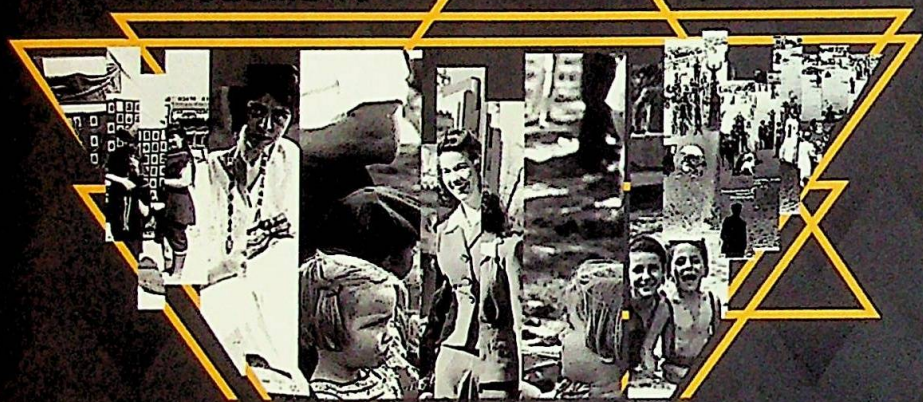


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NOTE FROM DEPARTMENT CHAIR

CHRISTIAN J. KOOT

It is a pleasure and a privilege to recognize the hard work and commitment of the many students and faculty who have contributed to the 2019 edition of the Towson University Journal of Historical Studies.

Since the first edition of the journal appeared in the Spring of 1998 under the initiative and leadership of student-editor Ms. Shannon Stevens, the journal has published some of the finest work in history by Towson University students. A student-directed publication, the journal testifies to the energy, direction, and commitment of Towson University History students, especially those who are members of the History Honors Society, Phi Alpha Theta, Theta Beta chapter. This year's edition was admirably led by editor Ms. Veronica Robb.

Faculty have played a key role in assisting, advising, and mentoring the student editorial staff. Dr. Karl Larew provided critical support for the launch of the journal and the continuing work and dedication of Theta-Beta Chapter advisor Dr. Benjamin Zajicek, and especially of journal faculty advisor Dr. Patricia Anderson, have helped maintain a strong record of accomplishment for the journal.

Working together, students and faculty, have realized an important achievement, one that reflects well upon the Department of History and Towson University. The articles in this volume make evident the intellect, writing skills, and determination of Towson students. Congratulations on the great success of your efforts!

Christian J. Koot
Professor and Chair
Department of History
Towson University

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

SOPHIA ZAHNER

Dear Reader,

Firstly, thank you so much for taking the time to read our journal. The Towson Journal of Historical Studies is one of few research journals showcasing current undergraduate work in history. As a current undergraduate, I understand the desire to showcase one's hard work in a public forum; however, I also understand on many college campuses these opportunities are extremely limited. Therefore, I could not be prouder of Towson University and the Towson University History Department for offering students the opportunity to publish their work in a published journal. The Towson community has been so incredibly supportive of the Towson Journal of Historical Studies, and I know how thankful the many contributors are for this support.

I have had the privilege to work on the Journal for the last three years and as the editor last year. During those three years, I have watched the journal develop in incredible ways. Specifically, in the last year under Veronica's editorship, the Journal has embarked on an entirely new chapter (pardon my pun) of its history. With the addition of the photo essay and the restructuring of its design, the Journal has received a much-needed update to appeal to the modern community. As the outgoing editor, I am so happy to have seen the Journal prosper under the guidance of Veronica. I look forward to a bright future for the journal. As a graduating senior, I am happy and excited to see the Towson Journal of Historical Studies steadily progressing into an amazing publication of undergraduate research in history.

Although focused on history, the Journal refuses to be stuck in the past.

Happy reading!

Sincerely,
Sophia Zahner

NOTE FROM THE EDITOR

VERONICA ROBB

Dear Reader,

For the 2019 Towson Journal of Historical Studies, we are proud to showcase four incredible undergraduate authors featuring a wide breadth of topics. Grace Hotung, Ian Lazarenko, Andrew Semenza, and Jordyn Saltzman each created thoughtful and well-researched papers that displayed a masterful grasp of both research and writing skills. In addition to the four research papers included, the journal is also proud to feature its first photo essay, dutifully curated by Sara Cantler, a member of the editing board. Thanks to a generous allocation by the History Department Chair, Dr. Christian Koot, the journal will include photos to accompany every paper in addition to the photo essay on American summer leisure activities.

The Towson Journal of Historical Studies would not be where it is today without the support of Towson University and its professors and students. The professors in the Towson History Department have consistently provided support for the journal since its creation, and this year was no exception. I would also like to thank all of those who submitted essays for this edition, it was an honor to read such excellent work. As an undergraduate research journal, student support is vital for our continuation. I would like to personally thank Sophia Zahner and Sara Cantler for their assistance in creating this year's edition of the journal. As the editor for the 2018 edition of the journal, Sophia Zahner brought invaluable knowledge of the editing and publishing process. While this was Sara Cantler's first year as an editor on the journal, she has more than proven her capabilities as both an editor and the lead graphic designer for the journal.

I would also like to extend my gratitude to our faculty advisor, Dr. Patricia Anderson, who guided us through this process with grace and care. This journal would be lost without the hard work and dedication from these three women, and I know the journal will be in the capable hands of next year's editor, Sara Cantler.

In editing this journal, we were privileged to review some of the best work that Towson's students had to offer, and we hope you enjoy this collection of essays.

TOWSON JOURNAL OF HISTORICAL STUDIES

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FEATURE ARTICLES



Harding del.

Clamp sc.

D^r WILL^m GILBERT,

Physician to Q^{ueen} Elizabeth.

From an Original Picture in the Bodleian Library Oxford.

Engr. May 1796 by S^r R. Harding Pall Mall.

William Gilbert (1544–1603), English physicist whose pioneering research recognized the Earth's magnetic field. (Bodleian Library, Oxford.)

Magnets, Magic, and the Work
of William Gilbert

Introduction

The existence of magnetism has been known to humankind since at least 500 BCE, when Thales pondered the seemingly animate nature of the lodestone. Since then, magnetism's attractive power has been harnessed for a variety of purposes. The magnetic compass has been used in Chinese Feng Shui and fortune telling since the Han Dynasty, around 200 BCE. Several centuries later, it started to be used for navigation as well. In Medieval Europe, lodestones were made into powder to cure all kinds of ailments, from arrow wounds to conflicts between husbands and wives. But although magnetism had been used since early history, it took a very long time before anyone knew that it was not a property of lodestone alone – that there was in fact a vast magnetic field all around us. Like many scientific discoveries, our knowledge of magnetism increased due to a problem yet unsolved.

In the year 1581, a compass maker and retired mariner named Robert Norman discovered a phenomenon called the magnetic dip, wherein the needle of a compass would mysteriously point downward toward the ground instead of lying flat. This occurrence often caused navigators' compasses to give inaccurate readings – a great concern during the age of exploration, long before everyone had a handheld GPS device in their back pocket. Norman found a way to measure the dip, though its cause was still unknown. However, an esteemed physician who had recently inherited significant wealth would soon devote much of his life to investigating it, and in the process, he would make contributions to the scientific community far beyond this one particular problem. His name was William Gilbert.

Gilbert was born on May 24, 1544 in England, to a well-off merchant family. At age fourteen, he began studying medicine at St. John's College in Cambridge. He received bachelors, masters, and doctoral degrees, and subsequently became a successful physician to the elite of England, most notably Queen Elizabeth I. While continuing to practice medicine, Gilbert used his inherited fortune to undertake extensive research on magnetism. There was an air of skepticism that inhabited European thought during the age of the Renaissance, and Gilbert was certainly not immune to it. Aristotelian philosophy on the natural world prevailed at the time, which placed Earth at the center of the universe – a model that he was taught during his years at St. John's College. Only one year prior to his birth did Nicholas Copernicus revolutionize this theory by introducing the notion of Heliocentrism, which states that all of the planets orbit the sun. In the Copernican model, not only did the Earth revolve around the sun; it spun on its own axis.

Gilbert believed and accepted this theory, though it was not yet part of the dominant school of thought. Even so, he had questions: what was it that kept the Earth in motion? Along with this was the question that surfaced from Robert Norman's 1581 pamphlet on the lodestone: why would the iron needle of a compass be pulled downward? In order to investigate these unexplained phenomena, Gilbert performed experiments using miniature lodestone models of the Earth that he called "terrella," and small metal needles called "versoria," suspended in the air so that they could react to magnetic forces of the terrella spheres. He used this model as a means to study the magnetic dip for eighteen years. By conducting experiments and recording the patterns exhibited by the versoria needles, Gilbert eventually concluded that the Earth itself was a spherical lodestone – a giant magnet – thus explaining the perpetual rotation theory posed by Copernicus.

No one knows exactly how Gilbert reasoned that Norman and Copernicus' ideas were related, the former pertaining to the magnetic compass and the latter to the cosmos. Unfortunately, Gilbert donated many of his books, instruments, journals, and other writings to the College of Physicians in London

where he had been President, all of which were destroyed in the great fire of London in 1666, so there is little available information on his life. Scholars can only speculate as to how he came to study magnetism based on his primary work, *De Magnete*, meaning *On the Lodestone*, which fortunately had been copied down and preserved in other libraries. Many of these scholars draw attention to Gilbert's close relations with mariners and craftsmen, or the use of magnetism in his medical practice as potential influences on his work. But another key (yet perhaps less obvious) influence that led Gilbert to his findings was the occult tradition prevalent during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Despite his reputation as an esteemed scientific mind, many of Gilbert's ideas and methods as presented in *De Magnete* are actually quite unscientific by today's standards. For example, he rejected mathematics as a way to study the natural world and believed that celestial bodies, the Earth included, had souls. On the other hand, Gilbert is still renowned for developing an explanation for the Earth's continuous movement, conducting extensive research on magnetism to substantiate his theories, and making groundbreaking contributions to what we call today, "the scientific method" by using experimentation and actual observation, rather than the more textual methods of his predecessors. In this essay, I set out to explore this juxtaposition between science and magic in Gilbert's studies. Given the correlation between his theories and the occult tradition, Historian Edgar Zilsel boldly asserts: "The resemblance of his magnetic philosophy to modern science is merely a matter of chance."¹ I will not attempt to refute or confirm this claim, but I will determine the role that occultism played in Gilbert's ideas and methodology.

II. On Occultism

Historian of science Mordechai Feingold described the significance of the occult tradition in breeding new scientific modes of thought. According to him,

It is no longer possible for historians interested in the 'scientific revolution' to regard the movement solely in terms of the victory of true and rational scientific ideas

over the scholastic and magical modes of thought circulating in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.²

In other words, scientific discoveries in Gilbert's time were not triumphs over religious or occult ideas, but were often actually born from these ideas. To understand how occult traditions played a role in William Gilbert's scientific research and discoveries, it is first necessary to understand what occultism really meant during this period. What was considered to be occult? What were the attitudes held by the general public and intellectuals towards these things?

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the dichotomy between religion and science that we often find today did not exist in such a distinct manner. In fact, these two opposing arenas heavily overlapped. Occultism fell somewhere within this intersection; it is the study of the natural world through the investigation of the hidden forces or qualities of things, which were said to have been bestowed on them by God. As opposed to "manifest" qualities – tastes, colors, or anything that could be perceived by the senses – hidden, or occult qualities were undetectable, such as the ability of a drug to cure an illness. Magicians during this period were supposed experts on occult qualities, adept at manipulating them for various purposes. However, the use of occultism was not limited to magicians. Scientists Kepler and Galileo drew on astrology, the study of hidden meaning behind celestial bodies, in their own work. Francis Bacon conceived the process of aging as a conflict between vital and inanimate spirits. There is even a complete seven-section Wikipedia article entitled "Isaac Newton's occult studies," detailing his frequent practice of alchemy. But despite these examples, what I have found to be a trend among scientific figures in this era is their aversion to being associated with occultism. Richard S. Westfall, historian and distinguished expert on Newton, explains that although Newton pulled many of his most crucial theories from the alchemical tradition, he "preferred not to publicize his involvement in alchemy."³ Francis Bacon delivered "swingeing attacks on the alchemists, magicians ... and others," despite the evident influence that they had on his work in his "vitalist-animist worldview."⁴ Likewise, William Gilbert tried to distance him-

self from others who study occult forces, asserting that their “statements [obscure] the thing in a greater fog, forsooth in a cryptic, marvelous, abstruse, secret, occult, way.”⁵

It is surprising that these scholars would so starkly denounce occultism if it was not truly at odds with their own ideas. Perhaps the public attitudes toward occultism were not favorable, and these scholars did not want to have their reputations tarnished. I explored this possibility in my research and found that British universities in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries – such as Gilbert’s St. John’s College – constantly reevaluated their attitudes towards various occult sciences. Each year, they held meetings to determine the legality of such studies, implementing changes in the curriculum as the university officials deemed fit. The officials were frequently “expected to argue against the occult sciences, thus reflecting a general cautiousness,” given the fluctuating stance of society and the Church on magic and occultism.⁶ Namely the upper class families who sent students to universities tended to take issue with occult studies because they were considered to be dangerously correlated with the Black Arts, or magic used for evil – which was strictly banned. A letter written by a British aristocrat in 1605, addressed to his grandson, reads: “Now a days, many young scholars give themselves curiously to understand magick and necromancy, whilk are the greatest sins against God that can be.”⁷ So it is possible that the negative perception of occultism in academia is what deterred other scholars from embracing it in their work.

Not all things occult were held in this regard, however. In sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe, thinkers started to adopt practices that would have “previously would have been seen as too occult or too susceptible to the charge of being demonic.”⁸ This was largely due to the many advances in science that brought these occult or hidden qualities into the breadth of human understanding. René Descartes shed light on this phenomenon in his *Principles of Philosophy* (1644), asserting that “there are no qualities which are so occult, no effects of sympathy or antipathy so marvelous or so strange, nor any other thing so rare in nature ... that its reason cannot be given by [the principles of the mechanical philosophy.]”⁹

Prior to this time, Aristotle's world made up of hot, cold, wet, and dry elements could not account for any occult qualities, so they were deemed supernatural, and therefore outside the realm of natural philosophy. Many Aristotelians doubted the human ability to ever comprehend the occult, because "if an entity could not be sensed, then it was unlikely that God wished ordinary men to understand that entity"¹⁰ Attempting to do so, or utilizing such forces as magicians were believed to do, opened the door to the dangerous potential for summoning demons.

Focusing on magnetism specifically, it was generally not associated with evil or Black Arts due to its longstanding use in navigation, but there were many rumors and legends about its occult powers. There were stories about magnetic mountains pulling the screws and bolts out of passing ships. Lodestone amulets were sometimes worn to prevent animal bites, or to attract a potential partner. As mentioned earlier, the occult properties of lodestone were commonly utilized in medicine throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, thought to cure toothaches, muscle spasms, and even to "attract" husbands and wives. But these claims were outright rejected by William Gilbert.

III. Scientist or Alchemist?

I now turn to the question of whether Gilbert was actually influenced by the occult tradition, and if so, the impact it had on his ensuing discoveries. Gilbert distinguishes his own work from the typical studies of occult forces and explicitly asserts that he does not attribute magnetism to an occult cause in *De Magnete*. In fact, he claims that those who "assign occult and hidden virtues of substances ... as the causes of the wonderful magnetical effects," do not truly understand the subject, and only further obscure the true cause in "a conjectural shadow of the truth."¹¹ Moreover, he staunchly rejects superstitious beliefs, such as popularly held fables about thieves using magnets to unlock doors, or of garlic and diamonds possessing demagnetizing powers, or of magnets being placed under a woman's pillow to detect if she is a faithful wife. Though he was a physician, he denounced the use of magnets to cure injuries and diseases. He criticized alchemists for assigning

“foolish veils of vocabularies” to hidden things, only causing further obscurity.¹² Silvanus Thompson, Editor of the English translation of *De Magnete*, goes so far as to claim “[Gilbert’s] detachment from the pseudo-science of his age was unique if not complete.”¹³

However, it seems that Thompson overlooked that both Gilbert’s theories and approach to thinking about the natural world directly coincide with the occult tradition. Gilbert’s opening line of *De Magnete* begins: “Since in the discovery of secret things and in the investigation of secret causes, stronger reasons are obtained from sure experiments and demonstrated arguments than from probable conjectures...”¹⁴ The implication of this line is clear: to study occult phenomena, referring to magnetism, you must rely on experimentation. Here, he categorizes magnetism as an occult force. His occult-influenced beliefs are further evident throughout the rest of the text. He titled Chapter XII, Book V, *The Magnetic Force is Animate, or Imitates a Soul; in Many Respects it Surpasses the Human Soul*, in which he explains that the stars and planets are living beings. Gilbert fervently disagreed with Aristotle who believed only the heavens were animate, due to the fact that the Earth was seemingly distant from the rest of the cosmos and was believed to be at the lowest point of the universe. Gilbert denounced the idea of the Earth being “brute and soulless,” as that would render it incapable of motion.¹⁵ To him, the Earth’s soul was its magnetic force, which he believed to be superior to the souls of human beings. While human souls were considered imperfect due to being subject to illness, irrationality, and misguided motives, the Earth’s soul was “without senses” and thus “without error.”¹⁶ Therefore, he deemed it capable of a perfect, perpetual revolving motion, without growing weary or wasting away. This chapter, perhaps not coincidentally, directly precedes Chapter I of Book VI, *Of the Globe of Earth as a Lodestone*, which introduces his principal theory that the Earth itself is a vast magnet. Here, it appears that Gilbert’s occult-influenced mentality and logic pertaining to the Earth’s soul is inextricably linked to his scientific theories.

This was not the only way that William Gilbert strayed from what we would consider conventional science. Unlike other

scientists of his time such as Galileo and Copernicus, Gilbert did not use mathematics to advance his research on magnetism. Although he was a follower of Copernicus, who believed geometry was the foundation of all truth, he asserted that mathematics was insignificant to studying the physical world. He believed that mathematical explanations were merely hypothetical, and that they often led to false conjectures. There are several passages where Gilbert showed adamant disdain for the use of mathematics. For example, when discussing several of his contemporaries' theories on the lodestone, he criticized astrologer Lucas Gauricus, asserting: "With a veil of mathematical erudition does he cover many disgraceful stupidities."¹⁷ In another section, he called a prior theory on the organization of the planets "a philosophical fable, now believed only by simpletons and the unlearned; it is beneath derision; and yet in times past it was supported by calculation and comparison of movements, and was generally accepted by mathematicians."¹⁸ Gilbert considered himself a natural philosopher, not a scientist or mathematician, and was a proponent of the idea that theories should always be verifiable by observation and experimentation in order to avoid falling victim to erroneous ideas. In his famous Dialogue Concerning the Two Chief World Systems, Galileo expressed disappointment with this aspect of Gilbert's work: "What I might have wished for in Gilbert would be a little more of the mathematician, and especially a thorough grounding in geometry."¹⁹

Many historians similarly comment on the lack of quantitative analyses in *De Magnete*, and note that the few included were "not very outstanding," especially when compared with other scientists of this era.²⁰ By the same token, Gilbert rejected the dependence on previously written philosophical texts as a basis for scientific knowledge, stating, "few of the philosophers themselves are investigators, or have any first-hand acquaintance with things," and that they "are blind to the things that might throw a light upon their reasonings."²¹ He was not totally opposed to using the writings of others as he did quote various scholars frequently in *De Magnete*, but he excluded many relevant experts in mathematics and mechanics such as Euclid, Archimedes, and Vitruvius. According to historian Edgar Zilsel, these "omissions show that Gilbert was

not concerned with the mathematical literature of the period.”²² While neglecting mathematics and other philosophical works in this time period may appear counterproductive to scientific research, in Gilbert’s case, it caused him to resort to other modes of research, and this is what ultimately made him a pioneer of the scientific method.

IV. Experimentation: The New Scientific Method

Finding little use in the prevailing literature at the time, and due to his rejection of mathematics, Gilbert turned to what he believed was the most valuable approach to investigating magnetism: experimentation. He dedicated *De Magnete* to “true philosophizers, honest men, who seek knowledge not from books only but from things themselves,”²³ thus declaring his adherence to the use of experimentation and real world observation. For many centuries prior, magnetism had been studied sporadically and unsystematically.²⁴ What made Gilbert different from those before him was the unprecedented methodical and empirical manner with which he explained all magnetic properties known at the time, and his ardent effort to assume no purported fact without testing it himself. He understood the necessity for his tests to be repeatable and even invited his readers to conduct them themselves: “Who-so desireth to make trial of the same experiments, let him handle the substances ... for nothing hath been set down in these books which hath not been explored and many times performed and repeated amongst us.”²⁵ Gilbert marked his original experiments with a system of different sized asterisks in order to classify their importance, larger meaning more important. With detailed illustrations labeled to indicate the various instruments used, he described each experiment meticulously so as to facilitate repetition.

Gilbert innovated further in his use of models to conduct research. He constructed spherical lodestone *terrella* as an analogy for the earth’s form, and small *versoria* “rotation detector” needles made from iron to react to the magnetic forces exerted by the *terrella* globes. Creating various models with these instruments, he was able to replicate known magnetic behaviors such as the dip of a compass needle. In one experiment pertaining to this subject, Gilbert placed *versoria* short in

length "so that they may dip true and naturally" on the surface of the terrella, "for a long versorium situated near a terrella ... wavers and suddenly dips to one side or the other."²⁶ Based on the behavior of the versoria needles situated at different positions over the magnetic terrella, he observed that the measure of the dip varies when moving from the equator of the sphere towards the poles. Only along the equator did the versoria rest horizontally against the terrella. This observation led him to conclude that one could determine the latitude of their current location depending on the measure of the dip of a compass needle; he even created a specific device to do so.

However, Gilbert was familiar with the work of mariners and knew that even along the same latitude of the earth, the magnetic dip of compass needles varied. His explanation for this was that the irregularities in the earth's geological surface features, making it an imperfect sphere, caused the compass needle to deviate from the "true pole toward those more powerful and extraordinary elevations of the terrestrial globe."²⁷ To test this hypothesis, he crushed part of his terrella sphere as "comparable to the Atlantic sea or Great Ocean," and constructed another with raised areas to simulate continents.²⁸ Observing the patterns exhibited by the versoria needles, he found that they were similar to those recorded by mariners, leading him to conclude that his hypothesis was correct.

In another experiment, Gilbert used two terrella of different sizes, the larger representing the earth itself. He then placed the southern pole of the smaller terrella against the northern pole of the larger. Once the two spheres made contact, he detected that the smaller was able to hold heavier iron versoria needles than before. Repeating these steps using the southern pole of the larger terrella yielded the same result, hence proving that "when a terrella is imposed on the earth or another terrella in such a way that the south pole looks toward the north pole ... the energy and forces of its poles are augmented."²⁹ This original experiment was one of several which evidenced Gilbert's theory that the magnetic poles corresponded with the geographic poles. It stands to reason that he distinguished it with a large asterisk.

Today, these rather simple tests may appear unremarkable. In fact, the first that I described was disproven some decades later – latitude couldn't be found from the inclination device that Gilbert had suggested. But it is important to recall that during this period, magnetism was considered an occult force hidden from perception and thus beyond human ability to investigate. After conducting one of his experiments, Gilbert exclaimed, "Though [magnetism] has not been brought under any of our senses, and on that account is the less perceived by the intellect, it now appears manifest and conspicuous even to the eyes."³⁰ In this regard, he brought magnetism out of the darkness and turned it into a comprehensive and observable science, paving the way for other occult qualities to be studied in like manner, such as Galileo's study of gravity. Historian David Wootton suggests that Galileo had been greatly influenced by Gilbert's experimental work based on letters that he had written to close friends Sagredo and Sarpi.³¹ Kepler too was inspired by Gilbert's work. In 1603, he wrote in a letter that he wished he "had wings with which to travel to England to confer with [Gilbert]," continuing: "I certainly think I can demonstrate all the motions of the planets with these same principles."³²

V. Conclusion

Returning to my original question, it is evident from my research that Gilbert was influenced by the occult tradition of his era. That magnets possess souls affording them self-moving powers is an assumption on which much of his philosophy rests, and it is one of the few that was not proven using experimentation. What continued to perplex me was that Gilbert had so adamantly criticized occultism on multiple occasions in his text. However, Keith Hutchison offered a potential reason in his analysis of occultism during the Scientific Revolution, which pulled together many of my own observations:

The misunderstanding seems to result principally from overlooking significant changes in the connotations of the word "occult" since the year 1600. For if their writings are closely examined, many leaders of the Scientific Revolution can be seen to be explicitly urging the acceptability of occult entities. When they appear to be recommending the abandonment

of occult qualities, close examination reveals that they are instead objecting to the earlier thesis that the occult is unintelligible.³³

This is a sound explanation for Gilbert's criticisms of previous philosophers and scholars who write on the occult, referring back his assertion that their work "obscures the thing in a greater fog, forsooth in a cryptic, marvelous, abstruse, secret, occult, way."³⁴ For in this statement, it may appear that he rejected occultism, but what Gilbert truly rejected was the belief that magnetism could not be studied scientifically. He did not deny its occult qualities; rather he showed that occult qualities could be understood. Historian of science Marie Boas Hall who classifies Gilbert "more nearly a natural magician than a seventeenth-century experimental scientist," claimed,

Gilbert's experimental genius was cramped by his attempts to restrain it within the bounds of a method which ... assumed these forces to be impervious to rational comprehension, because it knew them to be occult and essentially unknowable.³⁵

This, however, could not be further from actuality. It would be very difficult to prove that Gilbert, the first to take a disciplinary approach to the study of magnetism, who had demonstrated all of the known properties that it exhibited in nature and replicated these behaviors himself, believed magnetism was unknowable. In fact, it was quite the opposite. In Gilbert's work, no longer was magnetism attributed simply to the hidden workings of God, but to physical sources in nature. He made a formerly invisible force visible through carefully designed tests and measurements, leading him to an accurate conclusion about earth's magnetism. Only with the use of experiment, as he says himself, "will the hidden and recondite but real causes of this great effect be brought forward, proven, shown, demonstrated."³⁶

Endnotes

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The Efficiency of Evacuation and Deportation in
the Soviet Union,
1941-1945

"Tomorrow we are leaving," wrote Elena Skrjabina from her home in the besieged city of Leningrad.¹ "I don't know what I took, [or] what I have forgotten. We are so tired, we can hardly move."² Writing in her journal on February 5, 1942, Elena and her family would join the sixteen to twenty million Soviet civilians that would evacuate from the front lines during the war.³ By April of that same year, over one million residents of Elena's city would flee the fighting for the county's eastern regions.⁴ The evacuation of civilian populations was, in theory, orchestrated directly by the state. In reality, however, the evacuations faced problems of disorder and preparation. Importantly, the evacuations were not the only population transfers that occurred during the war or that were organized by the Soviet government. Under the guise of the war effort, the Soviet Union's population of ethnic Germans were selected for deportation away from the front lines and liquidated from their homeland. Official government estimates place the number of deported ethnic Germans at around 806,533 while other studies indicate that the number may be over one million.⁵

These two internal population transfers occurred simultaneously but to widely different levels of efficiency and success. The evacuation of civilians was clustered, chaotic, and almost entirely unorganized by the government. The deportation of the Volga Germans, contrastingly, was completed with the utmost efficiency and speed. What was the reason for this disparagement of allocated time and resources? It may have been that Stalin prioritized the deportations over the civilian evacuations out of his fear of collusion between the Volga Germans and the invading German forces. Moreover, the Soviets in 1941 possessed extensive knowledge and experience in the art of deportation. Numerous ethnic cleansings had taken place in the 1930s. Along with those affected by dekulakization and political purges, these groups had been deported eastward in major operations conducted by the NKVD.⁶ The deportations of the 1930s made the NKVD adequately prepared for

the deportations of the Volga Germans in 1941. And, finally, the difference in the population of the evacuated civilians and the Volga Germans – a difference of about fifteen to nineteen million individuals – proved pivotal in the efficient removal of the Volga Germans. The evacuations were plagued with problems resulting from the sheer number of civilians attempting to flee the war, including the clogging of rail lines and the lack of proper registration for many evacuees, that dwindled the state's control over the evacuations. These factors – population, the prior experience of the NKVD in deportations, and Stalin's paranoia – can explain the disparity between the efficiency of the population transfers of civilians compared to those of the Volga Germans during the Second World War.

I. The Wolgadeutsche

German colonists began migrating to Russia during the eighteenth-century reign of Catherine the Great. Catherine, herself a German, sought to boost the agricultural production of the empire and to settle regions that were newly conquered or otherwise empty. To spark these goals, the empress issued a manifesto in 1763 that opened Russia's borders to foreign colonists from Europe. Catherine granted to them self-government, which allowed for no imperial taxation or military drafting, the right to practice their own faith, and the unrestricted purchase of land or businesses. Those that colonized the Volga area came from various German principalities and countries – especially Hess, the Rhineland, and Saxony Wurttemberg.⁷ These Volga Germans, or Wolgadeutsche, retained much of their German cultural, continuing to speak German, worship in Protestant traditions, and publish German-language newspapers. Their liberties were upheld by Catherine's successors with little issue until the reign of Nicholas II and the outbreak of war against the German Empire.

There were 1,621,000 ethnic Germans living in the Russian Empire in 1914, and Nicholas II – himself married to a German – feared the possibility of collusion between this population and the German foe.⁸ Nicholas ordered in 1914 the forced relocation of ethnic Germans living near the empire's western border, with the first relocations beginning in October of that year. These relocations affected the Germans living closer to

the border with Germany, and scholars estimate that as many as 235,000 of these individuals were relocated from October 1914 to the beginning of 1917.⁹ Nicholas did not view the Germans of the Volga without suspicion, however, and in 1916 he ordered the complete expulsion of all Volga Germans by April 1917.¹⁰ This would have amounted to the deportation of hundreds of thousands of individuals and the complete liquidation of entire communities. These deportations, however, never materialized, a result of the Tsar's abdication in early 1917 and the temporary freeze put on the Tsar's order by the new Provisional Government. This temporary hold became permanent following the October Revolution and the ascension of the Bolsheviks, who rescinded the Tsar's original deportation order and allowed for relocated Germans to return to their homes in 1918.¹¹

The Volga Germans undoubtedly felt some relief by the ascension of Lenin and the Bolsheviks. Early Bolshevik policies supported the diverse collection of nationalities, and the Volga Germans were granted a semi-autonomous Region of the Volga Germans on October 19, 1918.¹² Their self-government, promised to them by Catherine the Great a century and a half before, had finally materialized as a designated region. In 1924, the region was elevated to an autonomous republic, the Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic of the Volga Germans. Nestled along the Volga River, adjacent to the Stalingrad and Saratov Krai and the Kazakh SSR, it would be home to two-thirds of the Soviet, ethnic-German population.¹³

Due to decreases in population from the First World War and famines resulting from collectivization, there were about 1,400,000 ethnic Germans living within the Soviet Union by 1940.¹⁴ While some of those counted were undoubtedly not descendants of the original colonists, the census lists roughly 400,000 ethnic Germans living in the Volga region. Because of the actions of the Tsarist government during the First World War, deportation was not a novel idea, nor a fantasy to be taken lightly, for the Volga Germans came the Nazi invasion in 1941. Comparatively for Stalin, the actions of the Tsarist government during the First World War proved possible his plans for the liquidation of the Volga Germans.

II. The Origins of Evacuation

Despite clear warnings, Stalin had been completely surprised when German forces crossed over the border on June 22, 1941. In the weeks prior to Operation Barbarossa and the German invasion, Vasili Pronin, the chair of the Moscow Soviet, presented Stalin with a proposal that laid the groundwork for the evacuation of more than a million Muscovites should war break out. Stalin feared that this plan would enflame tensions with Hitler, and subsequently denied the proposal and "demanded the commission's liquidation and an end to all talk of evacuation".¹⁵ Had Stalin not believed that preparing for massive evacuations or defensive maneuvers would provoke Hitler to invade, and had he not ended preparations for the evacuation of civilians, the initial days of Barbarossa may have gone differently. While the Red Army suffered astounding casualties on the front, civilians in Belorussia and Latvia began fleeing from the approaching enemy. These evacuations were led by local leadership and lacked any support from Moscow. Stalin's miscalculation, and his insistence that the Soviets go on the offensive following the invasion, led to him questioning the need to evacuate Belorussia even as millions of Germans swept through.¹⁶ The severity of the situation, however, was quickly realized.

Two days following the invasion, the Central Committee and the Council of People's Commissars hastily created the Evacuation Council, the government body charged with overseeing all civilian evacuations. Selected for leadership of the Evacuation Council were the heads of various government organizations: Lazar Kaganovich the Commissar of Transportation, was the Council's initial head; NKVD chief Lavrentiy Beria; and multiple leaders from the Council of People's Commissars. The leadership also included Nikolai Shvernik of the All-Union Council of Trade Unions and the soon to be appointed head of the General Staff, Marshall B. M. Shaposhnikov.¹⁷ The diverse makeup of the Council's leadership was purposeful, aimed at making the Evacuation Council "able to bypass standard bureaucratic procedure and coordinate the activities of various branches of government."¹⁸ The inclusion of Kaganovich allowed for instant communications between evacuations and the rail lines, and the inclusion of various industrial commissions and the State Planning Committee in the Council's leadership would allow for smoother relocation of industry. The

inclusion of three ranking members of the NKVD allowed for efficient cooperation with the local NKVD units that evacuated specific regions and cities near the front lines and oversaw the internal movements and legal status of evacuated individuals. The Council would exist until 1942, when Stalin dissolved and then recreated it under the umbrella of the Defense Committee.¹⁹

In addition to the evacuation of civilians, the Evacuation Council was tasked with the eastward evacuation of institutions and factories vital to the livelihood of the war effort and wider Soviet culture. During the first months of the war, the government evacuated 1,523 factories away from the front, with over 1,200 of them rebuilt and producing in safety by mid-1942.²⁰ Factory workers, ideally, would be evacuated along with their factories; Kapatolina Lazarenko, living in Moscow as child during the war, was sent along with her mother and her mother's factory in November 1941 to the Kazakh SSR when her mother's factory was evacuated.²¹ For cultural preservation, the Evacuation Council gave high priority to the evacuation of members of the cultural elite.

Rushing to begin orderly evacuations of major population and industrial centers, the Soviet government hoped to lessen the disadvantage presented to them through lack of preparation. They hoped that the overarching Evacuation Council would be able to pull the strings and cut the red tape of the massive Soviet bureaucracy to quickly and effectively organize the evacuations. The reality, however, was entirely different.

III. Inefficient Evacuation

Almost as soon as evacuations began, hysteria formed in the streets of major cities as civilians attempted to flee the advancing German forces. The government realized that they were unprepared for the number of civilians that sought evacuation. By late 1941, the Soviet rail system was 40% occupied by the Germans, and trains that had been transported away from the front now clogged the transportation networks and made it difficult to move trains along the rail lines.²² Viktor Kravchenko, a political commissar at the War Engineering College outside of Moscow, bore witness to the horrendous scenes in the streets:

When the crowds at the stations became too large to control, cattle cars, open coal cars, even subway cars, would finally be rounded up. Without cleaning or dis-

infecting, these vehicles would be crammed tight with Soviet citizens and sent on their slow and hideous journeys. The process was marked by tears and hysteria. Children were lost, families were separated, people were forced to abandon cherished possessions. Often the pathos of these evacuations was raised to a pitch of delirium by air raids, stations being among the favorite Nazi targets.²³

Kravchenko observed that many civilians, unwilling to wait for the government, simply left the city on their own.

Soviet authorities desperately wanted to avoid a refugee crisis in which millions of displaced civilians would spread throughout the Soviet Union without authorities knowing their locations. The Evacuation Council attempted to register each evacuee, which would thereby give the evacuees the proper paperwork and passports needed to settle in the eastern republics. Proper registration would also help ensure that each evacuee would take part in the war effort in some manner. The government rejected "voluntary refugeedom" and sought to have designated evacuees "transferred in an organized fashion to the rear."²⁴ Nevertheless, only portions of those that evacuated were documented or recognized as evacuees by the government.²⁵ Unregistered refugees were targeted in eastern cities such as Tashkent, where they were targeted for eviction and resettlement on collective farms.²⁶ In Tashkent, police conducted raids "at markets, in the theatres, parks and other places with an accumulation of people," and special committees verified the population of residences "building by building."²⁷ Unregistered evacuees demonstrated the government's inability to organize an orderly evacuation from the western population centers.

The NKVD amplified the disorder by separating evacuees into categories that elevated their likelihood of evacuation. The NKVD granted special permissions to civilians with familial ties to the Soviet government or Communist Party, as well as to those with ties to officers in the Red Army. These civilians could "choose according to their wish their place of residence, except for Moscow and the front-line regions."²⁸ Citizens of Leningrad and Moscow were also granted this privilege, despite some additional limits on the choice of city, even if they were traveling alone. This was due to the importance of the two cities, as well as the increased status of Muscovites and

Leningraders compared to other Soviet urbanites. Others, like prominent authors Lydia Chukovskaia and Anna Akhmatova, were deemed important to Soviet culture and quickly evacuated from the front.²⁹ Akhmatova and Chukovskaia were evacuated from Moscow before most civilians, and priority was given to the barges and trains that carried them from Moscow to Chistopol (a center for evacuated Soviet writers) and, eventually, to Tashkent.³⁰ These privileges fermented disdain towards the Soviet elites, who did not have to suffer through the evacuation processes. Kravchenko wrote that, for the first time, people spoke out openly against the ruling classes.³¹

The disorganization present in the evacuation of civilians had deadly results. A Moscow party leader wrote about the transport of children during the first days of evacuation:

The children were brought out of Moscow on barges, which were not adapted to transport children. The sides of the barge were not fenced off, and the result of this along with poor control over the children was that a nine-year old girl, a second grade student at School #529, fell out of the barge into the water and drowned... It must be said that Moscow officials did not provide an appropriate level of organization in the evacuation of the children or display concern for their traveling conditions...³²

He continues, describing a letter written by a child evacuee to his parents, saying that "they [the officials] gave us water, but there was just a little bit, only 3-4 gulps, and the water was putrid so no one drank it. Mama, come and take us."³³ The letters were never delivered, kept instead by the government officials. As Elena Skrabina travelled by rail away from Leningrad, she noted in her journal that officials "celebrated all night with the food designated for the whole transport" as German planes circled above.³⁴ At each stop, she noted that unknown men with hammers pounded "deafeningly on the walls and shouted, 'Do you have any dead? Hand them over to us.'"³⁵

The Evacuation Council, despite its efforts, could not gain control over the situation. The sheer size of the evacuations – the waves of desperate civilians and the chaos in the streets and the clogging of the rail system – made efficiency an impossibility. Rebecca Manley wrote that "the charts and graphs of the Evacuation Council where but pieces of paper, with little

real effect.”³⁶ For those on the ground, like Kravchenko, this observation would have resonated widely. But for all the disorganization and mishandling of the evacuation process, the deportation of the Volga Germans was quick and effective.

IV. The Origins of Deportation

The forced population transfers of ethnic groups began in the Soviet Union during the 1920s as “agricultural resettlement,” but by the 1930s had evolved into the “removal of stigmatized ethnic groups” through the settlement of ethnic Russians to create Russian-majority areas.³⁷ As previously states, ethnic Germans had been subject to forced removal as early as 1914, but during the 1930s the Soviet government undertook massive population transfers of ethnic minorities utilizing the term *ochistit’* – “cleanse.”³⁸ During *dekulakization*, Germans and other minorities were labelled as kulaks and saboteurs, with one official writing that Germans were “kulak colonizers to the marrow of their bones.”³⁹ With popular and official sentiment turning against the Soviet Union’s ethnic minorities, the stage was being set for the horrors of 1941. Beginning in the mid-1930s, the NKVD oversaw the deportation of hundreds of thousands of individuals, from GULAG prisoners and suspected kulaks to 171,781 Koreans (deported to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan).⁴⁰ It was from the liquidations of the 1930s that the Soviet government gained the experience needed to oversee the deportations of the Volga Germans in 1941.

At Stalin’s behest, the Central Committee of the Communist Party and the Council of People’s Commissars issued a secret order for the deportation of the Volga Germans on August 26, 1941.⁴¹ This order entrusted the leadership of the resettlement to the

NKVD, and encouraged them to involve the People’s Commissariat of Agriculture and the Evacuation Council, as well as local divisions in the regions where the Volga Germans would be deported to.⁴² Additionally, the decree set a specific period for the deportations – September 3 through September 20 – only seventeen days to deport over 400,000 Volga Germans.⁴³ This decree was secret, visible only to those within the upper levels of the Soviet government. A public decree was made two days later by the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet:

According to reliable information... tens of thousands of diversionists and spies amount the German population of the Volga are prepared to cause explosions in these regions at a signal from Germany... If diversionist acts took place... the Soviet Government would be forced under martial law to adopt reprisal measures against the entire Volga German population. In order to avoid... serious bloodshed, the Presidium... has found it necessary to resettle the entire German population of the Volga regions.⁴⁴

The Presidium abolished the Volga German ASSR on the same day, ending both the autonomy of the Volga Germans from Moscow as well as their rights as a protected minority.⁴⁵ The

German names of towns and cities were Russified and scraped of their German origins – the ASSR and its German heritage was literally written off of maps.⁴⁶ The persecutions, although not hampered by the autonomous statues, could begin in full force. Stalin publicly feared the creation of a fifth column, that Soviet citizens of German origin would collaborate with the invaders. These fears were not entirely without reason: when Germany invaded Yugoslavia, Russia took note of the pro-German uprisings led by Yugoslavia's ethnic German population.⁴⁷ Moscow feared that similar uprisings would be possible should the Germans reach the Volga.

Kravchenko, however, argued that the reasons for the deportation mirror those of the deportations of the kulaks. Stalin was more afraid of the oppressed masses revolting against his rule than he was afraid of a fifth column during the war, Kravchenko argued.⁴⁸ Interestingly, this was the narrative promoted in Nazi propaganda. On September 11, the German newspaper *Voelkischer Beobachter* responded to the deportation of the Volga Germans, writing that the deportations were simply “a pretext for the extermination of 400,000 peasants” and accused Stalin of “premeditated and unscrupulous murder.”⁴⁹ This may be the case, as the deportation of the Volga Germans greatly mirrors those of kulaks during the 1930s, but Kravchenko was inherently biased against the Soviet government – his argument should be understood with that in context. Whatever the root cause, the deportations went exceptionally quickly.

V. Efficient Deportation

During the period between September 3rd and September 21st, 1941, around 451,806 Volga Germans were forcibly removed from their homeland.⁵⁰ One hundred and eighty-eight trains took the deportees to various areas in Siberia and Kazakhstan.⁵¹ The Volga Germans were given a few days – or a few hours - notice, able to only take what they could immediately carry with them. Upon arrival to their destination, the deportees would be registered by the NKVD, and copies of their registrations distributed to the local Soviet and NKVD directorate. As Pohl states, the “responsibility for the settlement, registration, and supervision of the deportees fell upon the local NKVD and UNKVD officers in the areas of resettlement.”⁵² In one case, a registration of 1,837 deportees took place in Pankrushinskii Raion, Altai Krai, on September 16.⁵³ The following month, when the registrations were being checked, two deportee families were caught having moved to a kolkhoz different from the one they were assigned to. Errors such as these were common, but not nearly to the extent as with the unregistered civilian evacuees – differences in the millions.

Official Soviet counts listed 447,169 ethnic Germans as being deported to Kazakhstan,

Altai, Krasnoiarsk, Omsk, and Novosibirsk.⁵⁴ These Germans stemmed from the Volga German ASSR and the neighboring Stalingrad and Saratov oblasts. According to Internal Affairs Minister Kruglov, a total of 806,533 ethnic Germans from across the Soviet Union were resettled between 1941 and 1942 – the true number, however, is likely much higher.⁵⁵ Some worked on collective farms, including the two deportee families captured by the NKVD. The majority of the able-bodied Volga German population were forced into labor camps, with 120,000 ethnic Germans mobilized for the labor army following GKO Resolution N. 1123ss, “On the Orderly Use of German-Resettlers between the Ages of 17 to 50 Years Old”.⁵⁶ These deportees would be transferred from their designated areas to labor camps, where they would build railways, fell trees, or whatever they were purposed for. Depending on their assignment, they would be under the watch of the NKVD or the NKPS. The decree specifically allotted to the forced laborers the same food and goods given to GULAG prisoners, despite having been

convicted of no crime other than their German ancestry. The treatment of the deportees, therefore, can be equated to the treatment of criminals and political prisoners - the relocation was not simply to mitigate the possibilities of collusion, but to punish an ethnic minority.

Conditions in the labor camps and the special settlements were horrid and deadly. One NKVD report from January 1944 describes the conditions of a special settler camp in Siberia:

At the end of November... [one of a Volga German mothers'] children died of emaciation; she could not bury him, since she has no shoes to walk to dig a grave and make a casket. Despite multiple requests to the chairman of the collective farm... [assistance was provided] only four days later. The child's corpse lay in the entrance hall for four days and night, and rats ate round the corpse's legs and feet.⁵⁷

Dumped within the vicinity of their destination from the railroad, the deportees were made to walk, forming a "long trail of exhausted human beings, straggling over the countryside after twenty-two days in over-crowded goods wagons."⁵⁸ Deportees had little food supplied to them during transport, and they were not allowed to bring food with them before they boarded the trains. Because of malnutrition, as well as poor sanitary conditions and the crowded trains, a large percentage of the 37,402 recorded deaths during loading likely occurred during transit.⁵⁹ Evacuees, on the other hand, would make periodic stops for food and water during the transportations east.⁶⁰ Anna Akhmatova, while being transported to safety in the east, witnessed a train of Volga Germans passing by. She wrote that they had "nowhere... to stop... they've been traveling for over a month, and no one will accept them."⁶¹ Lazarenko, evacuated to Kazakhstan in November 1941, recalled living near a group of deported Volga Germans. She claimed that they lived in relatively similar conditions to herself and noted that she did not believe them to be fascists.⁶² However, as she was a child at the time, she may not have known the severity of the deportees' situation. The disparity in conditions is easily understood: the evacuees were destined to return home, while the Volga Germans were being permanently removed.

VI. Disparities in Efficiency

The effectiveness of the NKVD during the deportations is explained simply because Beria and the organization had a decade of prior experience with the ethnic cleansing of national minorities. Stalin had ethnically cleansed “at least nine Soviet nationalities,” including populations of Koreans, Poles, Kurds, and Latvians, in the decade prior to the war.⁶³ Stalin deported these groups to far-reaching corners of the Soviet Union, particularly Siberia and Kazakhstan, in massive operations conducted by the NKVD. Isabelle Kreindler, in her paper

“The Soviet Deported Nationalities: a Summary and Update”, argues this point, stating that “...the system of mass deportation [utilized against the Volga Germans], as well as the brutal regime of special settlements, was first devised and perfected at the time of the collectivization drive when hundreds of thousands of families branded as ‘kulaks’ were shipped off to desolate areas in Siberia and Central Asia...”⁶⁴ It made sense, therefore, to base the deportation of the Volga Germans on these prior deportations. The deported Germans were labelled as special settlers - the same label given to deported kulaks during the previous decade.⁶⁵

The differences in the efficiency of the evacuations and the deportations stemmed from two central points: The Soviet expertise in ethnic cleansing, and the sheer number of evacuees compared to deportees. Firstly, the deportations were simply an extension of the various ethnic cleansings Stalin conducted during the 1930's. Stalin was able to utilize the already-established special settlement system, the GULAG labor camps, and the expertise of Beria and the NKVD to begin deportations just a few days after he ordered it. Prior to the war, Stalin had halted any preparations for the evacuation of civilians. The government had no experience and no base for the evacuations, and the Evacuation Council learned how to conduct evacuations while they were overseeing them.⁶⁶

The urgency with which the deportations were conducted stems from Stalin's own paranoia that the Volga Germans would pose a threat to the stability of his rule – the same paranoia that kulaks would destabilize the revolution among the peasantry and threaten collectivization and the Five-Year Plans, or that Polish military officers would resist Soviet domination over eastern Poland. The deportations also allowed for

hundreds of thousands of Volga Germans to be put into forced labor, continuing the massive industrial importance of Stalin's labor camps. The evacuees, though often continuing to work in their relocated factories or settling on collective farms, were not criminals and did not do the same labor required of the labor army.

Secondly, there was at most 1.2 million ethnic Germans deported during the course of the war, with only 400,000 of those being Volga Germans. This paled in numbers to the 16-20 million civilians evacuated during the war. Despite not all of those evacuees being officially moved by the Evacuation Council, they still clogged the rail systems and flooded the city streets of Leningrad and Moscow. The sheer number was too much for the Council and the transportation network to handle. Had Stalin prepared the Soviet Union for evacuations in the same manner that he was constantly prepared to begin ethnic cleansings, the wartime evacuations may have been conducted more efficiently, and some of the damage from the war may have been lessened.

VII. Addendum

The Volga Germans would remain labelled as traitors until 1964, when the Soviet government finally dropped the charges. Despite being cleared, ethnic Germans largely gave up their hopes for the restoration of the autonomous republic. Instead, they turned their attention to emigrating to Germany, with hundreds of thousands having emigrated since the 1970s.⁶⁷ Evacuees, on the other hand, began returning to their homes as early as 1942, or whenever the Germans were retreating.⁶⁸ It is because of these conditions and the overall treatment of the deported Volga Germans that historians such as Terry Martin label these deportations as an ethnic cleansing, in the same manner of the cleansings during the 1930s.

Endnotes

- 1 Skryabina, Elena. *Siege and Survival: The Odyssey of a Leningrader*. Translated by Norman Luxemburg. Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971. <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1943-2/wartime-evacuation/wartime-evacuation-texts/odyssey-of-a-leningrader/>.
- 2 Ibid.
- 3 Larry E. Holmes, *Stalin's World War II Evacuations: Triumph and Troubles in Kirov*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 1.
- 4 Rebecca Manley, "The Perils of Displacement: The Soviet Evacuee between Refugee and Deportee," *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 4 (November 2007): 495.
- 5 J. Otto Pohl, "The Persecution of Ethnic Germans in the USSR during World War II," *Russian Review* 75, no. 2 (2016): 291.; Brown, Andrew J. "The Germans of Germany and the Germans of Kazakhstan: A Eurasian Volk in the Twilight of Diaspora," *Europe-Asia Studies* 57, no. 4 (2005): 627.
- 6 Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *The Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 4 (December 1998): 815.
- 7 Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union* (London: Routledge, 2007), 9.
- 8 Ethnic Germans living in Russian-controlled Poland, Bessarabia, and the Baltic are excluded from the count due to the loss of those regions during the war or the October Revolution. See: Sheehy and Nahaylo, *The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and Meshketians: Soviet Treatment of Some National Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1980), 18.
- 9 Mukhina, 35.
- 10 Sheehy and Nahaylo, 18.
- 11 Sheehy and Nahaylo, *The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and Meshketians: Soviet Treatment of Some National Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1980), 18.
- 12 Irina Mukhina, *The Germans of the Soviet Union* (London: Routledge, 2007), 30; Sheehy and Nahaylo, *The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and Meshketians: Soviet Treatment of Some National Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1980), 18.
- 13 About 380,000 ethnic Germans resided in the Volga German ASSR in 1926. About 30,000 resided in neighboring Saratov. See: Sheehy and Nahaylo, *The Crimean Tatars, Volga Germans, and Meshketians: Soviet Treatment of Some National Minorities* (London: Minority Rights Group, 1980), 18.
- 14 Ibid; "Nazis Charge Soviet Kills Volga Germans", *The New York Times*, September 11, 1941.
- 15 Larry E. Holmes, *Stalin's World War II Evacuations: Triumph and Troubles in Kirov*, *Modern War Studies* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 40.
- 16 Rebecca Manley, *To the Tashkent Stations: Evacuation and Survival in the Soviet Union at War*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 26.
- 17 Shvernik would replace Kaganovich as head of the Council within weeks of its formation. See: Manley, 27.
- 18 Rebecca Manley, *To the Tashkent Stations: Evacuation and Survival in the Soviet Union at War*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2009), 27.
- 19 Stalin, following the first major Soviet counteroffensive, believed that the Red Army could push the Germans back west. Following the failures of this counteroffensive and the German push towards Stalingrad and the Caucasus, the Evacuation Council was reestablished under the Defense Committee with much of the same leadership. See: Manley, 30.
- 20 Sanford R. Lieberman, "Crisis Management in the USSR: The Wartime System of Administration and Control," In *The Impact of World War II on the Soviet Union*, edited by Susan J. Linz, (New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1985), 71.

- 21 Kapatolina Lazarenko, *Interview with Kapatolina Lazarenko*, Interview by Ian Lazarenko, Translated by Mary Lazarenko, November 25, 2017.
- 22 Holland Hunter, "Successful Spatial Management," In *The Impact of World War II on the Soviet Union*, edited by Susan J. Linz, (New Jersey: Rowman & Allanheld, 1985), 51.
- 23 Victor Kravchenko, *I Choose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 369.; One must consider Kravchenko's post-war defection to the west and should not read his memoirs without discerning bias in his recollections of events and his criticisms of Stalin and the Soviet government. This bias is especially evident in his accusations of disarrangement in the evacuation process and the brutality of the deportations. While the disarrangement and brutality should not be written off completely, it is important to remember Kravchenko's inherent biases.
- 24 Rebecca Manley, "The Perils of Displacement: The Soviet Evacuee between Refugee and Deportee," *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 4 (November 2007): 496.
- 25 Larry E. Holmes, *Stalin's World War II Evacuations: Triumph and Troubles in Kirov*, Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 1.
- 26 Rebecca Manley, "The Perils of Displacement: The Soviet Evacuee between Refugee and Deportee," *Contemporary European History* 16, no. 4 (November 2007): 502.
- 27 Ibid.
- 28 Manley: 501.
- 29 Lidiia Chukovskaia, *The Akhmatova Journals*, translated by Milena Michalski and Sylva Rubashova, (New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), 184.
- 30 Lidiia Chukovskaia, *The Akhmatova Journals*, translated by Milena Michalski and Sylva Rubashova, (New York, Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1994), 184.
- 31 Victor Kravchenko, *I Choose Freedom: The Personal and Political Life of a Soviet Official*, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1946), 369.
- 32 Mikhailov, "Shortcomings in the Evacuation of Children from Moscow," In "Seventeen Moments in Soviet History," soviethistory.msu.edu, accessed December 7, 2017.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Elena Skrabina, *Siege and Survival: The Odyssey of a Leningrader*, trans. Norman Luxemburg (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1971), <http://soviethistory.msu.edu/1943-2/wartime-evacuation/wartime-evacuation-texts/odyssey-of-a-leningrader/>.
- 35 Ibid.
- 36 Larry E. Holmes, *Stalin's World War II Evacuations: Triumph and Troubles in Kirov*, Modern War Studies (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 2017), 43.
- 37 Terry Martin, "The Origins of Soviet Ethnic Cleansing," *The Journal of Modern History* 70, no. 4 (December 1998): 823 and 825.
- 38 Ibid: 824.
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- 54 Pohl: 292.
- 55 Pohl: 291.
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- 62 Kapatolina Lazarenko, *Interview with Kapatolina Lazarenko*, Interview by Ian Lazarenko, Translated by Mary Lazarenko, November 25, 2017.
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67 Isabelle Kreindler, "The Soviet Deported Nationalities: A Summary and an Update," *Soviet Studies* 38, no. 3 (1986): 398. Large populations of ethnic Germans still reside in Kazakhstan and Siberia.

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Looking Back: American Summer Culture

A few years ago, I had taken an Intro to American Studies course and it was in this class where I had found a truly interesting aspect to American history, which was understanding the beginning of leisure culture. Specifically, however, there are many aspects of American life which centers itself around what we liked to do during the summer months. Whether it is Fourth of July celebrations, going to the beach, having a cookout, going swimming, sailing, or having a picnic, there are familiar and quintessential American activities that were established more than a hundred years ago that defines what an American summer typically looks and looked like. The main idea for this photo essay is to look back at who we were as Americans, and how we had fun. Ultimately, I would like to present this photo essay as a story of Americans. These people are our family and friends through the decades—their parties look like ours, their faces look familiar, the stories they tell are ones we know. This is a look back into american summer culture.

Thank you and I hope you enjoy,
Sara Cantler



Jolly Bathers at Coney Island U.S.A., 1897
Courtesy of the Library of Congress
LC-DIG-stereo-1s07287



Happy Youngsters on the beach, Coney Island, NY, 1901
Courtesy of the Library of Congress
LC-DIG-stereo-1s07239



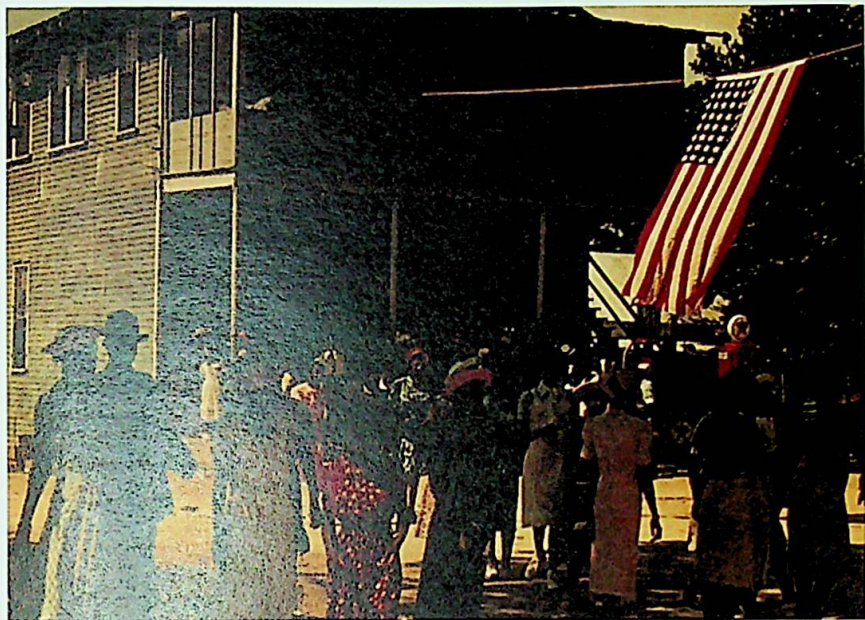
Fourth of July, Tableau on Ellipse: 'Liberty,' 'Columbia,' and Dancers, 1919
Courtesy of the Library of Congress
LC-DIG-hec-12404



Top: Sunday School Picnic, 1938
LOC, LC-USF33-030136-M2

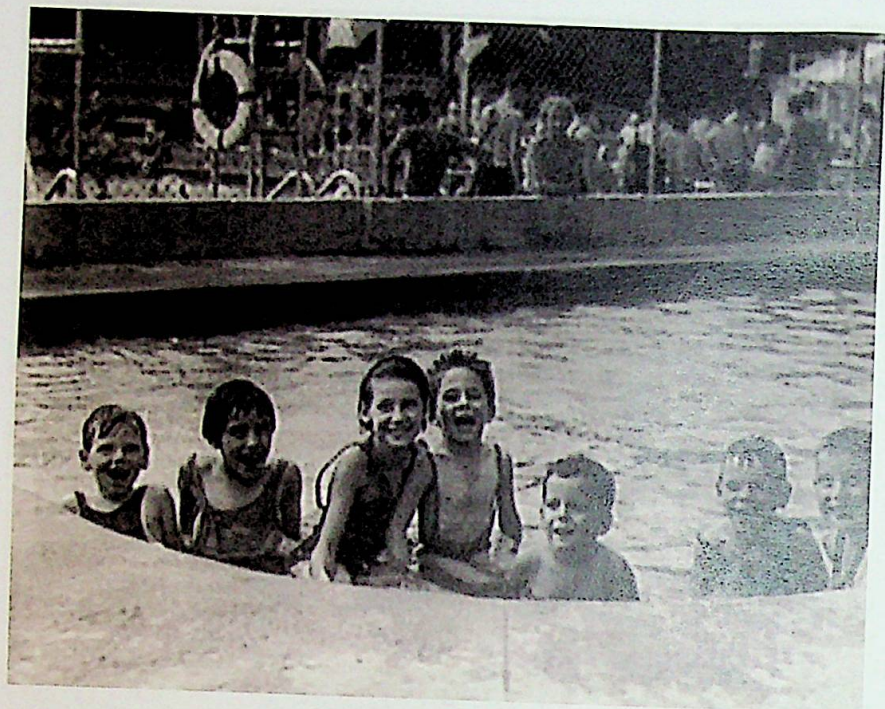


Bottom: Picture at Irwinville Farms, 1939
LOC, LC-USF33-030371-M4



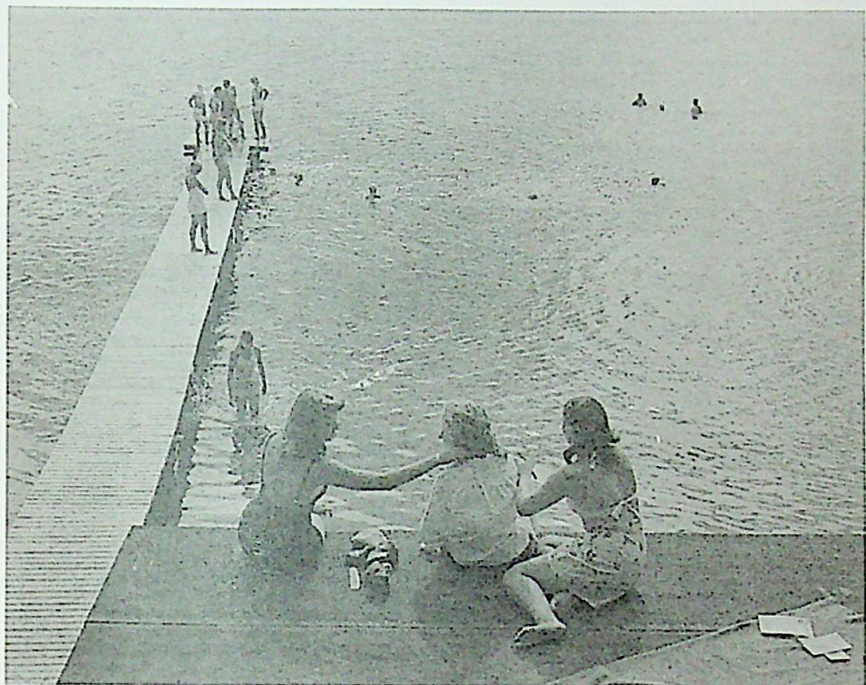
Top: Fourth of July Celebration, 1939
LOC, LC-DIG-fsac-1a34304

Bottom: Fourth of July Celebration, 1939
LOC, LC-DIG-fsac-1a34297



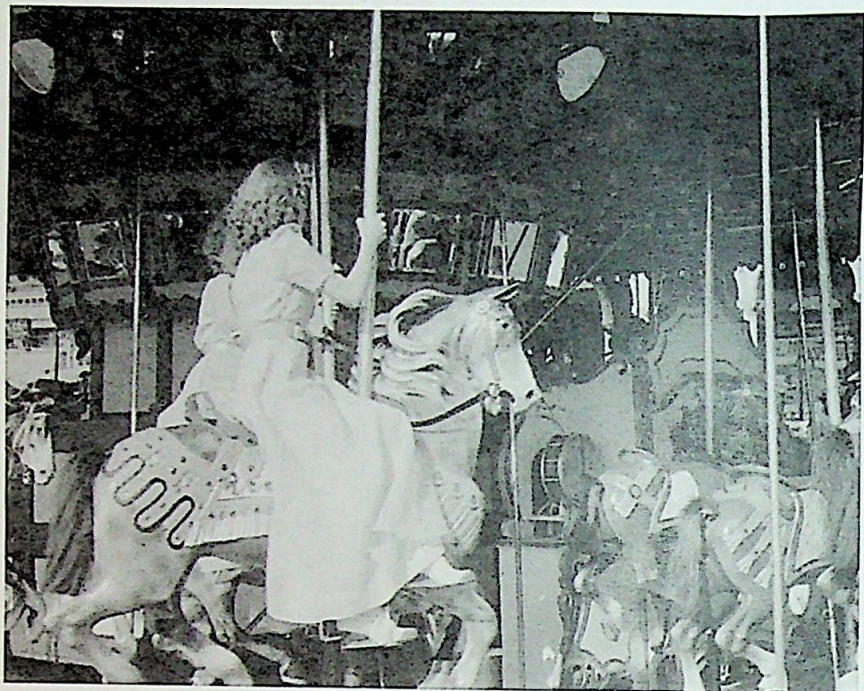
Top: Children in Pool, 1935
LOC, LC-H813-2268-001

Bottom: National Music Camp, 1942
LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8d21683



Top: National Music Camp, 1942
LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8d21676

Bottom: Amusement Park, 1942
LOC, LC-DIG-fsa-8d34991



Top: Cotton Carnival, Tennessee, 1940
LOC, LC-USF33-030904-M2

Bottom: Bellone Family Outing, 1972
Courtesy of Bellone Family



Cotton Carnival, Memphis, Tennessee, 1940
Courtesy of the Library of Congress
LC-USF34-053672-D

Finding the Soldier's Cure: The Interpretations
Behind Shell Shock Treatment and the Negative
Impact it had on the Battlefield and the Home Front

*Dedicated to Joseph "Pa" Simiele, Gene Simiele, and Donato
Simiele: Three Men who knew what the Horrors of War could do to
the Mind and Body*

Introduction

Shell shock's presence among British soldiers during the First World War had a major impact in the overall morale of soldiers. Its effects had become a major conflict within the British military throughout the war, and understanding how its presence affected the war effort is essential for understanding the lasting effects it had on war veterans. Many studies conducted by British medical professionals have formulated various interpretations in respect to not only what caused shell shock, but the various treatment methods that accompanied these hypotheses. As a result, many proposed causes of the disorder came to the forefront of British psychiatry and medicine. This eventually led to an extremely confusing period in regards to what caused shell shock and how to treat it effectively. In a scramble to figure out what was the best method in curing victims of shell shock, past notions of masculinity began to factor into the opinions of many medical professionals. Considering the perceived weakness placed on soldiers from certain medical professionals, many began to look down on those affected as not possessing the honor and character of a true Englishmen. This led to the formation of stereotypes and stigmas that would tarnish the reputation of shell shock victims. Regardless of who contracted it, shell shock's force would inflict a peculiar sense of damage toward British troops both during and after the war.

Despite various experiments conducted around shell shock's causes and treatment methods, many soldiers got better in due time physically and mentally during the war, but what about socially and economically after the war? How did differing interpretations of what caused shell shock influence specific treatment methods from medical

professionals? How did medical professionals' interpretations affect the image and ability of soldiers during and after the war?

I will be arguing that regardless of the treatment methods implemented by medical professionals, the theories of what caused shell shock forced soldiers to never fully recover socially or economically after the First World War. This was evident through the differing interpretations of what caused the disease, as the opinions as to what caused shell shock stereotyped and stigmatized the ability and image of those who fought for their country. It is important to take note that shell shock had done more than plague soldiers physically and mentally; its existence would change many social and cultural values of a confused and unprepared British Empire. Due to the already present stereotypes of how a true Englishman carried himself as well as the supposed connection between masculinity and shell shock made by men such as Lewis Yealland, the image and ability of soldiers was tarnished after the First World War.

Therefore, much of this paper will rely on a multitude of primary sources regarding the various interpretations of what caused the disease, the treatment methods that followed these interpretations, and evidence as to why soldiers were negatively affected by shell shock after the war. An important caveat to take into account regarding this paper is that personal interpretations of soldiers will not be a primary focus that is discussed. This study will mainly focus on the differing interpretations from medical professionals and secondary scholars, and how ideas and attitudes expressed by medical professionals influenced public opinion on shell shock. Nevertheless, all of these pieces work to provide an enticing argument that the reader can easily understand and reflect upon.

II. Literature Review

In order to understand where ideas of masculinity within British society and military come from, one must look back before the war in order to examine its origins. Virtues such as masculinity, courage, and honor were big parts of the British military before the Edwardian period. War was a test of manhood in the eyes of many, and a person who carried himself with character was well respected within British society.¹ Due to the rise of working

class politics, as well as the conscription of supposed degenerative people, some military officers began to feel that national and militaristic qualities were being undermined.² Written in 1902, English author William Courtney's excerpt *England After War* states, "All nations, after a very long prolonged enjoyment of peace, begin to wonder how far they have been corrupted by ease."³ What Courtney tried to convey is not only that war is the only proven method to test the strength and quality of an empire, but times of peace correlate with a weakening population. During the Boer War from 1899 to 1902, the British army did not perform well due to their lack of sufficient men and the Boers' surprise tactics of guerilla warfare. Although the British Empire came out victorious, a repeat of their performance in the Boer War would give them no chance to win the First World War. Therefore, military officers deemed it necessary for qualities of manhood, honor, and courage to be instilled within soldiers in order to ensure victory. Already present stigmas show that there was not much room for flexibility in regards to gender roles within twentieth century Great Britain. This was expressed through various war posters and propaganda, telling men that they were expected to display their love for the British Empire by serving for their country. Author Greg Harris explains, "Generation after generation of cultural subscription to certain separations of genders, often binary, are so institutionally sedimented and successfully indoctrinated into the gendered psyche that gender constructions appear to be normative, natural."⁴ As bombardments decimated the French countryside, many officers began to tie together the values of masculinity with whether or not soldiers obtained shell shock.

In a 2000 article, historian George Mosse observed the various stereotypes that were attributed to men with shell shock and the effects said stereotypes had on the men's social and cultural involvement both during and after the war. Mosse claims, "The stereotype of those who were thought to menace society's norms, those defined as 'outsiders', on the margins of established society, was in direct opposition to the ideal manhood, the foil to which such 'outsiders' represented in mind and body."⁵ Mosse's study drives home the fact that social stereotypes and prejudice were able to define a disease and the people who contracted it. Although he spends a multitude of his study discussing degeneration and how its presence helped establish stereotypes against soldiers, masculinity needs to play a larger role within his argument. He addresses the role of

**YOUR KING & COUNTRY
NEED YOU**



**TO MAINTAIN THE HONOUR AND GLORY
OF THE
BRITISH EMPIRE**

This war poster, titled "Your King and Country need you", displays an example of gender roles within the British empire! The younger gentleman is meant to follow in the footsteps of his father for the betterment and preservation of the Empire's world authority. This poster also established notions of nationalism through its depiction of proud and upstanding British soldiers willing to protect the crown. It is through military service that any men who enlisted possesses and promoted the values of a true Englishman.

masculinity within British society on occasion, as the main reason stereotypes on shell shocked soldiers came about was the perception of men's role within British society. When discussing issues of masculinity, Mosse suggests, "Shattered nerves and lack of will-power were the enemies of settled society... they endangered the clear distinction between genders which was generally regarded as an essential cement of society."⁶ What Mosse is trying to say here is that stereotypes are difficult to change, and since many perceptions of shell shock were based upon stereotypes of what masculinity should be, they were already a part of British society as a whole.

American literary critic Elaine Showalter argues that masculinity in Great Britain was understood as the opposite of feminine; therefore, if a soldier was not acting like a man, he must be a woman.⁷ She then makes connections with medical professionals such as Lewis Yealland and the aggressive treatment methods he utilized that fortified his views on what caused shell shock. Yealland will be discussed in greater detail later on in this document. Regardless, Showalter's claims do not involve the entirety of the issue. While Showalter's work provides a concise view of how masculinity played a role in shaping attitudes toward shell shock, she does little research on some of the milder and non-disciplinary treatments that came about.

Jessica Meyer, a history professor at University of Leeds, sought to disprove Showalter's theory of masculinity and shell shock. Meyer claims that there was not a clear cut separation between masculine and feminine within British society. Instead, she believes there is an alternative option to view the role masculinity played within the formation of treatment procedures and stereotypes. Instead of a concrete separation between masculine and feminine, Meyer proposes that men experience a regression to childlike behavior as a result of shell shock.⁸ Meyer also stresses the importance of milder treatment through a British medical professional by the name of McDougall. McDougall sought to heal his patients by reconfirming values of how one should behave, and utilizes techniques such as hypnotism and re-education to demonstrate his intentions.⁹ Teaching patients how they should behave formulates the idea of an adult teaching a child how to handle themselves, without inflicting severe harm on them. Overall, Meyer's approach is much more sympathetic, which is reflected by her want for milder treatment

methods and the removal of gender stereotypes from British society. Other historians have also claimed that the issues soldiers faced during and after World War I were less severe than history has stated. Historian Ted Bogacz has argued that over the course of time during and after the war, stereotypes and stigmas regarding shell shock had decreased.¹⁰ While Bogacz provides a decent amount of evidence to support his claim, there are many examples prevalent within this research paper that contradict his notions. Bogacz explains, "Shell shock could not be tamed, it could not be safely attributed solely to misfits, mental degenerates or weak men of the lower orders; rather it was an impervious leveler of classes."¹¹ This quote makes it seem like Bogacz is trying to say that since shell shock affected everyone regardless of class, stereotypes and stigmas did not matter since many different people could relate to its mental and physical effects. Bogacz's interpretation runs counter to what will be proven within this paper, as there are many sources of evidence in regards to the presence of stigmas placed against the image and ability of soldiers.

Historian Peter Leese constructs the notion that war veterans faced a multitude of problems during their psychological and social reintegration into British society after the war.¹² Problems such as lack of government intervention and present stereotypes within British society are mentioned within his work, as they provide the reader with an understanding of not only certain social hardships, but political one's as well. Leese states, "The government failed many of its veterans whether injured or not."¹³ The argument within this paper will seek to show why Leese's interpretation was more evident within British society during and after the Great War. Discussing the stereotypes placed on soldiers after the war provides the reader with a greater insight in regards to the social, personal, and economic problems that many returning veterans faced.

III. A Background on Shell Shock

To better understand the argument being made, a background on how shell shock came about is necessary in order to provide the reader with context. After the Boer War, military technology and production began to evolve immensely in Great Britain. The combination of twentieth century war technology with nineteenth century war tactics caused many soldiers to perish under unfamiliar weaponry. Mustard gas, reconnaissance

planes, and eventually tanks were able to change the way war would be approached and fought many years after the Great War. With this newfound technology came the massive production of explosives, as hundreds of thousands of shells could be made each day to bombard the opponent with. M.S. Anderson, a history professor at the University of London states, "In every great European state, therefore, armed forces in 1914 were larger, more expensive, more national, more eager for conflict and endowed with enormously more destructive power..."¹⁴ Going back to the war itself, many soldiers had a difficult time coping with the nonstop explosives, a type of warfare that had never been experienced before. Henri Barbusse, a soldier during the First World War reflects on the bombings, as in his memoir he writes, "In that tense moment of imminent destruction, we could only remember just then how often we had already experienced it...It is only during a bombardment that one really recalls those he has already endured."¹⁵ Only a few months after the war had begun, the plethora of explosive shells dropped on British soldiers in the trenches had already begun to take effect. Shell shock's presence would change the landscape of how Great Britain approached the war, forcing soldiers and medical professionals to find ways to prevent its occurrence.

In order to comprehend the effects that shell shock had on the war effort, one must be aware of the symptoms and various cases in which shell shock was identified. Going back to the early stages of the war, shell shock was evident in a number of soldiers. Many medical professionals did not know what to make of the disease or how to cure its symptoms. Charles S. Myers, a well known British physician, examined many early cases of soldiers that supposedly contracted shell shock. Within these soldiers, Myers found certain similarities in regards to the symptoms that they experienced as a result of the disease; such as reduced vision and hearing, loss of smell and taste, and lack of memory or ability to sleep.¹⁶ From Myers' findings, it can be seen that he understood enough about the symptoms to recognize their presence, but he could not pinpoint a definitive cause of shell shock. Because of this lack of knowledge regarding the disease, shell shock originally could have been considered a physical disease due to the physical damage the shells could inflict on a soldier's brain. As time went on and the disorder's presence grew stronger, medical professionals such as Robert Armstrong-Jones began to shift their opinions

regarding the cause of shell shock. Symptoms such as excessive fatigue, anxiety, and insomnia all pointed to signs that shell shock was a condition of neurasthenia.¹⁷ Now that shell shock had been narrowed down to a case of neurasthenia, the differing interpretations that supported its cause spawned many theories on how to spot its effects. These interpretations would provide the basis of various treatment procedures that were thought to bolster the soldier's health and morale.

IV. Milder Views and Treatments (Rehabilitation and Sympathy)

Throughout much of the early stages of the war, treatments by medical professionals had rehabilitation at the forefront of its main purpose. The approach of reeducating the soldiers was crucial for maintaining the honor of the individual as well as disproving any stigmas relating to the soldier's condition. An evolving society caused a plethora of nervousness for the British Empire, as rapid urbanization, industrialization, and the perceived spread of degeneration resonated throughout the British population. The changing society and environment as a result of these actions caused heightened fear and nervousness within many people. Widespread and frequent use of explosives through a changing method of warfare would augment the fears of these soldiers. As cases of shell shock became more prevalent, medical professionals perceived many cases as emotional collapses in the face of horrific and indescribable trench warfare. A month prior to Armstrong-Jones' findings, English medical professional F.W. Burton-Fanning described the typical shell shock patient as, "In boyhood, perhaps, he began to evince the characteristics of the nervous temperament, and he did not really accommodate himself to the rough and tumble of school life."¹⁸ Burton-Fanning's approach on what caused shell shock stressed the importance of reeducation of oneself and British values within the population of affected soldiers. Although Burton-Fanning does not directly say that methods of reeducation of honorable characteristics is the best method to prevent shell shock, it can be inferred that he is suggesting that other medical professionals at least try to implement his ideas into their own treatments.¹⁹ Although reeducation was a focal point at the heart of many rehabilitating treatments of shell shock, the concept of reeducation would lead to much more aggressive treatment procedures. This would further exemplify the contribution of stereotypes that hurt veterans ability and

image after the Great War.

There was a magnitude of men that needed treatment for shell shock, and milder treatments were provided in order to combat shell shock's effects and negative perceptions of a soldier's character. This is most likely due to the fact that because they did not know enough about the disease, medical professionals did not want to attempt anything too radical. Treatment methods such as hypnosis, games, and leisure time for reading and listening to music were examples of non-disciplinary and sympathetic treatment methods.²⁰ The general theme behind many of the treatment methods available to soldiers towards the beginning of the war was that treatment was implemented to focus on rehabilitating the individual, not to provide for the benefit of the Royal Military. Due to the inexperience with confronting this disease and the heroic action of surviving a bombardment, the patient was of utmost importance. British physician Frederick Mott explains, "I do not find hypnosis or psychoanalysis necessary or even desirable; only common-sense and interest in the comfort, welfare, and amusement of these neurotic patients are necessary for their recovery."²¹

From what has been researched for this study, the majority of successful cures of shell shock have come from the usage of more peaceful treatments of the disease, specifically reeducation and hypnotism. Other examples such as whirlpools, which was a hot bath usually in a dark room, provided medical professionals with an extremely high success rates, as ninety percent of patients that were placed in a whirlpools fully recovered from their ailments.²² British medical professionals such as Grafton Elliot Smith and T.H. Pear recognize the success of reeducation within treatment procedures, claiming that, "Reeducation is the helping of the patient, by means of new knowledge gained by analysis, to face life's difficulties anew."²³ Smith and Pear exemplified the humanitarian notion that for many medical professionals, the rehabilitation of the patient is of utmost importance when conducting treatment procedures. Ideas such as the formation of hospitals without legal restrictions are seen as essential through the eyes of Smith and Pear in order to provide quality treatment for a variety of patients.²⁴ The concept of reeducation not only seemed to be a successful approach to treatment procedures, but its ideas were incorporated into many other treatment methods that were utilized later on in the First World War. Sadly, the concept of reeducation would

be taken advantage of by a variety of medical professionals, as a once successful treatment method contributed to the many conflicts soldiers faced after the war.

An individual that influenced the usage of non-disciplinary treatment methods was

W.H.R. Rivers. Rivers stressed the importance that the soldier must accept that the bombardment happened and reflecting on one's fears is a major step within the recovery process. In regards to a patient under his care, Rivers writes, "When in place of running away from these unpleasant thoughts he faced them boldly...they no longer raced through his mind at night and disturbed his sleep by terrifying dreams of warfare."²⁵ By working with the patient in a calm manner, doctors could make sure progress was being made for the benefit of the patient, while at the same time protecting the image and morale of the soldier. This would not be the case for some medical professionals, as a change in demeanor towards patients would pose a variety of personal and social problems after the war. This concept will be addressed and analyzed later on within this research paper.

V. Aggressive Views and Treatments (Masculinity and the Ideal Soldier)

Through notions of reeducation and masculinity, many medical professionals and military officers began to shift their views on shell shock and how to treat those affected. After the Battle of the Somme in 1916, many attitudes towards what caused shell shock and how to treat it had changed. As the war raged on, manpower became an issue for the Royal Military, and the presence of shell shock hurt this reality even more. It seems that many British officers began to blame shell shock for their lack of men, and thought of the disorder as a way that removed masculine qualities out of the individual. Doctor and author Stefanie Linden writes, "British medical experts reluctantly admitted that hysterical fits were more common in soldiers than in the civilian male population."²⁶ As officers began to link ideas of masculinity and shell shock, it became more clear that those who developed shell shock were deemed unable to carry out their duties. Wartime psychiatrists Edgar Adrian and Lewis Yealand wrote, "The chief phenomena underlying the hysterical type of mind are weakness of the will and of the intellect, hyper

suggestibility, and negativism.”²⁷ One would expect officers to be sympathetic, as their experience within the trenches would allow them to feel empathy for those suffering, but that was not the case for most men. The purpose of reeducation had taken a dark turn in regards to its interpretation and usage, and its implementation in aggressive treatment methods would do more harm than good for soldiers for the remainder of their recovery and beyond.

This study would be incomplete if it did not mention the major proponent of aggressive treatment procedures, therapist and British military officer Lewis Yealland. Because of his notions, the reeducation of qualities such as character and honor within shell shock patients was scrapped and replaced with disciplinary measures. The focus of neurologists and officers was no longer to rehabilitate the individual, but rather to rush them back onto the front lines. In regards to the disorder of shell shock, Yealland did not consider it to be a disorder. Yealland believed that men who expressed the symptoms of it displayed a lack of discipline, masculinity, and sense of duty. His treatment methods such as shock therapy, hot plates, and even burning a cigarette butt on the patient’s tongue are examples of the aggressive forms of “treatment” that were implemented in order to speed up recovery.²⁸ Much of what Yealland’s approach was in shell shock was to intimidate the soldier into getting better, forcing them to comply with his procedures or else be brought to the court martial.²⁹ Other methods of Yealland involve questioning the want of the patient to get better, not allowing them to leave until they are cured, and the belittling of the patient through punishment and taunting. Historian Tracey Loughran writes, “Wartime doctors were aware of these power dynamics. Even proponents of suggestion agreed that the method worked through ‘the dominance of a strong mind over a weak one, and boiled down to ‘essentially a contest between the physician’s personality and that of the hysterical patient’.”³⁰ These methods run contrary to the ones posed by Rivers, as Yealland seemed to augment the fears of the soldiers rather than to accept them and help the soldiers cope. When taking care of a shell shock victim after the Battle of the Marne, Yealland claims he told a patient, “Remember you must behave as the hero I expect you to be...A man who has gone through so many battles should have better control of himself.”³¹ The diminishing of the efforts to get better set forth by Yealland once again reflect the supposed lack of masculinity that shell

shocked soldiers possessed, leading to the formation of the central issues regarding the stereotyping and marginalizing of wounded soldiers.

A monograph that exemplifies the influence of aggressive treatments and masculinity during World War I can be seen through *Shell Shock: Commotional and Emotional Aspects* by Andre Leri, a French neurologist. Throughout the book, Leri makes multiple connections with causes of shell shock being linked to the emotional capabilities of the soldiers, further establishing that men who possess shell shock are weak and show a lack of discipline.³² Leri makes it clear that in order for soldiers to recover from shell shock, it is up to the practitioner to provide an efficient method that works to get them back onto the battlefield, usually without the soldier's consent. Leri concludes, "All well-informed army doctors are acquainted with, and highly proclaim the considerable part that their moral influence may play in preserving effectiveness during an action."³³ Leri stresses the influence a doctor's demeanor can have quite frequently throughout his concluding remarks. Many medical professionals who were aggressive to the soldier's condition took this approach when conducting shock therapy or reeducation.

VI. The Aftermath of Views and Treatment (Stigmas and Negative Impacts)

The implementation of aggressive methods such as the one's utilized by Yealland led to the formation of a variety of stereotypes and stigmas surrounding the affected soldiers. Since shell shock was considered by many to be a neurasthenic disease, a connection can be made to the various stereotypes held against women who acquired diseases such as hysteria and neurasthenia. By exhibiting the same symptoms as hysterical women, the affected soldiers were placed on the same level as women and therefore were undermined and marginalized. Peter Leese writes, "Many returnees felt the experience of the trenches had permanently separated them from non-combatants...Putting the hurdles of poor medical judgment and ineffective treatment aside..."³⁴ Shell shocked soldiers that came home after the war faced a variety of problems as a result of prejudiced judgment, social exclusion, and financial conflicts. These problems continued to affect Great Britain throughout the 1920's, as the viewpoints of these soldiers lacking discipline and masculine qualities formulated by medical professionals worked to influence the general public well after the

last bomb exploded.

Socially, war veterans had an extremely difficult time reintegrating back into British society as a result of the views of shell shock, mainly due to the stereotypes and stigmas placed against them. It was very common of the returning soldiers to feel alienated within non-combative society, frustrated at their own personal failures during their time in the trenches.³⁵ There was an extremely evident sense of hopelessness and promises becoming unfulfilled in regards to their social and economical place within the post war. Many people within British society began to view shell shocked soldiers as damaged and unable to contribute to a progressing and urbanizing Great Britain. Historian Philipp Blom writes, "...when peace came nothing changed. The returning soldiers were not shining heroes to look up to; they were troubled and traumatized, many of them were crippled, and they had little time for the illusions of teenagers eager to look up to someone."³⁶ Some members of society began to turn to eugenics as an excuse as to why these soldiers could not benefit British society. Turning to eugenics most likely stems from an ongoing fear of degenerative people polluting the British Empire. The stigma that had been set by medical professionals transcended into society and everyday life, as many began to see shell shock patients as inferior, disregarding any accomplishments or accolades they achieved defending their country. This can be seen through a case in which a woman and a shell shocked patient are facing each other in a court case regarding a breach of promise of marriage. When told the husband had acquired shell shock during the war, one of the witnesses states, "...the marriage would be unwise eugenically and unwise for the children. They would be nervous and subject to a nervous state."³⁷ Not only did defective hereditary shape the way many in society viewed shell shocked patients, but this fear of eugenics stems from the viewpoints of medical professionals. Frederick Mott writes, "It is an acknowledged fact that a nervous temperament and lack of self-control as manifested by the existence of neuroses and psychoses is liable to be transmitted to the offspring."³⁸ By playing off of the social stigma of defective heredity, Mott was able to convince many within the general public that interaction between society and shell shocked soldiers would do more harm than good for the advancement of Great Britain. Not only did viewpoints of various doctors constructed the general public's perception on shell shock and the stigmas of soldiers, but their supposed

treatment methods did so as well.

Peter Leese describes that much of the hopelessness that many soldiers felt derives from "a lack of knowledge and experience among the medical service."³⁹ Due to the lack of knowledge regarding shell shock, many of the treatment methods that were utilized had not been proven to work in previous situations. Along with inexperience of the disease, many British military officers had established notions during the war that many shell shock cases were shameless and cowardly attempts at malingering. Because many officers were convinced that malingering was occurring, soldiers that were actually diseased with shell shock could not receive the necessary treatment for their rehabilitation and continued to suffer mentally and physically. Going back to the aftermath of the war and shell shock, the British War Office Committee addressed this issue after the war by stating, "No soldier should be allowed to think that loss of nervous or mental control provides an honourable avenue of escape from the battlefield, and every endeavor should be made to prevent slight cases leaving the battalion or divisional area..."⁴⁰ Also, the various methods of treatment that were implemented and utilized on soldiers varied depending on whether or not the medical professional was sympathetic or aggressive towards shell shock patients, leading to inconsistent results. Although many soldiers eventually stopped displaying the symptoms of shell shock, the variation of treatment methods and interpretations of what caused the disease contributed to the shaping of public opinion regarding the affected soldiers.

Another major hurdle that shell shock patients had to clear was the economic setbacks that surrounded them after the war. Many soldiers after the war were not able to receive their pension due to the British government's inability to provide for the soldiers. Some might think that the government was attempting to make any efforts possible to pay off the soldiers for their services; however, the actions that were taken by British government after the war say otherwise. The Ministry of Pensions appointed Sir John Collie as their leader, who was the head of army medical services during the First World War. Collie's approach towards shell shock was similar to that of Yealland's, as Collie was deeply skeptical towards claims of illness.⁴¹ This move by the Ministry of Pensions was most likely executed in order to narrow the possibility of soldiers who qualified to receive their pension. With Collie at the helm, the Ministry of Pensions

was able to discount many cases of shell shock soldiers who needed their pension, fueled by Collie's skepticism regarding the diseases' reality. Because of Collie's inadequate, strict, and simplistic policies, the Ministry of Pensions was examining 495 cases per week, up from their average of 300 per week.⁴² Collie's mismanagement of the situation and inability to provide for returning soldiers further continued the distress of many soldiers and their families. An anonymous author writes, "...of 8,200 widows' claims made in two years, only 4,300 were successful; of 21,750 first claims for disablement pensions made in 1926, no fewer than 14,500 were refused."⁴³

Going back to where British society fits into this conflict, some individuals saw the flaws within the Ministry of Pensions and began to look past the stigmas that society had pinned down on affected soldiers. British citizens such as T.H. Garside argued that Great Britain and its society as a whole have become a dishonorable country that is unwilling to help those who served. He exclaims, "Here is a man who has fought and bled for you and today, at this moment, helpless and a pauper, the result of a procedure carried out in your name...It may be your son next. What then?"⁴⁴ Garside's stance against the Ministry of Pensions' actions is significant because it represents the distinction that some individuals in British society still saw shell shocked patients as heroes and were willing to help them receive the care that they needed in order to start their post-war life. Another example of this pushback can be seen in T.W. Wilkinson's "Why Should So Many of Our War Heroes be Treated as 'Pauper Lunatics'". Wilkinson mentions, "For a long time they received less, as if it did not cost as much to feed the children of a 'mental case' as those of a man who stopped a German bullet."⁴⁵ Despite the social and economic setbacks that returning shell shock soldiers had faced, steps were trying to be taken in order to help those who were still struggling from the negative effects that shell shock had brought upon soldiers and British society.

It is important to realize that as the conflict progressed, British government and society was attempting to alleviate the struggles and stereotypes of the soldiers. The British government sought to implement new measures in order to prevent shell shock from occurring in any future war, as well as to provide for the betterment of those already affected. The Royal Government stressed methods such as nourishment, not spending



**SERGEANT
CORRIE,**

**Late Army
Service Corp**

Having been invalided out of the Army after service at Anzac, Gallipoli, I think it only fair to let you know of the great benefit I have derived from Phosferine. I have suffered greatly from nervous breakdown and sleeplessness owing to shell shock, but after taking Phosferine for only a fortnight I am pleased to inform you there is a marked improvement in my condition. I eat more, sleep better, and feel stronger altogether. I hope others suffering as I have will give Phosferine a speedy trial.

This battle-stained soldier owes it to Phosferine that he has at last shaken off the nerve-shattering effects of his grim and harrowing experiences. Phosferine supplied the exhausted nerve organisms with the driving force to create the vitality which both overcomes all the nerve wastage of shell shock and outlasts the most extreme privations.

When you require the Best Tonic Medicine, see you get
When you require the Best Tonic Medicine, see you get

PHOSFERINE

A PROVEN REMEDY FOR

Nervous Debility	Neuralgia	Lassitude	Backache
Influenza	Maternity Weakness	Neuritis	Rheumatism
Indigestion	Premature Decay	Faintness	Headache
Sleeplessness	Mental Exhaustion	Brain-fag	Hysteria
Exhaustion	Loss of Appetite	Anæmia	Sciatica

Phosferine has a world-wide repute for curing disorders of the nervous system completely and speedily, and at less cost, than any other preparation.

SPECIAL SERVICE NOTE

Phosferine is made in Liquid and Tablets, the Tablet form being particularly convenient for men on ACTIVE SERVICE, travellers, etc. It can be used any time, anywhere, in accurate doses, as no water is needed. The 4/ tube is small enough to carry in the pocket, and contains 40 doses. Your sailor or soldier will be the better for Phosferine—send him a tube of tablets. Sold by all Chemists, Stores, etc. Prices: 1/3, 3/- and 5/-. The 3/- size contains nearly four times the 1/3 size.

The "soothing syrup" that Wilkinson is referring to is phosferine, a liquid extract of the cinchona bark. Cinchona bark contains an alkaloid called quinine; an ingredient commonly found in modern day tonic water. Quinine was used within the 19th century to cure malaria during the height of British colonialism. The advertisement above attempted to sell the consumer on the beneficial effects and use of phosferine to treat shell shock, although there is no proof phosferine worked to treat or reduce the symptoms of the disorder!

long durations in dangerous situations, and plenty of rest when commanding soldiers within war in an attempt to prevent shell shock.⁴⁶ It might seem like the British government is attempting to help those who have been affected by shell shock; however, the measures that they plan on taking seem like only a band aid to prevent future conflicts from emerging. Despite the British government's choice to take necessary actions in order to help soldiers, the general stigmas were still prevalent within the writing of their report. The report reads, "...when referring to individual susceptibility to 'shell shock' that it is not a matter of general bodily health, nor of intelligence, but of character."⁴⁷ This once again goes back to stereotypes regarding hysteria and how defective heredity is the cause of diseases such as shell shock. Because of this notion, it made the British government's efforts at reform seem rather contradictory.

Other than the British government, some members within British society tried to set aside the stigmas put in place by medical professionals and assist returning soldiers, much like T.H. Garside and T.W. Wilkinson. Although individual citizens could not receive the platform to speak to the extent of the British government, their voice was heard within various newspapers and magazines. Many challenged the views and methods of medical professionals and the British government, as well as the audacity of individuals who treated returning soldiers with such disregard. Wilkinson writes, "It wants facts first, not official soothing syrup, and same action-swift and drastic action."⁴⁸ Besides helping soldiers obtain their pensions and challenging the views of medical professionals, another example includes handing lighter prison sentences to shell shocked soldiers.⁴⁹ The eventual involvement of society to assist soldiers in their social and economic reintegration reflects Great Britain's desire to put the negative aspects of the First World War behind them. Their focus was now centered on strengthening the postwar British Empire for future generations.

VII. Conclusion

The views and treatment methods put in place by various medical professionals shaped the way many viewed shell shocked soldiers in postwar Great Britain. Reflecting upon the actions taken by medical professionals and the British government reminds us that although shell shock had many negative implications on British society and culture, stereotypes and stigmas

should not define a person's place within society. Therefore, it is important not to see wounded soldiers and brush their issues aside, but rather to accept that the disorder had affected many and look for ways in order to prevent similar diseases from occurring, such as PTSD. Associate Head of Humanities and Social Sciences at the University of South Wales, Fiona Reid states, "The stigma of mental illness remains strong and it is still difficult to commemorate and remember the mental wounds of war in a culture which tend to glory or glamorise military heroes."⁵⁰ Nevertheless, nobody should ever undermine the sacrifice that British soldiers made during the First World War, as their courage, strength, and determination has helped construct the world that we currently live in today. No disorder or doctor's opinion will ever take that away.

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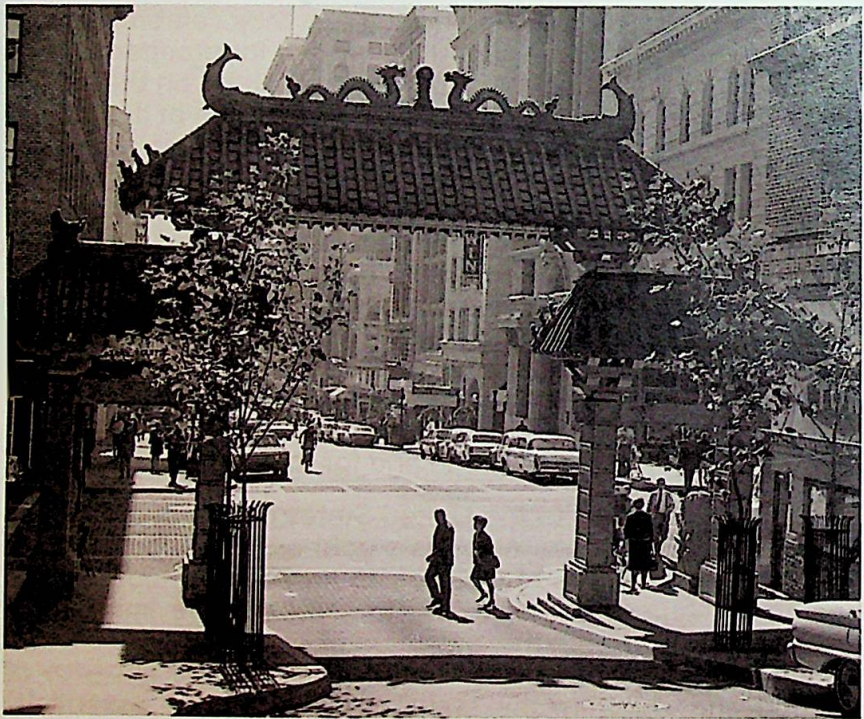
The Transformation of Chinatowns and the
Perceptions of Chinese Immigrants During the
Early Cold War Years

"Gung Hay Fat Choy!" meaning, "happy new year" in Cantonese, can be heard once a year throughout the streets of Chinatowns all over the United States as they celebrate the Chinese New Year Festival and the wishes for prosperity and happiness. People of all backgrounds can stand on the sidewalks or in the streets and watch the procession of lion dancers, drummers, dragons, and performers go by. One might never guess that this festival was not always the magnificent public spectacle that it is today, but instead a private tradition amongst Chinese immigrants and their families as a way to celebrate their roots amidst an unaccepting atmosphere. From the moment Chinese immigrants set foot in America, they have faced turmoil and hardships. The first waves of Chinese immigrants suffered intense prejudice, discrimination, and hatred from "native" Americans and so, in response to this displeasing sentiment, the immigrants developed Chinatowns as a safe haven to live in and for their culture to exist.

Chinese immigration to the United States began in the 1870's after the discovery of California's gold as this finding incentivized huge numbers of Chinese to leave their homeland in search for America's newfound treasure. These immigrants were mostly men, with the exception of the few Chinese women who were came over as well. Because of the absence of women and children, the first Chinatowns were essentially "bachelor societies." The 1875 Page Law and the Chinese

Exclusion Acts did not help to improve this gender imbalance, as they prevented Chinese women from coming into the U.S. However, after 1940, acts such as the 1945 War Brides Act, the 1946 Alien Fiancée and Fiancé Act, and the 1953 Refugee Relief Act allowed for the gender diversity of Chinatowns to expand until the majority who inhabited these ethnic spaces was families.¹

Chinatowns were mysterious to "native" Americans, but for



Chinatown, San Francisco, c.1956. (Library of Congress.)

the immigrants it was a place that reminded them of home and shielded them from the disdain of American society.² These varying views connected Chinatowns and the perception of Chinese immigrants as the anti-Chinese attitude of Americans essentially created these areas, and eventually, they aided in changing the negative perception of Chinese through developments from within that stemmed from the anti-Communist ideals of the Cold War.³

Before the 1950's, the portrayal of Chinatowns was primarily related to gambling, drugs, and crime. Newspaper articles from the early 1900's show this trend, as the majority of them contain headlines such as, "Drugs are Seized in Chinatown Raid,"⁴ or, "Chinese Clubroom Raided by Police: Many Orientals Arrested for Gambling and Chinatown is Much Perturbed,"⁵ or lastly, "Chu Him, Prominent in Chinatown, Killed in Front of Door, Police Patrols Doubled in Chinatown."⁶ These frequent stories spread through the papers and impacted the way that American society viewed Chinese immigrants, as they created a perception that these Asian foreigners, along with their Chinatowns, were dangerous and crime-ridden.

These types of media portrayals shifted, however, during the 1950's due China's fall to Communism and its involvement in the Korean War. These two events intensified the already present indignation towards Chinese, as the U.S. was in the midst of the Cold War and enforcing the policy of containment, having zero tolerance for any pro-Communist sentiment.⁷ As a result, the image of Chinese immigrants transitioned from brave World War II allies to "inhuman and treacherous" beings, putting them in a delicate position in which they could easily become U.S. enemies and the focus of American animosity once again.⁸ However, in response to these developments, the Chinese worked to show that they were not a threat to America and that they did not share the Communist ideals of the mainland. These reactions led to transformations within Chinatowns that were political, social, and economic in nature. These changes were covered and published in media outlets, such as newspapers, which aided in shifting the perception that Chinese were negative members of society to one that recognized them with less resentment and more acceptance.

The political transition that Chinatowns encompassed was an outward support of Democracy. Numerous newspaper articles during this period portray how the Chinese American com-

munity took a stand against Communism and supported the U.S.'s political ideology in order to demonstrate their loyalty to the country. One article labeled as, "U.S. Election Campaign in Final Phase: Chinatown Supporters for Kennedy," shows this new political initiative as it captures a crowd of Chinese holding signs with Kennedy's face on them. The caption reads, "Among the various groups of Democrats attending a rally at the famed Cow Palace in San Francisco on November 2, was this group of supporters from San Francisco's Chinatown." The signs that the Chinese are holding not only have Kennedy's face on them, but also written Chinese characters, which shows the effort that they put in to supporting Kennedy and the blending of both Chinese and American culture for a common cause.⁹ Similarly, another article titled, "San Francisco Chinatown Backs Kennedy" shows this same Chinese support for Democratic as the article states, "A Chinatown 'Citizens for Kennedy' organization has been formed here to support the Democratic presidential candidate," and continues with a comment by the chairman of the group, Mr. Ngao Ho-Hong, in which he expresses his belief that [Kennedy] "could do more to preserve peace" than his opponent, Richard Nixon. Once again, this public story displays how the Chinese actively advocated for Kennedy to become America's next leader and by doing so, displayed their support for Democracy and loyalty to the United States by aligning their beliefs with that of anti-Communism.¹⁰

Another article that demonstrates this political transformation of Chinatowns is titled, "U.S. Chinese Overwhelmingly Against Communists: San Francisco." This article confronts the predicament of Chinese Americans due to mainland China's adoption of Communism and involvement in the Korean War. It describes a statement by The Daily Chinese World that argues that the Chinese in America do not recognize nor support the Communist rule in China. It says, "The Chinese Communists do not represent the people of China...American citizens of Chinese ancestry have demonstrated their loyalty to the United States in both world wars and now Chinese youths in the American armed forces are fighting and dying in Korea for the cause of democracy."¹¹ This shows how Chinese continued to voice their rejection of Communism and continued to try to convince the U.S. that they were allies of the free world.

The social transformation of Chinatowns was another crucial aspect as to how the perception of Chinese immigrants in America changed. Two major components of these transformations were the Chinese New Year festival and the Miss Chinatown beauty pageant. Chinese New Year in America has been celebrated since the year of 1855. The festival started out as strictly family-oriented until 1953, when they transitioned from the private to public sphere in response to the rise of Communism in China and the Cold War in the U.S. The change of audience for this festival developed as a way to fight the resurfaced skeptical and cautious attitude of American society towards Chinese, as they demonstrated the democratic ideal of ethnic diversity.¹² In addition, by opening up this celebration to "outsiders," the Chinese showed America that they were not a threat, "distinguishing themselves from the "Red Chinese""¹³ through cultural celebration.

Henry Kwock Wong, a Chinatown businessman, initiated the opening of the Chinese New Year festival to the public. Chiou-Ling Yeh writes in her work titled, "In the Traditions of China and in the Freedom of America" how, "Wong viewed the festivals as a way to change the public image of Chinese Americans." She describes how he would consistently see the newspaper headlines highlighting Chinatown gambling and raids and how he yearned to share a different side of Chinese culture with the American mainstream - the beautiful parts, such as its music, dance, and fashion.¹⁴ With the turmoil that the Red Scare was causing, Chinese Americans realized that they needed to gain the support of society and defend Democracy in order to protect their own way of life, and so they accepted the idea that the festivals were the way to achieve this.¹⁵ Between 1953 and 1957, the Chinese New Year festivals audience grew dramatically increasing to the point where the number of outsiders watching was higher than the amount of Chinese. Yeh writes on this, saying that, "According to a reader of the Chinese Pacific Weekly, seven or eight viewers out of every ten were not Chinese." This statistic was significant, as this was the kind of exposure the Chinese had been looking for in order to win back the friendship of the American public amidst the Communism chaos.¹⁶

The effect of this festival is evident in several newspaper articles including one from a 1951 issue of the New York Times titled, "Chinatown Less Noisy than Usual in Greeting Year of

Golden Rabbit: At Yesterday's New Year Celebration in Chinatown." In this article there are two photos. One captioned as, "The traditional Chinese dragon parades through the streets," shows people of Asian and white ethnic descent standing together watching the procession. This speaks to the ethnic diversity that the festivals attempted to embody due to it being an embraced aspect of American Democracy. The second photograph shows three men singing "God Bless America" during the ceremony before the parade. This image also reflects ethnic diversity, as it portrays at least two Asian men singing a song that pledges loyalty to the United States beside a man of a different background from them. In addition, this article describes how the pledge of allegiance and patriotic songs were recorded in order to send to President Harry Truman and General Douglas MacArthur. It includes a statement from Chinatown's unofficial leader that explains the significance of this recording, saying that it "is a document of our faith in these United States of America. It also represents our complete repudiation of Communist China and its aggressions."¹⁷ The fact that the recording would be sent to the president of the United States was a massive deal for the Chinese community, as it was the kind of recognition they needed from such an important authoritative figure in American politics and leadership.

Another article titled, "Chinatown Erupts in Tong Festivities: At Yesterday's Celebration in Chinatown," also exemplifies the way in which the festival influenced the portrayals of the Chinese community in the media, as well as emphasizing the vast number of outside visitors the event attracted. Quotes from the article saying, "Chinatown celebrated yesterday with an outbreak of fireworks and the drumming music of the 'dragon' dance... It was the culmination of a week of festivities in the community... Thousands of visitors have been streaming through the handsome Chinese-American styled building," shows once again the public presence that the festival possessed in the media as a New York paper covered a Chinese event in detail. It also speaks to the number of outsiders who came to the festival to watch and partake in the celebration with the quote about the "thousands of visitors."¹⁸ This scope and scale that Chinese New Year festivals were reaching is also evident in articles such as the one titled, "Chinese New Year: Celebration In San Francisco For Three Days," in which it states that the festival "...is beginning to rank with New Orleans' famous celebration of Mardi Gras." This illustrates the

growing popularity of Chinese New Year festivals and their increased presence in the media during this time, giving Chinese Americans the positive portrayal that they needed during this time.¹⁹

Another major development in Chinatowns during this time that helped to ease tensions and improve the portrayal of Chinese to the American public was the Miss Chinatown beauty pageant. This contest consisted of Chinese American girls representing both eastern and western culture in an attempt to improve public perceptions of Chinese Americans. These contests garnered newspaper coverage around the country, which aided significantly in transforming the previous views towards Chinese Americans from ones of skepticism and hostility to tolerance and acceptance. The Chinese American women who starred in this annual contest were able to have the kind of effect that they did over the American public because of their sexuality and gender. Yeh explains how, during the period where the number of men largely outnumbered the number of women in Chinatowns, Chinese men frequently exploited the sexuality of Chinese women for themselves through prostitution. With the rise of the pageants, however, they began to use it in a different way, with the goal of attracting "western" males.²⁰ This is evident in a 1960 article from *The Washington Post* titled, "Chinatown Crowns its 'Miss 1960,'" in which the dress of the Miss Chinatown contestants are described as, "traditional tight-fitting, silt-skirt Oriental dresses."²¹ The tightness and provocative nature of their attire shows this deliberate effort to sexualize the Chinese American woman's body in order to convey a submissive, nonthreatening demeanor to the American public, but especially to the dominant figure in society - American males. Using the female body as a symbol for China instead of its male counterpart allowed the Chinese to openly demonstrate their culture, as it altered the view that Chinese were scheming communists to one that saw them as a "docile, exotic, and feminized minority."²²

Gender played a similar role as sexuality did in this context as the femininity of these contestants allowed for an alignment between Chinese Americans and the American nuclear family and represented a Chinese state of loyalty and submission to America. The alignment of Chinese with Americans developed due to the similar gender hierarchy that Chinese women and men shared in comparison to American nuclear families,

with the male figures being at the top.²³ Similarly, this gender ranking represented a Chinese acceptance of the racial order within the United States that consisted of white Anglo-Saxons being superior to other races.²⁴

Aside from the gender and sexuality aspects of this contest, Miss Chinatown facilitated the development of a positive image of Chinese Americans through the humanization of these women through the media. For example, in the majority of the papers that covered the crowning of a Miss Chinatown, there are details about the winner that highlight aspects of her personal life. In a 1958 article from *The Sun*, there are several details about the winner, Carole Ng's life, such as her hobbies, her aspiration to be a goodwill ambassador for San Francisco, her parents, schooling, and dating life. It also includes her reaction to winning the contest, which was that she, "...just couldn't believe it,"²⁵ which illustrates her raw reaction to winning the contest as an emotion that Americans reading about it could likely relate to, connecting them to Chinese Americans a little more.

An article in the *New York Times* from 1956 also includes these kinds of details about the winner of that year's pageant, Debbie Gong, describing her home and profession. "Queens village girl is winner in beauty contest...she is a stenographer employed by the city," the article states.²⁶ This kind of coverage of the Miss Chinatown queens contributed to the shift of perception towards Chinese Americans as it focused on their lives in a normal, positive, and relatable way that contrasted with the idea that this community was a threat to American society. The parades and pageants formed a positive portrayal of Chinese immigrants as they presented Chinese culture in a way that allowed it to be admired and appreciated.²⁷ Gaining spectators both from within and outside of Chinatowns fostered the ethnic diversity that American Democracy supported and emphasized which further helped the redevelopment of the Chinese American image.

Chinatowns underwent an economic transformation that also had a significant impact on the American mainstream perception towards the Chinese American community. In reaction to China's adoption of Communism, the U.S. placed a ban on trade with China. This heavily impacted Chinatowns, as it resulted in a lack of authentic Chinese products for tourists to buy and for Chinese to utilize themselves. This caused newer

generations of Chinese Americans to westernize rapidly, as the presence of their own culture within the Chinatowns gradually decreased. In the article, "Changing Chinatown; Elvis, Hot Dogs and Hopalong Cassidy," this phenomenon is evident as one Chinese American man explains how, "[his] father was born in China and was an adult when he came to this country. He still likes Chinese foods. I was born in China, too, but came here at age four. I hardly eat Chinese food at all, and my kids are all hot dog fans."²⁸ This shows how Chinese Americans became more Americanized through each generation due to the loss of their culture that the economic restrictions caused. This relates to the changing perception of Chinese as this forced them to adopt and practice American ways, which ultimately showed the American public that Chinese Americans were willing to acculturate to the American lifestyle, signifying Capitalist and Democratic support.

These political, social, and economic transformations within Chinatowns during the early Cold War years altered the way that Chinese Americans were viewed in that they gave the media different stories to tell, which in turn showed America that they meant no harm. The political rallies, festivals, pageants, and acculturation each demonstrated this mentality of acknowledgement and submission towards American authority. This period encompassed very different stories than the ones of the early 1900's that focused on Chinese gambling, violence, and crime. This change in the portrayals of Chinese Americans and Chinatowns in the fifties are evident in newspaper articles such as, "Large Chinese Wedding in San Francisco,"²⁹ "Housing for Aged Set for Chinatown: Chinatown Plans Housing for Aged,"³⁰ and "On a Sunday in Chinatown: There's No Street Compares with Mott Street."³¹ These stories show the beauty and unity of the community that was not previously illuminated or present and because of this, the course of the Chinese American experience in the U.S. was altered in a way that it could be appreciated.

Endnotes

- 1 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 411.
- 2 Chin-Yu Chen, "San Francisco's Chinatown: A Socio-Economic and Cultural History, 1850-1882" (PhD diss., University of Idaho, 1992), 30.
- 3 Chen, "San Francisco's," 4.
- 4 "Drugs are Seized in Chinatown Raid: Bullets Fly, and Woman Breaks Back in Leap from the Second Story," *The Washington Post*, February 1, 1922, ProQuest.
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- 6 "Tong War Expected: Chu Him, Prominent in Chinatown, Killed in Front of Door Seven Deaths this Year Hatchet Men Again Seen in New York Streets and Police Patrols Doubled in Chinatown," *The Sun*, August 3, 1910, ProQuest.
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- 9 "U.S. Election Campaign in Final Phase: Chinatown Supporters for Kennedy," *South China Morning Post*, November 11, 1960, ProQuest.
- 10 "San Francisco Chinatown Backs Kennedy: San Francisco," *South China Morning Post*, October 18, 1960, ProQuest.
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- 15 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 29.
- 16 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 402.
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- 21 "Chinatown Crowns Its 'Miss 1960'," *The Washington Post*, September 5, 1960, ProQuest.
- 22 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 405.
- 23 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 411.
- 24 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 412.
- 25 "Miss Chinatown, U.S.A., Seeks to Spread Goodwill," *The Sun*, February 1, 1960, ProQuest.
- 26 "Miss Chinatown Picked: Queens Village Girl is Winner in Beauty Contest," *New York*

Times, October 8, 1956, ProQuest.

27 Yeh, "In the Traditions," 65.

28 "Changing Chinatown; Elvis, Hot Dogs and Hopalong Cassidy: Ban on Trade with Red China Speeds Westernization of San Francisco District," *Wall Street Journal*, August 19, 1958, ProQuest.

29 "Large Chinese Wedding In San Francisco: San Francisco," *South China Morning Post*, January 11, 1960, ProQuest.

30 "Housing for Aged Set for Chinatown: Chinatown Plans Housing for Aged," *New York Times*, October 23, 1960, ProQuest.

31 "On a Sunday in Chinatown: There's No Street Compares with Mott Street (and Pell, Doyers, Bayard and the Bowery) when the Chinese foregather to talk, shop, visit and eat. On a Sunday in Chinatown," *New York Times*, February 27, 1955, ProQuest.

