications allowed for the submission of a photo for an extra fee, which allowed individuals an added dimension with which to express themselves. Many profiles express the desire for romantic and sexual connection, with some profiles coming from non-trans individuals expressing the desire to connect with members of the trans community. These profiles demonstrate how these individuals wanted to connect with others, be seen by potential partners, and how they expected to be treated.*

26 Cathy Charles Slavik, "Personals," New Trenns Magazine Vol. 2 No. 6, 1971, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 42, 47.

27 Phoebe Smith, "Personals," The Transsexual Voice, April 1992, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 7.

THE TV-TS TAPESTRY, SPRING 1982[28]

SHEILA KIRK (PITTSBURGH, PA.)
Member Albany TVIC, Paradise Club
SWM TV 48, 6', Dedicated to this wonderful joy of dressing. Attractive - I'll be more so when I lose 20 lbs.
I love music and literature- I work very hard so moments of relaxation and pleasure of this sort are precious to me. I love being a TV and I'm anxious to meet many others who delight in the same feelings.
Sheila Kirk, Apt 106 - 7801 Lloyd Ave. Pittsburgh Pa. 15218

The TV-TS Tapestry is an earlier iteration of what would become the Transgender Tapestry. TV and TS stand for transvestite and transsexual, respectively. The TV-TS Tapestry was published by the Tiffany Club, an organization which dedicated itself to those interested in crossdressing and their supporters. As with many other publications, members of the Tiffany Club could have their profile published. These profiles acted not only as a space for individuals to seek connection, they also allowed writers to express their relationship with their identity. These expressions show how trans people loved and accepted themselves, and how they were loves and accepted by the people in their lives.*

"Dedicated to this wonderful joy"

MISS KATHY S. JOHNSON (ONTARIO CAN.)
MWM TV hetero, 32, 5'4, attractive, very peasant, 150.
Enjoy music, chess, needle crafts, reading, economics.
My wife and I wish to meet others of high moral ethics for close frendship. We love life and practice many experiences as girls. Upper NY State, or Eastern Ontario.
Miss Kathy Johnson, Box 1152, Cornwall Ont. Can. K6H-5V2

[28] Merissa Sherrill Lynn, and Delores Carter, "Personal Listings," The TV-TS Tapestry Issue 35, Spring, 1982, *Digital Transgender Archive*, 34, 36.

This collection of personal profiles demonstrates the power of the historical narrative to shape collective understanding of events, groups, and people. As evidenced by this collection, our current archives provide meaningful examples of trans joy. By focusing archival research on documents where trans people speak on trans experiences, it is possible to create histories that build joyful narratives. These profiles have preserved trans voices speaking on what they found meaningful and special in their experience and show how trans people of the past saw themselves. When brought together, these profiles create a narrative of joy which allows trans people of the past to speak for themselves, preserving their autonomy and perspective. This exploration of personal profiles demonstrates that it is possible to champion trans joy using currently available archival material to create narratives, which complicates our current dominant understandings of trans history.

Beyond its impact on how we create histories, highlighting the historical prevalence of trans joy helps to demonstrate that it is not a modern phenomenon. Just as historical narratives of suffering legitimize its presence in contemporary society, so too can narratives of joy demonstrate that love, happiness, and acceptance have always been a part of what it means to be trans. The power of historical narratives to change modern conceptions of marginalized groups demonstrates how history can be used as a tool for activism. As is the case with the Museum of Transology, historians can take on the role of an activist not only through which topics they study but also in how they approach them. The Museum of Transology has won the activist museum award for the capacity of their collecting mandate to create social and political change.[29] Just as the Museum provides a means for curatorial practice to be a source of activism, historical practice as a whole can be approached with the goal of creating social change. Our understanding of the present and, therefore, our goals for the future are informed by conceptions of the past. By using history to create more nuanced narratives, historians can challenge mainstream notions of what it means to be trans and work towards a more inclusive future.

Historians have a social and ethical responsibility to the people and topics they study, which is especially important when these histories involve marginalized groups. Historians hold social power as experts in a given field. When groups are not viewed as experts on their own experiences, it is then the responsibility of a historian to ensure that these groups' voices are legitimized and preserved as central to their own narratives. While historians may hope to use their position of power to support marginalized groups, it is important not to speak for marginalized groups and, when possible, allow individuals to speak through the histories and narratives they

[29] Research Centre for Museums and Galleries (RCMG), "The Activist Museum Award 2021-2022," University of Leicester, Accessed December 10th, 2022, https://le.ac.uk/rcmg/research-archive/activist-museum-award

create. Through engaging in historical practice in this manner, historians can not only produce activist narratives, they can actively contribute to the shifting of societal power structures. In this way, by approaching historical practice with the goal of centering and uplifting marginalized voices, historians can use their practice as a force for social change.

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