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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Editors' Note vi

Acknowledgements vii

Foreword viii

Noble, Nun, Neighbour
Beyond the Hearth into the Multifaceted Lives of Women in the High Middle Ages 3

The Papacy in Crisis
Negotiating Authority and Faith Against Monarchs and Scholasticism 11

Nazi Propaganda of Motherhood
National Consumption, Anti-Communism, and Racial Hygiene 21

The Red Army's Performance in the Winter War and Operation Barbarossa . . 39

Cloak and Dagger
The Effects and Psychiatric Ethics of Experiments Under MK-ULTRA 49

The Ethical Implications and Long-Term Consequences of Electroconvulsive Therapy and Lobotomies in 20th-Century U.S. Psychiatric Institutions 61

NIGERIA
Is the Giant of Africa falling? 73

How the United States controlled Europe 89

Policing Protests and the Media
Villainization of Stonewall "Riots" in American News Media 103

The Fears and Negative Impacts of Middle-Class Citizens on Prostitutes in Victorian London 115

EDITORS' NOTE

The Endnote Journal began in the 2022-2023 academic year, neither of us at this point were involved in the journal but it was such a huge step for undergraduate history students at TMU. We both became involved with the journal the year after the first edition, and we have been so lucky to be involved in a journal that consists of some of the best pieces of undergraduate writing we have seen.

For us, the Endnote journal was more than a foray into the realm of academia, but a larger opportunity to cultivate community and celebrate student inquiry. We watched as students took time to workshop completed projects further to create more sophisticated research projects, encouraged by the opportunity to have their work published in a curated collection. The passion, dedication, and admiration has been palpable and infectious.

We have taken great pride in the once small committee we started in, growing into something larger than it began with a budding reputation. Our reach outside of the history department and to prospective students are a reflection of the continued excellence of this journal and the pieces of work that it contains.

We hope that going into this journal, you the reader, will enter with an open mind and enjoy the works that have been compiled, and hopefully learn new things about fields of history that may have been outside of your radar prior. With that said and done, it is our honour to present to you the third edition of the Endnote Undergraduate History Journal. Please read and enjoy!

Shermaan Jesuthasan and Tony Tassoni
Endnote Co-Chairs and Senior Editors

ACKNOWLEDEGEMENTS

Each year the Endnote Committee is active and able to publish is a blessing. It has been an honour to have so many hardworking and dedicated people involved in the creation of this journal over the semester. First and foremost, we would like to thank our great authors who have taken a step into academia and put together these impressive pieces of scholarship, which without, there would be no journal at all. We would also like to thank everyone involved in the creation of this journal from the Metropolitan History Society, especially President Jordan Le Roux, VP of EDI Lisa Marie Tontodonati, Deputy of Operations Tony Tassoni, and VP of Finance Shermaan Jesuthasan. Furthermore, we would like to acknowledge that this journal would not have been possible without the financial support of both the Society of Arts, Social Sciences, and Humanities who have been willing to fund this project in its entirety and the financial contributions of the Metropolitan History Society. Finally, we would like to thank everyone who has an interest in the journal and reading this acknowledgement to begin with. Without your interest none of this would be possible.

Thank you for all your support.

The Endnote Team

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FOREWORD

I WAS DELIGHTED to be asked by the editors of the Endnote Journal to write the foreword for this year's collection. The essays that follow reflect the broad range of interests among students at TMU, exploring themes from gender and society to religious and political power, the ethics of human experimentation, military strategy, and media and social movements. Collectively, they showcase the power of historical thinking, not only in uncovering connections, understanding change, and challenging assumptions, but also in exploring the complexity of the human experience.

Congratulations to the students whose research fills these pages. It takes courage to share your work and to open yourself to the feedback of others, courage that I did not have myself as an undergraduate student. Your work reflects the dedication, curiosity, and critical thinking that define the study of history, and I hope that you take great pride in your accomplishment.

I also want to acknowledge the hard work and dedication of the many students who helped to bring this journal and the Endnote Conference to life. You have provided your fellow students with a platform to explore their ideas, present their research, and receive constructive feedback in a space that is encouraging and welcoming. Opportunities such as these are vital for academic growth, networking, and skill development and they help to build a more robust history program at TMU. We thank you for your efforts!

In an era marked by rapid technological change, shifting global politics, and ongoing discussions about historical narratives, the study of history, as reflected in the scholarship in this journal, remains as necessary as ever. A history degree cultivates critical thinking, sharpens our ability to assess sources thoughtfully, and strengthens our capacity to construct well-reasoned arguments – skills crucial in an age of information overload. While recent advances in generative AI raise important questions about its potential impact on our field and the world around us, we still need historians because AI lacks the critical judgement and contextual depth required to interpret the past. The work presented by these students demonstrates that as technology evolves, the core values of critical thought and ethical inquiry will continue to guide us. I hope readers find in these pages not only rigorous scholarship but also a reminder of the essential role that historical thinking plays in shaping our understandings of the past, present, and future.

Jennifer Tunnicliffe, PhD
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1400

Noble, Nun, Neighbour

Beyond the Hearth into the Multifaceted Lives of Women in the High Middle Ages

Gabi Guilbeault

The manner in which medieval women were treated was largely influenced not only by their supposed physical inferiority, but by the belief that they lacked the morals, judgment, and intellect their male counterparts had. The church provided a massive influence, defining if not having the ultimate say over the judicial and family system. Christendom also influenced the behavioral expectations for women by establishing the contrasting duality of Eve and Mary; the tempress sinner, or the faultless matron. This idea of controlling women was rooted and often borrowed in the thinking of ancient philosophers, of which medieval society revered and based many of their societal tenets on.[1] Philosophers had posited the idea that womens' uteruses were unanchored, independent beings capable of wandering through a womans' body and causing chaos; adultery or promiscuity.[2] The cure to which was pregnancy, to pin the uterus in place[3], thus setting a criterion for how women were to be presided over. These attitudes were pervasive and applied to every woman during the high Middle Ages, no matter her social, economic, religious or married status. Though women were frequently likened to children or perceived as lacking the principles to be independent, this framework proved too reductive to contain the multitudes and complexities of their roles and lives. Many such women have broken through the mold, and their power and influence, though occasionally

1 Eleanor Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society (W. W. Norton & Company, 2023), 37.

2 Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, 2023, 6.

3 Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, 2023, 6.

subverted, feared, or misunderstood, are palpable throughout the High Middle Ages.

PEASANTS & SERFS

For peasants under a feudal system, serfs and working-class medieval peoples, the idea of women as inferior was a commonly held belief reflective of the comparison of women to children by their ancient forebears, yet this translated in reality differently than their richer counterparts. Their lives were dictated by their "low" birth, born into a village and of much lower economic means than a noblewoman or even a wealthier townswoman. Legally, there was no identity for these women; they existed as extensions of a male guardian.[4] This could have been beneficial to some degree, as women were not legally held accountable in courts of law, including payment of debts, but this also meant that it was her husband on whom the responsibility fell to reprimand her.[5] This legal structure reinforced the idea that women, particularly those of lower economic and social status, were not to be trusted as autonomous people.

In childhood, female children in peasant households may not have initially had a different upbringing as male children, but as both grew they would have been pulled into separate duties; more domestic labour for the girls on top of learning to manage a family plot, often taught by mothers or other women, and for the boys agricultural labour "outside" of the home.[6] Most girls would then grow and pass from the authority of their fathers to the authority of their husbands, while boys would experience the shedding of parental authority and grow into their own.[7] Dowries for women varied by the economic status of her family and what they could provide, but could include, as medieval historians Frances and Joseph Gies (1991) have found, "an acre or two of land, but more often would consist of money, chattels, or both. A poor peasant's daughter might marry with nothing at all."[8]

As for work, women would typically be relegated to labour closer to or inside the home, while men traveled further to perform labour. This work, though more family-oriented than her husband, was by no means less difficult nor less agricultural. She would still be expected to deliver on expectations set by the lord for crop output on top of, as Frances and Joseph Gies (1991) state, "spinning, weaving, sewing, cheese-making, cooking, and cleaning... foraging, gardening, weeding, hay making, carrying, and animal-tending."[9], while also being the one to tend to livestock a majority

4 Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Women in the Middle Ages: The Lives of Real Women in a Vibrant Age of Transition (Harper Collins, 2010), 41.

5 5 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 41.

6 Judith M. Bennett, Women in the Medieval English Countryside: Gender and Household in Brigstock before the Plague (Oxford University Press, 1987), 70 - 71.

7 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 41.

8 Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Life in a Medieval Village (HarperPerennial, 1991), 111.

9 Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Life in a Medieval Village (HarperPerennial, 1991), 145 - 146.

of the time.[10] Women were not only tied to agricultural labour through a perceived divine hierarchy of peoples dictated by birth, but by the necessity of family units as an economic system: thus creating a more difficult net to escape. Despite the overall harsh reality of peasantry in agrarian economies, serf and peasant women were equally as pivotal to the maintenance of medieval society as the men alongside them.

WORK, MARRIAGE, AND THE EMERGENCE OF TOWNS

Given that common belief about women was that they were in need of controlling, it was also believed that left to their own devices they could fall victim to a wandering uterus and succumb to promiscuity.[11] Those without a male guardian or who were independent certainly faced more risk for social, legal, and religious consequences, the most pertinent of which was being accused of prostitution.[12] This kind of moral scrutiny was typical for a society steeped in deeply religious beliefs, especially as the most iconic female characters in the bible were either the immaculate, chaste mother or the ill-intentioned jezebel leading Adam into sin. While actual prostitutes existed, they were more often found in medieval towns where the economy was much more vibrant and diversified than the simplistic village, and were seen as depraved, but ultimately necessary if not inevitable.[13] For all that making an independent income was fraught with peril, there was still a potential for security, agency, and a life outside of the expected and predictable.

By the twelfth century, women in towns had a much more diverse array of options for marriage: she could be married to somebody of a different social class, lower or higher, thereby having the opportunity for increasing her own status.[14] The women of a medieval town had comparatively more rights than their rural sistren, boasting a legal citizenship status and the ability to participate in a limited amount of politics, such as voting or attending town councils.[15] Albeit limited, this afforded them a greater foundation to stand on when it came to going against the grain. Women could work in specialized trades in lieu of long days in the field, especially in female-dominated industries like textile works, fashion-based work (wigs, silk, threads, etc.), and in some cases brewing or bread baking. For this kind of labour they could take female apprentices, be it daughters or girls sent by other families or even of their own

10 Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Life in a Medieval Village (HarperPerennial, 1991), 145 - 146.
11 Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, 2023, 6.
12 Ruth Mazo Karras, Common Women: Prostitution and Sexuality in Medieval England (Oxford University Press, 1998), 141 - 142.
13 Shulamith Shahar, The Fourth Estate : A History of Women in the Middle Ages, 2nd ed. (Routledge, 2003), 206.
14 Frances Gies and Joseph Gies, Life in a Medieval City (Crowell, 1969), 68.
15 Shahar, The Fourth Estate : A History of Women in the Middle Ages, 175 - 176.

interest.[16] Education for the townswoman was not common, but wealthier families could and would regularly educate their daughters through nunnery schools or female tutors[17], which was much more than any peasant, serf or agricultural labourer could hope for, man or woman, reflecting a social hierarchy that occasionally broke the rules of misogyny. A serf, peasant, or any illiterate agricultural worker was not held in the same regard as the wife of their lord, nor the wealthy wife to an affluent tradesman.[18] Women in towns could put their feet in the door of otherwise forbidden or inaccessible opportunities, and thus be more likely to subvert gender expectations: class, diversity of opportunity and less dependence on the feudal family unit as economically necessary.

LITERACY

Education and literacy was not the only marker of medieval women's wealth, but it was certainly one of the biggest. Outside of wealthy towns women and women born to a lord or married to a lord, the next educated class was a pious one: nuns. A nun's life was one of restraint, her piety directly tied to her asceticism. Vows of lifelong chastity were and in some theological circles still are considered as close to holy as one could be in the mortal, earthly kingdom defined by Augustine de Hippo (c. 354 - c. 430) in "City of God".

Although the vast majority of nuns were taught some form of literacy, not all were put through a formal education, the quality of which varied by the economic status of a girl's family or the nunnery itself, with most nuns being sent, recruited or 'married into' from the higher classes.[19] Convents themselves were not as fleshed out as their monastery counterparts, focused more on the devotional aspect than the work monks performed. Still, nunneries attracted women who wanted to live a different life than marriage, who wanted to learn and who had the means to make it so.[20] As a woman's life was often defined by marriage, a nun's commitment to her spirituality was seen as a marriage to Christ. Some families could "marry" their daughters, widowed family members or rebellious women to the church., mirroring a traditional marriage alliance for the benefit of both parties.[21] One of the most famous examples of nuns in the early high middle ages was Hildegard de Bingden (c. 1098 - 1179), who amassed a following for not only her early beginning at a convent but also her visions, which were certified soon after as sent by God.[22] She described them as such; as Frances and Joseph Gies recount; ""A great flash of light from heaven pierced my brain," she wrote,

16 Shahar, The Fourth Estate : A History of Women in the Middle Ages, 191, 193.

17 Shahar, The Fourth Estate : A History of Women in the Middle Ages, 216.

18 Gies and Gies, Life in a Medieval City, 52.

19 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 76.

20 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 77.

21 Linda E. Mitchell, Women in Medieval Western European Culture (Routledge, 2012), 282

22 Mitchell, Women in Medieval Western European Culture, 287.

"and made my heart and my whole breast glow without burning them, as the sun warms the object that it envelops with its rays. In that instant my mind was imbued with the meaning of the sacred books, the Psalter, the Gospel, and the other books of the Old and New Testament."" (88 - 89) Hildegard was noteworthy for more than her celebrity status, but for her intellect and leadership.[23] Nunneries were not without theological rules and constraints, yet still produced many great polymaths, creatives, and further disparately exceptional women.

WOMEN IN ROYAL COURTS

To a greater extent, the highest class of women in the high middle ages also had access to education and could be involved politically, philosophically or become accomplished authors among other things. While still subjugated on the basis of their sex, women in the nobility received privileges their sistren of lower birth did not. This could be reflected in the beauty standard of the time, with descriptions of women pale as snow, small-breasted and sweet smelling – the complete antithesis to a woman working in a field, or one who had to breastfeed their own children. Noblewomen and queens employed wetnurses, did not work in the sun, and had access to more frequent bathing.[24] They also suffered differently and from different expectations, often expected to birth especially if not only male children for the purpose of primogeniture. Women married to kings or higher nobility were also married on average younger.[25] One famous woman, Queen Blanche of Castille (c. 1188 - 1252) was given in marriage at the age of thirteen.[26] Blanche was a Spanish girl and queen to Louis VIII (c.1187 - c. 1286), born into and ruling in a changing political landscape wherein the title of queen was evolving to encompass more political responsibility outside of childbirth.[27] This combination of historical time, noble privilege and proximity to the king allowed for her to distinguish herself.

Another remarkable woman from the later fourteenth century, Christine de Pizan (c. 1363 - c. 1431) was a writer and produced an incredible amount of writing at the very center of aFrench court.[28] Born the daughter of a physician, she eventually went on to write a biography ofKing Charles V[29], as well as one of the earliest known literature questioning the attitudes and treatment of women in her time, a book called "The Book of the City of Ladies." Christine challenged many of

23 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 100.

24 Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, 2023, 40 - 41.

25 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 115.

26 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 113.

27 Gies and Gies, Women in the Middle Ages, 1980, 120.

28 Charlotte Cooper-Davis, Christine De Pizan: Life, Work, Legacy (Reaktion Books, 2021), 23.

29 Charlotte Cooper-Davis, Christine De Pizan: Life, Work, Legacy (Reaktion Books, 2021), 39.

the ideas widely accepted about women, such that they were inherently sinful. She writes, "My lady, I can clearly see that much good has been brought into the world by women. Even if some wicked women have done evil things, it still seems to me that this is far outweighed by all the good that other women have done and continue to do."[30] On the reluctance of men to educate women, she states, "...I'm all the more amazed at the opinion of some men who state that they are completely opposed to their daughters, wives or other female relatives engaging in study, for fear that their morals will be corrupted."[31] She even praises pagan women, "You can find many examples in books of pagan women who were righteous and honorable."[32],further testing and stretching the bounds of propriety and blasphemy. Despite the text beingproto-feminist, "The Book of the City of Ladies" was massively popular.[33] Women were even able to transcend the boundaries placed on them by jettisoning their gender altogether: King Jadwiga of Poland (c. unknown - c. 1399) was a female king, titled and recognized by Poland directly in defiance of explicit patriarchal primogeniture laws.[34] Jadwiga is remarkable not only for being the first woman monarch to rule over Poland, but for her political and military prowess.[35] Courts, while still shrouded in misogynist expectation, also provided women with the greatest depth of opportunity to both navigate their societal constraints and to claim agency.

30 Christine De Pizan, The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Or the Book of the Three Virtues (Penguin UK, 2003), 139.

31 De Pizan, The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Or the Book of the Three Virtues, 139 - 140.

32 De Pizan, The Treasure of the City of Ladies: Or the Book of the Three Virtues, 144.

33 Janega, The Once and Future Sex: Going Medieval on Women's Roles in Society, 2023, 28 - 29.

34 Janina Ramirez, Femina: The instant Sunday Times bestseller – A New History of the Middle Ages, Through the Women Written Out of It (Random House, 2022), 263.

35 Ramirez, Femina: The Instant Sunday Times Bestseller – A New History of the Middle Ages, Through the Women Written Out of It, 265.

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The Papacy in Crisis

Negotiating Authority and Faith Against Monarchs and Scholasticism

Allison McCausland

The 12th century Roman Catholic Church faced unprecedented challenges from the very monarchs who once looked to the papacy for legitimacy. In the centuries following the collapse of the Roman Empire, the Roman Catholic Church emerged as the primary institution uniting a divided Europe. Monarchs regained revisioned authority, expanding bureaucracies and growing wealth, creating a threat to the Church's dominant power over European governance and social order. Simultaneously, an intellectual resurgence spread through Europe following a rediscovery of classical philosophy, creating 12th century scholasticism. This movement questioned the relationship between faith and reason, creating doubt within the Church's theological framework and undermining clerical authority. These developments left the papacy in unrest, forced to defend its autonomy and authority while negotiating with secular rulers, and the rise of reasoned inquiry. Between 1100 and 1300, the Roman Catholic Church maintained its central role in European affairs by reinforcing its authority through legal assertions, political compromises and controlling intellectual movements to strengthen its theological supremacy.

The Investiture Controversy was a conflict rooted in the competing claims of Church and state over the appointment of bishops.[1] Until 1046, Popes had sole authority over the appointment of clergy members, however this power was undermined when Pope Gregory VI was deposed by King Henry III, who would later become Holy Roman emperor.[2] The clergy's hostile reaction to the Pope's deposition led to an 86-year-long conflict between church and state over control of clergy

1 Jørgen Møller, Getting the Context Right in Quantitative Historical Analysis: The Case of the Investiture Controversy, (The Journal of Politics 86, no. 3. 2024). 1083-1084.

2 Ibid.

administration.[3] Bishops were significant authorities, who were often powerful landowners responsible for the governance of vast territories, collection of taxes, and commandments of military troops.[4] By controlling their appointments, kings and emperors could ensure that bishops and their territories would remain loyal to secular authority, reinforcing the monarch's political dominance over the Church.[5] Through secular loyalty and presentation, monarchs could effectively shape both the religious and political landscape by placing loyal supporters in ecclesiastical positions.[6] This practice threatened the Church's independence from the state, and blurred the boundaries between spiritual authority and monarchal governance. As the controversy unfolded, the Church sought to renew its independence and dominance through an assertion of its primacy in legal and ecclesiastical matters.[7]

Pope Innocent II's letters dated 1133 to 1137 were crucial in this assertion, discussing maiores causae (greater causes) which decreed that certain matters, particularly involving bishops, should be reserved for the Roman Church.[8] In these writings, Innocent II urged for legal appeals to the Pope to be permitted, seemingly to threaten disobedience, interpreted as secularly loyal bishops, effectively undermining the monarch's political dominance over individual territories.[9] The earlier Praetorian Prefect from Emperor Marcian Augustus to Constantius was referenced in Innocent II's letters, which outlined a legal decree wherein cases were to be plead to the archbishops, who surpassed temporal judgement, as they exhibited "double integrity and trustworthiness - that of a priest and a judge." [10] This assertion effectively reinforced jurisdiction over Church matters and ensured that clergy were judged by their own leadership, not outside civil authorities. By allowing appeals to the high clergy and managing legal matters within their own community, the Church centralised its power to limit the ability of monarchs' interventions in ecclesiastical disputes.[11] The legal consolidation of power extended the right

3 Anna M Grzymała-Busse, Sacred Foundations : The Religious and Mediaeval Roots of the European State, (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2023). 34.

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid.

6 Møller, 1084.

7 Grzymała-Busse, 21.

8 Enrico Veneziani, The Papacy and Ecclesiology of Honorius II (1124-1130): Church Governance after the Concordat of Worms of Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, (Boydell & Brewer, 2023). 80.

9 Ibid.

10 Frederick Growcock, Ecclesiastical Legislation in the Justinian Code, (The University of Texas at Austin, 1965). 202.

11 Grzymała-Busse, 27.

of clerical appeal even to the laity, further consolidating power and challenging the authority of secular rulers.

By the early 12th century, both the papacy and the empire recognized the need for compromise. Both spheres weakened as neither could claim full control of their territory, leading to draining political and militaristic struggles in their respective attempts.[12] In 1122, Pope Calixtus II and Emperor Henry V reached an agreement in the city of Worms, known as the Concordat of Worms.[13] Under the terms of the Concordat, the Church would have the exclusive right to elect bishops and portray them with spiritual symbols, such as the ring and staff.[14] The emperor retained the authority to endow bishops with secular symbols and declare what state powers the bishops would wield.[15] The Concordat of Worms symbolises an alliance between the two institutions, ensuring that the lower clergy would owe allegiance to both the Church and the Emperor, while preserving the Church's authority over spiritual matters. In this way, the Church set boundaries for the state among a divided political landscape, demanding Emperors remain within their domains.

Broadened papal jurisdiction led to a significant development in the Roman Catholic Church, canon law, regarded as the first independent Roman legal system.[16] This development produced the foundational text that allowed clerical authority and jurisdiction over issues of marriage, inheritance, and other social initiatives.[17] One of the key figures in this process was Gratian, a jurist and monk, who codified the Decretum Gratiani with laws that often conflicted with and overrode previously secular responsibilities.[18] This development not only signified the Church's ability to govern independently and above temporal law, its codification was crucial for creating a standardised clerical approach to governance, as it unified previously conflicting legal texts from the early Church councils, papal decrees, and Church Fathers.[19] Standardisation allowed for a consolidation of power in the high clergy, with a pseudo-monarchical rule developing

12 Ibid, 43.

13 Grzymała-Busse, 26.

14 Møller, 1084.

15 Møller, 1084; Grzymała-Busse, 21.

16 Jean Porter, "Custom, Ordinance and Natural Right in Gratian's Decretum," in The Nature of Customary Law, ed Amanda Perreau-Saussine and James B. Murphy, 79–100 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

17 Anders Winroth, The Making of Gratian's Decretum, (Cambridge England: Cambridge University Press, 2007). 2.

18 Ibid.

19 Porter, 79-81.

throughout the 12th and 13th centuries.[20]

Following the consolidation of power within the Church, Popes began to use heightened authority to take on roles in state matters, even crowning and deposing Kings.[21] This power was practised often, as forty-four percent of monarchal excommunications between 1000 and 1400 were a result of defying the papacy. [22] The use of this plenitudo potestatis (fullness of power) allowed for a newfound universal papal jurisdiction over all Christendom. The Church modelled itself as a centralised monarchy, primarily led by Pope Innocent III, reigning from 1198-1216.[23] His declaration that the Pope was the Vicar of Christ with authority over all secular rules, exerted a powerful influence that extended the Church's political reach, most notably the calling of the Fourth Crusade in 1202.[24] By initiating the crusade, Innocent III bypassed monarchs, demonstrating the clergy had the right to gather Christian leaders, their armies and laity for holy wars. In earlier crusades, the Pope had relied on the cooperation and approval of monarchs, thus Innocent's revolutionary Church-led movement proved that the papacy could operate as an autonomous militarised entity and had no need for the support and resources of the Empire.[25]

The rise of scholastic disputation within the Roman Catholic Church's theological domain might have remained a minor complication as a result of the new schools and scholars of the 12th century, until the recovery of Aristotle's works that directly taught the formation and refutation of arguments.[26] This intellectual enlightenment provided both a systemic method of validating theological teachings while introducing a risk of rational inquiry that had the potential to undermine the orthodoxy. [27] Monks, philosophers and theologians of the Catholic Church organised a system with which to justify the usage of logic while indicating limits to which its use would be permitted.[28]

20 Lawrence G Duggan, Armsbearing and the Clergy in the History and Canon Law of Western Christianity, (United Kingdom: Boydell & Brewer, 2013). 99.

21 Grzymała-Busse, 27, 47.

22 Ibid.

23 Damian J. Smith, ed. Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241): Power and Authority. of Church, Faith and Culture in the Medieval West. (Amsterdam University Press, 2023). 24.

24 Edward Peters, Papacy, Crusade, and Christian-Muslim Relations, ed Jessalynn L. Bird, (Amsterdam University Press, 2018). 119.

25 Duggan, 106.

26 Alex J Novikoff, The Medieval Culture of Disputation: Pedagogy, Practice, and Performance, (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013). 106.

27 R. R. Bolgar, The Classical Heritage and Its Beneficiaries. Updated edition. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973). 205.

28 Ibid.

Anselm of Canterbury was a monk whose influence, titled fides quaerens intellectum, laid a foundation for scholastic thought by asserting that reason could be used to understand faith, but only within specific boundaries established by Church doctrine thereby upholding the ultimate authority.[29]

Anselm set boundaries not only in the practice of scholastic inquiry, but in the population permitted to engage in such discourse. As universities began to expand in the 12th century, the practice of dialectics required individuals to hold thorough training in the liberal arts to complement spiritual status on the "ladder of faith," ensuring the dialectic respected the authority of scripture, the Church, and the teachings of early Christian fathers.[30] Scholars who attempted to challenge the Church without meeting Anselm's criteria were branded as "heretics of dialectic" and dismissed as either intellectually incompetent or spiritually insufficient in order to delegitimize their arguments as coming from a place of ignorance rather than insight.[31] In doing so, the Roman Catholic Church effectively consolidated authority through suppression of progress in their control of both theological and educational spheres.

Scholastic disputation therefore held a position within theology, but was suppressed by Church authorities should it challenge the status quo. The Church's ability to control intellectual discourse can retrospectively be attributed, in part, to clerical autonomy in the appointment of bishops. This independence allowed not only for an autonomous Church, but for appointing bishops to act as enforcers of orthodoxy. Pope Lucius III declared a heresy decree in 1184, which empowered bishops to investigate and punish individuals for heretical beliefs.[32] By authorising bishops to monitor deviance and vaguely categorising heresy as any contradiction to Catholic doctrine, the Church secured control over intellectual, political and spiritual domains.[33] Concerns about the misuse of reason were not unfounded, as Peter Abelard's work Theologia Summi Boni, questioned orthodox Christian doctrines relating to the Trinity. [34] Abelard argued that individuals preaching Christian

29 Logan, Ian, and Anselm. Reading Anselm's Proslogion : The History of Anselm's Argument and Its Significance Today. (London ; Routledge, 2016). 19.

30 Ibid, 20.

31 Ibid.

32 Herbert Grundmann, Religious Movements In the Middle Ages: the Historical Links Between Heresy, the Mendicant Orders, and the Women's Religious Movement In the Twelfth and Thirteenth Century, with the Historical Foundations of German Mysticism. (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995). 30.

33 Ibid.

34 Constant J. Mews, "Peter Abelard." In Medieval Philosophy of Religion, 1st ed., 2:97–108. (Routledge, 2009). 100.

doctrines without understanding the logic behind it were even discouraged by God himself, as "the Lord (said) that such people were like the blind leading the blind."[35]

In this case, Theologia Summi Boni was deemed as heresy at The Council of Soissons in 1121, and condemned as it was believed that such methods undermined the supremacy of the Church.[36] Consequently, Abelard was forced to publicly burn his works, recant any statements and spend years in exile.[37] Following Abelard's accusations of heresy, many enusing trials took place resulting in burnings and hangings for participating in scholastic disputation.[38] In doing so, the Church had formulated a widespread precedent that deterred further discourse over all territories under threats and fear of accusations of heresy and punishment.[39] This condemnation demonstrated the Church's ability to criminalise logic, asserting reason must operate strictly within boundaries set by faith, not as a force capable of independent scrutiny.

By the early 13th century, the works of Aristotlian philosophy became central to university curricula during the continued rise of scholasticism despite heretic precedents. While universities in Europe were closely operating in association with the Church, formal education attracted international scholars interested in a variety of progressive curiosity including the philosophian discipline.[40] Consequently, the Church began the implementation of several restrictions, the first of which was declared in the 1210 Council of Paris.[41] This council set forth a mandate prohibiting the teachings of Aristotlian philosophy, with the intention of controlling academia to ensure their studies aligned with pre-existing Church doctrine. The restriction was revised decades later under Pope Gregory IX in 1231,[42] who decreed that the works of Aristotle could be used under the condition they be examined by the Church and censored to what was deemed appropriate within clerical parameters.[43] The papal decree reflected a shift in the Church's strategy from one of restriction to regulation.

Schools and scholars were required to seek approval from the Church for their curricula, threatening any unauthorised, deviant discourse with

35 Ibid.

36 Ibid.

37 Ibid, 103-106.

38 Mahmus Said Hariri, Borrowed Rationales and Their Legitimations in Complex Cultures: Changing Fortunes of Aristotle's Natural Philosophy in Latin Christendom from 1210 to 1277. (ProQuest Dissertations & Theses, 1968). 59.

39 Ibid, 98.

40 Novikoff, 133-134.

41 Hariri, 60.

42 Smith, 16.

43 Hariri, 60.

severe repercussions.[44] Education became adapted to incorporate scholastic disputation within approved parameters to deter any threatening interpretations, creating a renewed Aristotlian appearance in Roman universities' syllabi in 1255.[45] Guidelines on scholastic adaptations were upheld independently by the cathedral universities, proving the Church's ability to self-govern and maintain academic standards.[46] To reconcile educational philosophical teachings with Christian doctrines, the Church began blending the main principles of Aristotle's work with their religious doctrines to become irrefutably sound dogma.[47] Intellectual enrichment was constrained to a narrow set of accepted ideas where progressive alternative views halted to preserve the Church's authority. In this way, the Church fortified jurisdiction in theological interpretation and intellectual discourse while effectively silencing opposition.

Through centuries of tension and upheaval, the Roman Catholic Church not only maintained, but strengthened and spread authority through all domains of European affairs. An unprecedented level of centralised authority and influence was secured through navigations among the threats of a shifting political landscape. The clergy effectively established itself not only as a religious authority, but a force capable of challenging secular rule and redefining the relationship between secular and clerical power. From the Investiture Controversy and the Concordat of Worms, to the administration of canon law, the Church demonstrated an ability to operate not only independently, but over monarchical powers. Despite being faced with threats of subversion, the Church overcame this discourse through the skillful adaptation of inquiry to fit their parameters. Secured authority extended beyond ecclesiastical matters and clerical leadership, and placed the Roman Catholic Church at the centre of political, legal and scholarly operations. The era of the Roman Catholic Church between 1100 and 1300 remains significant in European history due to invaluable contributions to governance, law, and intellectual culture through precedents that would stand for centuries.

44 Ibid, 60, 72.

45 Ibid, 60.

46 Novikoff, 140.

47 Bolgar, 205-206.

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Neues Volk
1938
85 Rpf.

Nazi Propaganda of Motherhood

National Consumption, Anti-Communism, and Racial Hygiene

Abigail Conquer

Adolf Hitler's campaign for power in the interwar era promised German women that his rule would return glory to "wives and mothers, who would bear the children of the Thousand Year Reich," rescuing the German family.[1] Propaganda Chief Joseph Goebbels echoed his vision, emphasizing that women's duty was to "be beautiful and to bring children into the world... The female bird pretties herself for her mate."[2] For the Nazi regime, women were just that, animals confined to the domestic sphere, responsible for social reproduction, motherhood, and child rearing to sustain the state. This vision marked a stark departure from the liberal-feminist gains achieved in the Weimar era, sustaining right-wing rhetoric of anti-modernism and deep seated nostalgia for the past. Propaganda of this era sought to reimagine women, weaponizing the female body for NSDAP programs.

Despite crucial historical events such as the Great Depression, ultimately altering Germany's course of action, questions arise on how women fell into the hands of right wing extremism from a relatively liberal state? Moreover, why did the once liberal female population turn their rhetoric to a propagated 'cult of motherhood' for the benefit of the Nazi state? Argued in this essay, the mass mobilization of Nazi propaganda —specifically poster media— effectively capitalized on negative reactions to modernism at the turn of the century, calling attention to feelings of nostalgia which altered perceptions on

1 Wendy A. Sarti, "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women: Wedded to the State," In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes During Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, Dublin: Academica Press (2011):16–17.

2 Irene Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, Oxford: Berg Publishers, (2004): 101–102; Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, Perichoresis, (2024): 93.

traditionalism. This enabled Hitler to weaponize domesticity and motherhood against issues such as national consumption, anti-communism, and racial hygiene, each facilitated and supported through the Ministry of Propaganda.

To understand the role of female-centered propaganda in the Third Reich, it is crucial to examine the historical context that shaped the regime's potent gender policies. Germany underwent a significant gender transformation during the early 20th century, shifting away from a predominantly traditionalist agrarian society into a leading 'urban' sector by the early 1920s.[3] The First World War was fundamental to the acceleration of these changes, as the absence of men on the frontlines created a mass labor shortage, promoting women to enter the workforce under the guise of "patriotic self-sacrifice."[4] Women began working in unprecedented numbers, leaving domestic sectors of the economy for new social service jobs such as nursing, as well as more male-oriented jobs through war-time industries like munitions labor.[5] Female labor did not go unrecognized, as it was through the November Revolution of 1918 and the establishment of the Weimar Republic which granted women's suffrage.[6] Political independence coupled with access to higher education allowed women to pursue careers previously closed-off to them, with the 1920s becoming the era of the 'new women,' challenging traditional gender ideologies and the separate sphere mentality through wage earning.[7]

The scarcity and political instability brought on by the Great Depression altered Germany's progressive course, as the economic crash in October 1929 played a crucial role in the shift towards right-wing extremism under Adolf Hitler.[8] The opulence of the 1920s is not as it seemed, with many women facing chronic job insecurity, poverty from disabled veteran family members, and a marriage shortage due to a post-war gender imbalance.[9] By 1932, over 6 million Germans were unemployed, deepening feelings of agitation, setting their sights on blaming a

3 Jill Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" In Women in Nazi Germany, London: Routledge (2001): 6.

4 Matthew Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, London: Hodder Education Publishing (2003): 11.

5 Ibid.

6 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 12.

7 Ibid.

8 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 14.

9 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 13; Wendy A. Sarti, "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women: Wedded to the State," In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes During Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, Dublin: Academica Press (2011): 16.

'crisis of capitalism' for the failures of the successive liberal Reichstag government.[10] Women in particular longed to 'look back' to the successes of the empire, rejecting feminist-liberal gains of the early 20th century for a false hope of equality as well as dishonoring "the uniquely female profession of motherhood."[11] Instead, German women turned inward, embracing cultural ideals of the 'national community,' 'racial purity,' and motherhood — ideas Hitler capitalized on.[12] With the NSDAP's advent to power in 1933, the goal became restoring the family to overcome poverty, with women's roles reverting back to domesticity and subordination, no longer working for slave wages but to be mothers and breeders for the Nazi War Machine.[13]

Propaganda played a central role in the advancement of these Nazi ideals, as under the leadership of Joseph Goebbles and the Ministry of Propaganda, domesticity and Hitler's "cult of motherhood" was propagated to support the new regime.[14] A central theme of visual propaganda was the portrayal of the ideal German women: Aryan, physically Nordic, non-asocial, "blond, tall, long-skulled, [...] soft fair hair, widely spaced pale-coloured eyes, and pinky white skin."[15] Religious Renaissance iconography became a central aesthetic to Nazi media, aiming to eliminate modernist art forms like cubism which were labeled as "degenerate" and "racially inferior."[16] Virginal, natural, and often nude in idyllic, pastoral settings, Nazi female propaganda embodying the purity and dignity of motherhood in contrast to the perceived sexual deviancy of racially inferior groups.[17] This framework thus provides the foundation for an exploration of how

10 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 14, 21–22.

11 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 23

12 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 14–17.

13 Jill Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" In Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 16; Wendy A. Sarti, "Introduction," In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes During Hitler's Regime 1933-1945, Dublin: Academica Press (2011): 1; Wendy A. Sarti, "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women: Wedded to the State," In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes During Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, (2011): 16 & 17.

14 Konstantinos Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, Perichoresis, vol.22, s1, (2024): 78 & 86; Matthew Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," In Women in the Third Reich, London: Hodder Education Publishing (2003): 40–42.

15 Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, Perichoresis, (2024): 86.

16 Jost Hermand, "Nazi Facism: Consequences for the Arts" In Culture in Dark Times: Nazi Fascism, InnerEmigration, and Exile, NY: Berghahn Books (2014): 55–58.

17 Irene Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, Oxford: Berg Publishers, (2004): 101–102; Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, Perichoresis, (2024): 81.

Nazi female-based propaganda, with a focus on motherhood, strategically intertwines with the themes of consumption, anti-communism, and racial intolerance.

As priorly established, 1920s Germany faced what is known as a "crisis of modernity," a period marked by rapid urbanization that weakened the perceived patriarchal order.[18] For some, this shift represented progress and modernity, while for others, it signaled the collapse of traditionalism and the virtues of domesticity.[19] The 'new woman' embodies the prior conception, as she was a figure who rejected traditional motherhood in favor of a full-time career and to indulge in modern urban culture; cigarette-smoking, nightclubbing, risqué fashion wearing, and jazz listening.[20] These freedoms came at the cost of the extreme gender imbalance post World War One, as the surplus of single women left many reliant on paid employment until marriage — if they could become married at all.[21] French influence was particularly strong, as the consumption of luxury goods, including French cosmetics and fashion, replicated Hollywood glamor with red lips, thin brows, and painted cheeks.[22]

Nazi propaganda of the 30s and 40s sought to remove foreign influence, moving female autonomy of consumption into the hands of the 'national community'; buying German to win the war.[23] With women averaging 80% of Germany's core consumer base, a "good shopper was a patriotic shopper," making the purchase of foreign goods 'selfish,' 'jewified,' and 'thoughtless' to the Reichs goals.[24] The image befitting of propaganda was thus the moral degeneration of cosmetics and their innate poisonous 'masculinity,' being for "senile and dying world of ego cult and Jewish money," promoting instead natural folk beauty, rural tan skin, blond hair, and the traditional dirndl-tracht dress, a representation of a woman from before 1900.[25] Moreover, ideal with individuals like Gertrude Scholtz-Kline of the National Socialists Womens League [NSF] represent this new ideal of the Kinder [children],

18 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 9.

19 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 9–10.

20 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 9.

21 Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism," In Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 8.

22 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 98–99.

23 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 92–93.

24 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004):92–93, 97; Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 13–14.

25 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 98–101, 106–108.

Küche [kitchen], and Kirche [church].[26]

Propaganda imagery from both the Weimar Republic and Nazi Germany highlight the stark difference in the idealism of a woman's appearance, one of a Parisian 'Haute Couture' and the other of the Rural-Volk. The Garden Court ad (1921) is highly representative of the early 20th century, with its emphasis on the modernity of the flapper style —short hair, red lips, rouged cheeks, and thin penciled brows— all associated with the foreign influences that were viewed as corruption by Nazi law.[27] Comparatively, the Elizabeth Arden ad (1910), a staple brand which remained popular even in Hitlers Germany as reported by the Bureau of Beauty, epitomized the aesthetic of the foreign import, a fully done-up flapper doll, a figure of the corrupt 20th century trends for women.[28] Juxtaposing these images is Nazi Propaganda, with posters such as the National Socialist Wir Frauen election ad (1932) presenting a reversal of modernity with a new image of femininity, depicted with bare faces, natural pinned hair, and unadorned beauty.[29] This is further embodied in the Frauen-Warte magazine cover (1943), featuring the 'Black Forest maiden' wearing the dirndl-tracht dress, with her blond youthful appearance set against a picturesque, rural-volk imagery as desired by Hitler and the NSDAP.[30] Differential on the imagination on what women 'ought to be,' the contrast in visual advertisements illuminates on the social attitudes of each era, and how a once cosmopolitan nation successfully reverted back to a pre-1900 mentality, thus showcasing Nazi control on women as a tool to propagate the culture of Nazism.

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26 Sarti, "Introduction" & "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women: Wedded to the State," In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes During Hitlers Regime 1933-1945, (2011): 5 & 22; Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 34–36, & 43.

27 "Garden Court Toiletries & Perfume, Cleopatra's Boudoir, (1921):https://cleopatrasboudoir.blogspot.com/2014/03/garden-court-toiletries-perfume.html; Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 91.

28 "Blue Grass by Elizabeth Arden," Elizabeth Arden, (1910): http://www.clothingcanadafashion.com/150-plus/41-1910-elizabeth-arden/; Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 103–104.

29 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004):107, "We Women are Voting Slate 2 National Socialists," Nazi Ministry of Propaganda, (1932): https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/photo/poster-we-women-are-voting-slate-2-national-socialists.

30 "Black Forest Maiden," Frauen-Warte, (1943): https://seamracer.wordpress.com/2018/10/23/oktoberfest-black-forest-dirndl/; Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?: Fashioning Women in the Third Reich, (2004): 107–108; Jost Hermand, "Nazi Facism: Consequences for the Arts" In Culture in Dark Times: Nazi Fascism, Inner Emigration, and Exile, NY: Berghahn Books, (2014): 67.

Figure 1.
"The Bewitching Hour," Garden Court, 1921.

Figure 2.
"Blue Grass by Elizabeth Arden,"
Elizabeth Arden, 1910.

Figure 3.
"We Women are Voting Slate 2 National Socialists," NSDAP, 1932.

Figure 4.
"Black Forest Maiden," Frauen-Warte, June 1943.

Another radical shift crucial to the development of the Nazi state was the Bolshevik Revolution (1917) in Russia, marking the establishment of the first communist state — viewed as either the destruction of the traditional family or with great potential for revolutionary change.[31] Upon seizing power, the Bolshevik communists redefined the status of women, promoting the new 'Soviet Woman' as an emancipated, equal member of society including in marriage and family law.[32] To Friedrich Engels, co-author of the Communist Manifesto with Karl Marx, a soviet society was to be utopian, where marriage and family were no longer defined by hierarchical systems but rather based in equality, seeking to eliminate patriarchy.[33] Additionally, Bolsheviks insisted upon women's participation in the labor force, with laws mandating women work due to agrarian collectivism.[34] Women's rights were thus expanded to enable bodily autonomy, including decisions on fertility, divorce, and family life.[35] This shift was fundamentally dramatic for both the international sphere as well as for Russia itself, as like Germany pre-World War One, they were traditionally conservative.[36] Nevertheless, women were still expected to fulfil their roles as mother, seen as a universal natural duty that conquered social status as it was deemed necessary to social reproduction and the sustainment of future communism.[37]

Despite both the Bolsheviks and Nazi's valuing motherhood as the foundation to social reproduction of their ideological states, Nazi principles used reactionary politics to distinguish themselves as the antithesis to communism. Condemning feminism as "'Marxist' dogma of sexual equality," Nazi's portrayed female emancipation as morally degenerating and racially inferior, insisting women return to their 'natural' roles as mothers and housewives.[38] Argued

31 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 9–10.

32 Sanita Osipova & Anna Kontere, Changes in the Legal Status of a Woman-Mother in the Soviet Law After the Bolshevik Revolution and in the Stalin's Era (1917–1953), Journal of the University of Latvia, vol. 15, (2022): 45–46.

33 Osipova & Kontere, Changes in the Legal Status of a Woman-Mother in the Soviet Law After the Bolshevik Revolution and in the Stalin's Era (1917–1953), Journal of the University of Latvia, (2022): 46.

34 Akhtar, "Mapuche Land Claims," 570.

35 Osipova & Kontere, Changes in the Legal Status of a Woman-Mother in the Soviet Law After the BolshevikRevolution and in the Stalin's Era (1917–1953), Journal of the University of Latvia, (2022): 47–48.

36 Osipova & Kontere, Changes in the Legal Status of a Woman-Mother in the Soviet Law After the Bolshevik Revolution and in the Stalin's Era (1917–1953), Journal of the University of Latvia, (2022): 48–49.

37 Osipova & Kontere, Changes in the Legal Status of a Woman-Mother in the Soviet Law After the Bolshevik Revolution and in the Stalin's Era (1917–1953), Journal of the University of Latvia, (2022): 46 & 49.

38 Hermand, "Nazi Facism," In Culture in Dark Times: Nazi Facism, Inner Emigration, and Exile, (2014): 6; Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 17.

in Mein Kampf (1933), Hitler vowed women as fundamentally different from men, expressing hatred for communism as the 'Red International' and its jewish conspiracy were a threat to the attainment of 'racial purity.'[39] The employment of women in Russia was further seen as antithetical to the new German cultural ideals as they rejected female wage earning on the premise it eroded paternalistic-patriarchy, the separate sphere ideology, and 'natural' domesticity.[40] This rejection was amplified by the destabilizing influence of the economic depression in the 1930s, as in contrast to Soviet policies, women labour was no longer a socio-economic necessity.[41] Propaganda exploited these communist fears, utilizing the idea of the womens 'natural' place in the home and in marriage —abiding by the separate spheres— as the emphasis dividing National Socialism from Communism.[42] The Aryan Interest-Free Loan Program incentivized these notions, offering financial support to encourage women into leaving the workforce, seen in the mass marriage of 122 Reemsta cigarette workers, all prompting resigning the same day.[43]

Examining propaganda develops these claims, as the representations of communism arestarkly contrasted with the ideals of Aryan motherhood, reflecting the regimes fear of communism and its commitment to racial purity and the 'national community.' Wyzwolona Kobieta (1943) exemplifies traditional anti-communist rhetoric, portraying the Soviet woman as beaten, bruised, and enslaved to communist labor — subjugation and moral degeneration in gender equality.[44] Similarly, the polish leaflet Do You Want That to Happen to Your Women and Girls? (1939–1944) uses the over masculinization, sexualization, and animalization of the Soviet soldier, depicting him as a rapist and corrupter to the 'pure' German women, seen in her clad white dress and the children which, also harmed, surround her.[45] These negative images are contrasted in motherhood propaganda of the Reich,

39 Hermand, "Nazi Facism," In Culture in Dark Times: Nazi Facism, Inner Emigration, and Exile, (2014): 6–9, & 12.

40 Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" in Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 4, 9, & 10.

41 Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" in Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 9–10.

42 Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" in Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 3–4; Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 40.

43 Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 40–41.

44 "Liberated woman, German anti-soviet leaflet in Polish," unknown artist, (1943): https://www.reddit.com/r/PropagandaPosters/comments/15l0gyl/liberated_woman_german_antisoviet_leaflet_in/.

45 "Liberated woman, German anti-soviet leaflet in Polish," unknown artist, (1943): https://www.reddit.com/r/PropagandaPosters/comments/15l0gyl/liberated_woman_german_antisoviet_leaflet_in/.

as in the Neues Volk advert (1937), the subject is portrayed once again as blond, braided, but also breastfeeding, a common motif in poster media to symbolize racial maternity.[46] Synonymous in portrayal is Our Children's Future by Hitler (1936) which emphasizes family in Hitlers regime, underscoring the critical importance of women as mothers to secure the future patriarchy, gender ideologies, and of the Aryan race.[47] Therefore, the only way to "rid Germany of the menace of Jude's-

Figure 5.
"Liberated Woman," unknown artist, German Anti-Soviet Leaflet in Poland, 1943.

Figure 6.
"Do You Want That Happen to Your Women and Girls?", unknown artist, Nazi Propaganda in Occupied Poland, 1939–1944.

46 Guenther, "Fashioning Women in the Third Reich," In Nazi Chic?, (2004): 107; Konstantinos Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, Perichoresis, (2024): 89; Neues Volk (New People), (1937): https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/victims-of-the-nazi-era-nazi-racial-ideology; Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 41.

47 Hugo Fischer, "Our Children's Future by Adolf Hitler," Nationalsozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei, (1936): https://collections.ushmm.org/search/catalog/irn37663; Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" in Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 3–5.

Bolshevism" was to restore honor and respect to the "uniquely female profession of motherhood," weaponizing female reproduction, marriage, and motherhood as a propaganda tool to justify Nazism.[48]

Propaganda of the Reich, while focused on consumption as well as communism, was narrowly focused on racial hygiene, with the regime being built upon the oppression, later genocide, of Jewish people and the selective breeding of Aryan woman to combat a population deficit. As established, women in the early 20th century opted into careers instead of motherhood, a 'self sacrifice' for the war effort.[49] The lack of marital reproduction raised concerns

FIGURE 7.
"Liberated Woman," unknown artist, German Anti-Soviet Leaflet in Poland, 1943.

FIGURE 8.
"Do You Want That Happen to Your Women and Girls?", unknown artist, Nazi Propaganda in Occupied Poland, 1939–1944.

48 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" & "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 23 & 41.

49 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 10–11.

by the 1920s, as the live births per 1,000 deliberately dropped from 128.0 (1910) to 58.9 (1933), raising concerns over female fertility and the greater access to contraceptives an birth control.[50] Female autonomy thus posed a threat to the creation of Hitlers national community and the development of a racially pure nation, as many right-winged Germans believed the nation to be doomed unless it reasserted its cultural hegemony and nationalism, in turn, blaming Jews for these 'corrupt' and 'morally degenerate' gains.[51]

The Jewish, to Hitler, were believed to be thief's of culture, as their "crass materialism" in conjunction with the desire to assimilate led to Germany's suffocation in "dirty and filth," flooding German culture with "garbage."[52] The pseudo-scientific study of eugenics —the theory of 'race improvement,' claiming only valuable people should reproduce to eliminate the cycle of degeneration— props up the Nazi regime, as it comes integral to banning miscegenation under the Nuremberg Laws, selective Aryan breeding through programs such as Lebsenbron, as well as the ultimate extermination of Jewish bodies in concentration camps.[53] To "eliminate the snake of primal eroticism, [and] the Jew who is trying to possess her," Germany conditioned marriage with 'hereditary value,' needing a "Certificate of Suitability for Marriage" with a doctor's signature to conform racial purity to ensure only 'valuable' births.[54] In limiting the privacy of the 'private sphere' —marriage, sex, and fertility— women's role thus shifted from sacrificing their bodies into wage earning to a sacrifice of their bodies for racial reproduction, conditioned by propaganda to believe their compulsory motherhood was fundamental to the creation of a Nazi state.[55]

Similar to Marriage Loans as a way to thwart communism, the Ministry of Propaganda in partnerships with Gertrude Scholtz-Klink, leader of the NSF, reinvented the national holiday of Mothers Day, awarding Mothers Honours Crosses in May

50 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 10.

51 Stibbe, "The Weimar Republic and the rise of the Nazis" In Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 10 & 17.

52 Hermand, "Nazi Facism" In Culture in Dark Times, (2014): 9; Sarti, "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women" In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes Durning Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, (2011): 14–16.

53 Sarti, "Introduction" In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes Durning Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, (2011): 2; Hermand, "Nazi Facism" In Culture in Dark Times, (2014): 9; Stephenson, "German women and National Socialism" & "Reproduction, family, sexuality" In Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 12–13 & 26–28.

54 Sarti, "Why National Socialism Appealed to Women" In Women and Nazis, Perpetrators of Genocide and Other Crimes Durning Hitler's Regime 1933–1945, (2011): , 17; Stephenson, "Reproduction, family, sexuality" In Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 27–28.

55 Stephenson, "Reproduction, family, sexuality" In Women in Nazi Germany, (2001): 27–30.

1939 to celebrate the over 3 million women who birthed racially pure children.[56] The badges came in three grades: bronze for four children, silver for six, and gold for eight or more, with those receiving gold being awarded by Hitler himself.[57] These schemes further propagated the role of motherhood in Germany as a weapon against race and culture of foreign origins, continuing the utilization of the female body for NSDAP state propaganda.

Poster media of the Jewish male exemplifies this notions, as the ad Jews are Lice: They Cause Typhus (1941) as well as poster for the film Der ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew) (1940), embody the antisemitism rampant in Nazi campaigns, depicting them as in a racist caricature format: hook noses, beady eyes, unclean, and disease ridden, with male depictions often harbouring an unclean beard.[58] This is sharply contrasted in Mother, Tell me about Adolf Hitler! (1939), as the German family is represented as clean, blond, and maternal.[59] Beyond her physical appearance, she is depicted as responsible for the indoctrination and education of her children, a necessary component of the Nazi racial cleansing campaign as well as the justifications of selective breeding; matriarch responsible for educating the children to continue Nazism into the future.[60] Thus, propaganda effectively conveyed the ideological, racial, social, economic goals of the Nazi regime, utilizing the female body as the source to these goals as a way to revert the nation back to a legacy of unified cultural traditionalism.

56 Stibbe, "The incorporation of women into the Nazi state," in Women in the Third Reich, (2003): 41–42.

57 Ibid.

58 Fritz Hippler, "Der ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew)," Deutsche Filmherstellungs- und Verwertungs-G(DFG), (1940): https://encyclopedia.ushmm.org/content/en/article/nazi-propaganda; G. Peiler, "Jews are Lice: They Cause Typhus," Archiwum Panstwowe w Lublinie, (1941): https://perspectives.ushmm.org/item/propaganda-poster-jews-are-lice-they-cause-typhus.

59 Johanna Haarer, "Mother, tell me about Adolf Hitler!," unknown distributor, (1939): https://wienerholocaustlibrary.org/exhibition/a-is-for-adolf-teaching-german- children-nazi-values-2/

60 Karatzas, Image of the Ideal German Mother in Nazi Era Posters, (2024): 81–83.

Figure 9.
"Jews are Lice: They Cause Typhus," G. Peiler, March 1941.

Figure 10.
"Der ewige Jude (The Eternal Jew)", Fritz Hippler, 1940.

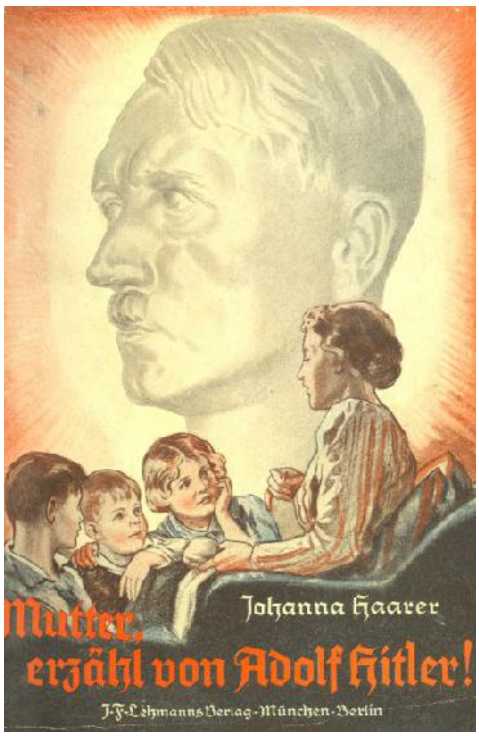

Figure 11.
"Mother, tell me about Adolf Hitler!," Johanna Haarer, 1939.

The Hitlerian emphasis on motherhood and the portrayal of women as abiding by patriarchal ideals did not reflect the beliefs or actions of all German women, let alone a vast majority. Women in Nazi Germany exhibited a broader nuance, diversity, and robust experience not acknowledged in propagated media, as many not only served in the SS as concentration camp workers, wage earners in war-industries, or even utilizing 'motherhood' for sexual liberation. Contradictions in their plight reveal the complexities to life in the Third Reich, obscured by propaganda to create an idyllic image of femininity. Nevertheless, a study into the poster media of the regime showcases the strategic use of motherhood as a tool for social, economic, and political control. In promoting national consumption, the women as the 'mother' became responsible for national spending, forcing women back into the home to manage finances on foreign goods consumption in order to win the war. Further, they positioned soviet women's rights as the epitome of moral decay, encouraging women to marry through programs such as marriage loans in order to bolster traditionalism against communism. Most importantly, the Nazi government placed the private realm of fertility into the hands of the government to facilitate their racial hygiene program, linking the declining birth rates at the turn of the century to the jewification of Germany, conditioning women into child rearing and social reproduction for the survival of an 'authentic Germany.' These ideals were pushed through propagandist images of beautiful Aryan women, always a symbolization of the past to recreate it for the Nazi future.

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The Red Army's Performance in the Winter War and Operation Barbarossa

Anastazja Marut

The potential conquest of Eastern Europe in the Second World War promised the fulfillment of Nazi ideologies and the supposed inevitable expansion of the German Empire. Adolf Hitler, whose plans for conquest were successful in the early years of the war, was confident that Operation Barbarossa would end in his favour. During its first few months, it developed at both a frightening and exhilarating pace. In the summer of 1941, it seemed almost certain: the Soviet Union would fall.[1] The Red Army was weak and ill-prepared for a German invasion, and yet, German troops never reached Moscow.[2] The same army, which failed to occupy Finland only one year earlier, drove the Wehrmacht out of the Soviet Union. If the Red Army was truly as weak as it was perceived to be and the Germans supposedly had the advantage, how was it able to fend off invading forces when it had performed so poorly in the Winter War? The Winter War and Operation Barbarossa share remarkable similarities including the fatal mistake made by both aggressors. In their defensive positions, the Finns and Soviets were able to prevent occupation because of their attacker's prejudices which prohibited them from recognizing their opponent's military potential, thus inhibiting their own invading forces.

In the years before the Second World War, the Soviet Union began preparations for expansion. Under Joseph Stalin's rule, the Soviet Union was in a state of transformation. There was a "need for security" against Western Europe which

1 R. D. Hooker, "The World Will Hold Its Breath: Reinterpreting Operation Barbarossa," Parameters (Carlisle, Pa.) 29 (1999), 150.

2 Martin Kahn, "'Russia Will Assuredly Be Defeated': Anglo-American Government Assessments of Soviet War Potential before Operation Barbarossa," The Journal of Slavic Military Studies 25 (2012), 227.

would be satisfied with the absorption of Eastern European states into the Soviet Union.[3] In August 1939, Stalin signed a non-aggression pact with Hitler as a preventative measure, thus assuming control of Polish territory following its invasion in September and marking the beginning of the Soviet Union's "security extension." This would also prolong further involvement in the war for which the Soviet Union was unprepared. Still, Stalin suspected Hitler would eventually target the Soviet Union and, after multiple threats of invasion, he took control of military bases in the Baltic states as a means of protection against Germany with the intention of later occupying them.[4] With the Baltic states partially secured, Finland became the next target, though similar negotiations with the Finnish government did not go as planned. Upon requesting some islands and an extension of the Russian border, the Finns became suspicious of ulterior motives and refused.[5] Fearing a potential alliance between Finland and Germany, Stalin's efforts persisted and plans for an invasion began. On November 30, 1939, the Soviet Union attacked Finland, thus beginning the four-month-long Winter War.[6] The Red Army was ordered to capture Oulu on the west coast to cut off land contact with Sweden, with the ultimate goal being to capture the capital, Helsinki, all in a matter of three weeks.[7] Without aid from Sweden or Allied countries, Stalin firmly believed Finland would be incapable of resisting occupation. This underestimation would be the beginning of Soviet failure in the Winter War.

Finland was by no means prepared for war in 1939 and certainly not against a nation the size and strength of the Soviet Union. In the pre-war years, Stalin devoted much time and resources to rebuilding the Red Army, increasing its size to three million by 1939.[8] For reference, the population of Finland at the time was just shy of four million.[9] While the Red Army underwent changes in the years before the start of the war, Finland was less focused on building its army. Though it did make some adjustments to its military in the years since gaining independence, as well as hastily preparing for the suspected Soviet invasion in 1939, it was grossly underprepared for such a feat. Towards the

3 David Kirby, "War and Peace, 1939-56," in A Concise History of Finland (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 203.

4 Pasi Tuunainen, Finnish Military Effectiveness in the Winter War, 1939-1940 (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016), 2.

5 Paul Bushkovitch, "War," in A Concise History of Russia (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 376.

6 Roger R. Reese, "Lessons of the Winter War: A Study in the Military Effectiveness of the Red Army, 1939-1940," The Journal Military History 72 (2008), 825.

7 Tuunainen, 3.

8 Bushkovitch, 376.

9 Tuunainen, 1.

end of the Winter War, the Finns could not keep up with the demands of war despite their best attempts.[10] Replenishments in the Red Army were bound to overpower them and negotiations for peace began in February 1940. If the Finns were so greatly disadvantaged, how did they manage to hold back Soviet forces which should have been stronger? How did Finland technically lose, yet escape with its independence intact? Much to Stalin's dismay, the Finns were not as helpless as he believed them to be.

The Soviets' first, and perhaps greatest, mistake in the Winter War was their underestimation of the Finnish army and overestimation of their own abilities. Despite modifications to the Red Army in previous years, it still had many faults which proved detrimental during the invasion. The purges carried out by Stalin in the years prior meant the army lacked sufficient experienced military officials.[11] Those assigned to the campaign were moved around so frequently prior to the start of the invasion that they were essentially strangers to the soldiers they commanded.[12] Officers and soldiers alike were poorly trained for combat and many of these men did not learn basic tasks until they arrived at the front.[13] To make matters worse, the invasion itself was poorly planned and executed without enough time to prepare troops.[14] Finland's army, on the other hand, recognized its disadvantages and made up for its small size with clever tactics. Following independence in 1917, Finland introduced conscription and strengthened its coastal artillery.[15] Unlike the soldiers of the Red Army, the Finns were well-trained and officers were given more liberty with their decisions.[16] As a small nation defending its independence, all resources needed to be made available to the military.[17] For Finland, this was a total war.

The Finnish army was not nearly as large as the Soviets' nor did they have the same equipment, but this did not deter the Finns. They greatly valued their independence and were determined to keep it intact; failure was simply not an option. As many of the Finnish soldiers lived off the land, their homes were quite literally at stake.[18] This proved beneficial since many of the tactical skills these men had could be transferred to the frontline. Regarding the climate, one might assume that the Soviets and

10 JR 69:n spk. maaliskuu 1940, Spk. 1715, KA; Pajari 1971, 253; 23. DE:n spk. 7.–12.3.1940. Spk. 359, KA; Kivimäki 2013, 37–47; Palolampi 1940, 60–78, 296; Tuunainen 2014b, 27, cited in Tuunainen, 64.

11 Bushkovitch, 377.

12 Reese, 840.

13 Reese, 836.

14 Alexander Hill, The Red Army and the Second World War (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 140.

15 Tuunainen, 55-8.

16 Tuunainen, 138.

17 Tuunainen, 51.

18 Tuunainen, 3.

Finns would have been equally prepared for the harsh winter conditions, yet most Red Army soldiers did not have even the most basic gear, such as valenki boots and gloves.[19] Without proper protection, many Soviets suffered from frostbite in the freezing temperatures. The cold climate led to other problems such as the inability to dig trenches,[20] the malfunctioning of technological equipment, and difficulties with supply transportation.[21] The Finns, who were well-equipped with winter gear and familiar with the territory, used this to their advantage and attacked Soviet troops in small units.[22] In some cases, Finnish troops used skis to propel them forward while they fired on enemy troops, then disappeared before the Soviets could respond.[23] High losses and little progress further weakened Soviet morale. Many soldiers did not understand why they were fighting the Finns in the first place. They did not harbour vengeful feelings against them as they did the Germans during

Operation Barbarossa and thus had little motivation to keep fighting.[24] One soldier remarked, "'If the newspapers said that for every Finn you need ten Russkies, they'd be right. They are swatting us like flies.'"[25] While the Soviets struggled for months to breach the fortified Mannerheim Line on the Karelian Isthmus, the Finns' ferocity and unwavering determination earned admiration worldwide. Finland, a small nation once believed to be conquered in no more than three weeks, would remain unoccupied.

The signing of the Moscow Peace Treaty in March 1940 did little for the Soviet Union, though it favoured the Soviets over the Finns. After four months of fighting, the Soviets overpowered the Finns, but the Red Army never reached Oulu or Helsinki. Finland lost about ten percent of its territory,[26] including the Karelian Isthmus and a naval base in Hanko.[27] Despite these losses, Finland was not absorbed into the Soviet Union and maintained its independence. The Red Army's performance in the Winter War did little except wound the Soviet Union's reputation and its future in the Second World War.[28] Finland, which

19 Reese, 837.

20 Reese, 839.

21 Tuunainen, 55.

22 Kirby, 210.

23 Hill, 142.

24 Reese, 846.

25 Catherine Merridale, Ivan's War: Life and Death in the Red Army, 1939-1945 (New York: Metropolitan, 2006), 51, cited in Kirby, 843.

26 Tuunainen, 6.

27 Kirby, 213.

28 Dimitri Fedotoff-White, The Growth of the Red Army (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1944), vii, cited in Kahn 227.

previously had no intentions of joining the Axis powers,[29] now allied with Germany as a means of protection from other potential Soviet attacks—just as Stalin feared.[30] By mistakenly assuming the Finns would not be much of a challenge, the Soviets furthered their involvement in the war too early and with too little planning. The Winter War was an embarrassment to the Soviet Union and the Red Army and would further strengthen Hitler's belief in Operation Barbarossa.

Hitler's desire to expand the German Empire into Eastern Europe birthed what would be known as Operation Barbarossa—the planned invasion and conquest of the Soviet Union in 1941. Much like the Soviets in the Winter War, the Germans hardly believed the Red Army was much of a challenge.[31] This sentiment was echoed by other Western powers who believed the Soviet Union was ill-prepared for a German invasion, especially after its disastrous attempt at conquering Finland.[32] However, as in 1939 before the invasion of Finland, the aggressor severely underestimated its enemy and overestimated its own strength. The German army with its "modern equipment and superior leadership" expected to overwhelm the Red Army from the very beginning.[33] Certainly, racist Nazi ideologies towards the Soviets contributed to this underestimation of the Red Army.[34] Regardless, with the knowledge of the Winter War and Soviet weaknesses in 1941, the question remains of how the Red Army could defeat invading German forces.

The Red Army desperately required further change after the Winter War. Unfortunately for the Soviets, that change did not come soon enough and by the start of Operation Barbarossa in June 1941, modifications to the army were still in progress. The army's equipment was no longer up-to-date and there were not enough supplies for the vast number of troops deployed,[35] many of which also required training after the invasion had begun.[36] Despite the immense size of the Soviet population, the Red Army and the Wehrmacht were equally matched at the start of the campaign.[37] In the summer of 1941, the Wehrmacht did indeed advance quickly, pushing across the Soviet border and far beyond in less than two months[38] with forces on the ground and in the air.[39]

29 *Reese, 827.*

30 *Tuunainen, 208.*

31 *Hooker, 150.*

32 *Kahn, 228.*

33 *Nazi Conspiracy and Aggression, 9 vols. (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1946), 6: 981-2, cited in Kirby, 851.*

34 *Kahn, 238.*

35 *Kahn, 226-30.*

36 *Bushkovitch, 378.*

37 *Hooker, 158.*

38 *Hooker, 154.*

39 *Bushkovitch, 379.*

While the Soviets scrambled to hold their lines, Hitler remained confident in Germany's performance. Meanwhile, Stalin divided his troops, moving some to Ukraine where he thought Hitler would venture.[40] The disorganization of the Red Army and the efficiency of the Wehrmacht should have predicted a German victory in the east had it not been for the very thing which faulted the Soviets in the Winter War—hubris.

History, it seems, was quick to repeat itself. The Red Army, initially believed to be too weak to challenge the Wehrmacht, proved to be the opposite. Compared to its state during the Winter War, the Red Army did see some improvement between 1940 and 1941. Under Marshal Semyon Timoshenko, the Red Army spent more time training troops and building working relationships between commanders and their men.[41] As summer transitioned into winter in 1941, the Soviets, still standing against the German army, slowly but surely gained the upper hand. Russian terrain and climate proved to be one of the Wehrmacht's greatest challenges in reaching Moscow as seasonal rains turned unpaved roads to mud,[42] freezing temperatures froze German machinery, and soldiers, lacking supplies, succumbed to frostbite and starvation.[43] To add to German misfortune, a crucial change in plans would ensure the Wehrmacht never reached Moscow. Instead of continuing the assault on Moscow, Hitler diverted the panzers of Army Group Centre towards Kiev despite warnings from his advisers.[44] The loss of these panzers put a strain on the remaining troops and gave the Soviets ample time to prepare for the next assault. Resources became more crucial than ever before and the Soviet population worked diligently to supply troops. Germany simply could not keep up with the pace at which the Soviets were now moving.[45] Underlying all of this was the fierce resistance demonstrated by the Soviets. In July 1942, Stalin issued Order No. 227, otherwise known as "Not a Step Back," warning his troops against desertion.[46] The Soviets were to fight until the death, never to let German troops advance any farther. Unlike in the Winter War, the Soviets now had a reason to fight, for the Finns were never a real threat to their nation as the Germans were. Failure to the Soviets, as it was to the Finns, was unimaginable.

A modernized army and tactical strength were not enough to secure a German victory in the east. The Wehrmacht never reached Moscow, nor did it succeed in taking Stalingrad in succeeding assaults.

40 Bushkovitch, 379.

41 Hill, 172-5.

42 Hooker, 156.

43 Bushkovitch, 381.

44 Hooker, 156-62.

45 Bushkovitch, 382.

46 Hill, 353.

The success in the summer of 1941 was fleeting, lost once winter set in and the stamina of the German army decreased. Some historians have argued that such a campaign was never plausible. The Soviet Union was simply too large and too strong to be taken in just one campaign.[47] Furthermore, if taking Moscow during the summer was impossible, how could the Wehrmacht have been expected to do so in the winter?[48] The Germans would have needed to concentrate all of their troops and resources on the eastern front, though doing so would have made maintaining control over all occupied states practically impossible. Such an approach would not have guaranteed success. Operation Barbarossa could not be done.

How was the Red Army able to defend its territory against the Wehrmacht when it was unable to conquer Finland? The answer is the same as to how the Finns were able to hold back Soviet troops. Both campaigns began with the same issue—a severe underestimation of the opponent's capabilities and an inflated hubris. To Stalin, the Red Army was more than capable of occupying Finland just as Hitler believed the Wehrmacht could defeat the Red Army. They only realized too late that this was not the case. The Finns were clever, well-trained, and familiar with the terrain. The Soviets, despite their recurring mistakes, regenerated quickly.[49] In the Winter War, the Red Army failed to prepare for winter conditions which later became their advantage during Operation Barbarossa. Both nations also understood the severity of their circumstances. The Finns could not afford to lose their independence nor could the Soviets—or the world for that matter—afford to let their nation fall into German hands. Determination alone could not be enough to avoid occupation, but it was undeniably essential to morale. Ultimately, it was this combination of military, political, geographical, and social factors which worked against the Soviets in the Winter War, but favoured them in Operation Barbarossa.

Blinded by their hubris, the Red Army and the Wehrmacht poorly planned their invasions of Finland and the Soviet Union, failing to anticipate campaigns that were neither simple nor quick. Occupation was prevented in both campaigns, an attribution to the strong-willed armies which defended their nations and the various factors which overwhelmed invading troops. The Red Army's performance in these two campaigns may serve as a demonstration of the complexities of war. A large nation such as itself is capable of military greatness, but it is also capable of great failure. The Soviet Union may have been able to conquer Finland with better preparation and time, but the state of its army suggests it was years away from being prepared for war of any kind. Germany's plans for eastern expansion, on the other hand, were too

47 Hooker, 156-7.

48 Hooker, 160.

49 Reese, 852.

grand to achieve. The Red Army was not yet fully realized during either campaign and so its performance wavered, dependent on a multitude of factors within and outside of its control.

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ИЛИ
СКОРО МОЖЕТ НАСТАТЬ
ТВОЙ ЧЕРЕД
ИЛ

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD

SUBJECT: Project MKULTRA, Subproject 8

1. Subproject 8 is being set up as a means to continue the present work in the general field of L.S.D. at [redacted] until 11 September 1954.

2. This project will include a continuation of a study of the biochemical, neurophysiological, sociological, and clinical psychiatric aspects of L.S.D., and also a study of L.S.D. antagonists and drugs related to L.S.D., such as L.A.E. A detailed proposal is attached. The principle investigators will continue to be [redacted] all of [redacted]

3. The estimated budget of the project at [redacted] is $39,500.00. The [redacted] will serve as a cut-out and cover for this project and will furnish the above funds to the [redacted] as a philanthropic grant for medical research. A service charge of $790.00 (2% of the estimated budget) is to be paid to the [redacted] for this service.

4. Thus the total charges for this project will not exceed $40,290.00 for a period ending September 11, 1954.

5. [redacted] (Director of the hospital) are cleared through TOP SECRET and are aware of the true purpose of the project.

[redacted]
Chemical Division/TSS

APPROVED:

[redacted]
Chief, Chemical Division/TSS

[redacted] PROGRAM

Cloak and Dagger

The Effects and Psychiatric Ethics of Experiments Under MK-ULTRA

David Carhart

In 1953, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) of the United States began Project MK-ULTRA, a dedicated effort to pursue enhanced interrogation methods and explore the possibility of "mind control" – a process by which people could be compelled to act against their own will and interests.[1] This project built on existing work, namely Projects Bluebird and Artichoke – CIA projects focused on chemical warfare[2] – and the then-novel experiments being conducted independently by the psychiatric community into the therapeutic uses of lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD).[3] Lysergic acid diethylamide was first synthesised in 1938 by the Swiss biochemist Alfred Hoffmann at the Sandoz Pharmaceutical Laboratories, who only discovered its hallucinogenic and psychoactive properties via an accidental exposure in 1943.[4] Experiments searching for its potential therapeutic uses – including memorial retrieval, the revealing of unconscious thoughts, and increased self-awareness – began in earnest in the early 1950s.[5] It was through experiments with LSD that the theory of mental illness as a biological process that could be treated through medication was first seriously advanced – and, at the same time, provided

1 U.S. Congress. Senate. Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources. Project MKULTRA, the CIA's Program of Research in Behavioral Modification. 95th Cong., 1st sess., August 3rd, 1977, 5–6.

2 Stephen Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief: Sidney Gottlieb and the CIA Search for Mind Control (Henry Holt and Company, 2019), 64–5.

3 Erika Dyck, "Flashback: Psychiatric Experimentation with LSD in Historical Perspective." Canadian Journal of Psychiatry 50, no. 7 (06, 2005): 381

4 Ibid.

5 Ibid, 383.

the first evidence that mental instability could be induced via the application thereof.[6] From the 1950s to the mid-1960s, these more benign experiments, focused on treating mental conditions such as anxiety, depression, and alcoholism replaced the harmful, nonconsensual experiments that had occurred during the war – but this changed when, amidst the rising counterculture movement, increasing news reports of crimes committed by individuals on drugs such as LSD, and the ensuing moral panic over drug use, LSD was harshly criminalised.[7] Before it was criminalised, experiments of a different sort began: namely, those of Donald Hebb and Donald Ewen Cameron. Donald Cameron, working for the Allan Memorial Institute in Montreal, sought to use LSD to enhance his theory of "psychic driving," under which "the minds of patients were manipulated using verbal cues played repeatedly… to bring repressed thoughts to the forefront of the patient's mind such that they could identify them."[8] Donald Hebb, meanwhile, worked to use sensory deprivation to achieve a similarly relaxed state in which mental functions and habits could be altered.[9] This essay will focus on Dr. Cameron and Dr. Hebb's experiments due to the fact that they are believed to be representative of the ethics involved and the consequences for the patients, as well as the fact that being conducted in Canada shielded them from CIA Director Richard Helms' effort to cover up the CIA's involvement.[10] However, it will attempt to explain as much of the background of as many of the experiments as possible to prove the overall point that the project was, from conception, totally unethical due to the widespread disinterest in the well-being of the patients and the overarching goal of intentionally harming their mental stability.

Perhaps the most difficult aspect of discussing MK-ULTRA as a whole is the fact that, from conception, there was a sustained, consistent effort to conceal it. A policy of secrecy was embedded in the very first organisation to handle MK-ULTRA and its predecessors, Projects Bluebird and Artichoke: the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB), formed in 1951 by the Truman administration and abolished in 1953 by the Eisenhower administration.[11] Though short-lived, the PSB was formed

6 Ibid, 384.

7 Dyck, "Flashback: Psychiatric Experimentation with LSD in Historical Perspective." 386.

8 Jordan Torbay, "The Work of Donald Ewen Cameron: From Psychic Driving to MK Ultra." History of Psychiatry 34, no. 3 (2023): 325

9 Alfred W. McCoy, "Science in Dachau's Shadow: HEBB, Beecher, and the Development of CIA Psychological Torture and Modern Medical Ethics." Journal of the History of the Behavioral Sciences 43, no. 4 (2007): 404.

10 US Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, Project MKULTRA, 3.

11 Susan Maret, "Murky Projects and Uneven Information Policies: A Case Study of the Psychological Strategy Board and CIA." Secrecy and Society 1, no. 2 (2018): 2.

to "determine the desirability of proposed covert action programs and major covert action projects,"[12] as well as "[coordinate] informational and psychological strategy to meet situations wherever joint action by more than one agency of the Government is required."[13] To this end, the PSB coordinated three organs of the US government for this project: subdivisions of the US Army associated with chemical and biological warfare; the CIA; and the National Security Council, which authorised and oversaw the operations of the former two organisations as well as reported directly to the President.[14] However, American governmental historian Susan Maret has charged the PSB with having a function beyond mere facilitation: by centralising meetings between these organisations, the PSB simplified the process by which communications between them could be destroyed or otherwise kept from publication.[15] Whether this was the 'true' purpose of the PSB is debatable, but what is undebatable is the extent to which communications flowing through the PSB were obscured or destroyed: though the PSB would meet numerous times between 1951 and 1953, only seventeen sets of meeting minutes were ever published, and these were heavily redacted. Moreover, communication that flowed through the PSB to its constituent organisations was destroyed after receipt – a policy that was agreed upon as standard procedure at the PSB's second meeting.[16] Hence, the exact origins and impetus of Project MK-ULTRA remain opaque.

According to the author and journalist Stephen Kinzer, the set of experiments that would become MK-ULTRA first took shape in the immediate aftermath of World War II, when Kurt Blome, director of research into biological warfare for Nazi Germany, was arrested by agents of the US Counterintelligence Corps in Munich on May 14, 1945.[17] However, professor of psychiatry Torsten Passie and medical historian Udo Benzenhöfer believe that the true origins lie in a request by US Army General George V. Strong, asking that the National Defense Research Council devise "an effective way to use drugs for extracting information from captured German U-boat officers." As early as October 31, 1942, the National Research Council of the US Army was reporting that the Russians and Germans were both using truth drugs for interrogation purposes, and speculated that mescaline, barbiturates, and cannabis indica were potentially being used.[18] These experiments were sufficiently successful

12 Ibid, 8.

13 Ibid, 14.

14 Ibid, 18.

15 Ibid, 26-7.

16 Ibid, 26.

17 Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief, 13.

18 Torsten Passie and Udo Benzenhöfer. "MDA, MDMA, and Other 'Mescaline-like' Substances in the US Military's Search for a Truth Drug (1940s to 1960s)." Drug Testing and Analysis 10, no. 1 (2018): 73

that the SS began ordering mescaline for use in interrogations of Soviet PoWs in Ukraine, and records of experiments with barbiturates, morphine derivatives, and mescaline were found by the US Army following the liberation of Dachau.[19] Kurt Blome's experiments had taken many forms, but it was the application of mescaline and other psychoactive drugs to "control minds and shatter the human psyche" that allegedly caught the interest of the US Army.[20] Blome was brought to Camp Detrick, a former USAF base that had been converted into a testing ground for the US Army Chemical Corps for interrogation by officers of the OSS. Following the 1949 show trial of Hungarian Catholic Cardinal Jozsef Mindszenty, who made the fantastical confession of plotting to restore the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Blome was placed in an advisory role in the Special Operations Division, tasked with researching how chemical science could enhance interrogation, break down identities, and "program" subjects to commit acts against their will, all under the belief that the Soviet Union had already discovered and demonstrated this technology with the Mindszenty trial.[21] The result of their efforts was Project Bluebird, a CIA programme that began in 1951 for the purpose of "[augmenting] the usual interrogation methods by the use of drugs, hypnosis, [and] shock."[22] Following the success of preliminary tests in West Germany and Japan, CIA Director Allen Dulles ordered Project Bluebird expanded, renamed – to Project Artichoke – and given a new director to oversee it: Dr. Sidney Gottlieb.[23]

Sidney Gottlieb was an astute choice: he was an experienced biochemist who had worked for nearly a decade in government laboratories on various research projects, and as such had already demonstrated both his aptitude for managing research and his ability to handle classified material; moreover, he had a personal connection to Director of Central Intelligence Allen Dulles through a prior association during their time at university together.[24] Once put in charge of Project Artichoke, Gottlieb immediately set out to expand it. He sought to build a bigger, more ambitious project that would discover the secrets of "brain warfare" once and for all.[25] To this end, Gottlieb recommended that Dulles expand Artichoke's operations, subsuming the existing work into a larger project that would "test every imaginable drug and technique, plus some not yet imagined."[26] This larger project became MK-ULTRA in 1953.[27]

19 Passie & Benzenhöfer, "The US Military's Search for a Truth Drug (1940s to 1960s)," 73.

20 Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief, 13.

21 Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief, 33.

22 Ibid, 40.

23 Ibid, 51–52.

24 Ibid, 50.

25 Torbay, "The Work of Donald Ewen Cameron," 323.

26 Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief, 69.

27 Ibid, 75.

Shortly after the formal beginning of Project MK-ULTRA, however, Gottlieb noticed a problem: while the CIA could relatively easily acquire LSD, it did not have the infrastructure or the expertise – barring that of Gottlieb himself – to oversee experiments. Consequently, he began exploring experimenting via intermediaries.[28] To this end, the CIA sent representatives to meet with independent researchers and discuss potential experiments;[29] the exact method by which they selected the doctors in question is unclear, but it can be reasonably assumed that, given the relatively free experimentation and discussion about LSD taking place in medical journals in the 1950s, they simply opened these journals and identified interesting experiments already taking place. It was during this period that the CIA organised a meeting in Montreal between "two CIA representatives, the head of the British Defence Research and Policy Committee Henry Tizard, head of the Canadian Defense Research Board (DRB) Omand Solandt, and the Canadian neuropsychologist Donald Hebb" to discuss what they were now certain was a successful Soviet effort to conduct effective interrogations and extract confessions.[30] Though they believed that "prolonged solitary confinement, sleep deprivation, and other stressors" were part of the process, it was suggested by Dr. Hebb that "complete removal of sensory or perceptual stimulation might make someone susceptible to implantation of new or different ideas."[31] Donald Hebb's experiment was unusual by the standards of MK-ULTRA due to the fact that his experiment originated from a direct meeting with CIA liaisons, while the funding came from a combination of the CIA and the Canadian Defence Research Board; despite this differing origin, Hebb's experiments proceeded like any other. They were conducted in Hebb's laboratory at McGill University by Hebb's graduate students; the subjects were undergraduate volunteers. While restrained, they were subjected to a "de-patterning" environment consisting of white noise and homogeneous lighting; many quit the experiment after reporting "hallucinations, bodily distortions, difficulty concentrating, and a variety of emotional states."[32] At least one subject "suffered a complete breakdown," did not receive compensation or care from McGill, and disappeared from the historical record after dropping out of the university.[33] Within seven years of his team's first publications, over 230 articles on sensory deprivation were published,

28 Ibid, 94.

29 McCoy, "Science in Dachau's Shadow," 405.

30 Ibid, 404.

31 Charlie Williams, "Solitude, Psychological Science and the Cold War Imagination." The Critical Quarterly 65, no. 2 (2023): 76.

32 Ibid, 77.

33 McCoy, "Science in Dachau's Shadow," 406.

many of them experiments based on Hebb's work.[34] Though the experiments generated considerable interest within the field of psychology and psychiatry, the results were insufficient for Gottlieb's purposes.[35] Gottlieb was convinced that the key lay in LSD, and experimenters willing to test its potential were more actively sought.[36]

That brought the CIA to Dr. Donald Ewan Cameron. The same year that Gottlieb took over the project and christened it MK-ULTRA, Cameron published his first paper on "psychic driving" – a process by which patients' minds could be manipulated via repeated verbal cues.[37] In January 1957, Gottlieb authorised Subproject 68 of MK-ULTRA, under which a CIA front called the "Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology" began subsidizing Cameron's experiments, giving him $69,000 over the next few years.[38] Following this injection of funds, Cameron was able to intensify the experiments; what started as merely sensory deprivation and audio cues, like Hebb's experiments, was augmented with the addition of electroconvulsive therapy and the drugs phencyclidine, LSD, chlorpromazine, and barbiturates.[39] According to psychiatrist Harvey M. Weinstein, whose father was a test subject of Dr. Cameron at the Allan Memorial Institute, Dr. Cameron sought to "find a way of changing long-standing maladaptive or dysfunctional personality patterns, thus introducing 'more healthy behaviour without the need for psychoanalysis."[40] Even by the standards of the time, these procedures were "a massive departure from the accepted psychodynamic methods for overcoming resistance."[41] Moreover, though there is no evidence that Dr. Cameron was aware that the source of his funding was the CIA, his own writing makes reference to the fact that "what has been achieved with respect to psychoneurotic patients can be extended to any field in which there is a malfunction of the personality, whether within the area of psychiatry or not."[42] It is unclear what other field he could have been referring to, presuming that he was not aware that his work was being monitored for its potential application in the interrogation of communist agents – and in brainwashing them into performing acts outside of their ordinary personality. Dr. Cameron conducted only one follow-up study – patients such as Weinstein's father were not normally monitored for

34 Ibid, 407.

35 Williams, "Solitude, Psychological Science and the Cold War Imagination," 77 - 78.

36 Kinzer, Poisoner in Chief, 88.

37 Torbay, "The Work of Donald Ewen Cameron," 324.

38 Ibid, 326.

39 Ibid, 327. Note: phencyclidine is more commonly known as PCP.

40 Harvey M. Weinstein, Psychiatry and the CIA: Victims of Mind Control. Washington, D.C. (American Psychiatric Press Inc.), 1990, 109.

41 Weinstein, Psychiatry and the CIA, 113.

42 Ibid, 114.

negative side effects from the procedure – which found that "schizophrenic thinking was still present, although the patients did not necessarily demonstrate abnormal behaviour."[43] Yet this was not Dr. Weinstein's father's experience; Dr. Cameron noted in his file that "[Weinstein's father] was 'markedly improved,'"[44] but Weinstein recalls his father, Louis Weinstein – once a friendly, often jovial man who was well-regarded in the local community and a mainstay at a the Elm Ridge Golf Club[45] – becoming increasingly withdrawn, depressed, and anxious as the experiment went on.[46] After several years of treatment with ECT, drugs, and sensory deprivation, Louis Weinstein found himself unable to continue to manage his business, and was forced to sell it; shortly thereafter, he was admitted to the Allan Memorial with "severe neurotic anxiety with conversion symptoms," meaning "physical complaints that result from emotional conflict."[47] He was placed under the care of Dr. Cameron, who apparently made his experimental treatment a prescription; he continued to receive this treatment until 1970, and was left disabled for the rest of his life – having "lost all sense of personal cleanliness or awareness of others… developed a habit of constantly humming… his thinking was very rigid and concrete, and his conversation with others was limited… sustained extensive but patchy memory loss… episodes of anxiety decreased but were replaced by periods of depression and apathy."[48]

Dr. Cameron's other patients fared little better. Robert Logie, who in 1956 was admitted to Allan Memorial for psychosomatic leg pain, was given several doses of LSD on twelve to fifteen occasions; this was combined with the sensory deprivation, implanted mentions by orderlies of getting "smaller" and probing, invasive questions.[49] After being discharged, he was wracked with anxiety, unable to hold down a job, and wound up back in Allan Memorial due to the after-effects of the experiments – just as Louis Weinstein was.[50] Once there, he was kept asleep for twenty-three days, subjected to ECT while under, and continually subjected to psychic driving.[51] Some patients were left incontinent, and others, like Louis Weinstein, found themselves with

43 Ibid, 115.

44 Ibid, 40.

45 Ibid, 29.

46 Ibid, 3.

47 Ibid, 52-3

48 Weinstein, Psychiatry and the CIA, 55.

49 Adrienne Clarkson, "MK Ultra: CIA Mind Control Program in Canada." CBC TV: The Fifth Estate, 1980, 8:30 - 10:15.

50 Adrienne Clarkson, "MK Ultra: CIA Mind Control Program in Canada," 10:30.

51 Ibid, 14:45.

permanent memory loss.[52] Hilda Bernston, who was at the Allan Memorial in 1959 after being hospitalized for a nervous breakdown, experienced nearly total memory loss of several family members.[53] These outcomes were largely considered standard by Dr. Cameron, who faced no consequences for the treatment of his patients – many of whom, as in the examples of Robert Logie and Hilda Bernston, never intentionally enrolled in an experimental trial.[54] Dr. Cameron's colleagues at the Allan Memorial Institute would, twenty years later, suggest that none of them agreed with or approved of his methods.[55] One would go so far as to say that Cameron was "irresponsible… criminally stupid… There was no reason to expect that he would get any results."[56]

The reactions of Cameron's colleagues reflect the attitudes of the psychological and psychiatric community upon the revelation of the nature of the experiments, their existence, and their source of funding in the 1970s.[57] Almost as soon as the project was revealed to the public, outcry was immediate, and the psychiatric community rallied to condemn it; comparisons to the Nazi scientists of World War II abounded,[58] and continue to this day – as evidenced by Stephen Kinzer's book, which alleges those same scientists to be the true origin of the entire notion of psychological brainwashing. In 1977, the Washington Post publicly accused the University of Maryland, George Washington University, and Georgetown University of being part of the experiments.[59] There, the experiments involved "substances to promote 'illogical thinking and impulsiveness to the point where the recipient would be discredited in public,' and substances to promote and prevent 'the intoxicating effect of alcohol,'" as well as the CIA's alleged search for "a knockout pill which can surreptitiously be administered in drinks, food, cigarettes, as an aerosol… [and] a 'knockout' drug [that was tested] on terminally ill cancer patients."[60] There, too, the universities claimed that the researchers involved had no knowledge of where the funding for the experiments came from.[61] This is consistent with the testimony of CIA officer Phillip Goldman before the U.S. Senate, in which he claimed that, as part of his duties as a liaison officer

52 Ibid, 12:10.

53 Ibid, 17:00.

54 Ibid.

55 Weinstein, Psychiatry and the CIA, 121.

56 Ibid, 122.

57 John Buckman, "Brainwashing, LSD, and CIA: Historical and Ethical Perspective." International Journal of Social Psychiatry 23, no. 1 (1977): 10–11.

58 Ibid, 12.

59 Bill Richards & John Jacobs, "3 Area Colleges Used by CIA in Behavior Testing." Washington Post, August 17, 1977.

60 Ibid.

61 Ibid.

with some of the experimenters, he was not informed of the nature of the CIA's objectives and was merely instructed to provide funding.[62] John Gittinger, a fellow CIA officer, concurred, claiming that "the Agency in effect provided the money. They did not direct the projects."[63] Therefore, it can reasonably be said that, despite the shock and horror of the psychological community following the disclosure of the project,[64] the ethical lapses that occurred were solely the result of the experimenters themselves, as was the harm caused to the subjects. Perhaps it could be said that Donald Cameron, Donald Hebb, and the other 80 institutes involved with Project MK-ULTRA[65] would not have been able to perform the experiments without CIA funding and support. However, Dr. Cameron had already been engaged in psychic driving experiments before receiving his first grant from the Society for the Investigation of Human Ecology.[66] On the other hand, Dr. Hebb received funding for his sensory deprivation experiments as a direct result of his fateful meeting in Montreal with CIA liaisons.[67] Nonetheless, there were no CIA officers involved in the experiments, and the experimenters made every decision themselves without reporting to the CIA. The experiments were unethical, and caused profound psychological harm to those involved; arguably, they were unethical from conception, as the one consistent intention is the desire to break down mental barriers and forcibly overwrite behaviours deemed to be unacceptable in society. However, the long, dark shadow of a CIA conspiracy ended, in every instance, with the delivery of the funding to the experimenters; the harm that they caused their patients was entirely due to their own apathy for the safety of their test subjects, and the unchecked power which they wielded in their institutions.

62 US Senate, Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, Project MKULTRA, 52.

63 Ibid, 59.

64 Buckman, "Brainwashing, LSD, and CIA," 12.

65 US Senate Select Committee on Intelligence, and the Subcommittee on Health and Scientific Research of the Committee on Human Resources, Project MKULTRA, 12.

66 Torbay, "The Work of Donald Ewen Cameron," 328.

67 McCoy, "Science in Dachau's Shadow," 404.

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The Ethical Implications and Long-Term Consequences of Electroconvulsive Therapy and Lobotomies in 20th-Century U.S. Psychiatric Institutions

Persephone Thuet

Straitjackets and padded rooms were not the only questionable methods used to regulate patients in 20th-century psychiatric hospitals. This era also witnessed the rise of experimental medical interventions, defining it as a time of both transformative and deeply controversial in psychiatric care. Overcrowded psychiatric hospitals and understaffed medical teams left treatment options for mental illnesses like bipolar disorder, schizophrenia, and major depression limited and largely experimental. This prompted the medical community to pursue radical interventions to alleviate patient suffering and address institutional burdens. As a result, electroconvulsive therapy (ECT) and lobotomies emerged as acclaimed solutions, initially praised for their effectiveness in mitigating symptoms.[1] ECT, first introduced in the 1930s, involved the use of electrical currents to induce seizures in the brain as a treatment for mood disorders.[2] Lobotomies, on the other hand, gained popularity in the 1940s through the work of the infamous neurologist Dr. Walter Freeman and involved severing connections in the prefrontal cortex.[3] Initially, both of these procedures offered hope to patients and relief to families who were in desperate need for a solution.[4] However, the rapid adoption of these methods

1 Zigmond Lebensohn. "The History of Electroconvulsive Therapy in the United States and Its Place in American Psychiatry: A Personal Memoir." Comprehensive Psychiatry 40, (1999): 178.

2 Lebensohn, 176.

3 Simon Gobin and Brett LeBlanc, "The History of Lobotomies: Examining Its Impacts on Marginalized Groups and the Development of Psychosurgery," Psychology from the Margins 2 (2020): 4.

4 Mical Raz, "Between the Ego and the Icepick: Psychosurgery, Psychoanalysis, and Psychiatric Discourse," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 82, no. 2 (June 2008): 417, https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.0.0038

outpaced the nuanced understanding of their short- and long-term implications, a trend likely fueled by societal tendencies to institutionalize individuals with mental illnesses, often indefinitely. The widespread implementations of these procedures unfolded against a backdrop where societal stigma toward mental illness and inadequate funding for humane care fueled institutional efficiency over patient welfare. Many patients who were subjected to these interventions were among marginalized groups, raising concerns about their ability to provide informed consent for these irreversible and damaging procedures, thus underscoring the human cost of these practices.[5] The widespread implementations of ECT and lobotomies in 20th-century U.S. psychiatric institutions raised significant ethical concerns, including the prioritization of efficiency over humane care, neglect of patient autonomy and informed consent, and the severe, often irreversible consequences of these procedures. These procedures reveal the systemic failures in psychiatry's approach to treatment and underscore the need to balance medical innovation with ethical responsibility.

THE RISE OF ECT AND LOBOTOMIES IN PSYCHIATRIC CARE

ECT, initially called electro-shock therapy, was first developed in the late 1930s by Italian psychiatrists Ugo Cerletti and Lucio Bini.[6] The treatment involved running electric current through a patient's body via electrodes placed on their forehead in order to induce convulsive seizures.[7] In the earlier days, patients were positioned with their heads at the foot of the bed, and a double padded tongue depressor was placed in their mouth.[8] The treatment would then be administered without muscle relaxants or anesthesia, while nurses restrained the patient's extremities.[9] ECT reached the United States in 1939 when a copy of the Cerletti-Bini machine was sent to Dr. Impastato, who is believed to be the first doctor in America to use it for treating severe mood disorders like schizophrenia and depression.[10] His findings reported a positive effect on the patients, leading to its adoption as a formal medical practice and rapid acceptance in the United States during this period. Originally, ECT was celebrated as a breakthrough for patients who were unresponsive to other treatments

5 Gobin and LeBlanc, 1.

6 Jonathan Sadowsky, "Beyond the Metaphor of the Pendulum: Electroconvulsive Therapy, Psychoanalysis, and the Styles of American Psychiatry," Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences 61, no. 1 (January 2006): 8, https://doi.org/10.1093/jhmas/jrj001.*

7 Sadowsky, 8

8 Lebensohn, 176.

9 Lebensohn, 176.

10 Lebensohn, 175.

with many hospitals lining up patients in dormitories and treating them in large groups.[11] Mainstream media and society embraced this treatment with enthusiasm, convinced that ECT offered an almost 'miraculous' cure for mental illnesses.[12] Despite its perceived breakthrough in psychiatric care, unsuccessful cases began to accumulate, especially given the lack of safeguard initially used in the treatment.[13] ECT often led to significant pain or injury in patients and while its proponents argued that the benefits outweighed the risks, the long-term outcomes eventually provoked ethical criticism.[14]

Prefrontal lobotomies were first introduced by a Portuguese doctor named Dr. Egas Moniz in 1935 as a form of psychosurgery.[15] It came to be seen as the "only significant treatment available for cases of severe chronic mental illness", leading to over 20,000 lobotomies being performed in a 15-year period in the U.S. alone.[16] Dr. Walter Freeman and Dr. James Watts were two prominent figures who played an instrumental role in popularizing lobotomies in the United States.[17] Initially, prefrontal lobotomies were performed by neurosurgeons until Dr. Freeman developed the transorbital lobotomy, making it easier to administer in a psychiatric setting.[18] The surgery involves inserting leucotomies under the patient's eyelids and, with a hammer, driving them through the eye sockets.[19] A few sweeps of the device would then disconnect the prefrontal cortex from the rest of the brain.[20] This innovation allowed the procedure to be performed quickly and without the need for surgical facilities, enabling its use on a larger scale. Dr. Freeman's methods and appeal to this psychosurgery contributed to the adoption of lobotomies, which came to be seen as a solution for individuals deemed incurable by other means. Lobotomies were promoted as a way to 'normalize' behaviour or as a reset for patients' memories and ego, particularly in those with schizophrenia, depression and severe aggression.[21] However, the procedure

11 *Lebensohn, 175.*

12 *Lebensohn, 178.*

13 *Lebensohn, 178.*

14 *Sadowsky, 13.*

15 *Lebensohn, 175.*

16 *Jack D. Pressman, "Sufficient Promise: John F. Fulton and the Origins of Psychosurgery," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 62, no. 1 (Spring 1988): 4.*

17 *Raz, 414.*

18 *Raz, 414.*

19 *U.S. Congress. House of Representatives, Beware of Psychiatrists: Extension of Remarks by Hon. Usher L. Burdick of North Dakota, Congressional Record, 85th Cong., 1st sess., June 13, 1957, 9060.*

20 *U.S. Congress. House of Representatives, 9060.*

21 *Sadowsky, 15.*

often resulted in devastating consequences, altering the patient's personality and sense of self, effectively turning them into a 'zombie'.[22] As it can be seen, advocacy for lobotomies often prioritized procedural efficiency over the ethical considerations and humane treatment of patients in psychiatric institutions.

ETHICAL CONCERNS SURROUNDING PATIENT AUTONOMY AND CONSENT

Informed consent, a cornerstone of ethical medical practices, was frequently overlooked in the administration of ECT and lobotomies. This was because many patients lacked the capacity or opportunity to give meaningful consent, due to their mental state, institutional pressures, or limited understanding.[23] Overcrowding in state hospitals placed immense strain on resources and staff, fostering a demand for treatments that could quickly stabilize patients and reduce institutional burdens. Hospital staff often coerced or forced patients into making treatment decisions, who would then give their consent without fulling understanding the implications or consequences of the procedure.[24] This can be seen in the case of Thomas R., a patient who, after failing to respond to other treatments, "was persuaded to undergo the operation [a lobotomy]."[25] Hospital staff found this task effortless, as the power dynamic between them and the patients often led to inhumane treatment, with nurses or attendants using physical punishment on patients for minor infractions.[26] This not only enabled coercion but also reinforced societal stigma surrounding mental illness, further diminishing patients' ability to assert their autonomy.

The impact of these practices was particularly severe for marginalized groups. Women, in particular, were disproportionately subjected to lobotomies, often based on societal stereotypes or as a means of controlling behaviour that was not deemed acceptable.[27] Given that lobotomies were viewed as a cure-all, and fuelled by growing public frustration with mental illness and the mere presence of psychiatric institutions in their communities, lobotomies became a convenient and "efficient way to eliminate

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22 *U.S. Congress. House of Representatives, 9060.*

23 *Gobin and LeBlanc, 6.*

Kimberly Jensen, "'Insane' or 'Unfit,'" essay, in Oregon's Others: Gender, Civil Liberties, and the Surveillance State in the Early Twentieth Century (Seattle, Washington: University of Washington Press, 2024), 162.

24 *U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on the Judiciary, Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, Individual Rights and the Federal Role in Behavior Modification, "Behavior Modification Technology,"*

25 *Government Report, 93rd Cong., 2nd sess., 1974, 12.*

26 *David L. Rosenhan, "On Being Sane in Insane Places," Science 179 (January 1973): 36.*

27 *Gobin and LeBlanc, 6-7.*

mental illness."[28] Thus, informed consent was not a concern for lobotomists, believing that these disadvantaged individuals needed to be cured in any means necessary, to the point that, in some cases, consent was never obtained prior to the operation.[29] This is closely tied to the coercive mechanisms that were prevalent in psychiatric institutions during this time period. Once admitted to these institutions, patients often became powerless and vulnerable to imposed treatments like ECT, which was sometimes used as a form of social control.[30] Such practices stripped patients of their autonomy and subjected them to treatment regimens dictated by institutional priorities rather than their individual needs.[31] This illustrates how coercion was an integral component of psychiatric institutions, justifying domineering interventions under the presumption that authorities were acting in the patients' best interests.

The societal stigma surrounding mental health played a critical role in justifying the demeaning and often dehumanizing schemes, leading to coercive practices within psychiatric care that undermined the fundamental rights of these patients. As a result, individuals with mental illnesses were viewed as societal burdens who needed to be institutionalized indefinitely.[32] Ethically, this stigmatized approach to mental health raised questions about the balance between medical innovation and respect for patients' dignity, as they were often perceived and treated as objects to be controlled, rather than autonomous individuals.[33] This allowed psychiatric institutions to perpetuate harmful practices and treatments without proper consent, contributing to the dehumanization of patients who were viewed as passive beings incapable of making decisions for themselves.[34] Ethical concerns surrounding patient autonomy and consent in the use of ECT and lobotomies reveal the systemic flaws within the institutions and societal views of mentally ill patients. For, not only did ECT and lobotomies violate the fundamental principles of informed consent but also reflected the broader bias faced by marginalized populations in both institutions and society. These ethical failures underscore the importance of safeguarding patients' rights and highlight the need to reconsider how patients should be perceived in modern psychiatric care in order to maintain their personal autonomy.

28 Gobin and LeBlanc, 7.

29 Gobin and LeBlanc, 6.

30 Rosenhan, 38.

31 Sadowsky, 9.

32 Melissa Schrift, Anthony Cavender, and Sarah Hoover, "Mental Illness, Institutionalization and Oral History in Appalachia: Voices of Psychiatric Attendants," Journal of Appalachian Studies 19, no. 1/2 (April 1, 2013): 101, https://doi.org/10.2307/42635928.

33 Rosenhan, 38.

34 Gobin and LeBlanc, 6.

LONG-TERM CONSEQUENCES OF ECT AND LOBOTOMIES

The long-term consequences of ECT and lobotomies highlight the ethical complications of these treatments and their profound impact on both the patient's physical and psychological well-being. As stated, ECT was initially used to alleviate severe symptoms of mental illness. However, it eventually became clear that ECT often came with a significant cost to the patient's cognitive and emotional health. Studies and testimonies from past patients reveal that those who underwent ECT often experienced memory loss.[35] In most cases, the patients suffered from short-term memory loss, reporting having "no memory whatsoever of the procedure" once they had recovered.[36] However, there have been instances where the treatment caused irreversible damage to patients' memory. Marilyn Rice reported that she no longer had the ability to remember events from her past after a course of ECT, eventually suing for malpractice and claiming that the "psychiatrist had destroyed her memory."[37] These long-term consequences had a profound impact on patients, affecting their sense of identity, connection to their past, and ability to form new memories.[38] This cognitive disruption was further intensified by the stigma and trauma associated with the procedure's execution and its underlying institutional purpose. While ECT has been shown to have some therapeutic benefits for severe mood disorders, sadly these benefits were overshadowed by their adverse effects. In addition, before the introduction of anesthesia or muscle relaxants, the practice of inducing seizures as a form of treatment carried with it the risk of physical trauma, such as broken bones.[39] Ethical implications arose from the challenges of balancing therapeutic benefits with the harm associated with the treatment, considering that, regardless of its faults, ECT is still seen as the "most effect treatment for severe depression."[40] This illustrates how the medical community was divided on whether alleviating psychiatric symptoms justified the physical and psychological costs, further complicating the narrative on the reliability of ECT and if the end result justified the means.

Lobotomies are widely considered the most controversial psychiatric intervention in the 20th century and "has been portrayed as a barbaric horror of an unenlightened, though uncomfortably recent, therapeutic past."[41] Initially, Dr. Freeman and his

35 Lebensohn, 177.

36 Lebensohn, 177.

37 Lebensohn, 175.

38 Lebensohn, 178.

39 Sadowsky, 12.

40 Sadowsky, 8.

41 Joel T. Braslow, "Therapeutics and the History of Psychiatry," Bulletin of the History of Medicine 74, no. 4 (Winter 2000): 798, https://doi.org/10.1353/bhm.2000.0161

colleagues advocated for lobotomies as a transformative treatment in the field of psychology and even the press spoke optimistically about this procedure.[42] The reality was far bleaker, as lobotomies inflicted devastating and irreversible consequences on countless patients, leading to significant brain damage and reducing their capacity for independent functioning.[43] Once the procedure was completed, patients like Thomas, became emotionally blunted, apathetic, and incapable of maintaining social and occupational roles, significantly lowering their quality of life.[44] Moreover, lobotomies were prolifically performed on individuals from marginalized groups, often without their genuine informed consent or understanding of the procedure's effects.[45] Over time, more cases like Thomas's began to creep into the media, fueling public outrage and highlighting the irreversible damage caused by lobotomies, prompting a re-evaluation of its ethical and medical validity.

The long-term consequences of ECT and lobotomies extended beyond the individual patients who suffered their effects, reshaping society's perception of psychiatry as a whole. The overreliance on these invasive procedures led to the systemic dehumanization of patients, eroding public trust as a focus on institutional efficiency and preservation became prioritized over patient welfare. Following this public outcry, the government started to intervene and, in the 1970s, congress proposed a 2-year suspension on psychosurgery in order to launch an investigation on whether these procedures, specifically lobotomies, were a necessary treatment or merely a means to controlling patients.[46] By this time, psychosurgery was already losing popularity as an effective treatment for psychiatric disorders, with even neurosurgeons such as Dr. Orlando J. Andy stating that it was little more than a method to control hyperactive, aggressive or violent behaviours in patients unresponsive to other, less invasive treatments.[47] Ultimately, the legacy of ECT and lobotomies serves as a cautionary tale about the risks of prioritizing innovation over ethical responsibility, underscoring the importance of placing patient autonomy and well-being at the forefront of psychiatric practices.

LESSONS FOR MODERN MENTAL HEALTH CARE

The controversial history of ECT and lobotomies serves as a stark reminder of the

42 Anne Harrington, "Mental Health's Stalled (Biological) Revolution: Its Origins, Aftermath & Future Opportunities," Daedalus 152, no. 4 (2023): 168, https://doi.org/10.1162/daed_a_02037.

43 Sadowsky, 6.

44 U.S. Congress, Senate, 12.

45 Gobin and LeBlanc, 6.

46 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, Office of the Secretary, Protection of Human Subjects: Use of Psychosurgery in Practice and Research, Report and Recommendations of the National Commission for the Protection of Human Subjects of Biomedical and Behavioral Research, Federal Register, Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1977, 26318.

47 U.S. Congress, Senate, 12.

importance of ethical standards in modern mental health treatment. Significant advancements have been made to establish proper psychiatric procedures and ensure patients receive the autonomy they rightfully deserve. One such advancement was the Declaration of Helsinki, proposed by the World Medical Association in 1964, which later was adopted by the American Medical Association to create its Ethical Guidelines for Clinical Investigation.[48] This document contributed to the evolution of informed consent practices, ensuring that patients would no longer have to undergo invasive treatments without fully understanding the potential risks and consequences they could be facing. As noted earlier, ECT treatments were initially performed without adequate patient consent or informing them of the potential for short- or long-term memory loss. Today, informed consent is a fundamental component of psychiatric care, requiring patients to be fully informed about the adverse effects associated with the procedure. This ensures that patients can withdraw at any time and are able to make autonomous decisions about their own care.[49] This shift represents a broader cultural and ethical evolution within the medical field, emphasizing the importance of patient rights and transparency.[50] Furthermore, the widespread use of these treatments exemplifies how institutional pressures can overshadow the ethical treatment of patients. The prioritization of efficiency and control led to widespread abuse in psychiatric hospitals and the stigmatization of mental illnesses, which were seen as needing to be 'cured' rather than treated. This spurred public action, leading to the establishment of institutional review boards tasked with determining the need for psychosurgery while safeguarding patient welfare and preventing ethical lapses in psychiatric care.[51] Many advancements have been made to address systemic issues, such as overcrowding and the stigmatization of mental illnesses, in order for patients to achieve humane and ethical care. Thus, the lessons learned from the misuse of ECT and lobotomies emphasize the need for ongoing vigilance in balancing medical innovation with a commitment to ethical and compassionate treatment; ensuring that patients receive care that respects their autonomy, dignity, and prioritizing their needs.

CONCLUSION

In conclusion, the widespread use of ECT and lobotomies in 20th-century psychiatric institutions highlights the profound ethical failure, particularly in the areas of patient autonomy, informed consent, and humane treatment. These interventions, which were initially used

48 World Medical Association, Declaration of Helsinki: Recommendations Guiding Doctors in Clinical Research, 1964.

49 Gobin and LeBlanc, 8.

50 Braslow, 800.

51 Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 26329.

to treat mental disorders, quickly became the solution for overcrowded psychiatric hospitals and lack of other effective treatment options, representing a system that prioritized efficiency over the well-being and rights of patients. The ethical concerns surrounding these practices, such as coercion, disregard for informed consent, and the long-term consequences of irreversible physical, and psychological harm, demonstrated the catastrophic effects of medical innovation without ethical oversight. The institutionalized power dynamics and societal stigma toward mental disorders only further exacerbated these ethical breaches, making it difficult for patients, especially marginalized groups, to assert their autonomy and make informed decisions about their care. But by understanding these past failures, modern psychiatric practices can then strive to balance medical innovation with compassion, ensuring that patient's welfare, rights, and dignity remain at the forefront. The evolution of informed consent practices, ethical standards, and safeguards within psychiatric care reflects the lessons learned from these historical missteps. However, it is crucial to continue reflecting on the importance of ethical principles in psychiatric treatments in order to address any persisting challenges, preventing the repetition of past mistakes and foster a more humane and ethical approach to mental healthcare in the future. Ultimately, the history of ECT and lobotomies serves as a reminder that medical advancements must always be tempered by a commitment to respecting individual rights and ensuring the well-being and autonomy of patients.

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NIGERIA

Is the Giant of Africa falling?

Moyo Lawuyi

With large oil reserves, beautiful terrain, and other valuable mineral resources, Nigeria seemed to be an African country destined for glory after the Second World War and the fall of the British Empire. However, Nigeria has not only failed to live up to high expectations, but it has fallen beneath them in an embarrassing and concerning manner. In the late 19th century, British meddling in the areas that would make Nigeria began and despite their ethnic and religious differences, these regions were brought together by the British in 1914. Until 1960, Nigeria was colonized and exploited under the British Empire, and since then, it has become a highly problematic state. Because of this, many people would attribute Nigeria's current problems to British colonialism. However, issues plaguing Nigeria can be linked to particular historical events that took place after the country attained independence sixty-five years ago. This essay will present the point of view that the issues of extremist religious violence, separatistmovements and extreme flooding stem from the Nigerian government's actions after independence and are not solely the responsibility of British colonialism.

Firstly, Nigeria currently grapples with insecurity in the form of extremist Islamic terrorism, which originated from the Nigerian government's mishandling of sharia law. Religion is central to the lives of most Nigerians, and according to Harvard Divinity School, "about half of the population is Muslim, 40–45% is Christian, and 5–10% practice indigenous religious traditions".[1] The north is where most of the country's Muslim population resides and, thus, where Islamic extremism stems. Boko Haram is Nigeria's most violent Islamic insurgency and is so deadly that in 2015 it

1 Country Profiles-Nigeria, Harvard Divinity School (accessed 15 November 2022)

outranked ISIS and Al-Qaeda as the world's deadliest terrorist group.[2] The jihadist insurgency carries out terrorist attacks in Northern Nigeria and neighbouring countries inspired by the ideology that Western education and culture are “haram” (forbidden).[3] They use this to justify their aim to Islamize a secular Nigeria.[4] Although Boko Haram does not carry out every Islamic terrorist activity in the north, they and less coordinated terrorist groups have the same effect of creating a climate of fear in the country. Both also aim to spread Sharia law in Nigeria fully, and it was this issue of Sharia law that led to the rise of Islamic extremism. Islam was introduced to Nigeria through Arab traders from Morocco, who came down to northern Nigeria to engage in trade with inhabitants of the area.[5] Soon increased relationships and intermarriages between the traders and local people led to the introduction of Islam in Northern Nigeria with its aspects such as Arabic script, Islamic architecture and Sharia law.[6] On 19 March 1903, Lord Frederick Lugard, a British colonial administrator, conquered the Islamic Sokoto Caliphate.[7] However, when Lugard conquered Sokoto, he did not try to impose British Christianity on the area and instead ruled it through its existing emirs, sultans and other religious leaders.[8] In other words, Islam was left alone, and Sharia law remained the primary method of governance in the north.

Later, on 1 January 1914, the Christian south and the Muslim north were amalgamated, making Nigeria one country.[9] Without the amalgamation, a country with two opposing religions would not exist, and Islamic terrorist groups would not believe they must carry out their aim of Islamization. Because of this, it can be argued that the existence of Islamic terror groups is the fault of British colonial actions. However, one should instead attribute this problem to the post-colonial actions of the Nigerian government. To elaborate, Nigerian political elites saw religion as a

2 Osita G. Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism and State Failure in Northern Nigeria (Indiana University Press, 2017) 22.

3 Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism, 22.

4 Oarhe Osumah, Boko Haram insurgency in Northern Nigeria and the vicious cycle of internal insecurity (Ekpoma:Routledge, 2013) 541.

5 A. A. Oba, Islamic Law as Customary Law: The Changing Perspective in Nigeria (Cambridge University Press, 2002) 823.

6 Oba, Islamic Law as Customary Law, 823.

7 Yushau Sodiq, A history of Islamic Law in Nigeria: Past and Present (Islamabad: Islamic Research Institute, International Islamic University, 1992) 97.

8 Sodiq, A History of Islamic Law in Nigeria, 97.

9 Okereka O. Princewill et al., Colonialism and Amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates: Analysis ofEmerging Issues in Nigeria (2020) 50.

tool to gain political power.[10] For instance, during the 1979 presidential elections, Sheik Abubakar Gumi (a prominent Muslim cleric) openly told Nigerian Muslims, in a national broadcast, not to vote for a non-Muslim candidate.[11] This demonstrates how influential Nigerianstook advantage of the religious diversity in the country for political gain instead of confronting it.One might argue that this is a form of corruption on the part of the government, as the country's religious diversity was seen as a lucrative scheme for gaining votes. In 1999, the same year the first Christian civilian president, Olusegun Obasanjo, was elected, Zamfara, a predominantly Muslim state in the northwest, declared that it was fully adopting Sharia law.[12] After this, other northern states fell like dominoes. In 2000, Katsina, Kano, Sokoto, Bauchi, Niger, Gombe, Jigawa, Kaduna, Borno, Kebbi, and Yobe states all fully adopted Islamic law.[13] By fully implementing Sharia law, a penal code which involved harsh penalties for crimes, economic restrictions such as banning the sale of alcohol, and lesser rights for women would exist.[14] This was very highly controversial as it contradicted section 10 of the 1979 constitution, which stated,"The Government of the Federation or of a State shall not adopt any religion as [a] State Religion."[15]

Everyone looked to the President to protect the country's secularism and go to the Supreme Court with this issue. Instead, Olusegun Obasanjo had a slow and passive response to this situation, one that almost seemed like he did not want to anger the country's Muslim majority by making sharia a political issue.[16] Despite protests from Christians, Obasanjo did not take the northern states to the Supreme Court and only stated that their actions were unconstitutional.[17] Obasanjo did this because he believed the Sharia issue would not be a legitimate problem and eventually "fizzle" out.[18] This shows Obasanjo was no different from past Nigerian politicians who used religion as a self-serving political tool. One can argue that Obasanjo did not react to the Sharia issue because he did not want to lose the support of the Muslim north, which

10 Osita G. Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism and State Failure in Northern Nigeria (Indiana University Press, 2017) 27.

11 Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism,28.

12 Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism, 30.

13 Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism, 31.

14 Afoaku, Islamist Terrorism,31.

15 Constitution of the Federal Republic of Nigeria 1979, Constitutionnet (accessed 15 November 2022)

16 Benson Ohihon Igboin, The President of Nigeria has no final say': Sharia Law controversies and Implications forNigeria (Akungba-Akoko: 2014) 277.

17 J. Isawa Elaigwu and Habu Galadima, The Shadow of Sharia over Nigerian Federalism (Oxford University Press,2003) 137.

18 Igboin, The President of Nigeria Has No Final Say, 277.

was the majority of the population. It can be said that Obasanjo sought the North's validation over his constitutional right to protect Nigeria's secularism because he was the first civilian Christian president and felt he needed their support to remain in power. Obasanjo was also going to run for a second term against Muhammadu Buhari, a Muslim from Katsina state.[19] However, no excuses can be made for Obasanjo's inaction as it laid the foundation for Boko Haram and other Islamic terrorist groups.

Because it is tainted with political ambitions and corruption, Boko Haram does not recognize the Sharia law currently implemented in the north as an authentic exhibition of Islam. Instead, they see it as proof of the failure of Western democracy and education, which they strongly oppose. This is because Northern Nigeria is underdeveloped in every aspect compared to the South, where there is no Sharia law. Boko Haram also disdains Nigerian politicians who are notorious for corruption and embezzlement of funds, as they believe this is a significant reason for the underdevelopment of the North. One thing all these politicians have in common is that they underwent forms of Western education that Boko Haram uses to justify their fight against all forms of Western culture. Boko Haram believes that implementing what they regard as genuine sharia law would cure Northern Nigeria and the rest of the country of all its ills. If Olusegun Obasanjo did not view Sharia as a political opportunity, he would have seen it as a breach of the constitution. Religious tensions also would not be high in the country because Nigeria would be secular on paper and in practice. While British colonial actions and the amalgamation challenge this point of view, it is evident that sharia law only became the political entity that Islamist insurgencies despise after independence and after the actions of Nigerian politicians.

Secondly, Nigeria is experiencing a surge in separatist movements, especially from the Indigenous People of Biafra, due to the Nigerian government's marginalization of the Igbo ethnicgroup after independence. Nigeria's present situation is filled with so much failure that many separatist movements exist across Nigeria’s 250 ethnic groups. Still, the most prominent one which draws on memories is the Indigenous People of Biafra. The Indigenous People of Biafra isthe renewed Igbo nationalist movement led by Nnamdi Kanu, which hopes to reestablish the state of Biafra.[20] The Republic of Biafra was a secessionist state that declared independence fromNigeria in 1967, leading to a brutal three-year civil war.[21] Because of early contact with

19 Elections in Nigeria, African Elections Database (accessed 15 November 2022)

20 Anthony Williams Amamkpa and Paul Uche Mbakwe, Conflict Early Warning Signs and Nigerian Government Response Dilemma: The Case Of Increasing Agitations for Statehood by Indigenous People of Biafra (IPOB) and Movement for the Actualization of Sovereign State of Biafra (MASOB) (2015) 16.

21 Charles R. Nixon, Self-Determination: The Nigeria/Biafra Case (Cambridge University Press, 1972) 475.

Christianity and egalitarian pre-colonial societies, the Igbo were more receptive to the cultural change and Western education that came with British colonialism than any other major tribe.[22] Despite unevenness in education and differences in religion, the Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, Igbo andsmaller ethnic groups were brought together in the amalgamation of 1914 by British colonialists.[23] Because they united different ethnic groups into one country, it can be argued that British colonialists are to blame for the Igbo people wanting to leave it. However, one should instead attribute Igbo separatism to the actions of the Nigerian government after colonialism. After independence in 1960, Nigeria became a federation with the three main ethnic groups (Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba and Igbo) having their regions, which they self-governed while competing to control the central government.[24] Northern elites controlled the Federal governmentafter the Northern People's Congress (NPC) won the 1959 general elections.[25] However, they were still worried about losing ground to their Igbo counterparts, who were more wealthy and educated.[26] This fear of domination turned into anti-Igbo sentiments and became very common in the North. For instance, in a 1964 interview, Northern Premier Ahmadu Bello stated what he really thought about the Igbos:

> The Igbos are more or less the type of people whose desire is to mainly dominate everybody. If they go to a village or a town, they want to monopolize everything in that area. If you put them in a labour camp as a labourer, they will try to emerge as headman of that camp and so on.[27]

These anti-Igbo sentiments and widespread corruption in the Northern-dominated government resulted in the country's first military coup on January 15, 1966.[28]

Five Igbo military generals carried out the coup, which saw the death of prominent Northern political elites such as the Prime Minister, Tafawa Balewa and Northern Premier, Ahmadu Bello.[29] The ceremonial

22 Ekechi, Felix K., Missionary enterprise and rivalry in Igboland (Ohio: Psychology Press, 1972) 146.

23 Okereka O. Princewill et al., Colonialism and Amalgamation of Southern and Northern Protectorates: Analysis ofEmerging Issues in Nigeria (2020) 50.

24 Nayar, M. G. Kaladharan, Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context: Biafra in Retrospect (1975) 322.

25 Elections in Nigeria, African Elections Database (accessed 15 November 2022)

26 Iweala Uzodinma, Nigeria's Second Independence: Why the Giant of Africa Needs to Start Over (New York: 2022) 3.

27 The Igbos like to dominate - Sir Ahmadu Bello describes the Igbos in an interview in 1964, MyNigeria (accessed 15 November 2022)

28 Nayar, M. G. Kaladharan, Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context: Biafra in Retrospect (1975) 322.

29 Ikenna Mike Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra (2017) 6.

president, Nnamdi Azikiwe and the Premier of the Eastern region, Michael Okpara, remained unharmed by the coup, which led many northerners to believethat this was the east's attempt to remove the northern grasp on the central government.[30] The Commanding Officer of the Nigerian army, General Johnson Aguiyi-Ironsi, an Igbo, became Head of State, making Northerners even more suspicious of the east's intent.[31] On May 24, 1966, General Aguyi-Ironsi passed a decree that would turn Nigeria from a federal state to a unitary one, confirming to northerners that the east was trying to take over the country.[32] A counter-coupfollowed on July 29, 1966, orchestrated by several northern military officials that assassinated Aguyi-Ironsi and put in place a northerner, Lt. Col. Yakubu Gowon.[33] Between September and October 1966, Northerners took the coup as an opportunity to express their resentment toward the Igbos by murdering more than 30,000 Igbos who lived in the North.[34] The Nigerian government under Gowon did nothing to stop the massacres in the north, nor did they try to find the perpetrators.[35] This helped justify Igbo feelings that the Nigerian government did not care about their safety and somewhat wanted what the attackers did - the Igbos out of the country. The massacre also led more than 2 million Igbos, who believed they were unwelcome everywhere else, to flee to the already overcrowded eastern region.[36] The last straw for the Igbos was on May 27, 1967, when Gowon announced the creation of twelve states overturning the country's regional structure and dividing the eastern region into three states.[37] Lt. Col. Chukwuemeka Odumegwu Ojukwu, the governor of the eastern region, saw this as Gowon's plotto weaken the east.[38] On May 30, 1967, he declared the east independent and established the Republic of Biafra, stating that the Nigerian government failed to protect the lives and interests of the Igbos countless times.[39] On July 5, 1967, the Nigerian government officially declared war on Biafra and began military action.[40]

30 Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra, 6.

31 Kaladharan, Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context: Biafra in Retrospect, 322.

32 Kaladharan, Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context: Biafra in Retrospect, 322.

33 Kaladharan, Self-Determination Beyond the Colonial Context: Biafra in Retrospect, 323.

34 Franklin Parker, BIAFRA AND THE NIGERIAN CIVL WAR (West Virginia: Association for the Study of African American Life and History, 1969) 9.

35 Samuel Fury Childs Daly, A Nation on Paper: Making a State in the Republic of Biafra (North Carolina: Cambridge University Press, 2020) 869.

36 Parker, BIAFRA AND THE NIGERIAN CIVL WAR,9.

37 Aremu, Johnson Olaosebikan, and Lateef Oluwafemi Buhari, Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 1967–1970 (2017) 66.

38 Olaosebikan, Sense and Senselessness of War: Aggregating the Causes, Gains and Losses of the Nigerian Civil War, 66.

39 Daly, A Nation on Paper: Making a State in the Republic of Biafra, 870.

40 Nixon, Self-Determination: The Nigeria/Biafra Case, 476.

In short, the war was devastating, with approximately three million casualties.[41] Many similarities can be identified between anti-Igbo sentiments expressed by political figures during the civil war period and the actions of the current Nigerian government towards Igbos. This leadsone to conclude that the post-colonial actions of Nigerian leaders made the model for present Igbo discrimination, causing the Biafra movement's resurgence. For instance, between 1967 and 1996, thirty-six states and 774 local governments were created in the country.[42] Igbo's were allocated five states and ninety-four local governments, the lowest number in the country and by comparing this to the North's nineteen states and 457 local governments,[43] it is clear that the Igbos were discriminated against in the area of state creation. Additionally demonstrating this point is the fact that seven of the eight heads of state who held office during the time of state creation were from the north.[44] This is problematic as states and local governments are the basis for federal government investment, and fewer states for the Igbos can be interpreted as a ploy by the Northern-dominated federal government to underdevelop the east and place it in an unfair playing ground against other major ethnic groups. This holds extreme likeness to Gowon's creation of 12 states in 1967, a move also to weaken the east. Another parallel to be drawn is the anti-Igbo sentiment usually expressed by the county's leaders. In a tweet since deleted by Twitter, Muhammadu Buhari, a northerner and the current president of Nigeria, stated:

> Many of those misbehaving today are too young to be aware of the destruction and loss of lives that occurred during the Nigerian civil war. Those of us in the fields for 30 months, who went through the war, will treat them in the language they understand.[45]

The president's implication of violence towards the Indigenous People of Biafra mirrors the anti-Igbo statement by former northern premier Ahmadu Bello and the violence perpetrated against the Igbos living in the north in 1966.

The Indigenous People of Biafra also have political grievances with the Nigerian government. Ever since the first president of Nigeria, Nnamdi Azikiwe, who was a ceremonial figure, and General Aguyi Ironsi, who was head of State for a little over six months before being assassinated, no Igbo person has led Nigeria. Meanwhile, out of the fifteen leaders the country has had so far, ten have been from the north.[46]

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41 Lasse Heerten and A. Dirk Moses, The Nigeria–Biafra war: postcolonial conflict and the question of genocide (Routledge, 2014) 269.

42 Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra,8.

43 Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra,8.

44 Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra,8.

45 Lee Brown, Twitter suspends account of Nigerian president for 'abusive behavior' (New York Post, 2021)

46 Alumona et al., The Nigerian State and the Resurgence of Separatist Agitations: The Case of Biafra, 9.

This proves that the civil war period made a mould for Igbo discrimination that the current government has not broken out of. The unequal resource distribution, political exclusion and general discrimination the Igbo have faced in Nigeria once again prove that the Nigerian government does not have their interests at heart. Thisresults in Igbo people feeling excluded, unwanted and discriminated against in their own countryand believing that the best option is to leave once and for all. Thus, while the amalgamation by British colonialists brought together different ethnic groups into one country, the ghost of Biafra continues to haunt the Nigerian government because they have refused to let go of anti-Igbo sentiments developed in the post-colonial period.

Finally, Nigeria is experiencing extreme flooding due to the Nigerian government's corruption in the country's oil and gas sector. As of writing this essay, Nigeria is facing back-to-back flooding, its worst case in history, with the ongoing floods affecting over 2.5 million people. The last flood of this magnitude was in 2012, which killed around 363 people and displaced 2.3 million.[47] Floods are caused by prolonged rain, climate change and environmental degradation.[48] Nigeria has much history of environmental degradation. After the amalgamation in 1914, the British created an economic system to exploit Nigeria's resources. By building roadsand harbours, the British colonial administration opened Nigeria to many European trading companies.[49] Raw materials like cocoa, tin and oil palm were taken from Nigeria, but the most lucrative raw material was crude oil. In 1956, Shell D'Arcy, a merger of British Petroleum and the Royal Dutch Company, found crude oil for the first time in commercial quantities in present-day Bayelsa state.[50] This discovery adversely affected the environment as the British cleared large areas of land to make space for drill sites, transportation infrastructure and dwellings for workers. Another effect was the immense water pollution caused by oil spillages.[51]

Because water pollution and lack of vegetation can bring about flooding, one might blame extreme flooding in Nigeria on British colonial actions. However, one should instead blame the Nigerian government's corruption in the oil and gas sector. Nigeria is the world's seventh-largest exporter of crude oil, and its petroleum sector has been very attractive to foreign companies since

47 Adaku Jane Echendu, Flooding, Food Security and the Sustainable Development Goals in Nigeria: An Assemblage and Systems Thinking Approach (2022) 2.

48 Nwigwe, C., and T. T. Emberga, An Assesment of causes and effects of flood in Nigeria (Owerri: 2014) 307.

49 Joseph England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta (2012) 22.

50 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 29.

51 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 25.

independence.[52] However, most of the profit from Nigeria's oil ended up in the pockets of its leaders.[53] The lucrative profit from oil explains why Nigerian government officials'interests in oil revenue superseded regulating its extraction. In other words, Nigerian politicians preferred to profit from the country's oil than implement safety protocols which would protect the environment. During the independence era, Nigeria experienced a rush of foreign investments, with "oil production between 1958 and 1966 increasing from 5,100 barrels per day to over 417,000 barrels per day".[54] A major reason for this was that, unlike other oil-producing countries, Nigeria had virtually no pollution regulations guiding the industry.[55] However, in 1969, the Nigerian government made an effort to protect the environment by establishing the Petroleum Act.[56] This legislature was meant to create a new structure for oil operations in Nigeria. However, it was very vague concerning how the oil industry would be regulated to protect the environment.[57] Many people living in oil extraction areas, especially the south-south, brought several cases to the government concerning the adverse effects of oil extraction on them.[58] However, the lucrativeness of oil and gas blocked the Nigerian government from seeing how much damage it was doing to the environment and its effects on people living in the area.

The extent of the corruption concerning oil and gas was so appalling that one can conclude that the Nigerian government deliberately did not implement any environmental regulations. An example which proves this is the Halliburton Scandal. The Halliburton Scandal was a controversy which involved a US oil company confessing to paying at least $180 million in bribes between 1994 and 2002 to top Nigerian government officials.[59] In return, these officials gave the company oil contracts worth over $6 billion to build oil extraction facilities in Nigeria.[60] These Nigerian top government officials included General Sanni Abacha, Nigerian head of state from 1993 to 1998, Atiku Abubakar, vice president from 1999 to 2007 and 2023 presidential candidate and Olusegun Obasanjo, President of Nigeria from 1999

52 P.A. Donwa et al., Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth (Benin: 2014) 29.

53 Donwa et al., Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth, 30.

54 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 40.

55 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 40.

56 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 45.

57 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 45.

58 England, The Colonial Legacy Of Environmental Degradation In Nigeria's Niger River Delta, 22.

59 Donwa et al., Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth, 36.

60 Donwa et al., Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth, 36.

to 2007.[61] Other influential people involved in this scandal included relatives of heads of state, Petroleum Ministers and children of religious leaders.[62] At some point, every person listed had the power to implement or influence someone to implement legislation which would regulate the extraction of oil and preserve the environment. However, they chose not to because of monetary benefits. The non-regulated extraction of oil degraded the environment and brought about water pollution, both of which have contributed to Nigeria's current flooding problem. Thus, while the British exploited Nigerian oil and other resources which caused environmental harm, they did not do this to the extent the Nigerian government did. Therefore, the Nigerian government can be blamed for extreme flooding in the country due to its inaction in implementing oil extraction regulations after independence.

In conclusion, the Nigerian government's actions and inactions significantly impacted the emergence of violent extremist Islamist groups, separatist movements, and extreme flooding. Although British colonial policies contributed to the country's current state, they should not be held exclusively accountable. Many people solely blame colonial actions on state failure; however, they sometimes fail to realize that the leaders of these countries also play a role. State failure should not be a characteristic of a former colony, as many former colonies are doing exceptionally well today. With everything Nigeria is blessed with, it could have easily been one of these countries. However, Nigerian leaders, who were responsible for putting their country first once they gained the independence they lobbied for, allowed political interests, ethnic sentiments and corruption to get in the way.

61 Donwa et al.,Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth, 36.

62 Donwa et al., Corruption in the Nigerian Oil and Gas Industry and Implication for Economic Growth, 36.

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How the United States controlled Europe

Reda Swidinsky

Once home to powerful empires, Europe today finds itself captive to the United States. From its foreign policy to its economic policy, Europe appears unable to exercise its autonomy without American approval. Little is known, however, about the United States' long-standing economic strategy designed to create such a dynamic beginning as early as the First World War. This essay aims to examine how the United States came to dominate over Europe through economic policy, exploring America's role in ending Europe's once sizable empires and reshaping the continent in its image in the aftermath of the Second World War through to the Cold War. This ultimately will provide an understanding of the foundations that underpin American grand strategy today and Europe's role in the American Empire.

FIRST WORLD WAR AND THE INTERWAR PERIOD

Adam Smith, in The Wealth of Nations, argued that nations should focus on their own productive advantages rather than rely on colonial dependencies or mercantilist systems.[1] Unlike European empires, which viewed colon ial conquest as a cornerstone of power and prosperity, the United States attributed its rise to world power as stemming from competitive advantage. To accomplish this, U.S. policymakers embarked on a series of protectionist measures, primarily tariffs, to shield its economy from foreign competition, mainly European, in order to foster domestic growth. Behind these protectionist policies, however, lay a deep-seated Anglophobia with a distrust of Britain and the colonial system. The United States viewed Britain

1 Adam Smith "The Wealth of Nations" (Gutenberg, 1776), Book 4, Chap.2.

not only as its former colonizer, having fought against it for its independence, but as a commercial rival to be economically and geopolitically displaced.[2] The British Empire and other European colonial powers represented roadblocks to U.S. exports and would have to be dismantled to propel the United States forward toward its grander imperial ambition

The First World War brought with it an opportunity for the United States to establish itself as a global power. Mired in recession until 1914, the war opened new markets for U.S. manufacturers, triggering three years of economic growth, with exports growing from 2.4 billion USD in 1913 to 6.2 billion USD in 1917, a 158 percent increase.[3] The scale and industrialized nature of this global war put the already strong American economy in a prime position to supply the vast demand for war materials, goods and resources. In addition to becoming the primary exporter, the United States was the largest wartime creditor, with U.S. banks lending vast sums, totalling seven billion USD, with Britain and France accruing much of this debt.[4] As the war dragged on with no clear victor in sight, U.S. lenders became concerned that an Allied defeat could jeopardize the repayment of debts and disrupt the lucrative export markets American businesses cultivated during the war. As a main reason and with much dissension, the United States formally declared war on Germany in April 1917, joining as an "Associated Power" rather than a member of the Entente. The United States's entry into the war under this particular status signalled to its European allies that its "armament and reconstruction loans to Europe were more a business transaction than a contribution to a common effort," and allowing the United States to pursue its strategic objectives independent of its allies, reshaping the post-war world in its image.[5]

The United States emerged from the war as not only the world's major creditor "but a creditor to foreign governments with which it felt little brotherhood."[6] American officials quickly insisted on debt repayments with little regard for the financial state of war-torn European powers. Instead of allowing debtor countries to repay their debt through exports, U.S. officials pursued harsh creditor policy, insisting that their obligations be paid only in hard currency.[7] This move forced Britain and France to rely heavily upon their colonies to meet their commitments, placing strain on their imperial systems. Unable to pay their debt, Britain and France also forced harsh reparations upon Germany, putting it into economic crisis that laid the foundations for the rise of fascism. Meanwhile, the United States maintained its protectionist trade

2 Micheal Hudson "Super imperialism: The Economic Strategy of American Empire" (ISLET, 2021), 2.

3 Heather Michon, "The U.S. Economy in World War 1" (The Doughboy Foundation, 2022), par.5.

4 Nicholas Mulder, "War Finance" (International Encyclopedia, 2018), 10.

5 Hudson, Super Imperialism,3.

6 Ibid.

7 Ibid 5.

policies. High tariffs on imports, such as those implemented through the Fordney-McCumber Tariff Act of 1922, restricted European nations' access to the American market, blocking off a crucial destination for export earnings.[8] Without the ability to trade unfettered with the United States, European countries struggled to generate the revenue needed to repay their debts. The pressures of debt repayments accelerated the decline of European powers, much to the advantage of the United States.

THE DECLINE OF EUROPE AND THE RISE OF THE UNITED STATES

"Let Europe quarrel to America's profit" were the words that best captured the guiding principle of the United States during the early stages of the Second World War.[9] U.S. strategists, while debating entry into the war, worried that a hasty Allied victory would risk bringing the pre-war European balance of power back into play, seeing the Anglo-French colonial trading blocs as no different than the economic area proposed by Nazi Germany.[10] It surmised that Britain, with its formidable navy and favourable geographic position along with France's Maginot Line, were unlikely to succumb quickly to German aggression.

However, the Fall of France in June 1940 shifted their strategic calculus, as it became evident that a complete Axis victory was potentially on the horizon. U.S. strategists began to imagine themselves in a world in which fascism dominated much of the Eastern Hemisphere. They separated this imaginary post-war world into three regions: a German-dominated Europe and North Africa, the Western Hemisphere led primarily by the United States, and the Japan-centered Far East. Alarmingly, trade data ascribed greater economic self-sufficiency to the German-dominated area than the Western Hemisphere. The German area could absorb 79 percent of world exports and 69 percent of imports. In contrast, the Western Hemisphere could only absorb 54 and 65 percent, respectively.[11] The United States would thus depend more on trade with Germany than Germany depended on trade with the United States, leaving the latter in a more dominant geopolitical position. Meanwhile, the ideological differences between American liberal capitalism and the Nazi fascist economic model meant that the United States could not depend on Germany to ensure the continuation of free trade, effectively cutting the U.S. off from much of the global market.

The United States joined the war in December 1941 but had already supported the Allied war effort as early as 1940. However, the aim of American support was an attempt to break apart the British and European colonial empires, with U.S.

8 Marc Hayford and Carl Pasurka, "The political economy of the Fordney-McCumber and Smoot-Hawley tariff acts" (ELSEVIER, 1992) 30.

9 Stephen Wertheim "Tomorrow, the World" (Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2020) 40.

10 Ibid 41.

11 Ibid 65.

strategists already planning to reshape the post-war world in their image during wartime. While the United States would aid Britain in its war against Germany, it would not help recover its position as a dominant global power, instead using its aid as leverage to fracture the already crumbling British Empire. Central to this was the Lend-Lease Agreement. Enacted in March 1941, the program provided the desperate British with military aid to sustain their war effort. Behind this, however, were significant strings attached designed to destroy the economic and colonial dominance of Britain. Article 7. of the Agreement mandated "the elimination of all forms of discriminatory treatment in international commerce, and to the reduction of tariffs and other trade barrier"[12], effectively ending colonial trading preferences that many European colonial powers, particularly Britain, relied upon to keep their empires intact and profitable, forcing them to open their markets to American goods and capital. The unilateral termination by the United States of the Lend-Lease Program in September 1945 made its allies pay for supplies still in the pipeline, further indebting them to the U.S..[13]

By the war's end, European powers, particularly Britain, were in financial ruin, drowning in enormous post-war debt, much of which was owed to the United States under the Lend-Lease Program. To alleviate this debt, Britain again turned to the United States, signing the Anglo-American Financial Agreement, also known as the British Loan, in 1946. Under this agreement, the United States provided Britain with a low-interest loan of four billion USD.[14] The loan, however, again came with significant conditions designed to destroy another key component of the British Empire, the Sterling Area. During the war, Britain's colonies, particularly India and Egypt, had built up a massive sterling reserve as a result of exports to Britain for its wartime needs. Britain had hoped that following the war, it could simply export goods to its colonies, recouping its sterling, thus rebuilding its industrial base and pay its debt to the United States using the sterling proceeds.[15] Wary of this, U.S. officials stipulated as part of conditions to the British Loan that colonies holding sterling were allowed to convert the currency into U.S. dollars freely.[16] In addition, Britain was not permitted to devalue its currency, which was stronger than the U.S. dollar. Thus, Britain's colonies were incentivized to exchange their sterling holdings for cheaper U.S. dollars and began to buy more favourably priced U.S. goods. In the end, U.S. loan provisions had essentially ended the British Empire.

To consolidate its hold over Europe

12 "Preliminary Lend Lease Agreement" (Yale Law School, 1942) Article 7.

13 White House, "Statement Issued to the Press by the White House, August 21, 1945, on Discontinuance of Lend-Lease Operations" (Office of the Historian, 1945).

14 Department of State, "Anglo-American Financial and Commercial Agreements" (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 1946) 2.

15 Hudson, Super Imperialism,154.

16 Department of State, Anglo-American Financial and Commercial Agreements,2.

and much of the world, the United States moved to replace the old colonial trading blocs with its own mechanisms to extend American hegemony. Now that the United States emerged from the war as the sole and incontestable Western superpower, it no longer feared multilateralism as it once had by not joining the League of Nations, instead recognizing the usefulness of leading these initiatives.

With the sudden termination of Lend-Lease, Britain had been locked into the British Loan; however, in addition to agreeing to end its Sterling Area, the loan was also subject to Britain joining the United States under Bretton Woods.[17] The Bretton Woods Agreement provided foreign countries with a means of buying U.S. exports, supplying Europe with the credit needed to purchase American goods used in reconstruction and to pay debt without leading to the hyperinflation and political upheaval of the interwar period.[18] Moreover, the agreement laid the foundation for freer trade, requiring signatories of the newly formed International Monetary Fund (IMF) not to enter bilateral monetary arrangements or engage in other forms of protectionism. The United States naturally held a dominant role within this new multilateral organization, holding unilateral veto powers.[19] For Britain, however, joining the IMF came at a political and economic price. IMF funds would help Britain maintain high levels of overseas military expenditures, with the United States not vetoing funds to Britain for running continuous balance of payment deficits as long as it agreed to undertake anti-communist activities in its colonies.[20] This increased dependency on the United States effectively led Britain to surrender its autonomy to the Americans.

Bretton Woods also forbade competitive currency devaluation and required that all major trading currencies be tied to gold. The value of each currency was defined by international agreement as to the quantity of gold it represented. The currency must also be freely convertible to gold or to a currency universally accepted as good as gold, in other words, the U.S. dollar.[21] However, since the United States held most of the world's gold in the early post-war years, it was no longer a natural commodity form of money but rather a political form of money administered by the U.S. government for its own interest. Thus, through Bretton Woods, European countries were linking their currencies to U.S. monetary and commercial policy, not gold. Bretton Woods, therefore, did not create a truly international monetary arrangement but rather a U.S. world monetary system.

17 Ibid.

18 Sandra Kollen Ghizoni, "Creation of the Bretton Woods System" (Federal Reserve History, 2013) par.1.

19 Jakob Vestergaard and Robert Wade, "Trapped in History- The IMF and the US Veto" (DIIS Policy Brief, 2015) 2.

20 Hudson, Super Imperialism,173.

21 Allan Meltzer, "U.S. Policy in the Bretton Woods Era" (Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis, 1991) 56.

RESHAPING EUROPE UNDER THE AMERICAN IMAGE

While the United States had always eyed breaking Europe's hold over the world, it still recognized its use in advancing U.S. interests. The overarching American concern following the Second World War was domestically to move towards full employment, avoiding another Great Depression.[22] The U.S. domestic market, however, could not absorb all production, requiring foreign markets to sustain economic growth at full employment and avoid a downturn. Europe, which long served as a booming export market for U.S. goods, would have to be rebuilt after the war to maintain demand.[23] Meanwhile, American officials realized they could no longer pursue the same protectionist economic policies of the interwar period to avoid bankrupting Europe. The United States thus opted to aid in reconstruction efforts through grants rather than loans under the European Recovery Program (1948-1951), also known as the Marshall Plan. The plan allocated 14 billion USD to revitalize Western Europe's war-torn economies, acting not as a token of American generosity but as another way to fulfill its self-interest.

With these grants came conditions that a portion of goods purchased with aid, used for reconstruction, be imported from the United States, effectively funnelling Marshall Plan funds back into the U.S. economy.[24] Furthermore, aid recipients were encouraged and promised to adopt policies that promoted a free market economy, opening them to U.S. goods and capital tying Europe's economic future to the United States. While not an explicit condition, American officials reminded their European counterparts that aid was contingent on congressional approval, which was not keen on agreeing to aid Europe with no benefits in return.[25] American negotiators also pushed for reduced food rationing, which continued early post-war as the booming U.S. agricultural sector was more than ready to satisfy Europe's food shortage.[26] Lastly, the United States leveraged aid to urge decolonization, threatening to halt Marshall Plan funding in response to Dutch efforts to restore its colonial holdings.[27]

The United States's willingness to aid Europe did not stem solely from economic

22 Christopher J. Tassava, "The American Economy during World War II" (Economic History Association, 2008) par.23.

23 Curt Tarnoff, "The Marshall Plan: Design, Accomplishment, and Significance" (Congressional Research Service, 2018) 2.

24 Ibid 19.

25 Timothy Healey, "Will Clayton, Negotiating the Marshall Plan, and European Economic Integration" (Diplomatic History, 2011) 241.

26 "Cooperation for Recovery: The Marshall Plan" (International Monetary Fund) par.4.

27 "The Birth of the Indonesian Nation, 1945 – 1949: Perspectives on the Role of the United States" (USINDO, 2011) par.15.

considerations, as the growing threat of communism posed by the Soviet Union began to threaten U.S. hegemony.[28] American strategists feared that a war-weary and devastated Western Europe would be overrun by far more numerous Soviet forces deployed along the Iron Curtain. To counter this, U.S. planners began envisioning a rebuilt and industrious Western Europe, particularly West Germany, as a bulwark to Soviet military expansion. The war also left Europe politically fragile, with communist sympathies growing. To address this, the United States sought to embed itself deeply in the European economy, fostering a dependency on the United States that would make Europe unable to join the Soviet camp.

SOLIDIFYING AMERICAN DOMINANCE

In addition to exchanging their U.S. dollars earned through exports for U.S. gold holdings under the Bretton Woods System, nations had the option of purchasing U.S. Treasury bonds, a tool that would become central to solidifying American dominance over Europe. Treasury bonds provided a means for the United States to take over relatively cost-free the European economy and its major companies. When European sellers sold their companies to U.S. investors, they would exchange with their central banks their U.S. dollar payments for local currency. In turn, these European central banks were pressured by the U.S. Treasury on the grounds of world financial stability to not exchange these dollar holdings for U.S. held gold increasingly depleted by continuous U.S. payment deficits and instead were encouraged to buy U.S. Treasury bonds, yielding only a fraction of what U.S. investors profited from the European companies they bought out.[29]

By the 1960s, U.S. trade primacy had run its course as increasingly smaller U.S. trade surpluses turned into deficits.[30] The rebuilt economies of Europe began to reduce demand for U.S. goods as their economies became more competitive.[31] As a result, many European nations began accumulating significant U.S. dollar reserves and cashed them in for gold, reducing the once sizeable U.S. gold holdings which underpinned the U.S. economic order. As a result, the United States unilaterally cancelled the gold standard in August 1971 and implemented a 10 percent import surcharge, forcing nations to revalue their currencies against the U.S. dollar to promote American exports.[32] With the closing of the gold window, the United States replaced the gold standard with the Treasury bill standard. Nations now had to continue to absorb the surplus of U.S. dollars and

28 Tarnoff, Marshall Plan, 2.

29 Hudson, Super Imperialism,326.

30 Harold James, "The End of Bretton Woods?" (International Monetary Fund, 1996) 208.

31 Tamas Vonyo, "Post-war reconstruction and the Golden Age of economic growth" (European Review of Economic History, 2008) 221.

32 Jeffrey Garten, "Three Days at Camp David: How a Secret Meeting in 1971 Transformed the Global Economy" (Harper, 2022) 270.

recycle them into U.S. Treasury bonds; otherwise, it would lead to a depreciation of the U.S. dollar, giving a price advantage to American exports. This allowed the United States to print money as needed to finance military and domestic expenditures without suffering economic consequences. Foreign nations received little if nothing from this arrangement except U.S. Treasury bonds of questionable value and inflation from American money printing.[33]

At the same time, coupled with trade deficits, expenditures from the Vietnam War and domestic spending meant that the United States experienced increasingly large financial deficits, becoming the world's major debtor rather than creditor.[34] The United States's situation was now reminiscent of Britain following the Second World War. The United States, however, managed its predicament differently, using its debtor status to its advantage. Leveraging its large debt, U.S. officials forced nations to open their markets to U.S. exports to allow the United States to finance its debt.

WHO CONTROLS EUROPE CONTROLS THE WORLD

The United States's economic hegemony over Europe arguably lay largely in American grand strategy inspired by the Heartland theory and adapted by former U.S. national security advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski in his book The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives. Europe, neighbour to Russia, represents the crucial geographic junction of Eurasia. To the West, Europe, an industrial center capable of producing quality manufactured goods and Russia, to the East, home to vast swathes of natural resources, a large population and a gate to markets in the Far East. The synergy of these regions, if realized, would create a geopolitical powerhouse capable of challenging the United States.[35] U.S. logic thus dictates that these forces must never be allowed to merge into a unified bloc and that the United States must aim to control this geostrategic region.

To accomplish this, the United States relies largely on its economic hold of Europe, cemented by its dominant position in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), leveraging this hegemonic status to prevent Europe from becoming an entirely independent power center.[36] Of particular concern to U.S. strategists is the potential alignment between Germany and Russia. Such a partnership, uniting Germany's advanced technological and industrial capabilities with Russia's abundant natural gas reserves, would undermine U.S. influence.[37] This alignment would reduce Europe's reliance on the Trans-Atlantic

33 Hudson, Super Imperialism,430.

34 Leonard Dudley and Peter Passell, "The War in Vietnam and the United States Balance of Payments" (The Review of Economics and Statistics, 1968) 437.

35 H.J. Mackinder, "The Geographical Pivot of History" (The Geographic Journal, 1904) 436.

36 Zbigniew Brzezinski, "The Grand Chessboard: American Primacy and Its Geostrategic Imperatives" (Perseus Books Group,1997) 71.

37 Mackinder, The Geographical Pivot of History,436.

alliance by alleviating its security concerns and fostering a self-sufficient and mutually beneficial economic relationship with Russia.

The war in Ukraine has permanently severed Germany's economic ties with Russia. Prior to the conflict, Germany was Europe's economic powerhouse, driven by strong industrial production and export-led growth. A key factor in this success was its reliance on relatively inexpensive Russian energy, with more than 40 percent of its natural gas imports coming from Russia, providing German industries with a competitive edge in global markets due to low energy costs.[38] Following the conflict, under U.S. leadership, the European Union imposed sanctions on Russia, including measures targeting energy imports. These actions have pushed Germany and other EU nations to sever their reliance on Russian energy, instead sourcing expensive alternatives like liquefied natural gas (LNG) from the United States.[39] While these sanctions aligned Europe more closely with U.S. grand strategy, they have inflicted severe economic consequences on Germany, costing its economy 107 billion USD.[40] The United States, meanwhile, has largely benefited, increasing its energy exports to Europe while attracting European firms to the U.S. due to the high energy costs in Europe compared to the United States.[41] Furthermore, threatened by Russian revanchism and spurred by an incoming U.S. president's demand for NATO members to increase military spending, European countries are undergoing rearmament that will benefit U.S. defence firms, further strengthening the Trans-Atlantic alliance.[42]

Taking advantage of the war and its debtor status, U.S. corporations are acquiring significant stakes in Ukraine, the traditional breadbasket of Europe, by consolidating Ukrainian agricultural land.[43] Coupled with this are U.S. investments, which have further bought up Ukraine's agribusiness. This has made Ukraine's economy captive to U.S. financial interests, fulfilling the wider American geostrategic imperative of control over Eurasia and its natural resources.

CONCLUSION

The United States had accomplished through economic policy what Germany militarily could not do in two world wars: control over Europe. Leveraging its economic might, the United States

38 Christoph Hasselbach, "Ukraine-Russia war triggers major German policy changes" (DW, 2022) par.16.

39 Aly Blakeway, "US LNG supply continues to dominate European imports in 2024" (S&P Global) par.1.

40 "Ukraine war costs Germany's economy €100 billion" (DW, 2023) par.3.

41 "Can Europe liberate itself from US dominance?" (Global Times, 2023) par.7.

42 Matej Kandrik, "Europe Races to Rearm as Russian Menace Nears" (CEPA, 2024) par.10.

43 Frederic Mousseau and Eve Devillers "War and Theft, the Takeover of Ukraine's Agricultural Land" (The Oakland Institute, 2023) 8.

came to dominate Europe, systematically dismantling its overseas empires and rebuilding the continent in its image to fulfil an imperial ambition. Because of the war in Ukraine, the relationship between Europe and the United States is now reminiscent of what occurred in the First World War, with the United States lending vast sums to a European belligerent and an incoming U.S. president who vows a return to the protectionism of the past. In the event of a Ukrainian victory or defeat, who will foot this bill, and will America's new protectionism change its economic hegemony over Europe?

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THE STATE OF NEW YORK
EXCELSIOR
The Stonewall Inn
The events that began at the Stonewall Inn in 1969 marked a monumental change for lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender and queer (LGBTQ) Americans. Stonewall, which occupied 51-53 Christopher Street, was a gay bar that was raided on June 28, 1969. Patrons and a crowd outside resisted, and confrontations continued over the next few nights in nearby Christopher Park and on adjacent streets. This uprising catalyzed the LGBTQ civil rights movement, resulting in increased visibility for the community that continues to resonate in the struggle for equality.
New York State Historic Site
2016

Policing Protests and the Media

Villainization of Stonewall "Riots" in American News Media

Lisa Marie Tontodonati

DEDICATION

To my dearest friends and sister, Cassandra Pasquantonio, Julia Roul, and Selina Tontodonati, Thank you for giving me the confidence and support that I need to put my writing out into the world. I love you, and I hope this is one of many accomplishments we can celebrate together.

The Stonewall uprising[1] was a series of protests sparked by a police raid of the Stonewall Bar and Inn on June 28th, 1969.[2] The Stonewall Inn, located in New York's Greenwich village, was a bar that provided a space for the 2SLGBTQ+[3] community to

1 Please note terminology used will include uprising or protest to describe the Stonewall "riots" as it better represents the history of the 2SLGBTQ+ community

2 Simon Hall, "The American Gay Rights Movement and Patriotic Protest," Journal of the History of Sexuality 19, no. 3 (2010), 545.

3 This paper will use the term 2SLGBTQ+ to refer to any queer identifying person at the time of the Stonewall protests. This term was not common vernacular in the 1960s. Instead, terms such as gay, lesbian or homophile were commonly used. However, 2SLGBTQ+ will be used for the purposes of this paper for greater respect of the identities of all parties involved.

escape the greater societal oppression they faced.[4] The police raid of Stonewall was one of many police invasions into 2SLGBTQ+ spaces, highlighting the criminalization and villainization of the community. The protests should therefore be understood as part of a greater response to police brutality, oppression, and invasion of community spaces, rather than an individual event.[5] Stonewall has been viewed through many lenses and perspectives, however its most significant transformation has been from its early portrayal as a violent riot to its more contemporary place as a symbol of pride.[6] The initial response to the protests, as reflected in American newspapers, was often a negative reaction to the community's violent fight against authorities.[7] Following the protests, the police produced a narrative of the 2SLGBTQ+ community as aggressive and a danger to the public. By perpetuating an overarching narrative in partnership with mass news outlets, the police and media took advantage of existing negative views of 2SLGBTQ+ peoples, unjustly portraying the community and their spaces as an aggressive threat to American society and cementing the early image of Stonewall as a violent "riot" rather than a justified protest against police brutality.

Examining how law enforcement was used to regulate and criminalize 2SLGBTQ+ peoples in the mid-20th century is crucial for understanding the context behind the Stonewall uprising. In the context of the late 1950s to early 60s, many laws in the United States were discriminatory towards members of the 2SLGBTQ+ community.[8] Most American states implemented laws banning sodomy to criminalize any same sex intimacy or same sex relationships.[9] Horrifically, sentencing for sodomy in New York in 1950 included mandatory "treatment" for their sexuality, forcing the accused to be labelled as a patient for their sexuality and enter institutions that would treat them as mentally unwell.[10] If treatment was refused or deemed ineligible, the accused would face jail time.[11] The existence of said laws directly discriminated against 2SLGBTQ+ individuals and often resulted in severe punishments. Groups such as the Mattachine Society, an early national gay rights organization in the

4 Hall, 545-550.

5 Nicola Field, "'They've lost that wounded look': Stonewall and the struggle for LGBT+ rights," Critical and Radical Social Work 6, no. 1 (2018), 43.

6 Elizabeth Armstrong and Suzanna Crage, "Movements and Memory:The Making of the Stonewall Myth", American Sociological Review 71, no. 5 (2006), 724.

7 Ibid, 737.

8 Hall, "American Gay Rights Movement", 541- 543.

9 David Carter, Stonewall:The Riots That Sparked The Gay Revolution (New York: St Martin's Press, 2004), 1-15.

10 George Painter.The Sensibilities of Our Forefathers: The History of Sodomy Laws in the United States. Sodomy Laws, 2001.

11 Painter, "The Sensibilities", 1.

United States, were crucial to making public the unfair laws and enforcement during this time, with their organization starting to protect and give voice to the community in 1950.[12] In 1964, the Mattachine Society published a public report, Penalties for Sex Offenses in the United States, revealing the harsh sentences for these crimes, which included a fine of up to $1000 or time in jail.[13] Additional laws targeted towards the community included offenses such as making it illegal to sell alcohol to 2SLGBTQ+ people.[14] This created further stereotyping resulting in difficulties for community gathering in social spaces. Alternative community spaces such as the Stonewall Bar and Inn began to operate as a safer space. However, creating laws criminalizing same sex relations or restricting gays and lesbians allowed for the negative stereotyping of the larger community and made 2SLGBTQ+ individuals vulnerable to violence from the public and police.

Preceding and on the night of the protests, police went beyond the outlined means of enforcement, using unnecessary and violent tactics against the community. Personal accounts from many members of the community have revealed the tactics used by police non exhaustively as extortion, beating, harassment and public humiliation in the raiding of spaces like Stonewall. Prominent lesbian scholar and activist, Joan Nestle, reported on police violence and brutality within her own community spaces during the early 1960's. In many of her reports, Nestle states that in a lesbian bar, the Sea Colony, women faced sexual violence from officers sent to raid the bar.[15] Police during these raids often committed acts that were overtly illegal in any other context, demonstrated by the sexual violence countless women faced at the Sea Colony.[16] The police were able to engage in illegal behaviour as a result of the previously mentioned criminality of the community. An interview with community member, Mark Segal, recounted how the police "harassed the queens as much as they could,"[17] and stole money from Stonewall patrons before the outbreak of the riot. Perspectives such as Segal's failed to appear in stories from major news outlets at the time of the uprising, as specific actions of police were often shielded from scrutiny and omitted by the mass American media.[18] Due to the lack of protection for 2SLGBTQ+ peoples at the time, there was little to no support for victims of these police raids. Despite this, unnecessary tactics and

12 Hall, "American Gay Rights Movement", 541.

13 Mattachine Society, "Penalties for Sex Offenses", 1.

14 Carter, "Stonewall: The Riots", 80.

15Gwendolyn Stegall, 48-52 Eighth Avenue Manhattan, Sea Colony. (NYC LGBT Historic Sites Project, 2018), 1.

16 Stegall, "Sea Colony", 1.

17 "Mark Segal Interview" by Christopher Gioia, Stonewall: Riot, Rebellion, Activism and Identity. February, 2017.

18 Field, "They've lost that wounded look", 37.

violent raids were a common occurrence for the community, becoming one of the primary drivers for protest at Stonewall.[19]

The culmination of the injustices and frustration faced by the community can be seen in the events of the Stonewall protests themselves. Personal accounts of the uprising against police vary, however it is confirmed they began with a raiding of Stonewall Bar and Inn. On June 28th 1969, New York police began a raid of Stonewall Bar and Inn on the grounds that the bar was illegally serving alcohol to members of the 2SLGBTQ+ community.[20] According to patrons, this raid included unjust means of enforcement such as extortion, harassment and further violence on behalf of police.21 Patrons at the bar and members of the community impacted by police treatment began crowding the bar in protest to police presence and actions.[22] Their protest against the longstanding mistreatment of the community escalated, with throwing of objects, barricading of the bar, fights, and further struggle with police.[23] Police then used means such as arrest and Tactical Patrol Force to attempt to quell the uprising.[24] The protests themselves lead to the arrests and sentencing of the involved 2SLGBTQ+ peoples. Following the Stonewall uprising, other protests began to take place, fighting for the rights of the community and speaking against the treatment they faced. News outlets began reporting on the protests, later in the same day and throughout the week.

The newspaper media published by larger outlets which followed the protests only further supported the police brutality at the scene of the Stonewall, seemingly ignoring the perspectives of the patrons. The lack of voices from patrons of the bar and participants in the protest was an intentional use of mass media to manipulate opinions about the community. Regardless of the violence perpetuated by police, news articles written about Stonewall instead spoke about the violence of the patrons themselves during and after the raid. A story from the Press and Sun-Bulletin, a daily newspaper serving the area around Birmingham, New York, used inappropriate and criminalizing language as it focused on the Stonewall as an unlicensed premise, portraying the force used as necessary.[25] By association, many establishments and patrons became published in the news as illegal, altering views of the community on a large scale.[26] Stories justifying the raid of communities created a negative image meant to spark fear of the community. This narrative perpetuated in the media only

19 Field, 42-44.

20 Hall, "American Gay Rights Movement", 545.

21 Hall, 545-546.

22 Hall, 545-546.

23 Ibid.

24 Hall, 545.

25 Press and Sun- Bulletin. Police Injured In Liquor Raid. Newspapers by Ancestry, 1969.

26 Field, "They've lost that wounded look", 37.

worsened the stigma around the protests and community, ignoring the injustices of the system itself. Language and imagery of the community such as articles from the New York Times were present in many media pieces in 1969 that were released about the uprising. The 1969 New York Times article titled 4 Policemen Hurt in 'Village' Raid speaks to the injuries police reported receiving from the protest.[27] The article is exemplary of the media's manipulation of language and story to achieve the desired narrative of the police. The media aided in framing police as victims of unnecessary violence claiming they simply evicted patrons before retaliation. In juxtaposition to the police, the New York Times chose to describe the actions of patrons as a rampage.[28] This article is crucial to understanding how the police were inaccurately posed as innocent. The use of news outlets to pose the community as threatening became a common theme within articles written about the Stonewall protests that evening, only presenting a one sided story from a police perspective.[29]

In news outlets that covered the stories of the protests, another technique that the media took advantage of was the photography of the Stonewall uprising. The implementation of imagery to tell the story of the uprising allowed news outlets to portray police as heroic. Many of the images taken by news outlets from the evening of the Stonewall protests emphasized the actions taken against police officers.[30] One particular photo published in a story by a newspaper called New York Daily News, became popular for its imagery of struggle between the police and protesters. The image highlights the police pushing and surrounding rioters away from the bar as they crowd in protest of the raids.[31] (See Figure 1)

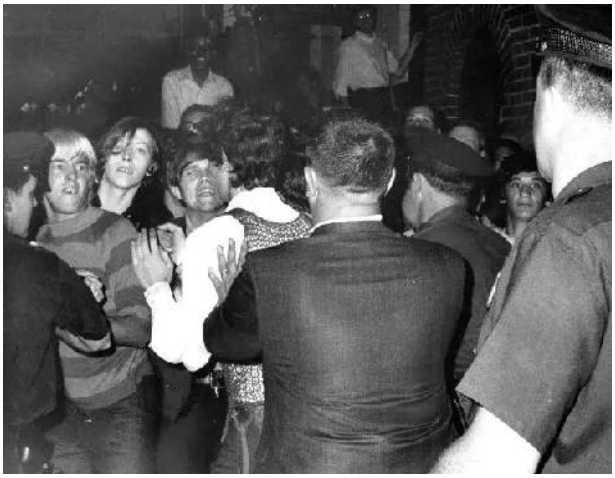

Figure 1.
Ambrosini, Joseph. The Joseph Ambrosini Photo. New York: Out History, 1969.

It was then released within a story titled 3 Cops Hurt As Bar Raid Riles Crowd.[32] Both the image and choice of title work together to create an image of the violent

27 New York Times. 4 Policemen Hurt in 'Village' Raid. ProQuest, 1969.

28 New York Times, 1.

29 Armstrong and Crage, "Movements and Memory", 740.

30 Fred W. Mc Darrah, Pride: Photographs After Stonewall (OR Books, 2018), 15.

31 Ambrosini, Joseph. The Joseph Ambrosini Photo. New York: Out History, 1969.

32 New York Daily News. 3 Cops Hurt As Bar Raid Riles Crowd. Out History, 1969.

crowd against the law enforcement. Similar themes were present in other newspapers released reporting on the uprising with images featuring the comparison between the police and the 2SLGBTQ+ community. Images of the scene used to villainize the community did not include the actions of the police raid before the protests and grouped together all rioters as a threat.[33] Images of Stonewall became an important icon of the protests that would symbolize the community in the news media. According to professor Hilton Als in an article he wrote for The New Yorker, photographs of the 2SLGBTQ+ community during Stonewall represent a "exchange of ideas".[34] The mass media chose specific photographs that prey upon present biases to further tell their story and shape opinion on the uprising. The photograph from the New York Daily News reciprocates a singular perspective on the protests which is then translated to the public. The large reception to the image further supported the narrative which hid police brutality in the name of criminalization.

The protests following the uprising were covered by large news outlets and, notably by news outlets created by activists, would later feature photography as a way to develop a story of protest.[35] In other images from the community that followed Stonewall, there is less of a police centered focus, that displays a more holistic image of the bar and the community.[36] In an image by Fred W. McDarrah, members of the community rally around Stonewall as a symbol of resistance in a less confrontational manner.[37](See Figure 2) This is one of many images taken after the raids, that reflects a sense of community and displays Stonewall for its true intentions of being a protest against discrimination.[38]

Hilton Als also comments that Mc Darrah's photography during the riots allowed for the stories of the 2SLGBTQ+ community to be "exhumed and examined"[39] by the public. Hilton's commentary reflects upon the space for change that new photography in news media created, with compassion for the community's experiences.[40] Comparison between these images is reflective of the intentionality behind picking specific imagery to represent the community's protests. Images can be a powerful tool to create a one sided narrative when released by influential news outlets. The combination of images presented by the police only further sheds light on the story they told.

33 McDarrah, "Pride: Photographs", 15-17.

34 Hilton Als, "Gay Pride and Stonewall, Through the Eyes of Fred W. McDarrah" The New Yorker, June 20th, 2019.

35 Mc Darrah, 15-17.

36 Ibid.

37 Mc Darrah, Fred W. Stonewall Celebrations. New York: Getty Images, 1969.

38 Mc Darrah, "Pride: Photographs", 15-17.

39 Als, "Gay Pride and Stonewall", 1.

40 Als, 1.

Figure 2.
Figure 2. Mc Darrah, Pride: Photographs, 15-17.

The media's selective choices are most apparent when studying the wider activism movement before Stonewall, and why the media chose to specifically report violent outbreaks. The Stonewall protests were among many other forms of protest and activism used by the community in their fight against discrimination. Many other efforts made by 2SLGBTQ+ rights movements received little attention from police and were largely peaceful.[41] Before the uprising, the community had used techniques such as the publication of their own papers through the Mattachine Society.[42] Other organizations such as the Janus Society and the Daughters of Bilits also held public demonstrations that received less attention than the protests in 1965.[43] While these forms of protest are of great importance to the 2SLGBTQ+ rights movement, the media chose to highlight Stonewall. Stonewall stood out amongst past protests as a violent, largescale, act of defiance to police authority which allowed them to create an attention capturing narrative.[44] Scholars such as Elizibeth Armstrong and Suzanne Crage, who study public memory attest to the strong narrative of the uprising. According to Armstrong and Crage, media outlets used the violent nature of the event and the institution of trusted news sources to change the orientation of the community to the public eye.[45] In orientation to the police, the rioters were seen as illegal, beneath, and above all else, a dangerous threat. From this the media and police are able to create a character of the 2SLGBTQ+ community to push opinions of government and regular citizens, therefore undermining the rights they had been fighting for, long before Stonewall had begun.[46] Many 2SLGBTQ+ activists began creating new media that

41 Hall, "American Gay Rights Movement", 541-543.

42 Hall, 541.

43 Hall, 540.

44 Armstrong and Crage, "Movements and Memory", 736-738.

45 Armstrong and Crage, 737.

46 Armstrong and Crage, 736-738.

challenged the limited labels placed upon the police narrative. Newspapers like Come Out were popularized within the community, reframing Stonewall as a fight for freedom and a celebration of joy in the community.[47] Due to the creation of new media, the hypocrisy of the police was able to be combatted through a revitalized telling of the protests.

Since the Stonewall uprising, many 2SLGBTQ+ activists have shaped the movement from a narrative of criminality to a celebration of freedom and acceptance. Through the reclamation of experiences, labels and rights, the protests now often represent a vibrant parade when discussed in new media.[48] Although the narrative was able to change, it is still important to examine the roots of pride and its initial perception, to evaluate the community's relationship with police today and how they are represented in news outlets. The actions of police and media outlets are still widely remembered, and often create discourse surrounding police presence at modern pride parades today.[49] The protection of community spaces has become a longstanding priority due to the violence and brutality faced in the past. By evaluating narratives such as that of law enforcement and American news outlets at Stonewall, the importance of protecting the 2SLGBTQ+ and other communities, where their rights can be reinforced. In essence, examining police-influenced narratives which were empowered by news media of the Stonewall protests presents a valuable opportunity to evaluate methods of oppression against the 2SLGBTQ+ community, and sparked resistance in the face of oppression, which would later turn into a celebration of pride.

47 Armstrong and Crage, 738.

48 Field, "They've lost that wounded look", 46-48.

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The Stonewall Inn
LOVE CONQUERS HATE
#orlando
JUNE 12th 2016
SAY THEIR NAMES
DAD TO MY SON
Love You More
NYC

The Fears and Negative Impacts of Middle-Class Citizens on Prostitutes in Victorian London

Brittany Reimer

Prostitution, the oldest profession in the world. Working-class women and prostitutes in Victorian London faced many challenges and fears throughout their daily lives. Victorian social ideals were often set by the middle-class who expected all working-class Londoners to maintain the status quo. Many of these ideals related to what was viewed as acceptable in relation to sex, sexuality, and gender. Women were expected to maintain a respectable performance of femininity and uninterest in sex, those who did not conform to this were labeled as uncivilized and compared to prostitutes, and what happened to prostitutes was viewed as proper punishment for not being appropriate women. Women who dared to exit their sphere of private homely existence for the allure of a life in a public space were accepting the dangers of the city.[1] Many thoughts and fears of prostitution existed in different ways throughout Victorian London, it was not suddenly with the murders committed by Jack the Ripper that prostitution was a conversation within society. Fears of "white slavery" and child prostitution were common throughout Victorian London. These resulted in the involvement of middle-class white women to respectfully remove prostitutes from the streets, and into the churches where they could be saved and learn to act properly, according to middle-class ideals.[2] It becomes apparent when studying the events and relations of Victorian London and prostitution that many of the middle-class reformers devoted to saving these prostitute women, were more concerned with creating a civilized society according to their beliefs. Rather than focus on the lives of working-class prostitute women

1 Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 544.

2 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 242.

focus turned to maintaining social, gender, and economic boundaries within Victorian London. This essay will discuss the views of middle-class individuals on prostitution that existed in Victorian London, middle-class action and involvement against prostitution, and sensationalized media stories regarding prostitution resulted in the increased violent and negative involved and controlling nature of the middle-class, especially middle-class women, prostitutes and other poor women in London were faced with far more difficult challenges and stigmas than they had faced previously.

Prostitution was viewed as "a system of unmitigated pollution and woe" in Victorian London.[3] The act of prostitution and being a prostitute were viewed as different concepts. A woman who engaged in prostitution willingly sacrificed her virtue and morality for the sexual desires of a man. This definition was easily challenged however because many women began prostituting for a multitude of different reasons.[4] Prostitutes were heavily looked down upon because they were viewed as the human personification of venereal diseases. It was believed that anyone a prostitute touched would have the mark of death upon them and that prostitutes themselves lived very short lives because of this.[5] In the media at the time prostitutes were seen as women who painted and dressed themselves in a gaudy fashion to carry around deadly diseases to unsuspecting innocent men. These women would then either succumb to their illnesses or commit suicide at a young age. Empathy for prostitutes was dampened through the reminder that they had chosen to become immoral and sell their body for profit through men's sexual desires. Many popular concepts of prostitution in Victorian London framed it as a complex issue with women entering the profession for a myriad of economic and social reasons. Some male authors and professionals tried to paint a grimmer and more dramatic picture of prostitution.[6]

As previously mentioned, many ideas of prostitution existed throughout Victorian London causing fear and pity from the middle-class. One of the main reasons for this fear was the concept of "White Slavery" as discussed by Julia Laite. White Slavery was the fear of "the forced and exploited prostitution of young women within or across national borders".[7] Pimps and traffickers were viewed as predators who were violent in their attempt to sexually exploit women. Traffickers were often described in effeminate ways suggesting that men who were traffickers were weak and pathetic actors in the economic machine which existed to sexually exploit women.[8] The trafficker and pimp's role in trapping and involving a woman in

3 Attwood, Nina. The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain. 3.

4 Attwood, Nina. The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain. 3-4.

5 Attwood, Nina. The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain. 4.

6 Attwood, Nina. The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain. 5.

7 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 242.

8 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 241.

prostitution is what created the idea that they were the main causes of prostitution in Victorian London. Because they were able to trap innocent young women into a shameful lifestyle against their will, and then profit off their exploitation, they were viewed as "the chief cause of a woman's prostitution".[9] Due to the association with men forcing women into prostitution, pimps and traffickers became the legal scapegoat of reformers. Victorian London society now viewed prostitution as a trap that rendered the woman prostitute a victim to be saved from tyrants.[10]

Coinciding with this moral panic regarding prostitution was the rise in middle-class women's involvement in politics and public spheres of life. Discussions of sex increased greatly with many women focusing with politics regarding prostitution and Victorian men's double lives regarding sex and sexuality because middle-class men were seen as the primary target for prostitution. Fears of sexual diseases and the breakdown of respectable society led to fear and action amongst many middle-class women.[11] Middle-class women were able to launch their anti prostitution platform through the lens of stopping middle-class male predatory behavior against women who were forced into prostitution by violent and economically driven pimps and traffickers. The involvement of these middle-class women led to an association of masculinity with hyper sexuality as well as, "a heightened sense of sexual antagonism and reinforced assumptions of sexual difference".[12] Throughout this section of her book, Walkowitz ensures to emphasize her point that while middle-class women were entering into a new sphere of society and utilizing many new forms of media and information, their motivators and goals were not focused upon the prostitutes themselves. They focus instead remained upon how to best protect their comfortable lifestyle without causing too much mingling between prostitutes and middle class society. Many middle-class women in London feared that because of prostitutes, eligible middle-and upper-class men would postpone getting married because they already had access to sex without marriage.[13]

With changing leisure hobbies, such as shopping, middle-class women feared being confused for prostitutes. They were so concerned that instructions were provided on how to properly go out shopping to avoid a man assuming they were a prostitute and approaching them. They were advised to not spend too long on the street while shopping and to avoid looking into the windows of stores for too long

9 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 242.

10 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 243.

11 Walkowitz, Judith R. "City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London." 22.

12 Walkowitz, Judith R. "City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London." 23.

13 Attwood, Nina. The Prostitute's Body: Rewriting Prostitution in Victorian Britain. 6.

because it could give a man an opportunity to approach them. Another piece of advice was to not touch or speak to a man because he could mistake a woman for a prostitute if they did that. Women were expected to portray themselves in a respectable way, being instructed on how to move, pace, and gesture to "show that she was not available prey".[14] The negative middle-class view of prostitutes as an undesirable "other" from their social and individual lives meant that middle-class women would go out of their way to avoid being associated with prostitution.

The increased involvement of women in politics led to many reformers and politicians pushing through bills to protect prostitutes based on the protests of these middle-class women. While laws against owning brothels and prostitution had existed previously it was not until 1885 that the Criminal Law Amendment (White Slave Traffic) Act was passed which made it illegal to traffic a woman for the purposes of making her a prostitute. It was a law that applied both to taking women into the country and removing women from the country. While this is important because it was the first time that sex trafficking was declared a crime, the definition of the crime was extremely narrow and excluded women who were prostitutes or women who were of a "known immoral character".[15] After the 1898 Vagrancy Act made it illegal for a man to live off of a prostitute's earnings, societal images regarding what a vagrant was began to appear. Men working in businesses that were seen as walking the line between legal and illegal became closely watched. This applied to men who were club and restaurant owners, or corrupt police and lawyers to just name a few. Any man who could be profiting off of a prostitute was heavily looked down upon.[16] With these acts it is important to note that none of them existed to explicitly protect a woman who was a prostitute. They sought to target and punish the men associated with female prostitution but did not protect the woman after. Many of the men who were traffickers and pimps were also closely associated with the women that they made prostitutes making the criminality and the prosecution of these cases far more complex.[17] These connections meant that, in the case of women being brought to London from elsewhere in the world, when the pimp or trafficker was arrested the woman could be left in a more dangerous position.

As stated, these laws were passed because of political and social pressure created by middle-class Londoners, mostly women, who sought to better society. Religion had a large role to do with this involvement. White middle-class women were heavily involved in social projects throughout the

14 Walkowitz, Judith R. "City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London." 23.

15 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 243.

16 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 244.

17 Laite, Julia. "Traffickers and Pimps in the Era of White Slavery." 245.

18 Ross, Ellen. Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920. 3.

slums of East-End Victorian London.[18] Many of the middle-class women who were involved in work in the slums were women who were not able to exercise control over many other areas of their lives.[19] Throughout the late 19th century many Christian church groups sought to expand their role in accelerating efforts to appeal to working-class Londoners. Christianity was waning throughout the Commonwealth and there was a push to expand it within London because many working-class Londoner's did not have the time to practice religion in the same way that the middle and upper classes did.[20] Working with the poor also offered a way of soothing middle-class guilt. New social reforms, like mandatory schooling, meant that many middle- and upper-class Londoners, who had previously ignored the wealth disparity within London, had to face the poverty that existed in their city head on.[21] Middle-class women who were involved with slumming or interested in charity for the poor were often most interested in the problems that impacted poor women and children rather than men. Interestingly, they often did not want to be involved with prostitutes because that was viewed as a man's topic to cover in slumming. This focus on women's issues did lead to the change in mindset from having to protect the male customer to having to protect the female indentured prostitute.[22]

Alongside this focus of criminality and prostitution was the focus on male violence. These led to a movement to "civilize society" because the immorality in London had led it to become uncivilized.[23] While the main focus of this push was to stop violent acts committed by men, it had the effect of changing how crimes and gender were supposed to be presented amongst respectable London society.[24] Violent crimes began to be associated with the violent and erratic nature of working-class men, not the civilized nature of upper- and middle-class men. Similarly violent crimes became completely disassociated with femininity. Women who were accused of a crime and did not properly perform their feminine gender in an acceptable middle class way were condemned both by the press and the court.[25] This put working- and middle-class individuals in court at odds because pre-existing notions about class and gender heavily impacted how defendants and plaintiffs were viewed within the court after committing or being accused of committing a crime. Working-class women in courts who were accused of a crime were often linked with very masculine

19 *Ross, Ellen. Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920. 4.*

20 *Ross, Ellen. Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920. 7.*

21 *Ross, Ellen. Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920. 8.*

22 *Ross, Ellen. Slum Travelers: Ladies and London Poverty, 1860–1920. 12.*

23 *August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 845.*

24 *August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 846.*

25 *August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 847.*

characteristics which were associated with prostitution.[26] Newspapers would describe working-class women who had been drinking at night as an "unfortunate" which was a euphemism for prostitution. This again linked working-class women's crimes and policing to prostitution and immorality in Victorian Londoner's eyes.[27] Other women in courts who were able to properly portray their gender were viewed far more positively in the news and media, thus separating themselves from accusations of prostitution. This separation led to the additional effort of removing prostitutes from London's streets to further "civilizing" efforts.[28]

In Victorian London working-class men and women were the most heavily policed.[29] Working-class women were arrested on inflated charges when suspected of prostitution. In the case of Elizabeth Cass, a woman working as a dressmaker who was arrested on charges of soliciting for the purposes of prostitution when out walking at night, she was threatened by the police court. After her boss testified for her and no evidence could be found in favor of her arrest, she was released but was told that she could not walk around at night again because "if she was an honest girl… she would not walk in Regent Street at night".[30] There were fears over corrupt police and when the officer who arrested Cass was sent to trial for perjury, it was Cass's personal history that was dug up and discussed during the trial.[31] It is argued that the actions of the police and of the courts regarding Cass's case, "probably contributed to the belief among many members of the working-class that there was one law for the rich and another for the poor".[32] Articles released at the time like Buchanan's Journal of Man discussed the outrage that many citizens felt against the violence and brutality that Cass faced. Working-class women were at the mercy of local police, they could be arrested at any moment even if they had not done anything outside of the lines of society. Furthering this was the fears that police could create evidence. The police were not only quick to create, inflate, or corroborate evidence they also defended the officers who were accused of being immoral or acting in

26 August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 861.

27 August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 865.

28 August, Andrew. "A Horrible Looking Woman: Female Violence in Late-Victorian East London." 868

29 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 115.

30 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 115.

31 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 116.

32 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 117.

inappropriate ways by committing these actions.[33] The question of bribery was even raised regarding the police in London as it was stated that the reason Cass was arrested was because she refused to pay the 6d a night bribe that the officer demanded of her.[34]

In Victorian London fears also existed about the court systems. There were fears that magistrates were naturally biased, inclined to accept the charges and evidence presented by the police. While this was not necessarily true because every magistrate had their own views of the police and of the crimes that were being presented, it was still a dominant belief that existed at the time.[35] Court cases regarding prostitution very rarely outwardly referred to a woman as a prostitute. Many times, women were charged with pickpocketing or other forms of theft and their profession as a prostitute would be used as proof against them. In the 1830 case of Eliza Prothero, she was accused of trying to seduce a carpenter to steal his watch and money. James Harvard said that he was on the same terms with Prothero as any man would be with a prostitute and that they had known each other for many years and numerous encounters before this incident. Harvard accused Prothero of providing him with alcohol until he was drunk and then trying to seduce him which resulted in Harvard falling and losing some money and his watch. Harvard and his witness later went on to state that Prothero was violent towards them when they returned for Harvard's watch and that she was well known for her prostitution. She was found guilty of "pocket picking" and was sent to Australia for her crime.[36] In the case against Eliza Prothero many of the main points and pieces of evidence used against her were in relation to prostitution or un-feminine actions. This is just one example of the many court cases that occurred throughout Victorian London against women who were associated with prostitution which resulted in an extremely harsh punishment against them.

When discussing concerns about prostitution in Victorian London it is difficult to avoid the events of the Jack the Ripper murders, which resulted in the deaths of at least five working class East End women in London. Tabloids in London were growing in popularity, and also growing in their power of sensationalizing news.[37] Whitechapel was an area of London that was known for housing the outcasts of London. It was viewed as a

33 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 118.

34 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 119.

35 Taylor, David. "Cass, Coverdale and Consent: The Metropolitan Police and Working-Class Women in Late-Victorian London." 121.

36 Prothero, Eliza "Theft: Pocketpicking." The Proceedings of the Old Bailey.

37 Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 546.

very poor and rough area that was foreign and scary to West Enders.[38] The murders were fascinating to middle-class observers because they were gruesome yet a mystery. They exemplified what West Enders viewed prostitutes and the poor in London as, dirty sexual objects being taken advantage of by men.[39] But the murders also provided a new image of the East End and Whitechapel because while the murders were gruesome and sensationalized, they were also at the heart of everyday life. The women's bodies were discovered by everyday people coming and going from their houses or work. Whitechapel was viewed as a terrifying place to be, but it was also the home of many working-class Londoners at the time.[40] These images created by tabloids intending to sensationalize the events of the autumn of 1888 were directly inspired by previously established views of Whitechapel and the East End prior to the murders. These were then amplified and spread across the West End which further confirmed their middle-class fears of the dangers and immorality that existed within the working-class district of Victorian London.

With this interest in Jack the Ripper and the violence working-class women faced came the violence that many women came to deal with because of these new sensationalized stories. The murders of the five victims did not necessarily increase the number of violent attacks against women, but it did provide an excuse for violent men to abuse women of all classes. According to Walkowitz it "provoked sexual antagonism in different classes". Because of the imagery and stories that permeated so much of Victorian London life at the time, Jack the Ripper's violence against women was never far out of line. Husbands could threaten their wives that they would meet the same fate as the five victims, and little boys of the playground would threaten their classmates the same way.[41] Women reacted in varying ways but were all aware of their personal vulnerability because of their gender. Some women moved in larger groups during the day and ensured to stay inside at night, others did not alter their daily routine, and barely resisted to the increased threat of male violence that they faced as working-class women.[42] Even with this interest in Jack the Ripper, and the fear it instilled in women throughout London of all social classes, very few went forward to defend prostitutes as human beings deserving of individual rights and liberties. The view of prostitutes as an "other" separate from other working-class women meant that they were still not focused upon as the women who needed to be protected.[43] The attacks brought focus to the sensationalized nature of violence against sexualized women but did not

38 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 547.*
39 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 551.*
40 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 548.*
41 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 563.*
42 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 564.*
43 *Walkowitz, Judith R. "Jack the Ripper and the Myth of Male Violence." 567.*

spark a movement to protect these women from being sexualized.

The overly controlling and involved nature of Victorian London's middle-class resulted in many middle-class women becoming involved in social and political movements. They began this involvement to restrict the impact of prostitution on their lives when prostitution began to threaten the lifestyles of middle-class Victorian Londoners. This middle-class involvement to restrict and end prostitution meant that prostitutes were at the center of Victorian London's discussions but the prostitutes themselves did not have a seat at the table. Prostitutes were both infantilized and villainized by the middle-class resulting in their alienation and "othering" from Victorian society; they were no longer just working-class women; they were their own separate group. Even with the middle-class involvement in politics and social efforts the solutions being presented were not created to directly benefit the prostitutes. Instead, they resulted in the over policing and wrongful convictions of many women. Finally, the sensationalized nature of the Jack the Ripper murders in 1888 led to the normalization of violence against women, especially working-class women, and prostitutes, within Victorian London. The solutions and reactions to prostitution problems within Victorian London failed to center the lives of prostitutes and create mindset that grew during the Victorian Era in London.

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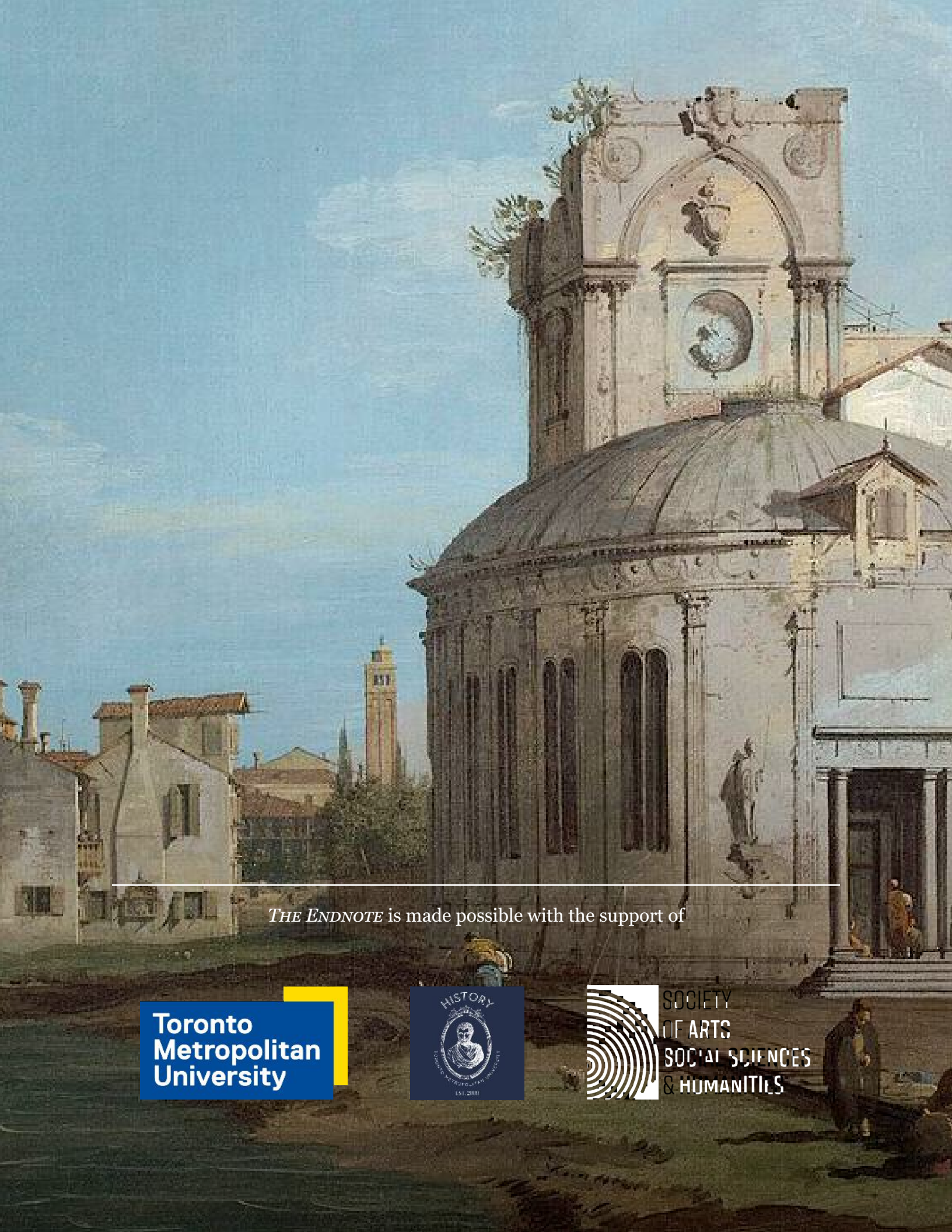

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