

VERACRUZ N.º 2

Domination

Clio 2021



Domination

Clio: WCSU History Journal
Volume 48
2021

Front cover image: Anonymous, "The Arrival of Cortés at Veracruz and the Reception by Montezuma's Ambassadors," *Exploring the Early Americas: Conquest of Mexico Paintings*, Library of Congress Digital Collections. Accessed April 9, 2021. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/exploring-the-early-americas/interactives/conquest-of-mexico-paintings/painting2/detail1.html>

Table of Contents

<i>The Clio Staff</i>	<i>iii</i>
<i>Contributors</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>Dedication: To Professor Martha May</i>	<i>vi</i>
Introduction	1
<i>Ed Dougherty</i>	
The Pizarro Family and the Conquest of Peru	3
<i>Francine Accuosti</i>	
Valhalla Rising (2021 Herbert Janick Prize Winner)	
<i>Ed Dougherty</i>	8
Food Rationing in World War II	
<i>David Frankel</i>	25
Water Keepers (2021 Herbert Janick Prize Winner)	
<i>Kathryn Schwarz</i>	49
A History of the Jews in Russia	
<i>David Standrowicz</i>	71
The 1619 Project and Capitalism: A Review	
<i>Evan Walker</i>	89
The Puritan Religion and the Salem Witch Trials	
<i>Stephanie Miller</i>	93
Two Georges: History in Black and White	
<i>Professor Danielle King</i>	101

The Clio Staff

Ed Dougherty, also known as “the unburnt,” is a graduating senior and the president of *Clio*. His hobbies include hiking, reading, watching Netflix documentaries, and pillaging small villages. He hopes to one day solve the riddle of steel, claim the seven kingdoms for himself, and sit upon the iron throne; or perhaps he will aspire to work for the National Park Service if his initial plan gets too messy.

Dr. Wynn Gadkar-Wilcox (Faculty Advisor) is Professor of History and Non-Western Cultures and Co-Chair of the Department of History at Western Connecticut State University. He spends most of his time singing corny barbershop music and spending time with his family (wife Sujata and daughters Ishika, 8, and Aksita, 4). He is currently completing a book on the modernist transformation of Vietnamese Confucianism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and working on several articles on the 1960s Buddhist movement in Vietnam.

Kathryn Schwarz is a senior History major with a Political Science minor. She enjoys nerding out watching iconic movies, anything to do with being outdoors, playing with her pets and spending time with her family. Accepted to Western Connecticut State University's graduate school in the fall for a Master's Degree in Teaching after her undergraduate graduation in May, she is excited to continue her education here at WCSU. A proud member of the Kathwari Honors Program, current contributing editor for CLIO, past president for the club, and current treasurer, she is very grateful for all the experience and opportunities over the past four years.

David Standrowicz a senior at Western Connecticut State University studying history and secondary education, and he is excited to be graduating in May 2021. Aside from serving as the secretary of the CLIO History Journal, he is involved in numerous student organizations at Western and is a proud member of the Kathwari Honors Program. Although he is sad that his undergraduate years are coming to an end, he has truly enjoyed his time at Western and is thankful for all the amazing memories. He would like

to thank his family, friends, fellow students, and the entire faculty in the Department of History and Non-Western Cultures at Western for their support and encouragement over the past four years.

Evan Walker is Vice President of *Clio* and a freshman in his second semester studying Secondary History Education with a minor in Social Studies. He hopes to one day be a High School History Teacher and run for public office. Outside of School he mostly spends time with his friends from his hometown of Mahopac.

Contributors

Francine Accuosti is a junior, planning on graduating in December 2021 with a degree in History. She plans on pursuing advanced degrees in History with an emphasis on Pre-Columbian and Conquest America, and the Protestant Reformation. In her spare time, she enjoys spending time with her husband and family, gardening, sewing, and making cosplay for conventions.

David Frankel is an MA student in History at Western Connecticut State University. He earned his BA in Sociology from Hobart and William Smith Colleges and his MS in Broadcasting from Boston University. His life-long occupation is in advertising sales and mass media. He has also been involved in various local government commissions for many years. His current pursuit of a graduate degree in history is allowing him to exponentially expand my understanding of our world. This study is one of the most satisfying endeavors of his life.

Stephanie Miller is a Junior at WCSU pursuing a double major in English and History. On campus, she is a part of the English Society and the English Honors Society. She loves to travel and visit various historical locations. In her free time, she enjoys spending time with her family and being outdoors. She is thankful to *Clio* and all who are involved with it for giving students the opportunity to be published in an academic journal.

Dedication

This edition of *Clio* is dedicated to Dr. Martha May, Professor of History at WCSU, in appreciation for her years of service to *Clio* as the journal's faculty advisor (1997-2003) and co-advisor (2012-2020).

Introduction

Ed Dougherty

Hello reader, and welcome to the forty-eighth edition of Western Connecticut State University's *Clio*. The theme for this edition is domination. The dictionary describes the word as "the exercise of control or influence over someone or something, or the state of being so controlled."¹ While that definition can carry a negative--perhaps violent--weight to it, domination is much more of an ambiguous positive word than it initially appears. Though in this edition, you will read about the conquering of peoples, and the respective treatment of the conquered, you will also read about the indomitability of the human spirit and you will be asked to consider how people have dominated the very earth we walk on and bent it to their will. This issue will consider the domination of the frightening unknown gradually exposed by those brave enough to sail to foreign shores, and the ability for a people to dominate the challenges thrown before them; fear, hunger, invasion, hate and even the threat of extermination. We will even see examples of people challenging the dominant collective history of this nation and the domination inflicted on people here, and the subsequent challenging of that control.

To begin this edition, we look at Francine Accuosti's article on the conquest of Peru by Francisco Pizarro and his family. Accuosti's contribution is a classic look at the discovery of the New World, and the subsequent domination of the territories and peoples who lived there by explorers like Pizarro. Second, we have my own article on how culture, religion and innovation helped the Vikings dominate Europe and explore and conquer new lands. Next, David Frankel writes about food rationing in Great Britain, the United States, and the British empire during World War II. The controversies over this rationing, Frankel tells us, is an illustration of how these respective nations ultimately persevered over hunger through adopting new technologies in food production. Next, we have Kat Schwarz's paper on the Colorado River. Schwarz examines the importance of the river as a source of life, the use and

¹ *Concise Oxford American Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).

efficacy of hydroelectricity and the engineering feat of the creation of the Hoover Dam, a grandiose example of mankind's conquering and subsequent domination of nature and our environment. After Schwarz's essay, David Standrowicz introduces us to the experiences of Jews in Russia. This powerful piece demonstrates how the Russian nobility and ruling classes dominated the Jewish people, from anti-Semitic legislation to outright sanctioned attacks on Jewish communities, the oppression of Russian Jews was only matched by their perseverance in the face of such cruel treatment. Following David's paper, we have Stephanie Miller's paper on the Salem Witch Trials, where superstition, fear and jealousy dominated colonial New England and caused a hysteria which claimed the lives of innocent women. Finally, closing out our journal, we have Evan Walker's paper on the 1619 project, which is actively challenging the dominating beliefs of American History and the genuine role of the American slave in building this nation. This piece is joined by profound reflections on the current Black Lives Matter movement from Adjunct Professor of History Danielle King, who reflects on the experiences of two men named George: her father, George King, and George Floyd, who was murdered at the hands of Minneapolis police officers last year.

Domination has also been a theme of this past year and the current, as the world was seemingly dominated by a novel global pandemic, and humanity has now gained the foothold to turn the tables, attempting to control a virus that was once thought to be invincible. If anything, this edition is not just a testament to humanity's domination of the world, but to its own indomitable spirit, and you, dear reader, are proof of that indomitable spirit. Enjoy.

The Pizarro Family and the Conquest of Peru

Francine Accuosti

Known for his conquest of the Incan Empire in Peru, Francisco Pizarro (d. 1541) most likely had no idea what was waiting for him when he started out on his expedition in December of 1530. Little did he know that what was happening in the Incan Empire was in his favor. Setting out on his adventure, he probably thought he was in for fame and fortune, great wealth, and power, as Hernán Cortés (1485-1547) did almost a decade earlier. Because of many failed attempts at an expedition, Pizarro finally, with the help of his friend Diego de Almagro (1475-1538), was able to gain the funds for a quest into Peru. Because of the previous failures, he knew he had to deliver on profit to make his expedition successful, and to receive reinforcements. The huge success of Cortez in Mexico probably put a lot of pressure on Pizarro to succeed.

To join them, Pizarro brought along his four brothers and his cousin. This was a strategic move on his part. This would mean that instead of any profits and titles being shared two ways, it would be split between all seven giving the Pizarro family 86 percent of the rewards. Much of Pizarro's first profits accompanied his brother Hernando back to Spain in the summer of 1533. A lot of the Pizarro wealth was distributed in land purchase in and around the town of Trujillo in Spain where the family was from, and in purchase of royal *juros*. Royal *juros* were the equivalent of today's government bonds. In the first decade after landing in Inca territory, the Pizarro family had invested almost 3.5 million *pesos* in real estate and almost 30 million in *juros*.¹

The Andean landscape is a very harsh one, with mountain ranges, deserts, rivers, and jungles. It was an environment to which the Spanish were not acclimated. This made the Spanish more vulnerable to native diseases. Working against them in this respect was also the lack of a steady stream of supplies. Unlike Cortez, who had the colonies in the Caribbean to get supplies and to send messages, Pizarro and his group were mostly alone. The fact the Incan civilization was not an urban one, rather

¹ Rafael Varon Gabai and Auke Pieter Jacobs, "Peruvian Wealth and Spanish Investments: The Pizarro Family during the Sixteenth Century," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 4 (1987): 657.

one that was made up of small villages, probably confused the *conquistadors*. They most likely assumed the structure would be more like the known Aztec one in Mexico. There were a few large cities, Cuzco being the biggest and grandest of them.

A difference between Pizarro's conquest and Cortez's was the speed at which it happened. Pizarro's march south was hindered by his need for supplies. He had a much smaller band of men than Cortez, but because of the distance from established Iberian settlements, they needed to make frequent stops to gather food and other supplies. Along the way, he was able to gain a strong foothold in the villages of Peru. It is over 1,500 miles from Cuzco to Panama City. The Spanish needed to easily find villages to gain supplies. Helping the Spanish in their quest were the vast road systems. The Inca used these to transport food, military and livestock all over the kingdom. The roads spanned more than 30,000 miles.² They roads were impressive in construction:

The breadth of the road was approximately 20 feet, and stone pillars, in the manner of milestones, were placed along the route at intervals slightly exceeding a league. The road it-self was made of heavy flags of freestone, covered over in some instances with a bituminous cement which time made harder than the stone.³

An important factor to examine when it comes to how Pizarro was able to successfully conquer the Incan Empire was the Incan Civil war that was raging when Pizarro's group first landed. This was important to the conquest because it was a boon to Pizarro's advance south from San Miguel de Piura. He encountered much less resistance than he probably expected. Ever since Europeans came to the Americas, diseases ravaged the native populations. A measles-like disease, possibly smallpox, ran through the Incan people, including the nobility. Included in these deaths was the Incan emperor, Huayna Capac (1468-1524). When he died in 1524, he named one of his sons his successor, who then also perished in the epidemic. The next choice was his son Huáscar Inca (1491-1532). Huáscar was a rash youth and seized power with no regard to his father's previous advisors' experiences. He gave power to his friends

² Magda Von Der Heydt-Coca, "When Worlds Collide: The Incorporation of the Andean World into the Emerging World-Economy in the Colonial Period," *Dialectical Anthropology* 24, no. 1 (1999): 10.

³ Charles J. Merdinger, "Roads — through the Ages: I. Early Developments: Cumulative Index," *Military Engineer* 44, no. 302 (1952): 483-86.

and had anyone that resisted him killed.⁴ Eventually, this news reached another son of Huayna Capac, Atahualpa (1502-1533). Atahualpa's base was in northern Quito, and Huáscar was in Cuzco. When Huáscar refused to accept Atahualpa's customary gifts, war was declared between the brothers and over the course six months, Atahualpa was able to destroy his brother's armies and gain the throne.⁵ The significance of this victory was the sense of confidence Atahualpa gained. He was able to defeat a large army in a very short time. He had a military background and was a skilled tactician on the battlefield. Even after reinforcements came about a year after the landing, Pizarro's forces still numbered under 100 men.⁶ Atahualpa was also misled by his advisors, who underestimated Pizarro's forces, and told the ruler they could "take them prisoner with a few hundred men."⁷ As Cortez has years earlier, Pizarro was able to do his research because of the bonds he made during his journey south.

When it comes to Pizarro's tactics, we notice that they were unique in that it seemed he was much more interested in domination than destruction. When he came to a city, he would use tactics of fear and control. If he experienced any resistance, he would kill just enough people to strike fear in the people of the town or village, and then he would take control. This was a much different tactic from Cortés. He would go into a city and if he experienced any resistance, he would stamp out the whole city. Pizarro's tactics for taking control of the new Incan emperor was similar to Cortez. The point was to capture the emperor and use him as a puppet to control the population and to get as much profit as possible. Atahualpa's confidence was not unwarranted, as he outnumbered Pizarro by forces of nearly 40,000 men to Pizarro's 168.⁸ When he sent traditional "gifts" of greeting to the Spanish, he sent skinned ducks and a representation of a fortress. The ducks were a representation of what he and his forces planned to do to them, and the fortress was what they were to encounter should they proceed in their invasion.⁹ This is an interesting intimidation

⁴ John H. Rowe, "The Inca Civil War and the Establishment of Spanish Power in Peru," *Nāwpa Pacha*, 28, no. 1 (2006): 2.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 3.

⁶ Gonzalo Lamana, "Beyond Exotization and Likeness: Alterity and the Production of Sense in a Colonial Encounter," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 47, no. 1 (2005): 8.

⁷ Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson. "Colonial Latin America -" *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27, no. 4 (2008): 610-611.

⁸ Gonzalo Lamana, "Beyond Exotization and Likeness," 23.

⁹ *Ibid.*, 15.

technique. Part of this may have been because the Inca were a society based strongly on divination, and celestial prediction.¹⁰ This could have been a way to force a self-fulfilling prophecy. Perhaps he felt if he gave this “gift”, where he predicted the end of the invaders, it would come true. Atahualpa was also informed by his scouts that the Spanish could not be gods, because they acted like humans. They ate, drank, slept etc., and they did not seem to perform any miraculous events:

[They] do not make sierras or flatten them, nor make people, nor do they make rivers or water fountains flow on their way-if there is no water, they need to carry it. And if they are not gods, they are men of the worst kind: they take everything they see and desire- young women, gold and silver vessels, rich clothes-and force bound Indians to carry their things.¹¹

This perception of the Spanish begs the question: Who did this help more? While the first thought might be that it helped Atahualpa more, because he did not give everything hoping to satisfy the gods and earn their favor, one could argue that this perception was more helpful to Pizarro. Because Atahualpa realized the Spanish were just mortal men, he most likely assumed their technology was in the same level as his own. If this was the case, then he could easily destroy them if needed, as his numbers were so much greater. Had the Spanish indeed been on the same level of warcraft as the Inca, then yes, he would have been able to stem the tide of invasion.

Another factor to the success of Pizarro’s invasion was the city of Cajamarca itself. Atahualpa did not have his forces in the city when the Spanish arrived. Instead, he chose to keep his forces outside the city in a tambo, or inn-like complex.¹² This provided the Spanish an opportunity to hide around the plaza for an ambush without Atahualpa’s men knowing about it. Atahualpa arrived in the city with only a fraction of his forces, and Pizarro’s men were able to make short work of the capture. Approximately 1,500 natives were killed in the skirmish.¹³

When he was captured, Atahualpa had only been in direct power a short while. His capture decimated Incan morale. He was ransomed for vast sums. 11 tons

¹⁰ Rowe, “The Inca Civil War,” 2.

¹¹ Gonzalo Lamana, “Beyond Exotization and Likeness,” 17.

¹² *Ibid.*, 23.

¹³ Mark A. Burkholder and Lyman L. Johnson. “Colonial Latin America,” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 27, no. 4 (2008): 610-611.

of gold and 26,000 pounds of silver, granting each soldier 45 pounds of gold, and 90 pounds of silver.¹⁴ Pizarro kept Atahualpa alive for less than a year, after which he installed a puppet government. This caused all sorts of problems like a revolution, which is a subject for its own paper.

The conquest of Peru made the fortunes of the Pizarro family. The actions of the leaders of the Spanish and Incan forces as well as the native roads helped in the conquest. The large distances and the landscape hindered the advance of the Spanish. There really is no definitive answer as to what worked best and what was the greatest hinderance for the Spanish, or what was the deciding factor that put the nail in the coffin for the Incan empire.

¹⁴ Ibid., 61.

Valhalla Rising: The Age of Vikings and Their Legacy

Edward Dougherty

Few periods in European history leave as great an impression as the Viking Age. From 793-1066 CE, much of Europe became victims of constant raids, settlement and conquest by seafaring peoples from the North. These Vikings would sack the cities of Christendom, explore the far-flung reaches of the globe, and settle in nations where their legacy lives on even today. Their subsequent success in raiding, settling and exploration can be attributed to two key factors. First, their unique pagan religion which provided strong guidelines and beliefs for their actions both home and abroad. Second, their specialized martial culture that produced infamously fierce warriors and lastly a highly advanced sense of nautical and practical ingenuity that allowed them to navigate the world and tame it. It would be these factors especially that would ensure the Viking's foothold in Europe and help them leave a long-lasting legacy that ensured their success. They opened the pathway to wealth, glory, honor and worthy life everlasting.

For the monks at Lindisfarne Abbey in CE 793, it was any other day. Prayers and hymns were sung, chores done, Christ had been worshipped, and all seemed quiet and quaint. Indeed, the Christian world of England seemed good and fair, and none suspected any sort of disruption. However, the presence of ships on the horizon would bring violent winds of change to the monastery, to England, and to the rest of Christian Europe. The men on these ships were not there to sell or trade goods, but to take and give nothing back. Their Gods were Odin and Thor and Freya, and they did not kneel before the Christ-God that had converted most of Western world. These men landed on the island, killed and enslaved the monks, and looted the entire monastery. Only leaving behind a trail of blood and burning ruins. This date would mark the beginning of the Viking age.¹

¹ Benjamin Thorpe (ed. and trans.), *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, according to the Several Original Authorities* (London: Longmans, 1861), 262.

The Vikings originated from what is now considered Scandinavia, which consists of present-day Norway, Denmark and Sweden. Though these nations shared a similar cultural heritage, the Vikings from these nations seldom acted together, and often had their own agendas. The homeland of the Vikings was relatively inhospitable, and consisted mostly of tundra and forests, with no land for large farms. Vikings played host to brutal winters. The farms that Vikings did have were small, with little variety in livestock. They were, however, excellent craftsmen; this was mainly due to specialized skills specific Vikings had and could do. For example, one woman would make the shirts, clothes and other garments for her village, while another Viking specialized in blacksmithing or wood carving. This specialization created a “quality over quantity” market whose goods were highly valued by other European nations. The trade between these nations became stifled when religion came into play; many of the now Christian European nations had a problem trading goods with a people who still practiced paganism. This hesitance towards trade put unnecessary stress on Viking markets, and as a result they settled for simply taking what they wanted as opposed to trading for it. The attack on Lindisfarne was not the first recording of the Vikings per-se, but the first account of a violent attack upon innocents by them. Indeed, Christianity may have, albeit accidentally, spurred on these attacks, it was the Viking religion that sent them forth to begin with.

“Norse” Paganism played a large part in not only the violent raids, but also helped form the martial culture that produced such incredible Viking warriors. The pantheon of the gods of the Vikings consisted of the chief God Odin and his family. These gods were warlike beings who meddled with the affairs of the mortals and sought to hinder or help when they saw fit to do so. These Gods did not possess a human code of ethics and were deemed to be beyond such “human” social constructs. They were mischievous, spiteful, cruel, and wanton in their ways, especially in regard to the treatment of mortals. Curiously enough, these gods were also not entirely immortal: they were aware of their demise at Ragnarök, the Viking equivalent to the apocalypse. This knowledge about the mortality of all things led to a sense of fatalism amongst the Vikings, an acceptance of one’s own death at some point in time. Yet, immortality was attainable for Vikings; they could ascend to “Valhalla”, a great hall of slain warriors presided over by Odin and the Valkyries who selected the worthy. To

be worthy, one must have had an honorable death, dying bravely in combat.² This one chance at glory would act as an impetus for Vikings to go forth and seek battle wherever they went. They fought as ferociously as they could, for Odin was watching them. Also, unlike their Christian neighbors, the Vikings had no concept of “sin.” While they possessed a moral compass that was catered to their lifestyles, and had laws and regulations in their own lands, they did not receive a set of ethics from a divine source. The Viking gods were not naturally ethical in what they did, and ethics was considered solely a human property.³ These violent, curious, and warlike Gods helped inspire Vikings to sail elsewhere and this mentality would also form guidelines on how Vikings treated foreigners whose land they invaded, as well as the residual treatment of rulers of those kingdoms.⁴ To the Vikings, violence was a justifiable means to an end, just as the Gods themselves did whatever it took to accomplish what they sought to do. As Robert Ferguson has noted, “this Ruthlessness in pursuit of his own ends made Odin feared and admired by his followers and, we as we shall see, Viking warriors abroad would very often take their cue from him in their dealings with the Christian kings of England and Francia.”⁵

With this religious mindset and their own code of ethics, the Vikings built a martial culture around fighting, raiding and combat. This culture differed significantly from those further West, whom though they had their own warriors, were not built on such a socio-political system surrounding warfare and combat as the Vikings were. One notable aspect of this Viking culture was slavery. One of the most prized spoils of a Viking raid were slaves. Vikings would enslave people from the villages they raided, and they would sell them back home, or to whomever they came across in the market. Viking society was stratified not only on political standings, but also on the concepts of “free” and “slave.” Slavery was also deemed to be hereditary; children born to any slave, regardless of whether the father was a free Viking or not, were still considered slaves.⁶ Slavery could also be a punishment to any Viking who broke the law.⁷ A slave’s life was not a nice one; they were used as human sacrifices to

² Else Roesdahl, *The Vikings* (New York: Penguin, 2016), 156-166.

³ Robert Ferguson, *The Vikings: A History* (New York: Penguin, 2009), 31.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 22-25.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 28.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 29-31.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 56-57.

the gods and were killed and buried along with their master when they died⁸. Another key factor of Viking society was honor. Honor was a prized trait among Vikings, and the code of honorable conduct was passed down orally through poems, as well as runic inscriptions.⁹ One source of this code was *The Hávamál*, “The Speech of The High One.” These were poems passed down supposedly from Odin himself. They taught etiquette and conduct and stressed that honor and reputation were the only everlasting things in Viking’s life. Two such verses go like this:

Cattle die,
kindred die,
every man is mortal:
but the good name
never dies
of one who has done well.
Cattle die,
kindred die,
every man is mortal:
but I know one thing
that never dies,
The glory of the great deed.¹⁰

This code of honor only pertained to Vikings, not to the people they raided. Crimes like rape and murder were permissible if they were inflicted upon non-Viking peoples, which led to particular brutality during many raids.¹¹ Though there were laws and legal ramifications for Viking criminals, the biggest impact would have been the shame upon one’s honor. In fact, a Viking’s life was usually structured around the oppositions of honor and shame, as well as living within the confines of Viking law and etiquette.¹² Raiding, however, was not the main job of a Viking. They were farmers and craftsmen first and foremost. Many Viking raiders actually raided out of necessity. Many of them were second born sons who, by Viking cultural standards,

⁸ Ibid., 29-31.

⁹ Roesdahl, *Vikings*, 65-68.

¹⁰ Author unknown, translated by Henry Adams Bellows, *The Hávamál* (Nashville: Fateful Signs, 2016), verses 77-78.

¹¹ Roesdahl, *Vikings*, 65-68.

¹² Ferguson, *Vikings: A History*, 31.

inherited little from their parents. The family house and farm would go to the eldest. This practice, though common, was not set in stone.¹³

What was set in stone and at times quite literally, was their language, or at least its written form. The runes that the Vikings used as an alphabet of sorts consisted of sixteen different characters that were usually carved into runestones, wooden sticks or bones.¹⁴ These runes had different meanings on their own and could also be pronounced differently depending on how they were used.¹⁵ This has led to most runic inscriptions found to be nearly indecipherable, as we do not know what they were trying to say exactly.¹⁶ The runes have been found engraved on various Viking age items, from combs to spear handles, but are abundantly found in runestones.¹⁷ Thousands of runestones have been found in Scandinavia, and other smaller runic inscriptions have been found throughout the Viking colonies.¹⁸ These runestones provide insight into Viking socio-political structure and cultural history. One such inscription found in Sweden reads as follows:

Runa had this memorial made to Spiallbudi and to Svein and to Andvett and to Ragnar, her sons and Helgi's, and Sigrid to Spiallbudi, and her husband. He met his death in Hólmgard in Olav's church. Öpir cut the runes.¹⁹

The runestones act as an invaluable source of archaeological information, as the Vikings were a culture who never wrote down any of their history. Most of what Vikings knew was passed down orally through poems. Most accounts of Vikings are either written by those they attacked or written hundreds of years later as sagas by poets. Poems like *The Prose Edda* provide context into Viking life and their exploits, though from a later time when Vikings as we know them no longer existed. If anything, sagas were an example of cultural remembrance and preservation from a Scandinavia that was changing in both structure and religion. By the time the *Prose Edda* was written, the Viking age had drawn to a close, and a majority of the

¹³ Ibid., 45.

¹⁴ Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 51-53.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Ibid., 14.

¹⁹ Ibid., 15.

Scandinavian peoples were now Christian. The sagas were a way of remembering an honored past, old gods of magic and nature and lineage now lost.

Viking culture was also unique in how it viewed gender relations. Women played a huge part in Viking society. While men held the upper hand in most things, women had some individual liberties and control of their lives to a degree. They controlled the house and the coin purse and could substitute in the political roles of their husbands if needed. Women had such an important role in Viking society that many runestones erected are dedicated to deceased women, whether it was a wife, a mother, or a sister. Women also were important in terms of lineage. Despite public belief, Viking lineage was not entirely patriarchal but could be based on the mother's bloodline as well. A claim of kingship or position of power based on a maternal blood line was equally valid as to that of a paternal one.²⁰

As for combat, there is much debate on a woman's role. There are references made to "shield maidens" in poems, and Odin's Valkyries were all specifically female, which would lead to the belief that the concept of a female warrior was not far-fetched to the Vikings. The great heathen army that ravaged England in the year 890 CE. was said to contain women, but those women were most likely wives of the soldiers²¹. Burial sites have revealed female skeletons surrounded by weapons, indicating that these women may have known how to use them. One such gravesite is the gravesite known as "Bj 581" and was found in Birka, Sweden. This "Birka" woman as she is sometimes referred to, was found in a large grave that depicted a high social status. However, this female was buried with weapons alongside homewares. It was due to this find, that many archaeologists generally assumed the body was male, up until recently when genetic research proved otherwise²². The reasons why she was buried with weapons has not yet been resolved or agreed upon. Bj 581 differed from the norm for female Viking graves, like a rather lavish one found in Oseberg, Norway. Typical female graves contained home utensils, needlework artifacts, jewelry, household items and even in some cases the bodies of lapdogs.²³ Yet, since Vikings seldom, if ever, wrote anything down, there was never any clear

²⁰ Ibid., 62.

²¹ Ibid., 62-64.

²² Charlotte Hedenstierna-Jonson, "Grave Bj 581: the Viking Warrior that was a Woman," Paper Presented at the Archaeological Institute of America Annual Meeting, Assumption College, March 12, 2019.

²³ Ibid.

description of what a “shield maiden” actually was, if they existed at all. Despite the growing archaeological evidence that there may have been female warriors, these women were most likely scarce around the entirety of Scandinavia. Outside of the homestead, the Viking woman had few options aside from marrying a good man and bearing children. However, marriage was considered a union of equals, and the woman was allowed to divorce her husband.²⁴ Adultery also carried a severe punishment for both parties regardless of gender.²⁵ Viking society seemed somewhat more progressive than their western neighbors, a surprising notion given the Viking’s public perception at the time. But that just alludes to how complex their society actually was.

The political culture of the Vikings was complex in itself. The Viking communities relied on a specific socio-political structure to help keep the community together, to defend it and to help organize expeditions and raids. Viking culture was headed by warlords or chieftains, known as *Jarls*, who had bands of warriors around them. In exchange for loyalty, these warlords would reward them with feasts and spoils and constant warfare. These men enjoyed violence and fought for their chief while the warlord himself fought for victory: “the Bravest, and most warlike do no work; they give over the management of the household, of the home, and of the land, to women, the old men, and the weaker members of the family.”²⁶ Profiting from this martial life, Viking raiders usually relied on raiding and violence to make a name for themselves, thinking that labor or farming was deemed beneath them or stupid. In some cases, many of these warriors would be related either to each other or to the warlord himself. Though polygamy was not culturally accepted, it seems Viking men could have multiple “wives”; though these would not have been formal marriages at all, and sired multiple children, all legitimate under Viking law.²⁷ Essentially, a raiding party could have been comprised of a warlord, his sons, and subsequent half-brothers. Ideally, this would create a lasting loyalty between the warriors and the warlord, as his men would share blood ties with him, as well as ensuring the continuation of his bloodline. The lives of children in the Viking community are relatively unknown. If they survived infancy, most likely they enjoyed a brief

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ferguson, *The Vikings: A History*, 45.

²⁷ Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 64.

childhood before being given tasks around the house and given roles in society at large as they grew older. A young Viking man could very well have raided and fought and even probably married while still in his early teenage years. As a Viking, and as an early medieval European in general, children and young adults tended to grow up fast.

Another aspect of the Viking political culture that made them unique was the *Thing*. The thing was an assembly held for all free Viking people to attend. These assemblies were where issues of the village were discussed, fellowships and deals were made, marriages and dowries arranged, oaths made, grievances aired, and general announcements declared.²⁸ This was also where plans and strategies were announced for upcoming raids, and input was accepted by all free Vikings who attended, even women. This was sort of a community “town hall” meeting by today’s standards. While planning a raid and garnering public opinion on it was one thing, executing the raid itself was another issue. One of the biggest factors that attributed the most to the Viking’s success in raiding, exploration and settlement was not just the gods or military prowess. It was their ships.

These iconic ships are usually one of the notable associations that people have with the Vikings. With their iconic dragon figure heads and long oars, they were a foreboding site to any villager who glimpsed them on the horizon. The Vikings were expert seamen, as well as navigators. This, mixed with their martial expertise and religious beliefs, made them formidable opponents and masters on the high seas. Ships were incredibly important to Vikings. They provided means to trade, transport to villages that were ripe for raiding and access to lands that were once considered unreachable. These ships were so important, that several archaeological sites have revealed burials with entire ships inside the burial mound. One incredibly famous site was the Osberg ship in Norway. This site was absolutely massive, almost fifty meters in length.²⁹ It contained the bodies of two women.³⁰ It also contained several wagons, sledges, and even animals. The ship itself was placed under a massive mound. This burial is considered by archaeologists to perhaps denote a high status for the

²⁸ Ibid., 61.

²⁹ Gareth Williams, Sue Brunning, and Jan Bill, “Anglo Saxon and Viking Ship Burial: The British Museum,” *medievalists.net* (June 2014), <https://www.medievalists.net/2014/06/anglo-saxon-viking-ship-burial-british-museum/>

³⁰ Ibid.

individuals who were buried there.³¹ Ships obviously played such a large role in the Viking's success, as well as everyday life, that it had to be included in the afterlife. The amount of hard work and dedication it must have taken to even bury such an object speaks volumes about how much the Vikings stressed the importance of their ships. It would be these ships and their unique construction that would also guarantee success on their raids and make them one of the deadliest forces on both land and sea.

The Vikings also put sails on their ships, which allowed them to catch the wind and sail on long voyages. This was unheard of at the time, as not many were able to cross great oceans and seas with their versions of ships.³² This also made it easy for Vikings to escape if they wanted, as they could not be pursued on the high seas by any ships of those they attacked. These ships had oar ports as well, which allowed a mixture of rowing and sailing, making the Viking ship incredibly fast. These vessels were also designed to sail through shallow rivers, allowing Viking raiders to sail inwards from the coast if they found a river outlet.³³ This also meant that villages and cities inland had no greater sense of safety than their coastal countrymen. These ships also had keels, which took most of the damage from being pushed up onto shore, but also made it quicker to be pushed back out to water, making the landing and leaving of raiding parties efficient and lightning fast.³⁴ The ships could also go under bridges due to the masts being removable and allowing oarsmen to do most of the work.³⁵ In short, these were cutting edge ships, capable of great speeds, and able to penetrate the innermost rivers of Europe. This lightning nautical speed matched with ruthless brutal precision made experiencing a Viking raid a truly terrifying ordeal. As for how the Vikings found their way around the seas and rivers they sailed, the answer lay in their rather unique navigation skills. It is generally believed that the Vikings had no real navigation tools, but it is suspected that they used the stars, the waves and the sun to navigate where they were. These routes were then passed down through oral tradition.³⁶ Essentially, their routes consisted of them sailing to a shoreline, then sailing down it until they reached a city or village or inlet

³¹ Ibid.

³² Roesdahl, *The Vikings*, 87-92.

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Ibid.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 89-92.

that would take them further inland, at which point, they had the option of going by foot the rest of the way.

Using this mixture of martial culture, high-tech sailing ships, military speed and prowess, the Vikings were able to obtain vast wealth and territory, allowing them to explore new areas and settle new lands. They made settlements where they raided as well. These factors also helped them dominate their opponents, who lacked the capabilities to do little else but defend themselves from perpetual attack. It is no surprise that these sailing methods coupled with their faith and skill, brought enormous success to the Viking endeavors. It also made the Vikings see those they attacked as inferior sheep waiting to be plundered.

In 845 CE, a Viking named Ragnar Lothbrok led series of raids against Francia. These raids culminated in the sacking of Paris within the same year. According to Ragnar, “never had he seen lands so fertile, and so rich, nor a people so cowardly.”³⁷ The cowardice of the French paid off, as France succumbed to paying the Vikings 7,000 pounds of gold and silver as a ransom for France’s safety as opposed to trying to fight Ragnar and his men.³⁸ This became a custom of other nations as well; simply paying off the Vikings instead of allowing them to run rampant over the country. This created dilemmas as well, as the Vikings would frequently return expecting the ransom to be paid out again.³⁹ Gold and silver, however, were not the only goods Vikings sought. What they wanted just as badly was fertile farmland and a place to settle that was actually hospitable for agriculture. They would find that much of Western Europe would do nicely, and thus the Viking colonization of England, Ireland and other countries began.

The beginning of the English raids by Vikings began in 789 CE but continued until at least 886. However, as the raids progressed over the years, the Vikings began to slowly settle into this alien country. This culminated with Danish Vikings taking the northern territory of York and Eastern parts of England between the years of 865-866 CE.⁴⁰ King Alfred of England (848-899) agreed to a treaty

³⁷ Peter Sawyer, *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Vikings*. (Oxford University Press, 1997), 40.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ Danielle Trynoski. “The Viking Cities of Dublin and York: Examining Scandinavian Cultural Change and Viking Urbanism,” *medievalists.net* (April 2012), accessed March 23, 2021. <https://www.medievalists.net/2012/04/the-viking-cities-of-dublin-and-york-examining-scandinavian-cultural-change-and-viking-urbanism/>

between the English and the Danes. The territory was called “The Danelaw.” It was essentially an autonomous Viking colony. Upon settlement, there began a mixture of English and Danish peoples, slowly blurring the lines between who was a Viking and who was English. Around the same time, the Vikings began to settle in Ireland. There, the Vikings found a small, swampy area that was easy to settle and defend if necessary. They named the place “Dubh-Lin”, meaning Black-Pool, in 845 CE, which would soon evolve from a few small fishing huts, into a much larger Viking settlement known now as Dublin.⁴¹ The geographies of York and Dublin were similar in that both areas resided near a river.⁴² This made trade, plus the arrival and departure of raiding ships more accessible to these settlements. The downside to acquiring these territories was that the Vikings would have to fight tooth and nail to both acquire and defend them, as the native populations were understandably hostile to the Vikings being there.⁴³

“The wind is rough tonight/tossing the white-combed ocean;/I need not dread fierce Vikings/crossing the Irish Sea.”⁴⁴ This poem was written by an Irish monk fearing the seemingly endless raids by the Vikings. Official Irish cities and towns did not exist during the Viking age, and the only real structures that kept an otherwise nomadic people gathered, were the monasteries and the farms that surrounded them.⁴⁵ Unfortunately, this made the monasteries prime raiding targets for the Vikings, who would reap massive spoils of both wealth and slaves⁴⁶. In one instance, sixty-eight individuals were “lost to death or slavery”⁴⁷ at the hands of Vikings. To escape these attacks, the Celtic Irish peoples began to move more and more inland in order to build better defenses. What transpired was a dangerous game of cat and mouse. To combat this change in their prey, the Vikings changed their own tactics. Instead of their usual smash and grab blitz they had become so infamous for, the Vikings chose instead to follow the Irish and hunker down in camps and winter in the inland area.⁴⁸ The results of these encampments resulted in the finding

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² Ibid.

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Trynoski, “The Viking Cities of Dublin and York: Examining Scandinavian Cultural Change and Viking Urbanism”.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

of a plethora of artifacts, indicating that several thousand Vikings may have been encamped in Dublin at a time.⁴⁹

These camps, also known as *longphorts*, were originally designed for ship repair when the boats were out of the water during the winter months.⁵⁰ Over time, these camps began to grow into fortresses with non-military settlements inside.⁵¹ This was also due to a need for defense from the Irish kings who attacked the Vikings as they wintered. According to archaeological research done in Ireland, Dublin seems to have been the largest of these forts.⁵² Over time, these settlements and forts became larger and more permanent, with more settlers moving inland. Dwellings were put up around these forts. Eventually Dublin would evolve from simple camp to a growing urban city; a hub for Viking trade routes along the Irish coast.⁵³ The attacks on the monasteries and Irish people stopped altogether, and instead, the Vikings worked out an agreement with them. The Irish would pay taxes to the Vikings in return for protection and the cessation of any further raids.⁵⁴ Whether it was intentional or not, the Vikings shaped Ireland, notably Dublin, from a small swamp with fishing huts to a large urban center of commerce and trade. The Vikings brought pain and devastation to the Irish peoples, but they had also brought urbanization, commerce and economy to a nation that essentially had nothing to its name. Today, the Viking museum in Dublin pays homage to their presence, proudly displaying the trove of artifacts found therein. From the bloody seeds of conquest, prosperity bloomed.

York was a different story. Originally a Roman territory, it had since been taken over by the Christian kings of Northumbria, the strongest of all the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms.⁵⁵ York also became the religious capital of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, as it contained the only other archbishopric and only cathedral on the island.⁵⁶ York also already had infrastructure as well. Archaeological research shows that the Anglo-Saxons utilized some of the remaining Roman structures.⁵⁷ However,

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Trynoski, "The Viking Cities of Dublin and York: Examining Scandinavian Cultural Change and Viking Urbanism."

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ Ibid.

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Trynoski, "The Viking Cities of Dublin and York: Examining Scandinavian Cultural Change and Viking Urbanism."

⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

the archeological evidence also shows that the city was grossly underpopulated and was already experiencing “urban decay” by the time the Vikings arrived there.⁵⁸ They faced little resistance when the time came to settle. The Vikings by this time had changed their motives from simple acts with quick raids, to longer campaigns for land and resources. The Viking army marched from Kent to York in 866 CE and took the city fairly easily.⁵⁹ They stopped the campaign at York, declared it their new capital city of the territory, and began settling down within it. Soon, soldiers became manufacturers and farmers. Visions of war turned to visions of agriculture as York became an urban city of commerce and trade amongst the Vikings. Archaeological evidence found between 1976 and 1981, in the Coppergate area, revealed that the city did indeed expand in both industry and population once the Vikings arrived, as determined by the soil layers matching the period and the abundance of artifacts found therein.⁶⁰ Items included, but not limited to: iron coin dies, jewelry, leather shoes, scabbards, knives, needles, combs, wooden cups, plates, amber, jet, ceramic wine containers from the Rhineland, Byzantine silk, Chinese pottery, gaming pieces, whistles and pan pipes. All these examples point to a flourishing Viking Settlement in both cities, and that these areas were experiencing large economic and social growth.⁶¹ In many ways, the Vikings forced change on these two cities, forever altering them arguably, for the better. Through them, prosperity emerged, and from muddy swamps and ruins came urban areas of great wealth and industry. This was how the legacy of the Vikings would live on, not by the sword and the axe, but by the plough and coin.

Dublin and York are but two examples of how the Vikings settled and expanded their reach, not just across Europe, but the world. In 874 CE, the Vikings discovered and settled Iceland. In 982 CE, Erik the Red discovers and began to settle Greenland. The Vikings would even try their luck, unsuccessfully, in Spain. Yet, the most famous exploit of the Vikings, one that is still important to this day, was the discovery of what the Vikings called “Vinland”, so named after the abundance of grape vines they saw. It is now known as North America. The topic of the Vinland expeditions is a rather exciting one. It points to the fact that Christopher Columbus

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Trynoski, “The Viking Cities of Dublin and York: Examining Scandinavian Cultural Change and Viking Urbanism.”

⁶¹ Ibid.

was in fact not the first to discover North America. Rather, it was Leif Erikson (c. 970-c.1020), son of Greenland founder Erik the Red; and he did so some centuries earlier. The *Vinland Saga* tells the story of Erikson's exploits in as true a fashion as a poetic saga possibly could. Though the saga is a story of sorts, there is sufficient concrete evidence within it regarding North American topography and natural resources that seems to paint a clear picture that the Vikings had in fact been in North America.⁶²

Further archaeological evidence, in the form of a Viking era settlement in Newfoundland discovered by archaeologists Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad provides irrefutable evidence of a Viking presence in North America.⁶³ There is also a famous map, now at Yale University, that seems to depict the route to, and the outline of North America as the Vikings knew it. The legitimacy of this map is debated; some believe it is genuine, some believe it is a hoax, and some think it is real but was made after the Viking era. Nevertheless, Vikings landed in North America, but the question remains as to why they did not stay. The sagas and the archaeological evidence point to a specific reason as to why the Vikings never stayed. That reason was the Skraelings.

For centuries it was debated as to whether the Vinland Sagas had any merit to them, or if they were just works of Viking fiction. Upon the discovery of the site in Canada it became clear that this was no myth. However, a specific part of the tale puzzled scholars up until then. It pertained to a battle fought in Vinland between Vikings and what the sagas referred to as "Skraelings". This name is an obscure definition, and nobody is sure why these individuals earned a name like that, and what the Vikings may have meant by calling them that has since been lost. However, it has since been determined that this is referencing early Native Americans, specifically the Beothuk tribe, now extinct.⁶⁴ These two groups most likely did not start out as hostile, but over time skirmishes erupted as verified by the sagas. Vikings obviously had the military advantage in terms of weapon quality. Having the ability to smelt and forge iron weapons, gave the Vikings the upper hand. It also appears that

⁶² *Vinland Sagas; The Norse Discovery of America*, Magnússon, Magnús, editor, translator; Hermann Pálsson, 1921-2002 (New York: New York University Press, 1966).

⁶³ Ibid.

⁶⁴ Brian Burfield. "Sagas, Swords and Skraelings: The Vikings in North America," *Medieval Warfare* 3, no. 1 (2013): 47-52.

the Beothuk tribe were in awe and afraid of these weapons and their lethality⁶⁵. The presence of Vikings arms and armor, along with metal ornamental garnishments and trinkets most likely intimidated these people who only were using stone tipped weapons at the time⁶⁶. The Beothuk, however, had the home advantage. The Vikings, at this point in time, accustomed to strange lands, were out of place in North America. They did not know the terrain, and they were far away from any sort of military backup. Indeed, even in the sagas, despite having the fighting advantage, Leif Erikson did lose men to the Beothuk. The first fight seems to have occurred after Leif Erikson's brother Thorvald and his men slew some eight Beothuk and incurred the wrath of others who engaged the Vikings in battle. Thorvald became the only casualty, but the Vikings succeeded in driving their foes away.⁶⁷ The second battle came some time later, when the Vikings traded the Beothuk milk for furs and pelts. The natives agreed to the trade but were upset afterwards. The natives were understandably lactose-intolerant, since they had never had milk before.⁶⁸ There was no way for the Vikings to have known this, but it made matters worse when the Vikings killed a native for trying to steal weapons.⁶⁹ Fearing reprisal, the Vikings made ready for battle. This time they had reinforcements from a recent company sent to Vinland, led by Thorfinn Karlsefni.⁷⁰ Still outnumbered, Torfinn plotted to trap the Beothuk warriors, using the forest to their advantage. The resulting battle ended in victory for the Vikings as the Beothuk warriors fled after being properly routed. Allegedly, Leif's sister Freydis, who was very much pregnant at the time, even managed to fight as well; grabbing a sword, exposing her breasts and screaming at the Beothuk, tapping herself with the sword to goad them into attacking⁷¹.

Overall, the source of the strife seemed to be that these were two completely different and incompatible sets of cultures. Language barriers aside, one was a stone age people, the other an iron age people. Both were aggressive towards the other and both shared a healthy level of distrust. The Vikings had ventured in to somewhere

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ Ibid.

⁶⁷ Burfield. "Sagas, Swords and Skraelings: The Vikings in North America." *Medieval Warfare* 3, no. 1 47-52.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

⁷¹ Magnús Magnússon and Hermann Pálsson (Ed. and Trans.) *Vinland Sagas; The Norse Discovery of America* (New York: Penguin Books, 2003), 100-101.

completely new and different, and this time it did not pay off. It simply became too dangerous to live under the threat of constant attack in a strange land with a foe who had superior numbers. This eventually led to the settlers moving back home and away from Vinland, despite all it offered. Vinland was a gamble for the Vikings, and it cost them more than it was worth. They would still visit Vinland for lumber and other goods, but any sort of long-term settlement had been thrown out by that time.⁷²

Interestingly, DNA studies of certain Icelandic peoples today show traces of Native American descent, a genetic reminder that Vikings once roamed North America, and the now extinct Beothuk could still exist even if only on a genetic level.⁷³

The Viking age lasted from 793 to 1066 CE. They changed or discovered much of the known world. From Asia and the middle East, all over Europe and North America, the Vikings established themselves as a cultural force to be reckoned with. They were lords of the seas, masters of the axe and sword, farmers and craftsmen. They literally carved their names across history as one of the greatest forces ever to put themselves upon the European map. Yet, like all empires and golden ages, it came to an end.

One of the death knells for the Viking age was Christianity. By the end of their age, most Vikings had accepted the Christ-God into their pantheon and moved on from Odin and the others, though that transition took some time. No longer were they able to land victories like they used to either. Nations had grown wise to their tactics and practices and had grown to a point where they could effectively fight back. Alfred the Great took back England and dismantled the Danelaw, though by that time most of the cultural mixing had already happened and most people had Viking blood in their veins to some extent. The Vikings had grown rich from trading and manufacturing as raiding became less and less of a glorified occupation. The political sphere had shifted as well. Scandinavia had become distinct kingdoms now. Gone were the days of the warlord; now replaced by legitimate kings like Harald Fine hair, who unified Norway as its first king. The sun was setting on the Viking story, and it would eventually end with the death of Harald Hadrada, and the invasion of England by the Normans of France. Ironically, William the Conqueror of Normandy was descended from Vikings himself.

⁷² Burfield, "Sagas, Swords and Skraelings," 47-52.

⁷³ Ibid.

Despite them being gone, Vikings play a huge part in pop culture today, whether it be the logo of an NFL team or even the iconic, if not horribly inaccurate horned helmet. There is even a resurgent interest in the Viking's history, spurred on by recent and exciting archeological finds. Their unique religion, martial culture and technological prowess on the high seas earned them riches, combat, land, and glory. Their successes in life, and the successes of their age, were heavily influenced by these factors. Without them, the Vikings would have been little more than mere pirates. These factors would be the tools by which the Vikings would shape their world and leave a lasting impression for ages to come. In a way, this allowed the Vikings to achieve a sense of immortality, if only in legacy and cultural memory. Perhaps Valhalla is found rather in the pages of history than in some magical hall. If such is the case, then the Vikings have more than earned their place in it.

Food Rationing in World War II

David Frankel

This writer has maintained a healthy diet and regular exercise throughout his adult life, with a strong belief that both lead to longevity. He was attracted to the topic of food rationing from the book, *The Taste of War* by Lizzie Collingham, and further inspired by the biography of Lord Woolton, the innovative head of the British Ministry of Food during much of World War II, in a book entitled *Eggs or Anarchy* written by British food critic William Sitwell.¹

Lizzie Collingham's premise is that food growth, production, and distribution were critical issues involving the World War II conflict and its ultimate outcome. Food was a driving force for both the Axis Powers, especially Germany and Japan, and the Allied Powers. There was substantial food mismanagement and neglect worldwide throughout the war in such diverse areas as the Indian subcontinent, Africa, and China.² William Sitwell chronicles the life of Frederick James Marquis, ennobled Lord Woolton, who was appointed Minister of Food in 1940. He had ultimate responsibility for the feeding of all citizens of the British Empire throughout the war. Food was an important tool to all combatant nations in terms of maintaining maximum military strength and high morale as well as determined support for the war effort on the home front.³ Great Britain was forced into a centralized economy which Collingham terms as "war socialism" during the conflict while the United States, the only combatant country with more than adequate agricultural resources, was able to take a more laissez-faire approach with minimal food controls.

British Rationing

British food rationing was designed to ensure a fair and equitable distribution of available food to all social classes and to prevent hoarding. Collingham believes

¹ Lizzie Collingham, *The Taste of War: World War II and the Battle for Food* (New York: Penguin, 2013); William Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2016).

² Collingham, *Taste of War*.

³ Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*.

that while the British, in general, did a very good job with its limited domestic food resources, it failed miserably in such areas as the Indian state of Bengal where three million residents died of a preventable, man-made famine.⁴ The U.S rationing system was much less vigorous than the British as America had more than sufficient food supplies and was actually able to export food to other Allied nations.

Food's role in the War World II conflict stems back to developments in the last quarter of the nineteenth century when the urban areas of Europe shifted from a primarily grain-based diet to one of meat (which this author believes is the exact opposite of what should comprise a healthy diet). The future Axis powers, Germany, Italy, and Japan, all felt quite disadvantaged by the dominance of the British Empire and the United State in terms of international food trade at the time. All three Axis countries felt that this disadvantaged trade position deterred each from reaching their respective great power potential. Visions of substantial, self-sustaining agrarian empires drove the Axis countries to war in the 1930s and resulted in horrendous German and Japanese atrocities during the conflict.

Britain entered World War II as the country most depend upon wheat imports, yet never had to ration bread during the war. (Ironically, bread rationing was introduced immediately after the conflict had ended). Instead, early in the war, the Ministry of Agriculture, through local County War Agricultural Executive Committees, successfully advanced the concept of substituting potatoes for bread. The ministry introduced new technological innovations for enhanced agricultural production and pricing policies which greatly benefited British farmers who were encouraged to grow certain crops--in particular, potatoes. It was later analyzed after the war that these technological advances may not have been as effective as originally planned. The success of British farmers may have simply been due to increasing agricultural acreage and old-fashioned hard work. This diligent effort allowed for the British internal food supply to increase from 33 to 44 percent during the war and enabled the nation to cut back on some costly imports of non-essential foodstuffs. In 1943, Britain was able to cover half of its bread grain requirements with domestic wheat. Potato production increased by an impressive 87 percent which, in turned, motivated the Ministry of Food to encourage potatoes as a substitute for bread. The paradox was that there was a surplus of potatoes. This surplus was diverted as feed for

⁴ Collingham, *Taste of War*, 147-48.

hogs. The great shame of this overgrown potato crop was that it was not utilized to combat the tragedy of Bengal famine on the Indian subcontinent. The British rationale at the time was concerned with what was considered higher priorities and logistics regarding the overall war effort as well as Winston Churchill's general disdain of the citizens of India.

The British also benefited from the American lend-lease program which started in March 1941. The U.S. supplied Britain with large quantities of frozen and canned meat which, in turn, boosted home front morale. Iceland also benefited during the war by supplying Britain with fish. The Ministry of Food constantly complained about by the high cost of fish during the war years from both imported and domestic sources, but its complaints were generally unheard. Iceland was able to build a substantial foreign currency reserve during the war with its fish trade and utilized this currency to increase its fishing industry in the postwar years.

An equally important source of food to Britain during World War II came from the various dominions and colonies in its empire. The Commonwealth countries had to sometimes restructure their domestic agricultural sectors to accommodate the motherland's nutritional needs. The Australians supplied Britain with much of its frozen meat including a failed dehydrated mutton program at both the beginning and end of the war. Starting in 1943, however, Australian meat was almost entirely diverted to the U.S. military in the Pacific theater. Canada became Britain's major source of pork products. New Zealand provided significant amounts of dairy products to the British. A non-Commonwealth country, Argentina, supplied about 40 percent of the British meat requirements during the war. Condensed food was the key to keeping Britain adequately fed. Collingham notes that the British were forced to sacrifice "taste" for "energy" in their food supply.⁵

The Battle of the Atlantic deeply impacted the imported British food supply. During the early years of the war, German U-boats inflicted tremendous losses on British merchant marine shipping. Britain was unable to make up for these losses as the German Luftwaffe bombed British shipyards, docks, food warehouses, and transportation systems. Late 1939 brought a wartime food crisis to the British Isles resulting from insufficient levels of wheat and flour plus an incapacity of the rail system to transport food to the various geographical locations which required this

⁵ Ibid., 13.

food. The autumn and winter of 1940-41 was the apex of the British food supply problem. Prime Minister Churchill set up the Battle of the Atlantic Committee which concentrated on repairing ships and docks with 40,000 men diverted from the armed services. The American lend-lease program, commencing in early 1941, was immensely helpful in allowing the British to repair ships in American shipyards. It should be noted that, throughout the war, there was substantial American distrust of British estimates for food requirements.

The British Ministry of Food found itself in a position of having to convince its allies, the U.S. included, that a maximized food export effort to Britain was required in order to continue its war effort. Lord Woolton, to be discussed later in this paper, miscalculated the U.S. capacity of providing food to Britain including substantial amounts of meat.⁶ The Ministry was constantly fearful that food imports would drop to a point of providing insufficient nourishment to the British population and military. The Ministry's estimates of high food requirements were frequently met with skepticism by United States Minister of Agriculture, Claude Wickard, who was also concerned about American domestic civilian and military food supplies. Wickard referred to the British as "companions in misfortune."⁷ The American War Shipping Administration was certain that British requests for food were based on an overestimate of stocking needs. Ultimately, Harry Hopkins, the U.S. administrator for the lend-lease program, agreed to divert frozen meat to Britain which had been originally allocated for the Soviet Union.⁸ The British public, even at the height of The Battle of the Atlantic, was never confronted directly with the problem of hunger, but did have to substitute various foods for others. The most serious threat to the British food chain occurred in 1942 and 1943 with the American refusal to replace the meat supplies from Australia which had been diverted to U.S. military forces in the Pacific theater. As the Battle of the Atlantic turned in favor of the Allies in 1943, Britain's food supply became more stable although the Ministry of Food was never quite comfortable with the food situation until 1954, nine years after the war had ended, when rationing finally came to end.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 139.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 114.

⁸ *Ibid.*

British Empire Rationing

World War II intensified Britain's exploitation of its empire. The Colonial Development and Welfare Act was created in 1940 to control economic development throughout the British Empire. The goal of this act was to fully utilize the colonies' resources to the advantage of the homeland. Many of the empire colonial governors felt that food rationing was not a feasible option for both political and economic reasons and, instead, entered into "gentleman's agreements" with food suppliers and traders in their respective territories to keep food prices stable. These agreements were constantly ignored. The poor in many of the British colonial territories suffered greatly from inflated food prices. The high prices pushed the poor into less nutritious, cheaper food which, in turn, led to increased health issues. The British actually exported food stocks throughout the war from its colonies, many with food supply problems, in order to support the empire's worldwide military efforts. Food riots took place in Iran, Lebanon, and Syria in 1942 as well as behind the front lines during the Allied North Africa campaign. White farmers in Rhodesia were allowed to utilize unwilling, conscripted African laborers to maximize their agricultural production. The Rhodesian colonial government created the Native Labour Supply Commission, which continued forced farm labor through the 1970s and was greatly responsible for Britain's loss of the colony (which was later renamed the present-day Zimbabwe). Lord Swinton, the Resident Minister for West Africa, coordinated the economic policy for the Gold Coast, Sierra Leone, Gambia, and Nigeria territories. Lord Swinton's goal was to keep food supplies stable at affordable prices for his colonial citizens while, at the same time, exporting cash crops to the British homeland and allies. Britain, in turn, used the net profits from this endeavor to help pay for the American Lend-Lease program.⁹

Australia provided over half of the supplies used by the U.S. military in the Pacific theater. By the middle of the war, Australia and New Zealand were supplying over one million American servicemen with about 95 percent of their food requirements. Australia diverted its meat export from Britain to the U.S. troops. America, in turn, pledged to pick up the Australian meat export slack to the UK. This supply arrangement had its problems. The U.S. failed to meet its meat quota

⁹ Ibid., 139.

obligations to Britain while the Australians were not providing the desired high quality of meat to the U.S. armed forces. The U.S. military sent a division of nutritional experts to Australia, including Major Belford Seabrook from the Seabrook Farms company, to help maximize the country's agricultural production and distribution. This division completely modernized the Australian canning industry. The nation's agricultural acreage doubled, and by 1944, Australia's produce capacity was over a million tons per year. 50 million pounds of canned fruits and vegetables were sent to U.S. servicemen throughout the Pacific.¹⁰ Many Australian civilians resented the food shortages and rationing during the war caused by the U.S. military supply effort and were angered by the superior quality meals which American servicemen were consuming. Some Australian towns in the northern part of the country were particularly hard hit with shortages due to nearby U.S. military base food requirements. It should also be noted that the U.S. military frequently complained about the quality of Australian-supplied food as not being up to the high American set standards.

The governor of India, Viceroy Lord Linlithgow, was ultimately blamed for the full-scale Bengal famine in 1943 and 1944. Three million in the state died, either as a result of starvation or from diseases brought on by malnutrition. This total was higher than the combined casualties suffered by the Indian Army in both the First and Second World Wars. The Indian colonial government was unable to create a viable food policy during World War II for fear of catastrophic political dissent. India's poor were particularly vulnerable to rising food costs and suffered the consequences of a restricted diet. The Quit India Movement, started in August 1942 by Mahatma Gandhi and his Indian National Congress, demanded immediate independence and distracted the British colonial government from the serious food crisis.¹¹ Winston Churchill had an extremely hostile attitude toward the Indians and did not provide the country with necessary support. His rationale was that resources had to go to more critical areas for victory in the overall war effort. After the fall of Burma to the Japanese, the Indian colonial government worried about a possible invasion from that Axis power (which never occurred). The overall morality of British rule in India has been questioned by its handling of the massive Bengal famine.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 83.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, 144.

However, this issue was not the most important factor with regard to Indian independence after the war in 1947. The overall British rule of the Indian sub-continent for almost a century had simply not provided its native population with an adequate, abundant lifestyle. The end of World War II culminated with the end of much of the British Empire and its exploitation of its various colonies.

Britain introduced food rationing in early 1940 to insure a stable and equitable distribution to all of its citizens and residents during the war. Initially, neither the Ministry of Health nor the Ministry of Food considered the nutritional quality of food to be rationed but, rather, the amount which was readily available. It was known that the British population would have to expend far more energy in the war effort than during peace time. Both ministries took into account the types of foods necessary to meet these increased energy considerations. The government held a Scientific Sub-Committee on Food Policy conference in mid-1940 which formulated plans to maintain nutritionally balanced rations. The Ministry of Food was instructed to follow the sub-committee's recommendations regarding which foodstuffs should be prioritized. Recommendations included so called "protective foods" to maintain good health and also emphasized the importance of animal protein in a regular diet.

Britain had a major problem with its bread supply due to the previously described import problems during the Battle of the Atlantic. White bread consumption was discouraged due to its lack of nutritional value (much to the chagrin of the British public). Gardening was greatly encouraged to increase domestic production of fresh fruits and vegetables. British gardeners had great success with onion and potato cultivation. The Ministry of Food provided cooking instructions for vegetables with the goal of best preserving their vitamin content. The government introduced the cartoon characters of "Dr. Carrot" and "Potato Pete" to encourage a healthy diet based upon readily available foods. The British public was encouraged to grow vegetables and fruit in their private gardens with the "Dig for Victory" campaign. Two typical British housewife radio characters, "Gert" and "Daisy," were featured daily on "The Kitchen Front" morning program on the BBC to reinforce the concept of a nutritious diet with the available food supply. The British public was generally not pleased with the overall quality of food provided during the war. The Ministry of Food made efforts to lift the population's spirits with receipts which called for "mock" food substitutes and "Victory Dishes" only with limited success. It

is interesting to note that the British upper and middle classes diets were leveled downward while the lower working class actually began to consume a more substantial and healthier diet as result of rationing. The food nutrition gap between all social classes in the country was substantially narrowed during the war. The London school system medical officer noted at the end of the war that height and weight differences among children of the various social classes had completely disappeared.

The British military strove to improve both the quality and amount of its food rations in order to increase the morale of its fighting forces. Initially, British military cooks took little pride in their work which resulted in great discontent of the meals served to the servicemen (who were primarily conscripts). The Army Catering Corps was established in March 1941 to rectify this problem. It was headed by Richard Byford, a career catering manager, who staffed the corps with peers from the catering industry. The goal was to improve the standard of cooking throughout the British Military. Byford used Professor Cedric Stanton Hicks of the University of Adelaide, Australia to greatly improve military cooking equipment including stoves. Dr. Hicks also supported a substantially more generous ration of almost 4000 calories daily to the troops. Professor Hicks used the slogan of "Fighting with Food" to promote both cooking skills and relatively healthy diets in the British military.

By the end of the war, Britain and its dominion countries and colonies had generally healthier civilian populations than before the conflict due primarily to improvements in diet. This was the result of co-operation between government officials, nutritional scientists, medical doctors, and quartermasters in the military. Nutritionists became much more prominent in the post-war world in defining both the quality and quantity of food intake to insure healthy lives.

Lord Woolton, British Ministry of Food, Biography

Frederick James Marquis, later known as Lord Woolton, head of the British Ministry of Food, was born into a working-class family in Manchester, England in 1883. He was an excellent student in school and won a "County Council Exhibition" competition which allowed him to attend the highly ranked Manchester Grammar School. He soon surpassed his modest family in terms of education. (Marquis had been admitted to Cambridge University but had to decline its offer due to financial

limitations and his father's ill health). He majored in chemistry and psychology as an undergraduate and ultimately earned a graduate degree in economics at the age of 23. Marquis became quite interested in sociology as a postgraduate and was involved in the “settlement movement” of the early twentieth century in Liverpool. The movement advanced the notion that poverty could be alleviated with the creation of communities of both rich and poor who would share knowledge and skills. Marquis studied the poor in Liverpool and never forgot the consequences of poverty. This experience would greatly affect his work at the Ministry of Food during World War II.

Marquis was involved in teaching, social work, school management, and journalism in his early career. He managed to avoid military service in World War I due to feet problems. He suffered from life-long intestinal issues which would also affect his Ministry of Food work in terms of a perceived healthy diet. Marquis’s great career break came from an employment offer at the Lewis's Department Stores through a chance meeting with Sir Rex Cohen who was chain's Managing Director.¹² Marquis was able to experience all aspects of the retail business through the 1920's and 1930s and was pivotal in growing the company into the largest department store chain in Britain. He became quite prominent throughout the country and was knighted in 1935 in recognition of his service to the British retail industry. Marquis took the title of Lord Woolton. In April 1939, Woolton was asked to advise the British War Office on military uniforms and was given the position of “Technical Advisor on Textiles.” Woolton immensely disliked this job which entailed supplying clothing to the British military. There was an immense lack of communication and a wall of bureaucracy within the war office which made his position an almost impossible task. As an example, he was able to purchase pants for the military but not the buttons required for the trousers (in that pre-zipper era for flies.) The buttons were not deemed as clothing material and had to be ordered by a separate department which did not coordinate with Woolton's division. When Woolton mentioned this problem to the Prime Minister's office, he was told by Sir Horace Wilson that “you are up against the machine of the Civil Service.”¹³ Woolton’s experience paralleled our present-day U.S. President Donald Trump. Both had

¹² Sitwell, *Eggs or Anarchy*, 50.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 59.

substantial business careers and were thrust into bureaucratic, red tape, public service. The “civil service machine” point can be compared to Trump's notion of “the swamp” in Washington. Both men were determined to “drain” their respective swamps.

Woolton was ultimately recognized for his service at the War Office by King George VI in June 1939 by being elevated to the peerage of the House of Lords. Later that year, he was appointed Director General of Equipment and Stores in the newly formed Ministry of Supply with the task of managing clothing for the entire British nation. This position, in turn, led Woolton to the Ministry of Food directorship in April 1940. He was first appointed by Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain and was asked, unexpectedly, to continue in the role after Winston Churchill took the prime minister position later in the year.

Lord Woolton used his substantial past experience as a successful business leader in his position as Director of The Ministry of Food, sometimes to the great annoyance of the ministry's career civil servants. He even ruffled Winston Churchill's feathers at times. Churchill generally disdained the notion of businesspeople in government. Woolton emphasized his humble background to the British public, often noting that he had come from a working-class family. His study of British poverty in the early twentieth century was an extremely important factor in the formulation of his plans for feasible food distribution goals during the war. Woolton called upon the cooks of Britain to act as front-line soldiers and creatively utilize whatever food was available. He appeared regularly on the BBC's morning *Kitchen Front* radio program in order to communicate directly with the British public. He emphasized that the British war effort depended upon the hard job of industrial workers who had to be fed sufficiently in order to maximize their effectiveness. He warned people not to hoard and strongly hinted that hoarders would be punished if Lord Woolton first determined the state of Britain's food supply both in terms of domestic and imported sources.

A National Registration Day was held in late September 1939 to ascertain the number of people, including the royal family, who had to be fed in the country during the approaching war. The registration day was a success, with 41 million out of the total British population of 46.5 million responding. Ration books were to be issued to insure equitable food distribution. Woolton ultimately felt responsible for the food security for all 532 million citizens throughout the entire British Empire. He insisted

upon the highest business standards of all working at Ministry of Food and did not tolerate employee indiscretions. He was quite pleased to replace career civil servants with responsible businesspeople whenever possible.

A study of the diets of working-class families in sections of London indicated that those respondents tended to eat plain and relatively basic foods. This research greatly helped Woolton mold future food distribution plans. He was keenly aware that a sufficient food ration was critical for maintaining high public morale which was essential for winning the war. Woolton was particularly concerned about food imports and the potential problems caused by disruption. A poll in late 1939 found that 60 percent of the British public comprehended the necessity for food rationing.¹⁴ Woolton decided to implement the rationing effort before it actually needed in order to ensure British food security.

The rationing program formally began in January 1940, first for butter, bacon, and sugar, and later in March, for stable meat prices as opposed to meat quantities. Tea rationing followed in July. In 1941, jam, marmalade, syrup, treacle, and eggs were added to the rationing list. Rice, dried fruit, condensed milk, cereal, canned vegetables, soap, candy, biscuits, and oaks were included in 1942 in the midst of the war's food import shipping crisis. Sausage was the last food rationing item to be included in 1943. Allowances for various foods were made throughout the war depending upon each item's availability. The ration books were "buff-coloured" for adults and green for children. The books controlled the amounts of food allocated on a weekly or monthly basis. Purchases were marked in the books by shopkeepers to ensure that those items could not be bought for a second time in the allocated rationing period. The ration book themselves became a precious commodity but were not a substitute for payment. Rationing was completely universal in Britain during the war years and was administered by the Ministry of Food which used information compiled from the National Registration Day. Individuals which special nutritional requirements such as infants and pregnant mothers were provided with extra rations for specific foods. Food stores kept the redeemed coupons and forwarded them to local Food Offices which then allowed the shops to purchase new stock from registered food wholesalers. The Food Offices reported to local Food Control

¹⁴ Ina Zweiniger-Bargielowska, *Austerity in Britain: Rationing, Controls, and Consumption, 1939-1955* (New York: Oxford, 2000), 70.

Committees which, in turn, reported to Divisional Food Offices who were in direct communication with the Ministry of Food. There was a substantial British food hierarchy created, consisting of 1,200 local offices, 1,520 control committees, and 19 divisional offices. All food retailers, hospitals, and caterers were included in this reporting system.

Woolton also viewed rationing as an opportunity to institute a healthier diet as a means to enhance life in Britain. He utilized educators, agricultural experts, nutritionists, and dieticians for advice on achieving this goal. After the war concluded, Woolton firmly believed that he had been successful in contributing to the overall improvement of health for the British population. Because Britain has a rather rigid social class system, it is noteworthy to appreciate Woolton's remarkable rise during his life from a humble, working class background to becoming a major business and government leader as well as an important political figure after the war.

United States Rationing

The United States economy was pulled out of the Great Depression by World War II. America did not have a meaningful and viable welfare system in place in the 1930s in spite of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's best efforts and intentions to help the 15 million unemployed in the country. Hunger was rampant throughout the country. In 1941, the Office of Defense Health and Welfare Services estimated that about 45 million Americans who did not have sufficient food to maintain good health. The U.S. Surgeon-General, Thomas Parran, warned during the year that the food situation could be a threat to the country's military strength and industrial production as well as lowering the morale necessary to fight in a major war. General Lewis Hershey, head of the Draft Board, found that 40 percent of the men called up for military duty were unfit to serve as a result of poor nutrition.¹⁵ World War II brought an end to the massive unemployment suffered by the country during the Great Depression. The wartime economy also brought relative affluence to the American civilian population. Average food expenditures increased by 8 percent. The U.S. Government initially was forced to introduce rationing in order to divert high quality and condensed food to both the American military and wartime allies. The U.S. rationed canned meats, fruits, and vegetables domestically to honor lend-

¹⁵ Collingham, *Taste of War*, 417.

lease commitments to its British, Soviet, and Chinese military partners. In 1943, sugar, candy, coffee, various dairy products such as butter and cheese, frozen and dried produce, and red meat were also added to the domestic food rationing list.

The U.S. Office of Production Management was responsible for the redistribution of material necessary for the war effort. The Office conducted a conference with leading businessmen to present a shopping list of what was needed for this worldwide military effort. Each corporation volunteered to supply the requested items on the list and, of course, expected payment for the goods and services provided. Secretary of War, Henry Simpson, believed this business profit-making approach was necessary and vital during the war in order to maximize the country's industrial potential. This strategy was, indeed, extremely successful. By late 1942, the American military economy was greater than that of the combined enemy Axis powers. By the end of the war in 1945, the U.S. had produced over two-thirds of the military equipment used by the Allies during the conflict.

The U.S. Government was very cautious about its interventionist measures on the civilian population for both morale and political reasons. The federal government introduced rationing in order to fairly distribute various food item shortages equally across the country's social and economic groups. The public was told that rationing was necessary in order to protect the ability of individual food choices. The government used the ideology of personal freedom to justify its rationing restrictions. The American public generally had a somewhat hostile attitude toward government intervention. The business sector was even more opposed to government dictates. The relatively hands off approach used by the U.S. government with regard to food consumption during the war was enacted with these attitudes in mind. This strategy did limit the influence of nutritionists in determining standards for the American diet. It also should be noted that the U.S. Government never had a food czar during World War II with comparable powers to Britain's Lord Woolton and the Ministry of Food. This lack of a strong U.S. government food executive was partially the result of the American hands-off policy with regard to private business operation and the relatively lax food rationing to the civilian population. It can be speculated that if the war had gone badly for the U.S. resulting in the need for greater food restrictions, a food czar might have indeed been appointed by either FDR or his successor, Harry Truman.

The U.S. National Research Council created two boards in 1940 to determine the country's food policy during the upcoming conflict. The first commission was the Food and Nutrition Board (NFB) with the purpose of gathering dietary research and nutritional standards. The second commission was the Committee on Food Habits (CFH) with the task of implementing the NFB's findings into specific recommendations for meals. The NFB presented its most influential findings at National Nutrition Conference in May 1941. The NFB data included a table of daily allowances for various foods and vitamins necessary to maintain good health. This table was utilized by the U.S. Federal Government and various private agencies for both civilian and military use. The recommendations tended to be overly generous and included a wide variety of foods. They were partially created to placate the agricultural industry and various food interest groups. The NFB recommendations were widely circulated in the mass media of the day which included newspapers, magazines, and radio. The Department of Agriculture printed a brochure in 1943 entitled the "National Wartime Nutrition Guide." The results of this campaign were mixed. By the end of the war, the American public understood the value of healthy and balanced meals but did not necessarily follow the recommended guidelines. An opinion poll taken in May 1943 found that rationing and shortages had made almost no impact on the civilian American diet. The biggest complaint by the U.S. public was the rationing of red meat which was being diverted to both the American and British military. There was a small black market for red meat during the war, but it never reached the point of being a threat to the U.S. economy. There was also substantial public resentment regarding sugar rationing. Sugar was redirected to the wholesale food sector from retail stores. The U.S. food industry conducted the War Advertising Council which was attended by members of the advertising and media communities as well as government officials. Its purpose was to provide strategies for promoting healthy eating. The Council's results were also mixed. American nutritionists, in general, had little executive power during the war and were primarily limited to only providing advice (which much of the public failed to heed.)

Private employers tended to be responsible for feeding their workers and created eating facilities of their own discretion. The U.S. government generally took a "hands off" approach to regulating industrial catering and food provision. The Office of Price Administration (OPA) paid little attention to workers' complaints of

small meal portion size and accompanying high prices charged at company cafeterias. The OPA's Nutrition Division (ND) was given the task of assessing factory cafeteria lunches. In one example, the ND found that an Illinois plant's cafeteria meal offerings were 71 percent "poor" in terms of quality and quantity but well nourishing according to the NFB guidelines. Workers made high incomes during the war and could well afford to feed themselves. The main advantage of eating in a company cafeteria was the convenience but certainly not the culinary experience. There was never any danger of mass malnutrition or starvation in the U.S. during the war as was the situation in most of the other combatant nations.¹⁶

It is interesting to note the Coca-Cola used the war to maximize both civilian and military consumption. The company was exempt from sugar rationing as it was the primary soda vendor for military bases and war factories. Consumption of its Coca-Cola and Dr. Pepper drinks were encouraged for every meal and work breaks. The popularity of the Coca-Cola brand was spread throughout the world by American servicemen and military canteens during the war. This popularity has had "staying power" to the present day.

The deep historical racial divide in American society continued through the war years. African Americans were employed in low wage menial positions in both the civilian and military sectors. Segregation was actively enforced. African Americans were excluded from the benefits of wartime wages while were forced to deal with wartime inflation. The Roosevelt Administration did not adequately address the black community's grievances during the war. (The country would not deal with these matters until forced to do so in the post-war period of the 1950s and 1960s). Many of the New Deal relief programs were phased out during the war which particularly hurt the country's southern farming belt. One important program which was retained was the provision for school lunches. These meals were critical to mothers of school children who working in war plants, and as a result, did not have the time to prepare mid-day meals for their offspring. Anthropologist Margaret Mead, head of the Committee on Food Habits, argued for school lunch menus which would not be offensive to the various ethnic groups in the country. This suggestion ultimately led to a rather homogenized American diet. A major glitch in the school lunch program was the problem that the federal government would cover the cost of

¹⁶ Collingham, *Taste of War*, 423.

the food, but the states had the responsibility of building and maintaining lunchrooms and kitchens as well as paying the workers. This resulted in some of the poorest states in the nation having the fewest school lunchroom programs which, in term, led to the least nutritious diets for their numerous needy residents. It can be concluded that the American food rationing system was far less effective as a welfare tool than the rationing system implemented by the British during the war.

The U.S. Government provided generous meals to its military forces during World War II in order to maintain both maximum fighting strength and troop morale. Standard rations at American military bases contained 4,300 calories per day while troops on the front line received over 4,700 calories daily. Few U.S. draftees felt any national obligation to serve in the military and complained about both the food and pay whenever polled. General George Marshall instituted an overall plan which recognized troop welfare as an essential element of waging a successful war. To ensure high morale, the U.S. military maximized field hospitals, bathing facilities, mail delivery, recreation, and good nutrition for the troops. For many recruits from poor states, the food in the military was substantially better, in terms of both quality and quantity, than their past regular diets as civilians. The menus for the U.S. military were based on the same principles as the school lunch program. They were filled with generic "American" food with the notion of not offending ethnic customs. American military bases around the world featured Post Exchange stores with supplemental treats including candy, tobacco products, and drinks. These stores greatly helped Coca-Cola's popularity grow to the point of soft drink dominance. U.S. Troops initially used C rations at the front which were packaged in awkward containers with generally unappetizing food. Later in the war, K rations replaced C rations which included a tastier diet, eating utensils, cigarettes, soap, and even toilet paper. American troops were supplied with meals which were far superior to those of any other combatant nation, Allied and Axis, in the war.

The stress of combat often caused loss of appetite. U.S. military quartermasters paid close attention to this matter and developed efficient field kitchens to provide fresh, hot appetizing food for the soldiers at the front lines to help ease their stress. B rations were introduced and prepared at these newly renovated field kitchens which provided each front-line serviceman with five pounds of fresh and hot food daily. B rations were, indeed, the "gold standard" of military meals

served by any country during World War II. B rations included a wide range of foods, supplemental ingredients, and condiments and was certainly a morale booster for troops in the front lines.

Conclusion

The United States emerged from the war as a superpower with enormous resources to produce a healthy and plentiful food supply for its population. America had only weak emotional support among the civilian population for the world conflict, perhaps because the country was buffered by the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans from the Axis Powers. The U.S. quickly dropped food rationing after the war and was extremely reluctant to reinstate it. The British public, on the hand, had an extraordinary amount of support for the war effort and were determined to not accept a Nazi regime. The German military was just a few miles off the coast of Britain in occupied France and in nearby waters. The British were willing to accept far more sacrifices than their American counterparts.

Hunger was rampant at the end of World War II. A major drought in 1946 effected Europe, the Soviet Union, and portions of South America, the Indian subcontinent, and Asia. The American public had no interest in another round of rationing. Former U.S. President Herbert Hoover was in charge of the "Famine Survey" which included visits to thirty countries in less than two months. Hoover pressured the British to distribute over one million tons of food reserves to the less fortunate on the European continent. The British government was forced to introduce bread rationing and cut meat consumption. The country had to extend food rationing until 1954. The British nutritionist, John Boyd Orr, was elected director-general of the newly established Food and Agriculture Organization in 1945 with the goal of buying surplus food to be distributed to needy nations. He produced a movie in 1946, *World of Plenty*, whose theme was that the dietary and agricultural techniques developed by the Allies during the war should be applied to the entire post-war world. Orr was awarded for his work with the Nobel Peace Prize in 1949. And yet, the British government did not feel that his proposals were realistic and did not support implementing them.

The U.S. preferred to send food aid to struggling European nations through individual grants rather than as part of an international coalition. The Marshall Plan

was enacted in 1947 to help rebuild war-torn Europe and was also used a political and ideological tool against the new communist enemy. The Marshall Plan attempted to highlight capitalism's ability to provide for a comfortable and abundant lifestyle. In the post-war years, Britain lost much of its influence and territory in its empire. One of the most significant impacts after the war was the rise of American ideal of abundant food for all of its citizens. World War II greatly advanced the science of nutrition, agricultural production, and food processing but, unfortunately, did not necessarily enhance healthy diets. Instead, the advances of nutritional science brought increases in refined carbohydrates, sodium, and essentially "empty" calories to many foods. The results, in turn, have led to more widespread obesity along with accompanying health problems.

Postscript

This writer is a member of the Baby Boomer generation and was born a few years after World War II had ended. I had a sister who was about one year younger. Both of my parents were in the U.S. military during the war serving in the European theater. My father was in the infantry and saw action at the Battle of Bulge where he was awarded a Purple Heart medal. My mother was an army nurse. Neither discussed the details of their wartime exploits (as was common of that generation), but my mother proudly told of capturing four German soldiers who surrendered to her with the Allies' "safe passage" leaflets. My parents met immediately after the war and were married within a year. Our family lived a comfortable middle-class life, first in suburban Boston and later in suburban New York.

During the ensuing two decades after the war, my parents provided us with three substantial and nutritious meals each day with menus that might have been inspired by their U.S. military service. Breakfast would include fruit juice, eggs, pancakes, waffles, and breakfast meat as well as toast. Lunch would consist of sandwiches made with cold cuts, tuna, or peanut butter and jelly accompanied by a desert of cookies and, sometimes, candy or a piece of fruit. Dinners included meat as the most prominent portion, usually steak, which was served three to five times per week along with a small salad, "instant mashed" potatoes, and canned vegetables, and were completed with a packaged desert of cookies, cake, and ice cream. Occasionally, the dinner meat menu would be altered with roast beef, lamb, pork chops, poultry,

and seafood. My mother's specialty, meatloaf, was served a couple of times per month and was considered a "gourmet" treat. My sister and I would constantly complain about the repetitious steak dinners. My parents would simply grin and tell us about their experiences during the Great Depression and the hunger which they witnessed in Europe during the war. The frequent family steak dinners may have been the psychological result of the U.S. domestic red meat rationing which our relatives on the home front had endured during World War II. Our parents provided us with a large glass of milk at every meal. We children were given daily vitamins in the form of a liquid which my mother put in our milk with an eyedropper. She would camouflage the taste of the vitamins with chocolate or strawberry syrup. Our family consumed mainly canned fruits and vegetables although we certainly could have afforded fresh. Both of my parents would have a daily cocktail before dinner and sometimes gave us "Shirley Temple" non-alcohol beverages. When reflecting on this menu, it seems apparent that my parents were serving the same, rather bland, generic American food which was served in the military and in school lunch programs during the war. My mother was intensely hygienic, probably as a result of her career as a registered nurse, and taught us at an early age to wash our hands both before and after meals as well the proper techniques for cleaning plates, bowls, utensils, and food surfaces.

Our family barely utilized the school lunch program which was first introduced by the FDR Administration's New Deal during the Great Depression in the 1930's. Our elementary school near Boston did not have a student lunchroom but did serve milk and cookies each school day to students in their classrooms. This was a supplement to lunches brought from home. Our newly constructed junior high and recently renovated high schools in suburban New York City did have student cafeterias which provided both hot and cold meals. The food quality in both schools was only fair. My parents continued to pack school lunches for us. The quality of the food did seem to improve slightly during our high school years. Metal school lunch boxes became quite popular in 1950s and 1960s. They contained sufficient space for a single serve meal along with an insulated bottle and cup for a beverage. The lunch boxes were adorned with popular childhood characters from television, movies, and cartoons. The lunch box concept was an innovation from the ration containers used by American front-line troops during World War II.

As our family became increasingly affluent, we would regularly eat Sunday dinner at restaurants serving the same traditional American cuisine which we consumed at home. My parents frequently went out with their friends on Saturday nights and would always make sure that before they left, we children and our babysitter, were sufficiently fed with either frozen TV dinners or store-bought roasted chicken and sides and, of course, deserts, almost in the style of a military field kitchen. When the 1960s arrived, a third night of eating out was added, usually in the middle of the work week, at a casual restaurant or cafeteria. My mother did not seem to especially enjoy cooking and baking although her food was, indeed, very good. Our family had little experience with "foreign" food in the post-war years. We children thought that pasta came from a can. Frozen "international cuisine" purchased at a supermarket was generally terrible. It was only as a young adult that I experienced "authentic" Italian, Chinese, and Mexican cuisine (which, of course, has been "Americanized" for U.S. taste buds). I also found that I greatly enjoyed hot, spicy condiments which had been unknown in my youth. Our family certainly enjoyed the abundant and relatively inexpensive food of post-war America which has endured to this day in the 21st Century.

Addendum

In 1940, the British government issued the Yellow Move Edict, which required the nation's most important ministries to relocate from London to other parts of the country in order to avoid German bombing and sabotage. The Ministry of Food moved 5,000 employees and office equipment to the small seaside town of Colwyn Bay in North Wales. A token staff remained at the Ministry's Portman Square offices in London to mask the relocation. The Ministry occupied office space in most of Colwyn Bay's schools, private homes, retailers, hotels, and on the local Penrhos College campus. The relocation effort was a complete success which the Germans never discovered. Had the Germans known about Colwyn Bay, they have easily destroyed the Ministry of Food offices with comprehensive bombing and, as a result, caused mass starvation throughout Britain.

Lord Woolton was an excellent business negotiator and was able to obtain extremely favorable arrangements for the Ministry of Food especially from career civil servants. A good example is with Woolton's dealings with James Gardiner, the

Canadian Minister for Agriculture and Defense, in the autumn of 1940. Woolton pushed Gardiner for a very low price for Canadian wheat. Gardiner balked, claiming that Canadian farmers required a sufficiently higher price for their crop. Woolton responded that Britain would no longer purchase Canadian pork if the wheat price was not met. This was a bluff by Woolton, as the British desperately needed the pork. Gardiner did accept Woolton's offer. Woolton admitted later that he was actually ashamed of his low-price wheat offer to the Canadians. He was representing the British public rather than Canadian farmers. Perhaps, Gardiner accepted this pricing because he was either a poor government negotiator or he knew his British cousins were really in major trouble.

One of Lord Woolton's proudest accomplishments was creating the Queen's Messengers truck convoy which fed Londoners during the Blitz. The convoy consisted of 144 vehicles and was staffed by the Women's Voluntary Service. The vehicles served both hot and cold food and would go to bombed areas immediately after the "all clear" signal was heard. Woolton managed to obtain most of the Queen's Messengers funding from the British War Relief Society of America and supplemental money from the Queen. This endeavor allowed Woolton to fulfill his psychological goal of helping the needy by using his tremendous negotiating skills. He developed a closer relationship with both the royal family and the entire British nation.

Lord Woolton was very slow to act upon the black market which began after British food rationing commenced in early 1940. He basically ignored the "grey market" in which individual households paid food retailers "under the table" for additional rationed items. He was also unconcerned with alcohol beverage price-gouging as he felt that liquor was a luxury rather than a necessity. However, as the black market expanded and flourished during the first year of rationing, Woolton steadily came to the realization that it had to be quelled. He issued the Standstill Order in early 1941 to halt large-scale black market activities. The Ministry of Food printed pamphlets which defined illegal black market activity as that of obtaining profits out of proportion for services rendered through "abnormal or unauthorized" methods. Banks were ordered to check their accounts for possible money-laundering deposits and withdrawals. Convicted black marketeers could be harshly sentenced to a maximum of 14 years in prison. The Ministry of Food created a Director of

Enforcement position for detecting and prosecuting black market activity. Interestingly, while there was widespread British participation in the grey market during the rationing period, a Gallup poll of the British public conducted in 1943 found that a substantial majority of respondents believed that Woolton was exaggerating the amount of actual black market activity. It should be noted that Winston Churchill was generally apathetic or sometimes annoyed with Woolton's actions regarding the black market.

Britain's problems with the American Lend-Lease food program stemmed from larger issues pertaining to the overall Allied conduct of the war and the question of the postwar British Empire. The American FDR administration was insistent that the British allow their various colonial territories to become independent after the war which the British vehemently opposed. The British government, however, realized that its country was extremely dependent upon American aid and support. The friction between the two countries continued throughout the war and into the postwar years.

E.B. Sledge brings to light U.S. military policy regarding food for combat troops in his book, *With the Old Breed*.¹⁷ He notes that on the morning of Peleliu Island invasion, U.S. Marines were served a traditional hearty steak and egg breakfast (which was also a tradition of the Australian military.) This big meal caused substantial digestive and intestinal problems among the troops during the initial Peleliu assault. The movie, *Saving Private Ryan*, by Steven Spielberg, illustrated similar health issues during the Normandy D-Day invasion. Sledge mentioned that one of his best meals on Peleliu was during the first night of combat. His "dinner" consisted of K ration bouillon broth made with the island's polluted water. The hot soup relieved some of his anxiety from that first day of fighting. (He indicated that his company was able to obtain fresh water on the following day.) Sledge endured extreme stress and exhaustion during his frontline combat duty which was further complicated by the island's intense heat weather. He mentioned in his memoir that he had almost no appetite. During the ensuing weeks of battle on Peleliu, terrible sanitation conditions developed on the island which, in turn, brought massive infestations of huge bluebottle flies. These flies made eating during the daylight almost impossible. (The U.S. did attempt to eradicate the island's flies with newly

¹⁷ EB Sledge, *With the Old Breed* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

developed DDT spray, which proved to be ineffective). Sledge's company was forced to eat cold C rations at night when the flies were not present. The food was unheated as any cooking fire could have drawn enemy fire. It is interesting to note that the U.S. Marine supply chain, during the course of the unexpectedly long combat activity on Peleliu, appeared to have found it necessary to revert to the older C rations. Field kitchens would have been very difficult to operate in this theater due to the island's rough terrain and constant Japanese sniper fire.

Two life-long friends have supplied interesting stories about their parents which relate to the theme of this paper. Roland Misarti's father, Gabriel, a sergeant in the U.S. Air Corps, was stationed at an airfield just outside London during World War II. His primary job was maintaining the planes' radio equipment. He had a second task of distributing off-duty leave passes to U.S. servicemen on the base. Gabriel met his future wife (and Roland's mother), Anne, in London. They were married there in 1944. Wedding cakes were generally not available due to British rationing. Gabriel was apparently very proficient with the off duty leave pass system much to the delight of his fellow comrades. They were able to scavenge for the ingredients necessary for a delicious wedding cake for the Misarti couple at their London reception. Gabriel brought his bride, Anne, home to the U.S. after the war. The couple was invited to a friend's home for dinner. Anne brought her British rationing book to the meal and offered it to her hosts as gratitude for the delicious food. The hosts laughed and told her that food rationing books were not needed in America. Anne was amazed and quite surprised by their response. She had no idea that her British rationing book could not be used the U.S.¹⁸

Peter Zeidler's father, Louis, was a second lieutenant in the supply chain for the Manhattan Project which produced the first atomic bombs (subsequently dropped on Japan ending World War II). Louis was based in NYC and worked for this operation during much of the war. He did have not any details regarding who was being supplied with food and equipment in New Mexico. He only became aware of the results of his activities at the end of the war. Unfortunately, Louis passed away many years ago. This writer knew him quite well. His wartime experience would have an excellent addition to this article.¹⁹

¹⁸ Roland Misarti, personal communication, April 21, 2020.

¹⁹ Peter Zeidler, personal communication, April 20, 2020.

This article is being published at the height of the covid-19 pandemic in the U.S. The American food supply chain is currently stressed. Meat processing plants have been shut down which may result in shortages. Fresh produce availability has been altered. Food retailers have placed limits on certain products which is, in itself, a form of self-imposed rationing. This period in covid-19 era might be studied in the future as a sociological comparison to U.S. food rationing during World War II. A major difference is that, during World War II, food rationing was dictated by the U.S. Government while in the current time frame, food restrictions are the result of private industry.

Water Keepers (Winner of the 2021 Janick Prize)

Kathryn Schwarz

Among the Potawatomi people, women are the Keepers of Water. We carry the sacred water to ceremonies and act on its behalf. 'Women have a natural bond with water, because we are both life bearers,' my sister said. 'We carry our babies in internal ponds and they come forth into the world on a wave of water. It is our responsibility to safeguard the water for all our relations.

— Robin Wall Kimmerer, Citizen of the Potawatomi Nation

The Colorado River is the lifeblood of the western United States. Geographically, socially, economically and politically, this river has shaped some of the most formative forces in North American history. The river has been tamed for agricultural purposes, resulting in one of the largest hydroelectric facilities in the world, Hoover Dam. As the Colorado Basin dries south of the dam and the western United States faces unprecedented climate challenges, water seems to make its way to the forefront of nearly every environmental conversation. Politicized and monetized, water has rapidly re-evolved into our most valuable natural resource. In this article, the Colorado River and Hoover Dam serve as a case study to the efficacy of hydroelectricity and the interference of agriculture economy and politics in the last century of American history. Included will be an examination of the historical significance of the Colorado River to its surrounding landscape. Additionally, a significant portion will discuss the history through which human agency, including intentions and effect have had on the lands surrounding, the river. Overall, this work explores the context and moment in American history when men chose agribusiness over the well-being of other humans. The displacement and struggle of indigenous peoples, plants and animals only underscore the insidious and continued tension which existed between different human populations during this time. Viewed through the lens of Hoover Dam, this moment in history is exposed as an investment in big business astride the social and economic dismissal of nearly the entire American population.

The Colorado River is well over six million years old. Its history can be gleaned by way of the mightily cleaved limestone geologic structures it has left in its wake, most notably the Grand Canyon. The Canyon ranges in depth from a mile in places to six thousand feet in others, with a width of between ten and eighteen miles. This geology represents not just the river's history, but the history of the entire earth as we know it. Researchers at Arizona State University claim that there are few better places on our planet which better embody the story of the earth's formation based purely on the forces which carved the Grand Canyon. Most notably, the Colorado River has exposed, over the course of six million years, nearly two billion years of our earth's story:¹

Layers of limestone, sandstone, shale, granite, and schist make up the Grand Canyon's rock sequences. These layers continue to be worn away through water and wind erosion, creating the cliffs and slopes that make up this fantastic play of shape and color through time and space.²

For twelve thousand years, indigenous Native American tribes have recognized the importance of the Colorado River, with contemporary Havasupai, Hopi, Hualapai, Paiute, Navajo, Yavapai-Apache, and Zuni Tribes all still a part of vital decision making regarding issues related to the river. There are twenty more tribes in Arizona, making up the Intertribal Council of Arizona whom currently own one-third of the allotment rights in Arizona on the Colorado River. This is approximately 717,000 acre-feet of water rights. Water has always been a significant staple in the formation and success of productive and lasting civilizations worldwide. North American natives were not the only people who realized the necessity of a bountiful water source.³

Prosperous societies require a freshwater source. Water holds a permanent place in the history of civilizations worldwide. Historians have even made sure that water was one of the main criteria in the categorization process. This author posits that water was the main criteria. Without the ability for tribes (otherwise nomadic)

¹ "Colorado River." Nature Culture and History at the Grand Canyon, <https://grcahistory.org/history/colorado-river/>, accessed 27 September, 2020.

² Ibid.

³ Ibid.

to remain in one place to grow food, our ancestors would never have had the time or wherewithal to develop art, laws, or language. They also would not have needed to protect a land which solely offered sporadic food. Water meant the development and enrichment of civilizations in locations where people could settle permanently.

Human history, as something separate from of the history of our animal ancestors, first took shape around seven million years ago in what would be modern Africa. We know that humans evolved from monkeys. With fossil evidence of the isolation of monkeys having developed in Africa, we can also assume that humans originated there. During this period, one association of African apes split in to three separate groups; the modern chimpanzee, the modern gorilla and humans. It was not until 1.8 million years ago and many evolutions later, that the first human ancestor would leave Africa as found through fossilized skeletons on Java, an island in Southeast Asia. In Europe, the reach of humans was even later at 500,000 years ago.⁴

Climate played an important role. Without tools, clothes were improbable and thus the ability to stay warm in temperatures non-conducive to being naked or at least largely exposed was impossible. The indications of the use of tools didn't appear until around the same time as the evidence of humans in Europe; beginning with the harnessing and implementation of fire. Documentation reveals that it was substantially later that humans colonized the colder parts of the world. Just a mere blip on the evolutionary timeline, 20,000 years ago marks the first solid evidence of human habitation in North America.⁵ The Colorado River may have seen some of the first examples of inland civilizations. Humans may have existed in the Americas up to 40,000 years ago, but according to experts, the further one explores in the past, the evidence becomes weaker and less reliable.⁶ The dominant hypothesis is that the migration and first human inhabitants would have travelled from Asia across the Bering Land Bridge. The bridge was only visible when ice is locked on land and the

⁴ Jared M. Diamond. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: the Fates of Human Societies*. New York: Norton, 2017, 36.

⁵ Simon Worrall. "When, How Did the First Americans Arrive? It's Complicated." *Tracking a Mystery: When and How the First Americans Arrived*. National Geographic, June 9, 2018. <https://www.nationalgeographic.com/news/2018/06/when-and-how-did-the-first-americans-arrive--its-complicated-/>, accessed 9 November, 2020.

⁶ Ibid.

surrounding sea levels dropped. This meant that as human ancestors arrived in North America, they would have been bearing witness to the last Ice Age.⁷

Considerably behind the rest of the human race at this stage, the inhabitants of these diffuse areas of the world developed last, but their advancements thereafter were not slow. Choices in location were critical, as geography, as aforementioned is one of the first necessities to the foundation of a civilization. Specifically, this meant access to fresh water for drinking and agriculture. The ability to locate and determine plants and animals which could be domesticated allowed the hunter gatherer style of living to fade away. The earliest North American residents also traded goods on the river to survive. Traversing large expanses of land required many supplies which river trade and travel would eliminate. Trade opened doors for exploration and conquests ultimately resulting in the settlement of areas more south. Once humans grew and cared for their food in the same areas in which they lived, their ideas wandered from a constant need to locate food, to indulge the further elemental requirements of a civilization. This included art, a common language and laws. Around the exact same time, the earliest inhabitants of modern-day Russia were experiencing a very similar situation on their mighty Volga River.

The link between fresh water and agriculture would fuel the ongoing maturation of the human species, primarily because of their dependence on rivers. Colder climates made for shorter growing periods and reduced the variety of what could be grown. As a result, inhabitants of the colder regions, especially in the north, would have most likely been experts in animal husbandry. Specific breeds would have been mandatory. Steppe tundra, the ecosystem found in the plains of primitive North America, would have contained early megafauna which thrived in an environment consisting primarily of permafrost covered meadows. Large amounts of skeletal remains, suggestive of domestication, including reindeer, caribou and bison are among the documented archaeological discoveries found buried in the permafrost there. It would have been with the skills acquired handling, caring for, butchering and preparing these animals which would enable the primitive northern civilizations of North America to survive. Furthermore, using their intense knowledge of these crafts,

⁷ Ibid.

it would be through trade that they really began to thrive; and rivers would serve as essential arteries to connect themselves to one another.⁸

Throughout history, across the continents, spanning climates, water runs like an artery through successful societies. The Egyptians have the Nile River. The Russians have the Volga, the Chinese the Yellow and Yangtze Rivers, South America the Amazon and the Americans have the Colorado. After the Louisiana Purchase, in 1803, the western United States experienced a massive population surge. With the help of the Colorado River, undoubtedly this river supplied our country with technology insurmountable by any other river in the United States. The water from the Colorado feeds crops exported to countries across the globe. Its influence reverberates worldwide, feeding not just the country in which it resides, but so many others as well.

The Colorado River begins on the Continental Divide in the Rocky Mountains. Winding its way 1450 miles south, it ends in the Gulf of California in Mexico:

The hardest working river in the West is as diverse as it is unique. Passing through no less than 11 different national parks and monuments as it tumbles through the varied landscapes of seven states and two countries, it's a critical water supply for agriculture, industry, and municipalities, from Denver to Tijuana, which fuels a \$1.4 trillion annual economy. Fishing, whitewater paddling, boating, backpacking, wildlife viewing, hiking, and myriad other recreational opportunities contribute some \$26 billion alone.⁹

Also featured along this vital waterway is Hoover Dam, the behemoth hydroelectric plant built in 1936. Originally called the Boulder Canyon Project, the dam was commissioned by Franklin Delano Roosevelt as a part of his (Second) New Deal. Both of FDR's "New Deals" included vast ideas and civil projects meant to carry the United States economy out of the Great Depression. In reality, the farmers living in California's Imperial Valley, had been struggling with the damages incurred by the river's annual flooding well before the stock market crashed, before the Great

⁸ Jared M. Diamond. *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies* (New York: Norton, 2017), 100.

⁹ "Colorado River." *American Rivers*, October 15, 2019.

<https://www.americanrivers.org/river/colorado-river/>, accessed September 26, 2020.

Depression, and a long time before Roosevelt's idea to boost the American economy using this monolithic dam. The flooding became politically charged in the early nineteenth century, and The Boulder Canyon Project Act (BCPA) was passed by the seventieth Congress on December 3, 1928.¹⁰ The Act read, "to provide construction of works for the protection and development of the Colorado River Basin, for the approval of the Colorado Compact and for other purposes."¹¹

Pause. This moment is important. In a governmental vacuum, this appeared to be ordinary legislation as a champion for the unemployed emerged, plans in hand. However, this instant marks something pivotal in the larger American (if not world) history, as a distinct choice was made to place one person's interests above another's, again. On this occasion, both farmers and great scores of American citizens heard an ally in government, offering jobs, new technology, and new opportunities for wealth. What the indigenous people, (already relegated to humiliating reservations courtesy of the US Government) heard, was that they did not matter as much as this new technology does, and your lives are not as important as the white American men who need this land to progress and succeed. The Native Americans, including tribes from both the Navajo and Hopi feared the dam's construction would interfere with their water source, even though article seven of the Colorado River Compact, signed by then President Herbert Hoover in 1922, specifically states, "Nothing in this compact shall be construed as affecting the obligations of the United States to Indian Tribes."¹²

This dam may have been part of Roosevelt's New Deal, but it was also an extension of Manifest Destiny. White Americans believed that not only was it their right to develop this land, but their destiny to expand their culture no matter whose culture disappeared in the process. The agenda was clear, to promote and save agriculture, to prop up the struggling American unemployed, and to assert dominion again over Native American peoples. For as much as this civil project was about the promotion of American people, it was as much about the dismissal of those in the way.

¹⁰ Boulder Canyon Project Act (1928), accessed 27 September, 2020.
<https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false>

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Kathleen Lusk Booke and Zoe Quinn. "Hoover Dam and the Colorado River Compact, United States." *Building the World*. UMass, Boston, March 27, 2013. Accessed November 24, 2020.
<http://blogs.umb.edu/buildingtheworld/energy/hoover-dam-and-colorado-river-compact-united-states/>,

Indeed, the Hoover Dam was not the only item on the agenda for the BCPA. From a more structural point of view, flood control was certainly a part of the desired effect; but as was a new electrical source which was desperately needed by the growing populous of the western United States. The Boulder Canyon Act also outlined plans for the All-American Canal, which would eventually connect the fertile agricultural lands of the Imperial and Coachella Valleys with the Colorado River. Added benefits as well to include better navigability on the river. Following the ratification, (or approval) of six of the seven riparian states, the project was certified June 25, 1929 at a cost allocated by the government of 165 million dollars.¹³

Hoover Dam is a giant work of architecture and economic success; it is also a catastrophic scar on the environment of the southwestern United States. At first, the proposal was endearing to the United States citizens. They were looking forward to going back to work. Creating jobs grew the economy. The Wall Street Journal gives this view:

As FDR told 10,000 spectators at the Colorado River dam site and 20 million more via radio, the dam meant gainful employment, cheap hydroelectric power, reliable irrigation and protection from the obstinate elements, all ripped from a forbidding desert canyon by the hand of a visionary federal government. Eleanor Roosevelt, who accompanied her husband on his visit to the Colorado River, would tell friends that the trip brought home to her the sweeping achievement of his administration as if for the very first time.¹⁴

Unfortunately, the dark side of FDR's marathon of economic stimuli, is the disruption of habitats. Hoover Dam is also an environmental nightmare. From an agricultural and agronomical point of view, it was absolutely necessary, but at the expense of an environment which has suffered a traumatic amputation of its natural existence.

Before construction could even commence, the site needed to be ready for the influx of laborers and families who would build it. First, Boulder City was blasted out

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ Michael Hiltzik, "Hoover Dam's Perpetual Power: Franklin Roosevelt's Signature Project Created More than Jobs and Energy, It Incited One of Our Nation's Greatest Transformations." *Water Education Foundation*. Accessed September 29, 2020. <https://www.watereducation.org/aquaforia-news/hoover-dams-perpetual-power-franklin-roosevelts-signature-project-created-more-jobs>

of the desert. Intended to be a worker's community, built with the sole purpose of housing laborers for the dam. Next, came a twenty-two foot wide, seven mile long paved highway from the town to the work site. Also constructed prior to Hoover Dam's manufacture was a 23 mile long arm off the Union Pacific Rail Line connecting Boulder City to nearby Las Vegas, as well as a ten mile section built specifically so materials could be transported to the site. Lastly, was the nearly 230 miles of power lines originating in San Bernadino California, which supplied electricity to the Boulder Canyon Project.¹⁵ Only then, did they begin excavation of the actual earth around the proposed location.

First, the mighty Colorado needed to be diverted. Achieving this feat alone was no easy task. Four tunnels were blown through the walls of Black Rock Canyon, each fifty feet in diameter.¹⁶ These tunnels took the water around the construction site which was located in the gorge between Nevada and Arizona.¹⁷ More than 5.5 million cubic yards of earth were removed from the site in preparation for development. Next, another million cubic yards of stone was placed in the construction site before the concrete was poured. Hoover Dam is a concrete arch style dam, with the water load held by both gravity and the horizontal arch. 21,000 laborers worked on site, pouring 160,000 yards of concrete per month for a total of 4.36 million total cubic yards throughout.¹⁸

Hoover Dam, and the Boulder Canyon Project, started with the premise of saving flood-ravaged areas. Unseen consequences have included the displacement, dismissal and devaluation of American indigenous natives, the diminishing, to absolute eradication of nutrient rich silt deposits along the banks, as well as prolific erosion of riverbanks. The dam and consequent lakes also facilitated vital irrigation to an area ready to erupt with agronomy. Regrettably, the environmental debacle lies in the type of habitat around Hoover Dam, forced to endure an agricultural boom with soil non-conducive to the crops introduced and pushed for decades thereafter. This is only one of the many complications of hydroelectricity. Environmental sustainability was not considered; and not only the sustainability of the dam itself but

¹⁵ Bureau of Reclamation, "Hoover Dam," *Hoover Dam, Bureau of Reclamation*, accessed September 29, 2020. <https://www.usbr.gov/lc/hooverdam/faqs/damfaqs.html>

¹⁶ "Boulder Canyon Project Act (1928)" *Our Documents Initiative: National Archives and Records Administration*. Accessed September 29, 2020. <https://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=false>

¹⁷ Bureau of Reclamation, "Hoover Dam."

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

of the biome and habitats it accompanied. Early Twentieth century American Civil projects, while beneficial to citizens, would not have seen the same kind of environmentalist forethought as today. Hydro-power plants, when erected in the wrong location are far worse for the environment than the production of fossil fuel energy they help prevent. Hydro energy is considered “sustainable” because its “renewable”, unlike fossil fuels; but as water levels deplete, the situation for Hoover Dam and the Colorado basin become more dire. Hoover Dam’s hydro power plant is not sustainable long term. As the basin dries, the consequences of poorly engineered agricultural conquests are apparent. A common theme it would appear for early American farmers out west. Desertification is a sweeping problem worldwide. Hoover Dam is a contributing factor to this creeping plague of increasing deserts and the disappearance of arable lands.

Skeptics of Global Climate Change preach that the earth’s natural tendency to warm and cool over periods of time is natural. Scientists say many changes await, and none are more obvious than the upswing in cataclysmic weather events. Desertification is an example. Desertification is not always this slow, centuries-long evolution. Contrary to popular belief, desertification is not synonymous nor comes automatically with drought. It is actually the mismanagement of land during times of drought. The residents of the Southern Plains of the United States found this out relatively fast, in an event that today we call the “Dust Bowl”. At the time of Hoover Dam’s construction, United States farmers were just barely emerging from this similar agricultural disaster of the early twentieth century.

Historically, the Great Plains of the United States were covered by a moisture holding plant called buffalo grass. Stretching from Canada to Southern Texas and wedged between the Missouri River and the Rocky Mountains, the terrain is windy and flat. The soil however, held the water well enough to feel soggy only twelve inches down. It perfectly resisted the constant wind and was food for the bison who grazed there in mass; with roots that stretched up to five feet below the ground. After the buffalo were nearly eliminated, and the Native Americans forced to reservations, US government promoters deceitfully promised potential homesteaders limitless possibilities in the West. Flocking by the thousands, drawn by the dreams of owning and working their own land, the earliest American residents of the plains states arrived to find a climate where it was nearly impossible to cultivate crops. With

rain rare, coupled with the constant wind, it was too dry to legitimately pursue agriculture, but they had no choice. So they pursued it anyway.

In 1907, the Southern Plains began a wet period. Unscrupulous real-estate agents, and climate “experts” persuaded potential buyers to purchase land, telling them the climate was undergoing a permanent change. Agents told them the wind was slowing down and the rain could actually penetrate the soil better if they cleared the buffalo grass. Wheat became a cash crop almost overnight. World War One proved easy inspiration, as the German blockade of Russian wheat caused a worldwide shortage. In five years, more than eleven million acres of virgin soil were plowed up to begin to grow wheat in the Great Plains, with farmers claiming, “wheat will win the war.”¹⁹ The 1920s proved to be a great time to be a wheat farmer in the plains of the United States.

The stock market crashed October 29, 1929. It wasn’t long afterwards that the first (recorded) dust storm hit Texas in 1932. The storms were frequent thereafter, sometimes every day. Their presence filled the horizon from ground to sky with a black cloud of dirt that could deposit up to three feet of sediment in their wake. As the climate of the plains returned to normal after the wet period, drought followed. The land, previously held in place by moisture dense buffalo grass was now easily lifted in the air by the ever-present plains winds. Daily storms were devastating to both the agricultural boom there and quality of life. Dust pneumonia killed thousands, parents sent their kids away to live with relatives and when the farmers finally fled the plains, they were met with contempt everywhere they landed. It was obvious that Americans placed heavy value on the success of their farmers. The refugees from the Dust Bowl were treated as utter failures.

During the Great Depression, in conjunction with the dust storms in the plains states, a huge mass migration of families emerged from the dead farms of the Great Plains. Nearby, California’s population exploded by nearly twenty percent.²⁰ Regardless of where they arrived from, what their occupation was, or how much money they had, the plains migrants were given one, all encompassing, derogatory nickname. They were called, “Okies.” They were sneered at for talking different and segregated from daily activities, the same as African Americans were. “There was a

¹⁹ “Wheat will win the war,” *The Dust Bowl*, directed by Ken Burns (Washington, DC: PBS, 2012).

²⁰ *Ibid.*

sign in the movie theatre in the central valley of California which basically said, 'Niggers And Okies Upstairs.' Another which read, 'Okie go back, we don't want you.'²¹ They stayed in ramshackle roadside tent cities called "Little Oklahomas", "Okieville", or "jungles", and worked as migrant farm workers on the big agricultural farms in California's Central Valley. Mostly starving and grossly underpaid, families struggled to have basic human necessities. Author, and Dust Bowl refugee Sanora Babb wrote in her memoir, *Whose Names Are Unknown*, "These simple rights are part of the heritage of Americans. It is difficult for them to understand that none of them remain. Their whole lives are concentrated now on one instinctive problem: that of keeping alive."²²

A precedent for the poor and poverty discrimination had already been set. President Hoover was navigating his way through decidedly turbulent waters during the Great Depression. The stock market crash and the ensuing financial crisis caused widespread poverty, but the president believed in limited federal government intervention in the economy. Because he was himself "self-made" in terms of wealth, Hoover believed that it was only going to be through hard work that the poor could extract themselves from their impoverished state. Because of the lack of government intervention, those suffering began to blame Hoover for not helping them. Shantytowns on the outskirts became known as "Hooverville", and the newspaper blankets they used to keep warm were called "Hoover Blankets." The connection between a lack of government compassion for people, and the suffering of those affected by political bulldozing strategies was obvious. This era was one plagued by minority exclusion. People were puppets at first of the US government, only to be thrown aside. The extermination of the buffalo grass, buffalo, Native Americans, wheat farmers followed by a second wave of repulsion for the Native Americans was another way powerful politicians would let nothing stand in the way of progress, no matter who they used and steamrolled in the process.

Anti-immigrant sentiment existed even between states. Nature was blamed for bad luck, and humans migrated to where the food was, bringing with them a southern culture not understood and thus feared in California. The fear of encroaching or new traditions put local residents on edge, and the farmers were

²¹ Ibid.

²² Sanora Babb, *Whose Names Are Unknown* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 2004).

blamed for ruining land which should never have been tilled to begin with. Dust distribution, remnants of the Dust Bowl, from lands well south of the disappearing snowpack in Colorado are definitively to blame for multiple facets contributory to the drying of the Colorado River Basin. The color of dust attracts sunlight being that it is darker than snow, accelerating the melting process and preventing accumulation.²³ According to the United States Geological Survey, peak snow water is accumulated two to three weeks earlier than it was in the 1970s, and snowmelt timing is accelerated 17-18 days from 1993.²⁴ Multiple sites within the Rocky Mountains were measured. Continuous measurements of snow sublimation indicate a seasonal loss of anywhere from 2-30 percent of annual snow water equivalent.²⁵

The ramifications of irresponsible agricultural procedures and thus desertification is ravaging the western United States today. This includes the most important swaths of land designated for growing irrefutably essential amounts of our food and produce products. Additionally, as per agreements like the Colorado Compact, water from the Colorado must not be impeded in any way from flowing at original levels through lands (mostly reservations) designated to Native Americans. Hoover Dam is responsible for the redirection of enough water, that it is catastrophically harming the water table and environment of the western U.S.²⁶ The

²³ Graham A. Sextone, "Colorado River Basin Focus Area Study: Snowpack Hydrodynamics," *United States Department of the Interior*, April 16, 2016. Accessed October 22, 2020.

https://www.usgs.gov/mission-areas/water-resources/science/colorado-river-basin-focus-area-study-snowpack-hydrodynamics?qt-science_center_objects=0.

²⁴ *Ibid.*

²⁵ *Ibid.*

²⁶ This type of large scale, (literally) astronomical damage is common with these behemoth dams. Another example is The Three Gorges Dam along the Yangtze River in China. This is the largest dam and hydroelectric facility in the world. It displaces an obscene amount of water. So much in fact that according to NASA, the lake behind the dam disrupts the lunar relationship between the earth and the moon and elongates the earth's day by .06 microseconds. These facts are humbling; enough to make one ponder their insignificance on earth, and reflect on the ramifications of these massive hydroelectric facilities at the very least. Even more disturbing are the consequences of disrupting the habitat and ecosystems surrounding these architectural monstrosities. The primary function of the Three Gorges Dam was invariably similar to the goals of Hoover Dam and the Boulder Canyon Project. They wanted to protect downstream towns and cities from the river's unpredictable and damaging floods. The three major cities Three Gorges is supposed to "protect" are Nanjing, Shanghai, and Wutan. Yes, the epicenter of the 2020 COVID 19 (Coronavirus) worldwide pandemic. These connections are not accidental. In our quest for bigger and better, humans in the Anthropocene have found loopholes in nature's laws, racing to the deepest, darkest and farthest reaches of our planet. Our ingenuity is leading to both great things as well as terrible, like Global Climate Change and the emergence of super bugs resistant to bacteria. COVID-19 may not be the direct result of the Three Gorges Dam, but the market where it emerged, including animals and meat sold there have certainly been affected by the changes made by the people that live there including the largest dam on the

water levels in Lake Mead have been consistently falling over the past decades. Less than twenty years after Hoover Dam's construction, years after being relocated to reservations in the eastern part of Arizona, the Navajo Native Americans and four other tribes took their Colorado River water allotment grievances all the way to the Supreme Court in a case called *Arizona v. California*. With water necessities for both a growing population of people and crops, California's water usage was always side eyed by the rest of the Colorado Compact signatories. In the original case, called *Arizona I*, the US government stepped in to intervene on behalf of the five tribes looking to secure a future for their water. The verdict was that the government would uphold their agreement with the Native Americans as put forth in the Colorado Compact, securing allotment rights. However, the courts added that the water levels could be open to adjustment, conveying their concern for a lack of settlement of boundary disputes. In the second half of this case, (*Arizona II*) the Quechen tribe, had to give back 25,000 acres of land to the US government in order to make sure their water needs were guaranteed.²⁷ If the US government had not yet effectively humiliated the Native Americans, this was surely another large blow. Dam construction is notorious for burying history and cultures, among other things.²⁸ As an aside, a world away, the Egyptians faced similar struggles at almost the exact same time as they constructed the Aswan High Dam during Nasser's regime.²⁹

planet. For more information, please consider this source: Staff, E&T editorial. "China Officials Insist Three Gorges Dam Is Safe, as Online Rumours of Collapse Rise," *RSS*, July 9, 2019. Accessed September 30, 2020. <https://eandt.theiet.org/content/articles/2019/07/chinaofficials-insist-three-gorges-dam-is-safe-as-online-rumours-of-collapse-rise/>

²⁷ *Arizona v. California*, 531 US. 1 (2000).

²⁸ Zombie diseases emerge all the time. Called "zombies", they are presumed dead, but they are in fact not dead at all and re-emerge at a later date. Global Climate Change has a part to play as well, although not always. A recent example occurred in 2016 in Siberia. According to George Stewart, a medical bacteriologist at the University of Missouri College of Veterinary Medicine, an outbreak of anthrax killed more than 2000 caribou and sickened thirteen people. They caught it from 75-year-old spores stored in the ground, which were released due to the permafrost melting. If humans continue the magnitude of projects like Hoover Dam or Three Gorges, or even just our large fossil fuel consumption, there is a distinct possibility we are reaching heights of achievement or depths for that matter, holding secrets which should stay buried or at the very least, less disturbed. For more information on this please consider the following source: Stephanie Pappas. "'Zombie' Anthrax Outbreak in Siberia: How Does It Kill?" *LiveScience*. (August 2, 2016), Accessed November 20, 2020. <https://www.livescience.com/55621-zombie-anthrax-kills-in-siberia.html>

²⁹ Lake Nasser was formed behind the Aswan High Dam in Egypt in 1964. During ancient times in Egypt, immense garrisons existed along the banks of the Nile River. Their purpose was to intimidate anyone entering the country and to monitor vital trade routes from the South. The garrisons were all located within sight of each other so that if something went awry, reinforcements were never far away. The most grand of these military outposts was located in upper Nubia (now Sudan) very close to the

In western America's infancy, in order to facilitate the development, and support the massive influx of people flocking west, new infrastructure was implemented to carry water to and nourish people and their agricultural conquests. The Colorado River, Hoover Dam and subsequent irrigation pipelines can be understood in the context of these developments. Today, one of the major issues facing modern engineers at many aging civil project sites, are the hundred-year-old underground pipes, with even older technology. Contemporary humans owe a fair amount of our inspiration for water distribution to our ancient Roman ancestors. They were pioneers in water management, burying their pipelines and aqueducts so that the land may be otherwise utilized above ground for dwellings, roads, or agriculture. Today, as in ancient Rome, the damage done by unseen pipes (broken or otherwise) is just as bad, costly and usually noticed well beyond the timeline of an easy or cheap, or health-conscious repair.

The ramifications of these potential pipeline mishaps are only felt when something goes awry, and usually when it does, large amounts of money are needed to address often catastrophic damage due to the unseen (underground) issue. An example faced in ancient Rome was lead leakage even though they didn't know it at the time. Hundreds of Roman pipes were made of lead; some of them stretched for

border of Egypt. It was called the Fort at Buhen. The fortress covered 13,000 square meters, and could house over 3500 troops. The walls were 16 feet thick and 33 feet tall, spanning 490 feet along the shoreline. In 1964 Egypt began construction on two dams, the upper and lower Aswan Dams near these ancient sites. Archaeologists warned the Egyptian government that priceless historic sites would be destroyed if the dams were completed, including the garrison at Buhen. When the government offered no signs of stopping their project, UNESCO formed a campaign in March of 1960 to save the relics from the Buhen site. For more information please consider this source: "Buhen." SFDAS. *French Archaeological Unit Sudan Antiquities Unit* (March 16, 2017), Accessed November 10, 2020. <https://sfdas.com/publications/ouvrages-specialises-en-ligne-ouvrages/article/buhen?lang=en> It became a tourist attraction and rescue mission all in one. A few of the artifacts including the entire 18th dynasty temple were dismantled and moved to the National Museum of Sudan in Khartoum, but the site could not be entirely excavated in time for the completion of the dam. The construction on the dams finished in 1970 along with the formation of Lake Nasser, the reservoir behind it. Lake Nasser completely submerged the entire site of the Buhen fort. As long as there is a Lake Nasser, the remnants of one of Egypt's ancient neolithic monuments will remain submerged in its own watery tomb. Today, the only visitors swimming past its vast walls are the once endangered Nile Crocodiles, whom have made a drastic comeback as the lake offers them a newly protected habitat rich in freshwater food sources. This may be good news for the crocodiles, but as ecologists may argue, the repercussions for just this one animal, a predator with no other natural enemies can change the face of a habitat forever. A statement that people are most certainly not alone in being affected by these dams. For more information please consider this source: Dr. Jan Geisbusch, "Buhen: An Egyptian Fortress in Nubia," *Egypt Exploration Society*, Accessed November 10, 2020. <https://www.ees.ac.uk/buhen-an-egyptian-fortress-in-nubia>

more than 1750 meters, or 5,742 feet.³⁰ Thankfully (to some extent) for the Romans, their water had a heavy concentration of calcium. Calcium deposits lined the pipes and prevented lead from leeching into the supply, but not in the standing water. Evidence of lead deposits in skeletal remains found in Roman archaeological sites suggest lead exposure was common.³¹

Hoover Dam was not built with lead pipes. Instead, the dam's engineers used steel, which was stronger and safer than any available material at the time. The problem with steel is that it corrodes when exposed to moisture and oxygen for prolonged periods of time. There is a lot of both at Hoover Dam. Additionally, with pipes and considerable infrastructure below ground, the corrosion of the steel is worrisome to say the least.³² It is not merely that people won't know there is an issue until the structure exhibits signs of flooding or inefficiency, but the other areas of corrosion which have remained undetected:

Corrosion is the destructive attack of a material by reaction with its environment. The serious consequences of the corrosion process have become a problem of worldwide significance. In addition to our everyday encounters with this form of degradation, corrosion causes plant shutdowns, waste of valuable resources, loss or contamination of product, reduction in efficiency, costly maintenance, and expensive overdesign. It can also jeopardize safety and inhibit technological progress.³³

The fact that something as massive as Hoover Dam could structurally falter due to archaic technology like rusty pipes is daunting on its own. Additionally, the habitat around the dam is suffering due to both depletion of the aquifers in surrounding territory due to irrigation and the crater the dam created in the earth. The fault lines, or tectonic plates nearby are fairly active and pose an immediate threat to the

³⁰ Kathleen Lusk Brooke, and Zoe G Quinn. "Aqueducts of Rome, Italy," *Building the World Blog* University of Massachusetts Boston, (October 21, 2017), Accessed October 14, 2020. <http://blogs.umb.edu/buildingtheworld/waterworks/aqueducts-of-rome-italy/>

³¹ Ibid.

³² David Sedlak, "How Development of America's Water Infrastructure Has Lurched Through History." *The Pew Charitable Trusts* (March 3, 2019), accessed October 22, 2020. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/trend/archive/spring-2019/how-development-of-americas-water-infrastructure-has-lurched-through-history>.

³³ Kelly Wardlow. "About Corrosion and Environment," *Corrosion and the Environment*. Lehigh University (2002), Accessed October 15, 2020. <https://www.lehigh.edu/~amb4/wbi/kwardlow/corrosion.htm>

structure and the surrounding lands, habitats and inhabitants. Of particular interest is the Mead Slope Fault (MSF), which lies in Las Vegas, extremely close to Hoover Dam. Specifically, it is located on the southeastern side of Boulder Basin in the Lake Mead area of Arizona. According to the Arizona Geological Survey:

The MSF is one of a number of fault zones in the Las Vegas area that is geologically young (has evidence of late Quaternary activity), but the close proximity of the MSF to Hoover Dam is particularly concerning as it impounds the largest reservoir by volume in the U.S. and supplies water to millions of people in Arizona, Nevada, and Southern California. The NE-SW-trending Mead Slope fault system is one of several faults in the Lake Mead area that have accommodated substantial late Cenozoic left-lateral displacement.³⁴

The lands and peoples around Hoover Dam and the Colorado River are in danger of catastrophic injury from either natural or man-made disasters. The dam was a potential bombing target for the German Luftwaffe during World War Two. The dam is a sleeping giant. America's water infrastructure is old. Some of the foundational elements are left over from the very first investments. They are aging and in desperate need of replacement, but according to researchers at PEW Trusts, the United States government has been reluctant to invest in the water systems. The American Government has notoriously waited until systems have deteriorated to such an extent that they fail, at which point we have no option other than to repair and upgrade them. It is clear that the people who live near these large civil projects have obviously not been the US government's main priority. An example of these archaic and dangerous systems occurred just recently and to devastating effects in Flint Michigan.³⁵ According to US census data, the poverty rate in Flint, Michigan is 41 percent. This means that 41 percent of citizens are living below the poverty line, unable to provide for themselves what the government considers to be necessary daily care. In 2014, Flint city officials switched the city's drinking water supply to the Flint River. Upon doing so, millions of people were drinking water contaminated with lead

³⁴ JY Ben-Horin, "Mead Slope Fault Mapping, Lake Mead, Arizona," *Arizona Geology E-Magazine* Updated March 23, 2018. <https://blog.azgs.arizona.edu/blog/2018-03/mead-slope-fault-mapping-lake-mead-arizona>

³⁵ David Sedlak, "How Development of America's Water Infrastructure Has Lurched Through History." *The Pew Charitable Trusts*, updated March 3, 2019. <https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/trend/archive/spring-2019/how-development-of-americas-water-infrastructure-has-lurched-through-history>

resulting from archaic leaching pipes. When this crisis struck, state and federal officials repeatedly denied that there was an issue despite having concrete evidence that there was a problem. This health crisis is still ongoing, with residents of the city relying on NGO (Nongovernmental organizations) donated bottled water. The government ended their program to supply bottled water last year. The citizens are poor, suffering and *purposefully ignored*, and according to PEW Researchers this pattern of government negligence is common. Hoover Dam, as an appendage of the Colorado River, is similarly interfering with and poisoning the river. With the river's natural function disrupted, ecologies changed and volatile technology crumbling, each play a part in the tragedy both coming and current.

The Colorado River is a vital water source for many, not just those directly situated on its banks. This includes Denver, Colorado, Salt Lake City, Utah, Albuquerque, New Mexico, Los Angeles, and San Diego both in California for public water supply as well as the Imperial Valley in California for agricultural water supply. The river and its tributaries provide water for approximately 30 million people and irrigates nearly four million acres of agricultural land.³⁶ Currently, the Colorado's water supply is managed by a complex system of treaties, interstate agreements, international treaties and Supreme Court decrees.³⁷ According to the United States Geological Study, about 85 percent of all off-stream water use is designated for agricultural, with the majority of on source water being utilized for hydroelectric power. Total water use from 1986-2010, excluding inter basin transfers, averaged about 17 million acre-feet. The geological study also mapped the growth in human population to the Colorado River Basin, with the increase estimated at approximately 4.6 million people in 1985 to 9.4 million in 2010.³⁸ Today, 30 million people live there and depend on the Colorado River for water.³⁹ The water in the dams along the Colorado River supply ten percent of the nation's population with water.⁴⁰

³⁶ United States Geologic Survey. Colorado River Basin Focus Area Study. *United States Department of the Interior* (April 2, 2016) Accessed October 22, 2020. https://www.usgs.gov/mission-areas/water-resources/science/colorado-river-basin-focus-area-study?qt-science_center_objects=0

³⁷ Ibid.

³⁸ Ibid.

³⁹ "Population Growth," *Save the Colorado*, Accessed October 22, 2020. <http://savethecolorado.org/threats/population-growth/>

⁴⁰ David Sedlak, "How Development of America's Water Infrastructure Has Lurched Through History." The Pew Charitable Trusts, March 3, 2019.

The water level on the Colorado has been falling for the last ten years.⁴¹ Simultaneously, the western United States, from Texas to California have faced tragic droughts in recent years and they aren't alone. The allocation of water from the Colorado River for agronomy is staggering. Legal disputes over water allocation rights are increasing and not just in the United States.⁴² The Colorado River spans more than one country, as do many other rivers in the world.⁴³

Transboundary water sources and their associated politics have been a hot topic at the United Nations for decades. On December 8, 1970, the General Assembly adopted Resolution 2669, entitled "Progressive Development and Codification of the Rules of International Law Relating to International Watercourses." This Resolution probes the interdependency of nations and their freshwater resources dating back as far as 1959. In the 20 years that followed the 1970 resolution, many studies were done to research the effects of countries that share a source of water, especially fresh water. This means that the larger goal of the UN during these case studies had to be the creation of some rules on transboundary water sources. The UN Convention in 1997 was focused specifically on this exact issue and

<https://www.pewtrusts.org/en/trend/archive/spring-2019/how-development-of-americas-water-infrastructure-has-lurched-through-history>, accessed October 22, 2020.

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² One such river in the midst of a dangerous political volley is the Nile River, specifically the water located between Ethiopia and Egypt. The Nile River Delta is in trouble. A massive hydro electric dam called the Grand Ethiopian Renaissance Dam (GERD) is currently under construction on the Blue Nile in Ethiopia. If the project is allowed to continue its negative effects will be felt region wide as water and nutrient rich silt levels heavily diminish down river. As population numbers continue to rise, the livelihoods of the citizens of the Nile River Delta as well as the surrounding ecosystems are under direct assault by the greed of short-sighted politicians and government officials. According to the latest data from the African Community Advancement Initiative, half of Egypt's 80 million citizens live in the delta region. Of these 40 million people 29 percent of all their jobs in the area are related to agriculture, and 15 percent of Egypt's entire GDP is produced in this specific ecosystem. Farmers are currently facing an array of issues in the area from salination of underground water tables, to global climate change that threatens to raise sea levels enough to swallow 30 percent of the delta within the next 15 years. For more information, please consider this source: Daniel Donovan, "Egypt's Coming Climate Calamity," *US News and World Report*, April 3, 2018. www.usnews.com/opinion/blogs/world-report/2015/04/03/climate-change-is-consuming-the-nile-delta-and-egypt-with-it

⁴³ As the Ethiopians continue construction on the GERD they play god with 40 million people's water-source. It has been estimated that by 2025 1.8 billion people will be living in absolute water scarcity, which is defined as annual per capita freshwater availability below 1000 cubic meters a year. Additionally, two-thirds of the world's population could be living under water-stressed conditions with annual freshwater availability below 1700 cubic meters per capita. For more information on this subject, please consider this source: Inga M. Jacobs, *The Politics of Water in Africa: Norms, Environmental Regions and Transboundary Cooperation in the Orange-Senqu and Nile Rivers* (New York: Continuum International Books, 2018), 2.

on May 21, 1997 this came to fruition as the UN adopted a resolution containing norms that would hold countries liable for their actions on waterways that directly affected other countries dependent on the same shared water source.

These principles outlined strict guidelines for countries to follow stating that one country must give other countries the opportunity for negotiations regarding construction projects on shared water sources. The UN principle entitled the “No Harm Doctrine” also stipulates that watercourse nations must take all appropriate actions to prevent the direct harming of other watercourse nations. Lastly, the most blatantly ignored, is the principle of “Prior Notification.” It states that it is required that other riparian states are informed that a “planned measure might change the course or volume of water resources so that they might threaten the rights of riparian owners of the adjoining sovereignty a claim may be lodged...and thus the interests on both sides will be safeguarded”.⁴⁴

In 1944, the United States and Mexico signed a treaty which mandated that the US provide Mexico with 1.5 million acre-feet of water annually. The treaty also specified that on years when there was surplus that 200,000 additional acre feet would be given to the Mexicans. This treaty is managed by the International Water and Boundary Commission.⁴⁵ The point through which Mexico can access their share of the water on the Colorado River is located at Morelos Dam, between Los Algodones Mexico and Yuma County Arizona.⁴⁶ Consequentially, due to all the dams and man-made re-routing tactics along the river, the water rarely reaches its natural delta, the Gulf of California in northern Mexico. Subsequently, the citizens of Mexicali, Tecate and Tijuana have to ask permission and receive a water allowance. This need to request permission was especially degrading because these municipalities had to ask from a country that erected infrastructure to suit their own needs without taking into consideration that the water they usurped was not all theirs to take in the first place. Global Climate Change has played a role as well; beginning in 2007, Mexico realized they needed to review the treaty. A series of cooperative agreements between the US and Mexico were reached, determining that the United States must aid Mexico in the

⁴⁴Inga M. Jacobs, *The Politics of Water in Africa: Norms, Environmental Regions and Transboundary Cooperation in the Orange-Senqu and Nile Rivers.* (2012), New York: Continuum International Books. Forward pg. 12.

⁴⁵ “Colorado River Water and Mexico.” *Water Education Foundation*, updated October 2020. <https://www.watereducation.org/aquapedia/mexico-and-colorado-river-water>

⁴⁶ Ibid.

restoration of water amounts regardless of shortages. Most importantly, was one of the agreements called "Minute 319."⁴⁷ In the wording, Mexico agreed to take less water in years of drought but sought (and gained) the ability to store water in Lake Mead (the reservoir behind Hoover Dam) in years of surplus. The intention was to be able to bank water in Lake Mead for times of emergency and shortages. Ten years later, in 2017, Minute 319 was edited and finalized, becoming "Minute 323":

A continuation of Minute 319 called Minute 323 was finalized in September 2017. The agreement provides a continuous flow of water to the Colorado River Delta and expands the restored habitat area from 1,700 to 4,300 acres. Mexico will continue to store water in Lake Mead and both governments will provide funding and other resources for research projects along the border and throughout the region.⁴⁸

With aging infrastructure, tectonic activity and what would now seem to be a figurative handcuff to the wrist of another country, the United States is struggling to continue to repair their relationship with Mexico, their riparian neighbor. Another revival of Manifest Destiny is prevailing in this instance, monopolizing the water, livelihood and lives of millions of Mexicans; funding short sighted and expensive conciliatory efforts to remain in control of the Colorado River.

Agriculture economy includes plants, but a factor often and dangerously overlooked in the fight to save water are the growing herds of cattle and other livestock raised on ranches and feed supplied by the Colorado River. Animal agriculture is responsible for 51% of human caused global climate change. People enjoy eating meat, especially those privileged to have grown up where it is a staple of a daily diet. Technology and agribusiness have turned meal expectation on its head. Many Americans have grown accustomed to eating copious amounts of meat every day. Historically, meat was expensive: it was labor intensive, and it was special. This is no longer the case. The average porterhouse steak in a restaurant today is 16 ounces. The USDA recommended portion of meat per meal is 3 oz., which equals the size of a deck of playing cards. For fish, the portion should be the size of a personal checkbook.⁴⁹ That three-ounce piece of meat required 660 gallons of fresh

⁴⁷ Ibid.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Choose MyPlate." Choose MyPlate. Accessed November 2, 2020. <https://www.choosemyplate.gov/>.

water to produce. This includes both the water the animal drank as well as the water it took to grow the feed it ate. It takes 2500 gallons of water to raise one pound of beef, 447 gallons for one pound of eggs, and 900 gallons per pound of cheese.⁵⁰ Factory-style farming to feed a growing human appetite is sucking 300 times the amount of water needed from sources like the Colorado River. With government subsidies aiding the mass production of agriculture, US officials have a laser focus on maintaining America's GDP, rather than maintaining the lives of citizens. The current health crisis in Flint, Michigan underscores this point.

The Colorado River, Mexican citizens and existing habitats are suffering at the hands of procrastinating and indifferent United States government officials. Water allocation rights belong to everyone along the river or water source alike. At a certain point, complacency and currency have overtaken ingenuity and integrity. This formidable river has been around for six million years. Through ice ages and our ancient ancestors, this water source has carved a permanent place in the history books. Human's attempts to tame it await a centennial anniversary in the coming years, along with what will most likely be a difficult decision regarding a dynamic environment and vital ramifications involving the people which rely on it.

Globally, rivers and their names reflect the foundations of life as we humans understand them. The Volga River in Russia, originally named the Atil River, in Turkish translates to the word Attila, or father. The Mississippi, named by the Anishinabe people, of the Ojibwe Tribe similarly means, "Father of Waters." The Yangtze transforms to "Child of the Ocean." The Spanish named the Colorado which translates to "tinted red." Like the blood which flows through our veins the Colorado flows through North America. This red river holds a precariously important role, which has been essential to the survival, and development of both the foundation of the North American continent, as well as the United States as we know it today. Notwithstanding, is the relationship water has to people. As an essential element to life, the connection humans have to vital water sources is not just historically relevant, but socially. Like money, or other objects of wealth, water on the Colorado has been used to facilitate certain lifestyles, while ignoring others. The history of powerful and influential people often revolves around money, or valuables, but after observation,

⁵⁰ "Everything about California Water That Matters." *Water Education Foundation* (2017) (data from 1991), Accessed November 2, 2020. <https://www.watereducation.org/all-california-water-sources>

water has emerged as a key component to this story as well. The history of the United States, its business, its economy and its people could just as easily be called the history of the United States and its relationship with water. The Colorado River and the Hoover Dam do not reveal anything new about human nature, but expose an ageless power struggle among people, a tension between those who have and those who have not; a moment when a timeless choice was made between power and compassion. Jacques Yves Cousteau famously wrote that we should not ignore our water resources lest “we forget that the water cycle and the life cycle are one.” We did not forget it, but we definitely used it as power and leverage.

A History of the Jews in Russia

David Standrowicz

Since the eighteenth century, Jews comprised a significant minority population in the Russian Empire and eventually the Soviet Union. During the reign of Catherine the Great, for example, the empire acquired lands of present-day eastern Poland and Lithuania that contained a large population of Jews, leading to the emergence of Jews as a major ethnic minority in the empire. Throughout history and not only in Russia, Jews have faced discrimination based on anti-Semitism--sentiments against Jews. In the Tsarist Empire, Jews had numerous rights restricted and were not treated equally before the law as their non-Jewish counterparts. They were only allowed to reside within a large area of land known as the Pale of Settlement, established by Catherine the Great in present-day Ukraine, Belarus, eastern Poland, and Lithuania, and they were required to pay fees in order to reside outside the pale. Between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jewish communities faced more violent acts of anti-Semitism in the form of pogroms, organized riots. From the rise of Imperial Russia to the twentieth century, Jewish people in the Russian empire dealt with anti-Semitism in numerous forms, where they were separated from the rest of Russian society with restricted rights and were eventually subject to extreme violence.

As early as the Medieval era, Jews in Europe faced anti-Semitism in numerous forms. In European countries, the majority of anti-Jewish sentiment could be divided into two main types, religious and racist. Religious anti-Semitism referred to discrimination against members of the Jewish faith, which was based on teachings of the Christian church. Anti-Semitic Christians discriminated against Jews based on their faith and the common teaching that the Jews were responsible for the execution of Jesus of Nazareth, whom the Christians recognize as the messiah. Since this form of anti-Semitic thought was based on religion, religious anti-Semites believed that Jews could be included in the predominantly Christian society through conversion.¹

¹ Eli Weinerman, "Racism, Racial Prejudice and Jews in Late Imperial Russia," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 17: 3 (1994): 443.

It was different from racist anti-Semitism because religious anti-Semites believed that Jews were inferior due to their faith rather than their race or ethnicity. According to historian Pål Kolstø, the Jews were accused of having killed Christ, and it was commonly believed that their “bloodthirstiness” had continued to the present day. Kolstø described anti-Jewish sentiment when he stated: “proof of this was found in their alleged killing of Christian boys for ritual purposes. This medieval superstition, which in earlier centuries could be heard all over Europe, in Russia lingered on until the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.”² In the Medieval era, many Europeans believed in the superstition that Jews ritually killed Christian children and used their blood to make matzo, a thin unleavened bread commonly eaten by Jews. Due to the Christian teaching that the Jews were responsible for the death of Jesus and the medieval superstition that Jews would ritually kill Christian boys, religion served as a basis for a majority of anti-Semitic thought in the Russian empire.

In addition to religious anti-Semitism, racist anti-Semitism began to emerge in Europe during the late nineteenth century. In racist anti-Semitism, it was believed that Jews were inherently different and separate from the Aryan race due to their biological and psychological nature.³ While religious anti-Semites believed that Jews could be integrated into European society through conversion to Christianity, racist anti-Semites believed that since their “inferior” racial qualities could not be changed, Jews could not be included in Aryan society. In the Russian empire, anti-Semitic intellectuals and political officials in the nineteenth century attempted to restrict the rights of Jews based on ethnicity rather than religion. Historian Eli Weinerman points out that “these proposals were aimed at Jews who had converted to the Orthodox faith and who, in contrast to the rest of the Jewish population, had enjoyed the same rights as the Empire's Orthodox peoples.”⁴ As time progressed, Russian anti-Semites began to refer to racist theories to justify prejudice against the Jewish population. Government officials and politicians proposed that rights should be restricted not only for religious Jews, but also for people of Jewish descent who had converted to Orthodox Christianity. Therefore, the nineteenth century saw the

² Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42:4 (2014): 692.

³ Weinerman, “Racism, Racial Prejudice and Jews in Late Imperial Russia,” 443.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 445.

emergence of racist anti-Semitism alongside the longstanding religious anti-Semitic thought.

There were numerous factors outside religious discrimination and racist theories that contributed to the rise of anti-Semitism in the Russian empire. As the Tsarist empire began to modernize and transition toward an industrialized country with a growing economy, economic factors began to play a role in anti-Jewish sentiments. Conservatives in the empire associated the Jews with capitalism and feared Jewish economic activity because they believed that it undermined the political power of the landowning elites.⁵ Furthermore, cultural factors led to opposition to Jewish involvement in the arts. Opponents of Jewish inclusion often accused Jewish people, including converts to Christianity, for distorting Russian culture due to their flawed knowledge of the Russian language, national character, and traditions.⁶ In the late nineteenth century, however, a new factor that contributed to increasing anti-Jewish sentiments began to emerge. The last two tsars of the Russian empire were both anti-Semites who actively supported restriction of the rights of Jews. Since his father had been assassinated by a Jewish man in 1881, Tsar Alexander III was both an anti-Semite and a devout reactionary, eager to suppress revolution. According to Pål Kolstø, “Much of the anti-Jewish legislation that was adopted in the last decades before the 1917 revolution clearly was part of a drive to combat left-wing terrorism.”⁷ Since Jews were disproportionately represented in revolutionary parties, often due to the way Jews were treated under the Tsarist empire, Jews were often associated with left-wing radicalism, leading to a political basis for discrimination against the Jews. With the association of Jews with economic activity, limited knowledge of Russian language and culture, and revolutionary involvement, anti-Semitism in the nineteenth century was largely driven by numerous economic, cultural, and political factors.

Anti-Semitism in the Russian empire was originally based on religious discrimination that had existed since the Medieval era, but the nineteenth century saw the rise of a variety of new factors that contributed to anti-Jewish sentiment. Anti-Semites in the empire expressed these sentiments in a variety of ways, including public demonstrations, literature, and bias in the legal system. One of the most

⁵ *Ibid.*, 453.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 454.

⁷ Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, No. 4 (2014): 692.

significant symbols of anti-Semitism in the Tsarist empire was the concept of pogroms, which were violent riots carried out against the Jews. During such riots, crowds of Russians expressed their hatred of Jews, revolutionaries, and the liberalization of the Tsarist government. For instance, historian Victoria Khiterer described that during a pogrom in Nezhin, the crowd of pogrom-makers screamed, “We don’t need Jews and democrats, they torment us, get them out of our city ... If the students don’t give us lists of the democrats, we know ourselves some of them and will make short work of them right now.”⁸ Since Jews in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries were connected with revolutionary parties and left-wing radicalism, crowds often expressed their opposition to Jews and liberals together, claiming that such people tainted their society. Aside from the pogroms, Russian anti-Semites frequently expressed their anti-Jewish beliefs through literature. Historian Pål Kolstø points out that they produced an entire library consisting of books, booklets, and articles that discussed the necessity of fighting the Jews and restricting their rights.⁹ Unsurprisingly, many of the most prominent texts within this collection of anti-Semitic works were written by strong believers in Orthodox Christianity who wrote their works in a religious language. This assortment of works dedicated to the spread of anti-Semitic thought reveals that much of the opposition to the Jews in the Tsarist empire stood on religious beliefs as the main foundation.

One of the more unusual expressions of anti-Semitism in the Russian empire was through an extreme bias against Jews in the legal system. The issue of discrimination in the legal system was emphasized in the writing of Mary Antin, a Jewish girl who grew up in the Pale of Settlement and noticed the injustice that Jews suffered in Russia. In her writing, Antin described how Jews were constantly at the mercy of the police, judges, and their non-Jewish neighbors. According to Mary Antin, “If you chased their pigs when they came rooting up your garden, or objected to their children maltreating your children, they might complain against you to the police, stuffing their case with false accusations and false witnesses.”¹⁰ She adds that such cases would be brought to the court if a Jewish individual or family was not well

⁸ Victoria Khiterer, “The October 1905 Pogroms and the Russian Authorities,” *Nationalities Papers* 43, No. 5 (2015): 790.

⁹ Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, No. 4 (2014): 704.

¹⁰ “Mary Antin: A Little Jewish Girl in the Russian Pale, 1890,” *Internet History Sourcebooks Project* (November 1998), accessed April 8, 2021. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/>.

acquainted with the police. Furthermore, Jews would lose the trial before it even began because judges in the Russian court system were often anti-Semitic themselves and thus biased against Jews. The exclamations of pogrom-makers, writings of anti-Semitic Russians, and treatment of Jews by their non-Jewish neighbors as well as in the legal system all illustrate the widespread anti-Jewish sentiment in the Tsarist empire.

One of the most visible symbols of discrimination against the Jews on a political level in Russia was the Pale of Settlement. The area of land known as the Pale of Settlement was established in 1791 under Catherine the Great in order to restrict the movements of the Jewish people in present-day Belarus, who had become subjects of the tsar following the first partition of Poland in 1772.¹¹ When the Tsarist empire acquired new land in present-day Poland and Lithuania, the pale was expanded to the western and southern boundaries of the empire. According to Pål Kolstø, the purpose of the establishment of the Pale of Settlement was to limit the permitted area of residence for Jews, in which the government sought to ensure the growth of a non-Jewish middle class outside the pale.¹² Jewish people were not allowed to reside outside the pale unless they paid fees and were granted special permission. Even so, Jews were constantly at the mercy of local authorities who made decisions regarding the restrictions of activities of the Jews, which included the eviction of Jews from their respective towns or cities. For example, Kolstø pointed out that “in 1891, some thirty-thousand Jews, mostly artisans, were expelled from Moscow and sent back to the Pale. This constituted more than eighty-five percent of the Jews living in the city.”¹³ Although Jewish people could pay fees and receive permission from the authorities to settle outside the Pale of Settlement, they could have this permission taken away at any time and for no reason at all. The pale served as a reminder that the Jews would always be treated as second-class citizens inferior to their non-Jewish counterparts, and they were always living at the mercy of the Tsarist authorities.

In her personal narrative, Mary Antin described the conditions of Jews living in the Pale of Settlement in Russia, emphasizing the constant fear of the tsar.

¹¹ Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, No. 4 (2014): 698.

¹² *Ibid.*, 698.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 699.

According to Antin, many Jews hung portraits of the tsar Alexander III in their homes because it looked well when police or government officials visited the village on business. For example, she wrote, “The czar was a cruel tyrant – oh, it was whispered when doors were locked and shutters tightly barred, at night – he was a Titus, a Haman, a sworn foe of all Jews – and yet his portrait was seen in a place of honor in your father's house.”¹⁴ Even though many of the Jews secretly resented the tsar as much as he resented them, they never spoke of such sentiments outside their homes. Instead, they hung portraits of the tsar in their homes and appeared to show support for the monarchy so that they would not be suspected of being revolutionaries. It was expected that every Jewish congregation say a prayer for the health of the tsar, and the chief of police would close any synagogue that refused to do so. Similarly, all houses were expected to fly flags of the Russian empire on royal birthdays, and failure to do so would result in being dragged to the nearest police station and a fine of twenty-five rubles.¹⁵ Mary Antin explained the wrath of the authorities on royal birthdays when she stated, “a decrepit old woman, who lived all alone in a tumble-down shanty, supported by the charity of the neighborhood, crossed her paralyzed hands one day when flags were ordered up, and waited for her doom, because she had no flag.”¹⁶ Antin narrated that the policeman broke down the door, sold every item found in the old woman’s house, and finally hung a flag above the roof of the dilapidated house. Since Jews were often associated with revolutionary parties and radicalism, they were expected to show loyalty to the tsar, and these expectations were often stricter for the Jews than their non-Jewish neighbors. Even if an elderly individual with poor health could not afford to purchase a flag, the authorities often showed no mercy but arrested the individual without remorse.

The establishment of the Pale of Settlement, despite its purpose to restrict the activity and advancement of the Jewish people in Russia, had some positive effects on the Jewish communities due to their confinement. Through a geographical and statistical analysis, historian Richard Rowland arrived at the conclusion that due to the restriction of Jewish settlement, Jews comprised a highly urbanized community in the Tsarist Empire. According to Rowland, nearly one-half of the Jewish population

¹⁴ “Mary Antin,” *Internet History Sourcebooks Project*.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

in the pale resided in urban centers, in comparison to only one-tenth of the non-Jewish population.¹⁷ While only ten percent of the non-Jewish population in Russia lived in urban centers, the Jews were highly concentrated in urban centers with nearly fifty percent residing in cities. Rowland also reported that although Jewish people comprised just over one-tenth of the population of the Tsarist empire, they comprised nearly two-fifths of the urban populations. In eight of the twenty-five provinces, the majority of the urban population consisted of Jews.¹⁸ The large proportion of the Jewish population residing in cities may have been advantageous because due to their residence in cities, Jews were closer to large markets and industrial centers with factories, which provided them with nearby opportunities for work. Thus, the one potential advantage of the Pale of Settlement was that much of the Jewish population was highly concentrated in urban centers where they were close to job opportunities rather than small, isolated villages.

Aside from the Pale of Settlement, the Tsarist government sought to restrict multiple rights of Jews in the empire in order to keep them at a second-class status in Russian society. While the pale limited where Jews were permitted to reside, other regulations were passed to oppress Jewish people in education and professional fields. For example, Jews were highly discouraged from becoming lawyers, an influential occupation in politics and justice, in order to keep Jewish influence out of the legal system.¹⁹ Russian society actively sought to keep Jews from advancing into the higher classes of society, which led to violent conflicts over the social status of Jews. Historian Heinz-Dietrich Löwe explained the reason for such oppression when he stated, “Because of their being restricted to a position of poverty and low social status, many people might have felt the need to look down on somebody lower still on the social ladder—the Jews.”²⁰ Many of the non-Jewish peasants in the Tsarist empire were bitter about their social status, confined in a state of poverty. Consequently, they needed another group of people to look down upon and frequently chose the Jews as a target of social and economic oppression, keeping them lower on the social ladder.

¹⁷ Richard Rowland, “Geographical Patterns of the Jewish Population in the Pale of Settlement in Late Nineteenth Century Russia,” *Jewish Social Studies* 48, No. 3 (1986): 218.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹⁹ Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, No. 4 (2014): 700.

²⁰ Heinz-Dietrich Löwe, “Pogroms in Russia,” *Jewish Social Studies* 11, No. 1 (2004): 19.

As a result of social and economic oppression of Jewish people, Russian elitists and officials sought to keep Jews out of a variety of fields, especially academics. Jews faced vicious discrimination in education, often with quotas that prevented Jews from comprising more than a certain low percentage of the student body at many schools. The pursuit of secondary education was common among Jewish people due to the economic situation in the Pale of Settlement. The pale was already excessively crowded with tradesmen such as goldsmiths, cobblers, artisans, and shopkeepers. Since a higher education created new opportunities, Jews often pursued education and academics as an alternative path of life.²¹ In her personal narrative of life as a Jew in the Pale of Settlement, Mary Antin described the harsh conditions of Jewish children seeking an education. Jewish children desiring admission to schools had to face physical examinations, where Antin pointed out that “the brightest Jewish children were turned down if the examining officers did not like the turn of their noses.”²² Examining officers were very hostile toward Jewish children, judging them on shallow details such as the look of their noses, based on a common stereotype of Jewish physical features.

According to Antin, Jewish candidates had to take a separate examination in which nine-year-old Jewish children were expected to answer questions that not even thirteen-year-old Gentile children were expected to answer.²³ Even if Jewish children answered questions correctly and confidently, they often received a low grade with no opportunity for appeal. Mary Antin added that the conditions did not improve for Jews who entered universities, for the school life for Jews was a “struggle against injustice from instructors, spiteful treatment from fellow students, and insults from everybody.”²⁴ Similarly to secondary schools, Jewish children seeking to attend universities faced excessively challenging examinations, dishonest marking, and blunt bias against Jewish candidates. Jewish children were heavily oppressed and discouraged from receiving higher education not only due to the desire to keep them at a second-class status, but also because Jews in the nineteenth century were often associated with revolutionary ideals. Therefore, officials in the Tsarist empire sought

²¹ Pål Kolstø, “Competing with Entrepreneurial Diasporians: Origins of Anti-Semitism in Nineteenth-century Russia,” *Nationalities Papers* 42, No. 4 (2014): 700.

²² “Mary Antin: A Little Jewish Girl in the Russian Pale, 1890,” *Internet History Sourcebooks Project*, November 1998, accessed April 1, 2021. <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/>.

²³ *Ibid.*

²⁴ *Ibid.*

that keeping Jews out of secondary schools and universities not only kept them at their respective social status, but also prevented them from becoming highly educated and exposed to radical ideas.

Anti-Jewish sentiments in education were felt not only at the local level, but also at the political level, where even the tsar was fully aware of the issue and openly supported the restriction of Jewish children in schools. Historian Alex Valdman explained political discussions of Jewish children and education when he stated, “Suggestions to limit Jewish students’ enrollment were discussed in some circles even in the days of Alexander II, and after his assassination these ideas found firm support among government officials, including the new tsar, Alexander III.”²⁵ Tsarist officials considered limitations on the number of Jews accepted into schools as early as during the reign of Alexander II, a tsar responsible for many progressive reforms in the nineteenth century. However, after he was assassinated by a Jewish man and his son Alexander III rose to the throne, the Tsarist government gave full support of restrictions on Jews receiving higher education as well as other rights among the Jewish population.

School administrators at the local level also freely expressed their anti-Jewish sentiments, which were based on both religious and racist anti-Semitism. According to Alex Valdman, the principal of the Vitebsk Gymnasium bluntly declared that the typical characteristics and traits of the “Jewish race” were clearly notable among Jewish children, including those attending Russian schools. Valdman added that among other school principals and administrators, “The principal from Vitebsk did not hesitate to attribute a whole range of stereotypes to his Jewish students, including uncleanliness, an inclination toward anti-Christian and anti-Russian conspiracy, greed, immorality, and even the smell of garlic, which Jews allegedly brought with them into classes.”²⁶ Anti-Semitic thought among Russian school administrators included a combination of both religious and racist beliefs. Jews, including Jewish children, were accused of anti-Christian and anti-Russian conspiracy, and they were stereotypically associated with uncleanliness, greed, and immorality. School

²⁵ Alex Valdman, “A Miracle in Minsk: Secondary Education and Social Mobility in the Pale of Settlement before 1887,” *Jewish Social Studies* 24, No. 2 (2019): 145.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, 146.

principals also commonly agreed with stereotypes portraying Jewish physical attributes, including large noses and the smell of garlic.

Although nearly one-half of the Jewish population in the Tsarist empire resided in urban centers, the remainder of the population resided in small villages known as shtetls. Shtetls were small towns largely segregated between Jews and non-Jews where Jewish residents mostly spoke a dialect known as Yiddish, a combination of mostly Hebrew and German along with influences from Eastern European languages as well. In the shtetl, Hebrew was the language of the educated, as Jewish boys were all expected to learn Hebrew and study the Torah, the holy book in the Jewish faith. According to historian Ben Pinchuk, “Yiddish as the language and the basis of shtetl popular culture included significant Slavic influences, as did the shtetl’s folklore, music and cooking.”²⁷ Although the Jews in the diaspora maintained their connection to the Hebrew language and the Jewish faith and culture, they were influenced by various customs in Eastern Europe such as music, folklore, and cooking. Jewish immigrants from shtetls in Eastern Europe brought with them these culture influences and as a result, formed their own unique Jewish identity. Ben-Cion Pinchuk mentioned that Jews in the shtetl were physically distinguishable from their non-Jewish Slavic neighbors, often possessing a darker skin complexion, for example. Pinchuk described the common physical appearance of Jews in shtetls when he stated, “During most of the nineteenth century, the men had beards and side-locks (peyes), that set them further apart from the Slavic peasant.”²⁸ Since it was a Jewish custom that men not shave their facial hair or the sides of their heads, Jewish men were easy to distinguish from their non-Jewish counterparts due to their bears and sideburns. As descendants of Israelites who had migrated into Europe during the diaspora, Jewish people continued to follow cultural traditions that made them stand out from non-Jews in Europe.

Shtetl culture in the Tsarist empire was largely driven not only by the Yiddish language and Slavic influences, but also by the holy book known as the Torah. Nearly every aspect of individual, family, and community life in the shtetl were determined by the Torah in these small Jewish communities.²⁹ Historian Ben-Cion

²⁷ Ben Pinchuk, “Jewish Discourse and the Shtetl,” *Jewish History* 15, No. 2 (2001): 170.

²⁸ Ben-Cion Pinchuk, “The Shtetl,” *Cahiers Du Monde Russe* 41, No. 4 (2000): 503.

²⁹ Ben Pinchuk, “Jewish Discourse and the Shtetl,” 173.

Pinchuk pointed out that Judaic law had the most significant influence on the nature of the shtetl, in which working hours were affected by daily prayer, and all business came to a halt on the Shabbat, the weekly day of rest in Judaism. Pinchuk also mentioned that “Preparing for the Shabbat occupied an important part of the week and could be noticed in the stores, at the marketplace and in the street.”³⁰ In the Jewish faith, the Shabbat was not only a weekly day of rest, but a day dedicated to prayer, devotion to God, and worship in synagogues. Furthermore, the observance of Jewish holy days such as Pesakh, Sukot, and Purim all highlighted the Jewish culture of the shtetl. Similar to the weekly Shabbat, all closed and everyday work came to a complete halt in these villages. Customs observed on each holiday were visible in the streets, illustrating the importance of Jewish faith and traditions in the shtetl.

In addition to markings of Jewish culture, shtetls were often recognized for their appearance, which was different from that of other towns in Eastern Europe. Shtetls were often described by travelers as dull and rundown, reflecting extreme poverty and neglect, and having squalid conditions even in comparison to dull Russian provincial towns.³¹ Sanitation was extremely poor in these villages, often dubbed worse than in the poorest of Russian towns, with refuse simply thrown into the street.³² The *shtetl* generally consisted of a central marketplace and a few brick buildings surrounded by dilapidated wooden huts, generally lacking gardening or decorations unlike those in non-Jewish villages. Ben-Cion Pinchuk described the conditions of life in the *shtetl* when he stated, “The houses were crowded, the streets without pavement or adequate drainage, the stores with little merchandise.”³³ The squalid conditions of the houses in the village revealed the restriction of Jews in the Tsarist empire to a lower social status. Lack of attention to gardening, painting, and decoration in comparison to non-Jewish neighbors also reflected the reservation for external beauty often found in traditional Judaism.³⁴ Therefore, houses in the shtetl were often built mostly of wood, straw, and clay, which were the most cheap and readily available building materials in the region.

³⁰ Ben-Cion Pinchuk, “The Shtetl,” 503.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 499.

³² *Ibid.*, 500.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 501.

Since shtetls were too small to have a need for government buildings, the majority of public buildings in these villages were devoted to the Jewish population. Near the center of the villages were the synagogues, Jewish houses of prayer and assembly. The number and appearance of synagogues reflected both the size of the community and material well-being.³⁵ The central synagogue was always built large enough to accommodate the entire community for both religious and social purposes. Synagogues served the Jewish community not only as houses of worship, but also as assembly halls and places of study. According to historian Ben-Cion Pinchuk, “Small places of worship were to be found all over town. They carried different names, Beit-midrash, Shtibl, Kloiz, and served different sections of the community. Besides being places of worship, the synagogues were also centers of learning of the scriptures and their commentaries.”³⁶ The most significant place of study and instruction in the shtetl, however, was the Kheder, meaning “room,” located in the private residence of a teacher who provided children with basic education. Thus, both synagogues and “rooms” were places where children learned the Hebrew language and studied the Torah along with its important teachings. These small school rooms could be found all over the shtetl where children would gather to receive a basic elementary education. Aside from the synagogue and the Kheder, *shtetls* in the Tsarist empire also consisted of a Jewish cemetery, a kosher slaughterhouse and butcher shop, and a ritual bath known as the *Mikveh*.³⁷ To a travelling outsider, the cemetery was one of the first signs that a Jewish community resided nearby. The buildings within the shtetl village reflected the importance of the Jewish faith and customs, as each village contained several buildings dedicated to the Jewish community, either for worship, education, ritual bath, or kosher food preparation.

Although everyday life in the shtetl may have been relatively peaceful, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Jews in all corners of the Pale of Settlement were faced with violence in the form of riots known as pogroms. While anti-Semitism had existed in Europe since the Medieval era, a new form of anti-Semitism emerged in the Tsarist empire, which involved political reasons. Partially since they were tired of being oppressed as second-class citizens, Jews in the empire

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 502.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 502.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, 502.

were often associated with revolutionary parties along with many of the non-Jewish peasants. Jews were largely represented in Russian revolutionary parties, especially in the Pale of Settlement where the first Marxist party in the empire, known as the Bund, grew and prospered.³⁸ The Bund worked to create a modern socialist future free of conflict between ethnic groups, and also to protect Jews from pogrom violence as anti-Jewish violence increased. A growing Zionist movement in the Pale of Settlement, along with other Marxist socialist parties, defended Jewish communities and stood up against pogrom violence for the first time between 1903 and 1905.³⁹ This was a pivotal moment in the history of Jews in the Russian empire because socialist parties such as Marxists, Zionists, and the Bund actively defended the Jewish population by standing up against anti-Semitic violence.

The treatment of Jews as second-class citizens and emergence of pogroms in the empire led many Jews to resent the Tsarist authorities. Many Jewish individuals such as a young man named Grigorii Aronson chose to fight back by joining revolutionary socialist parties. Among many other Jews in the Pale of Settlement, Aronson was eager to spread revolutionary ideals that opposed the oppressive Tsarist government. Between 1909 and 1914, for example, he worked as an editor for a democratically oriented newspaper in Minsk and joined the Bund. Grigorii Aronson enjoyed working openly and above ground as a newspaperman, public figure, and activist for the Jewish workers' party.⁴⁰ Historian Gerald D. Surh described Aronson's contribution to the revolutionary effort by declaring, "He wrote several books on Russian revolutionary politics, Russian Jewish history and even a book of verse. Aronson also wrote prolifically for the Yiddish press on topics of concern to the American Jewish community of his generation."⁴¹ Grigorii Aronson was a confident individual who courageously expressed opposition to the Tsarist government, writing several works on both revolutionary politics and the history of Jews in Russia. He was one of many individuals, especially in the Jewish community, who were tired of being oppressed under the tsar and openly joined revolutionary parties that advocated for reform.

³⁸ Gerald D. Surh, "Russian Jewish Socialists and Antisemitism: The Case of Grigorii Aronson," *Patterns of Prejudice* 51, No. 3-4 (2017): 253.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 258.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 256.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 257.

While Jewish revolutionary parties such as the Bund and the Zionists aimed to stand up to anti-Semitic violence and protect the Jewish communities from pogroms, the violence did not stop. Pogroms began to occur in the Tsarist empire in the late nineteenth century in 1881, and as time progressed toward the early twentieth century, these riots became more violent and deadly. For instance, on May 2, 1881, a telegram was sent in St. Petersburg regarding a pogrom that involved the destruction of Jewish property. According to the author of the telegram, “One hundred houses were pillaged, a quantity of furniture being thrown into the streets. Two hundred people were injured during the riots.”⁴² In this pogrom, rioters pillaged and vandalized some one-hundred houses in the Jewish community, throwing furniture and belongings into the street. Two-hundred people were wounded in the process. A similar pogrom occurred on an unknown date in 1881, during which the author of a telegram described that “the rioters, aided by an influx of peasants from the surrounding villages to join in the general melee, sacked the houses of the Jews, destroyed their furniture, and stole or spoiled their wares.”⁴³ Since no Jews were killed during these early pogroms in 1881, it can be concluded that the goal of these pogroms was not to kill anyone, but rather to destroy Jewish property and create fear and intimidation.

Statistics regarding fatalities and injuries illustrate a change in the nature of pogroms between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. For example, historian Stefan Wiese concluded that the pogroms between 1881 and 1882 resulted in a total of twenty-five Jewish fatalities, some of which seemed accidental rather than intentional.⁴⁴ The pogroms in the late nineteenth century revealed no evidence that rioters used forms of violence to ensure victim’s deaths, such as the mutilation of bodies. Thus, it is likely that the earlier pogroms were carried out to create fear and intimidation rather than to deliberately murder members of the Jewish community. On the contrary, pogroms in the twentieth century yielded higher numbers of casualties, demonstrating a more violent nature of the riots. Historian Victoria Khiterer reported that roughly six-hundred ninety pogroms took place between

⁴² “The Jewish Chronicle: Outrages Upon Jews in Russia, May 6, 1881,” *Internet History Sourcebooks Project*, January 1999, <https://sourcebooks.fordham.edu/>.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ Stefan Wiese, “‘Spit Back with Bullets!’ Emotions in Russia's Jewish Pogroms, 1881 — 1905,” *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 39, No. 4 (2013): 475.

October 18 and 29 in 1905 alone, most of which occurred in the land of present-day Ukraine where the majority of the Jewish population resided.⁴⁵ Khiterer stated that in the later pogroms, some three-thousand one-hundred Jews were killed, some two-thousand severely injured, and more than fifteen-thousand wounded.⁴⁶ Unlike the earlier pogroms, statistics reveal that the later pogroms in the twentieth century, which were most frequent and severe in 1905, were more violent, widespread, and deadly.

Pogroms in the Tsarist empire were planned and executed largely in response to the growing revolutionary movement, which was extremely prominent among Jewish communities in the Pale of Settlement. Ironically, the vast majority of pogrom victims were peaceful Jewish residents who were not involved in the revolutionary movement. According to historian Victoria Khiterer, Russian authorities claimed that the pogroms in October 1905 had occurred spontaneously against Jews and radical members of the intelligentsia.⁴⁷ However, Khiterer explained the involvement of the authorities in these riots when she stated, “Clearly these pogroms were well prepared in advance by anti-Semitic monarchist organizations, usually with the connivance or active support of local authorities, for the suppression of revolutionary activities.”⁴⁸ The similarity of pogroms throughout the empire in October 1905 reveals that they were not spontaneous, but deliberately carried out by anti-Semitic organizations, often with the active support of local authorities. Therefore, planning and preparations for the riots were no secret to the authorities. Khiterer added that the police in Odesa and Simferopol expressed their satisfaction with the upcoming pogroms as acts of revenge against the Jews for their alleged involvement with revolutionary activities. Instead of being mere spontaneous acts of violence, pogroms in 1905 were deliberately planned and often approved by the local authorities in their respective towns and cities.

During the 1905 pogroms, acts of violence against Jewish individuals were much more extreme than they were during the earlier pogroms in the 1880’s. For example, on April 25, 1905 in the city of Zhitomir, a man named Doctor Valknovskii

⁴⁵ Victoria Khiterer, “The October 1905 Pogroms and the Russian Authorities,” *Nationalities Papers* 43, No. 5 (2015): 788.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 788.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 789.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*,: 790.

claimed to have witnessed seven young men chasing a group of roughly twenty Jews, beating them on their backs with sticks and clubs.⁴⁹ Rather than simply inflicting fear, rioters in the 1905 pogroms sought to create serious pain and suffering for their victims. Historian Victoria Khiterer described another scene of violence during a demonstration in Kyiv, in which “the crowd beat all Jews which it met on the street. If after a few minutes an injured Jew tried to stand up or crawl away, they beat him again.”⁵⁰ Khiterer added that policemen often actively participated in the violence in which they broke into city apartments and houses, often killing all the occupants regardless of age. She illustrated a particularly disturbing scene during one pogrom when she stated, “The rioters threw Jews from the top floor of multistory buildings, raped girls and women before killing them, and tore babies to pieces in front of their mothers.”⁵¹ Rioters, including policemen who actively supported the violence, would mercilessly injure, murder, and torture innocent Jews of all ages, raping young girls and forcing mothers to watch their babies be killed at their hands. While the pogroms between 1881 and 1882 served the purpose of keeping the Jews and other revolutionaries in line under the Tsarist rule, the 1905 pogroms proved to be much more extreme. Rioters took pleasure in killing, harming, and torturing the innocent.

Non-Jewish bystanders expressed a wide range of reactions to the anti-Jewish violence spreading throughout the Russian empire in the twentieth century. Most of the gentile population was indifferent to the brutal fate of the Jews, while only the most courageous gentiles hid or defended Jewish victims. Rioters who found Jews in the residence of a Christian family not only killed the Jews, but also the Christians who attempted to protect the Jews from the violence.⁵² For instance, a young Christian student named Veneroky attempted to defend the Jews in the pogrom, but was killed in front of the police.⁵³ As riots began to spread through cities and towns with significant Jewish populations, many Jews attempted to leave their homes and find safety elsewhere. However, pogrom-makers organized gangs who attacked and killed Jews at railway stations, on trains, and near river ports, ensuring that the Jews

⁴⁹ Stefan Wiese, “‘Spit Back with Bullets!’ Emotions in Russia's Jewish Pogroms, 1881 — 1905,” *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 39, No. 4 (2013): 472.

⁵⁰ Victoria Khiterer, “The October 1905 Pogroms and the Russian Authorities,” *Nationalities Papers* 43, No. 5 (2015): 791.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, 793.

⁵² *Ibid.*, 794.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, 794.

would not escape from their “revenge.”⁵⁴ Even Jews who attempted to escape the violence would find themselves at the mercy of travelling gangs of pogrom-makers. While some gentiles opposed the extreme violence against the Jewish communities, others proudly took part in the riots and joined the pogrom-makers. Historian Stefan Wiese described the attitude of many rioters during the demonstrations when he stated, “One of the first elements to catch the eye when studying contemporary accounts of the pogrom is the festive mood noted among the non-Jews.”⁵⁵ Observers of the atrocities often remembered the rioters’ excited facial expressions and laughter while carrying out acts of violence against their victims. Onlookers also reported that the pogrom-makers shouted degrading and insulting words and also sang disturbing songs in the midst of the demonstrations. Some gentiles were horrified by the violence and courageously attempted to defend the Jews or hide Jewish families in their homes, jeopardizing their own safety. Meanwhile, rioters and their followers joined in the celebratory feeling of the pogroms, taking pleasure in harming, killing, and torturing the Jews they encountered in the streets.

From the beginning of Imperial Russia to the twentieth century, Jews in the Russian empire faced anti-Semitism in the form of social and economic oppression, restriction of rights, and extreme violence through pogroms. Anti-Semitic discrimination had existed in Europe since the Medieval era, with the notable superstition that Jews ritually killed Christian children and used their blood to make matzo. In the Russian empire, the Pale of Settlement was established under the reign of Catherine the Great to confine the settlement of Jews to an area of land on the western and southern boundaries of the empire. Jews faced discrimination in education and universities as well as the legal system. Beginning in the late nineteenth century, anti-Jewish sentiment led to the execution of pogroms that became increasingly violent and deadly as time progressed into the twentieth century. These acts of discrimination, oppression, and violence against Jewish communities were driven by numerous factors including religious beliefs, racist theories, Jewish stereotypes, and the association of Jews with revolutionary activity. Generations of anti-Semitism pushed hundreds of thousands of Jews to emigrate from the Russian

⁵⁴ Ibid., 795.

⁵⁵ Stefan Wiese, “Spit Back with Bullets!’ Emotions in Russia’s Jewish Pogroms, 1881 — 1905,” *Geschichte Und Gesellschaft* 39, No. 4 (2013): 477.

empire to other countries in western Europe as well as the United States of America. The Jewish people in the Tsarist empire spent centuries living within a society that needed a group to look down upon, leading the government to oppress them by restricting their rights and keeping them in at a lower social status.

The 1619 Project and Capitalism: A Review

Evan Walker

Capitalism is as American as apple pie and winning world wars. It is exemplified by the American mentality encapsulated in the classic phrase: “Anyone can make it if they pull themselves up by their bootstraps.” However, for a lot of people, it is more difficult to enjoy the fruits of such an ethic. I am talking of course about African Americans. In 1619, the first African slaves landed on America’s shores and started building the infrastructure for what would later become the world’s biggest superpower of a nation. The release of the 1619 project has helped popularize knowledge of the linkage of modern American capitalism and slavery. But thanks to the *New York Times* and the journalists and historians who contributed, the knowledge has hit the mainstream, and it in turn has sparked a new debate about race and economics. The broad argument for capitalism’s linkage to slavery is that modern financial institutions were founded in slavery. Wall Street itself, built by slaves. The state of New York as a financial powerhouse, finds its roots in slavery. Matthew Desmond, a writer for the *Times*, states his thesis: “In order to understand the brutality of American capitalism, you have to start at the plantation.”¹ To understand his argument, we must dive deeper into the 1619 Project.

Founded by the Dutch in 1625, the New Amsterdam colony would later become known as “New York.” After the English acquired it, slavery expanded significantly. At one point, “40 percent of households had slaves.”² The slaves of New York built much of the local infrastructure, including famous roads like Broadway and Bowery Street. New York City’s investment in slavery greatly expanded. Starting in 1799, New York would pass a series of laws gradually banning slavery. But investors continued to pour money into the slave enterprise, because many New York financiers practically bankrolled the plantations to the south because of the cotton

¹ Matthew Desmond, “In Order to Understand the Brutality of American Capitalism, You Have to Start on the Plantation,” *New York Times Magazine* (August 14, 2019).

² Tiya Miles, “How Slavery Made Wall Street,” *New York Times Magazine* (August 14, 2019).

boom. According to Tiya Miles, New York City held “financial domination” of the southern plantations: “New York City’s economic consolidation came as a result of its dominance in the southern cotton trade, facilitated by the Erie canal.”³ Slavery started New York’s financial dominance.

In the nineteenth century, cotton what was oil is now. It was a very widely traded commodity. The problem with harvesting cotton is that it was—and is—a very labor intensive, menial task. Cotton also sucks up the nutrients from soil quickly, so growing cotton required the opening of more land for cultivation. So the US did what it does best: seized land that was not theirs. Entire forests had to be cleared, and slaves played a dominant role in chopping and axing those trees. As cotton expanded, so did slavery, and so did American economic prosperity. By 1831, the US was producing more than half of the world’s cotton crop, at 350 Million pounds of cotton that year.⁴ Four years later, the US produced 500 million pounds. Northern and Southern white elites grew rich off the labor of the enslaved people. This large-scale production of the crop “hastened the invention of the factory,” an invention which led to the Industrial Revolution and changed the course of human history. Desmond asks: “Was it slavery that started the industrial revolution or was it just the mass production of cotton?”⁵ Desmond addresses this question by pointing out that the mass production of cotton could not have happened without slaves. Historian Eric Williams put it best in his 1944 book “Slavery and Capitalism” when he said that slavery helped finance the industrial revolution.⁶

Desmond points out how modern companies use a form of management that finds its origins in slavery: “You report to someone, and someone reports to you. Everything is tracked, recorded and analyzed...Data seems to hold a sway over every operation.”⁷ However, in *Accounting for Slavery*, Caitlin Rosenthal points out that until recently, economic historians played scant attention to the question of how slavery impacted management practices: “slavery plays almost no role in histories of management.”⁸ Desmond also cites Alfred Chandler’s 1977 book *The Visible Hand*.

³ Ibid.

⁴ Desmond, “In Order to Understand the Brutality of American Capitalism.”

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Scott Reynolds Nelson, “Review Essay: Who Put their Capitalism in My Slavery?” *Journal of the Civil War Era* 5, no. 2 (June 2015): 290.

⁷ Desmond, “In Order to Understand the Brutality of American Capitalism.”

⁸ Caitlin Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2019), 6.

Since this book's publication, business historians have come to a consensus that modern business and management practices can be traced back to major railroad companies, with slavery playing only a small role in their adoption.⁹ According to Richard R. John, a business historian from Harvard University, "Chandler grounded his account of the managerial revolution in a three-stage model of economic development."¹⁰ Chandler argues that the first stage from 1790-1840 had no influence on modern business practices. Instead, he finds the origin in the second stage which was from 1840-1880 due to the steam railroad and the invention of the telegraph. Desmond points out that plantations needed to put their production into overdrive. To do this, they needed to make a hierarchical system where one person reports to another to make sure that everything is running smoothly. If this sounds familiar, it is because that is how almost every office in America works. One person reports to another to make sure that everybody is being held accountable for their work. There was also a "central office" made up of the plantation owners and lawyers to make sure long-term goals are being met. This sounds more and more like the modern American corporate structure. On one particular plantation, "The owner supervised a top lawyer, who supervised another lawyer, who supervised an overseer, who supervised three bookkeepers, who supervised 16 enslaved head drivers and specialists (like bricklayers), who supervised hundreds of enslaved workers."¹¹ Like modern companies, slave owners knew that to get maximum profit that they had to get the most amount of work possible out of their slaves. Bookkeepers kept a close watch on the output of each plantation. Plantation "entrepreneurs" like Thomas Affleck wrote a book called the "Plantation Record and Account Book" which released eight editions until the ending of the Civil War. According to Caitlin Rosenthal, this book "was really at the cutting edge of the informational technologies available to businesses during this period."¹² What Desmond has done is prove the link between the managerial business practices of slave owners and modern corporate America.

I agree with Desmond in all of the points that he made. America was built on

⁹ Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *The Visible Hand* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1993), 285.

¹⁰ Richard R. John, "Elaborations, Revisions, Dissents: Alfred D. Chandler's *The Visible Hand* after Twenty Years," *Business History Review* 71, no. 2 (Summer 1997): 156.

¹¹ Desmond, "In Order to Understand the Brutality of American Capitalism."

¹² Rosenthal, *Accounting for Slavery*.

the scarred backs of slaves. It was slavery that jumpstarted the industrial revolution. It was slavery that hastened the invention of the factory. Still today we see signs of slavery in our corporate structure, in our business practices. To conclude, slavery has an indisputable link with modern American capitalism.

The Puritan Religion and the Salem Witch Trials

Stephanie Miller

The Salem witch trials, which were conducted during the years 1692-1693, were a dark time in American history. It is a part of this country's past that will live on forever, one where the people who lost their lives will always be remembered in history books as a great tragedy. The chaos and uncertainty that accompanied those times remain a hot topic of discussion, and the events and texts of those times are still studied today. While there were a few different causes that fueled the trials, perhaps one of the most prominent ones was the Puritan religion. But just how much of an effect did this religion have on the Salem witch trials? There is no doubt that religion was very important to the people of New England during this time, and it was taken very seriously. The first English settlers of America left Great Britain in search of religious freedom and most of them were Puritans. This religion had a great effect on what happened during the Salem witch trials and why the trials took the road they did.

In 1630 John Winthrop was the governor of Massachusetts. The ship that he arrived on, the *Arbella*, was part of a fleet that carried some of the earliest settlers from England to the New World. This new expedition of colonializing the New World led Winthrop to deliver his famous sermon, "A Model of Christian Charity," which would come to be widely associated with the phrase, "a City upon a Hill." When referring to "a City upon a Hill," Winthrop was using the analogy of how the Puritans were to be the shining example for the people of the new colonies. Their Puritan faith was to be the beacon of light and hope, and they were to set the standards of what a good and Godly life ought to be. When speaking of Winthrop's sermon, Edmund S. Morgan said that, "It offers an explicit statement...of the idea that the Bay Colony was in covenant with God, a chosen people, a new Israel. It has accordingly become the very emblem of the Puritan quest, the manifesto in which Winthrop proclaimed the place of Massachusetts as a "city upon a hill"¹. Although

¹ Edmund S. Morgan, "John Winthrop's 'Model of Christian Charity' in a Wider Context," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (1987): 145-151.

Winthrop did not settle in Salem, the Puritan beliefs carried on throughout most of New England and they all followed relatively the same beliefs.

Puritanism was officially formed during the reign of Elizabeth I, who was the last surviving child of King Henry VIII. Her sister Mary, who ruled before her, had been a Catholic and was attempting to restore Catholicism in England after her father's establishment of the Church of England. During Mary's reign, she attempted to rid the country of Protestants which resulted in a violent pursuit, and Mary had many of them executed; this earned her the nickname Bloody Mary. Elizabeth's religious beliefs did not exactly line up with her sister's, and therefore, during her reign, she led England back on track to follow the Church of England. There was great division among the people as religions clashed, and people found it difficult to get along. When Elizabeth ascended the throne, she welcomed the Protestants back and turned the tables on the Catholics; it was now their turn to face religious persecutions. However, some of the Protestants did not agree with the way Elizabeth was running the Church, which led to a further split among the people. This division would break off into another section of Protestantism, and it is during this time that Puritanism is seen to have been fully established. There were two major beliefs in Puritanism that set it apart from Catholicism and the Church of England. The first was that Puritanism followed more closely to the scripture than most other Protestants did. The second was that it simply enforced the practice of anti-Catholicism. Puritans believed that the wrongdoings in the Catholic religion came directly from the Pope, and therefore they wanted to separate themselves from being under his rule. Francis J. Brenner states that, "For the Puritans...the papacy was the source of all doctrinal and ceremonial errors that had taken the church off the course initially set by Christ and his early disciples."² Puritans wanted a religion free from the Pope, and one that followed closely to the scriptures for their teachings.

In Salem, religion was extremely important, and the majority of the people that lived there during the trials were Puritans. Marilyn J. Westerkamp states that, "the colonizers were mostly Puritans, and their identity as Puritans would come to define not only the religious organizations but also the cultural climate, social

² Francis J. Brenner *Puritanism: A Very Short Introduction* (New York. Oxford University Press, 2009), 7.

environment, and political structures of New England through the next century.”³

Puritanism was the religion that was there during the start of the colonies and it had a major influence on the colony’s growth and development. It was the foundation that New England was built on, and the Puritan beliefs greatly affected most areas of how the colonies were established.

For Puritans, staying loyal and true to God was the number one priority in their lives, and it was something that they strived to do every day. To them, witchcraft was just the opposite of this. Witchcraft was seen to be in association with the devil, which was just about as far away as a person could stray from their faith. In order for someone to become a Witch, it was believed that a person had to have had direct contact with the devil and that they signed his book. That is why when the accusations of witchcraft being practiced in Salem Village started to arise, the fear spread very fast and the accusations were taken very seriously. Bryan F. Le Beau said that “the accused were believed to have been enticed into their heretical beliefs by the devil. They were charged with having participated in nocturnal rituals presided over by the devil, wherein they engaged in orgies, renounced Christ, desecrated the Crucifix, and paid homage to the devil.”⁴ It is very easy to see how much this would be frowned upon by the Puritans and also why fear was such a large part of what fueled the trials; in order for people to be witches, there had to be some sort of direct contact with the devil. Because of the rash and ill judgement fear often brings to people, it caused a lot of trouble for the villagers of Salem, even for those who were innocent.

Accusations seemed to be coming from every corner. Even if there was no proof behind an accusation, it would still be investigated in some form to either clear the person’s name or take the necessary steps in order to rid the village of the witch. Consorting with the devil was one of the worst sins a person could commit, and the people of Salem truly believed that they needed to root out the evil that they thought was infesting their village. If they did nothing, then the threat would spread, and more and more people would fall victim to the witches and devil. There were several young girls who lived in the Salem Village, such as Abigail Williams, who were

³ Marilyn J. Westerkamp, *Women and Religion in Early America, 1600-1850: The Puritan and Evangelical Traditions* (New York: Routledge, 2020), 10.

⁴ Bryan Le Beau, *Story of The Salem Witch Trials* (New York: Routledge, 2017), 5.

accusing some of the local women of being witches and said that they were using their powers to make them ill. The young girls would go into fits and have seizures, and their bodies would move and convulse in an unnatural way. Elizabeth Reis gives an insightful view into what could have been the cause of this when she says:

Abigail Williams, Betty Paris, and others continued to experience their afflictions and to accuse people of witchcraft. We will never know exactly why, but whether accusers and witnesses sincerely believed that the accused had signed a devil's pact and afflicted others, whether they contemplated political or familial revenge, whether they simply continued to play a game that had gotten out of hand, whether they pursued a strategy to deflect suspicion from themselves, or whether they calculated fraud, they knew that their stories would be believed. In their religious world witchcraft accusations...were credible and demanded action because they were so threatening.⁵

The Puritan religion required all accusations to be taken seriously, even if the person accused was a God-fearing person who always attended church and lived a good life. There was no one safe from the investigation once they were accused, no matter how good of a religious person they were.

While those who were judging the accused were using their faith as a guideline, those who were persecuted were also using their faith to see them through their hardships. Mary Easty is an example of how some of the accused kept hold of their faith, even when they were in the position of losing their lives. She was wrongly accused and convicted of witchcraft, but she did not let that ruin her hold on her faith, nor did it lead her to turn her back on God. Easty could have saved her life by admitting to using witchcraft and publicly giving herself to God to be saved; as long as the accused confessed to the crime of witchcraft and agreed to change their life for the better, they would be saved from being executed. Tituba, a woman from the West Indies who moved to Salem, accepted this plea for her life and was allowed to live despite her involvement with witchcraft. In regard to this guilty plea, Lori Lee Wilson explains that "those who confessed were not executed. The magistrates reasoned that witches who confessed had repented of their sins, and the devil was no longer with them. Besides, they were useful as witnesses against those who insisted

⁵ Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 7-8.

they were innocent. Those who defended their innocence in spite of the testimony of confessed witches and spectral evidence of the afflicted were hanged”.⁶ Tituba confessed to what it was that she had done wrong and had also given the magistrates names of other women who she said were also practicing witchcraft. The admission of guilt was a way for people to escape death, but Easty would not take that plea; as a Puritan, she believed that it was better to be truthful and honest than to lie to save her own life. By lying, she could have endangered her soul which would have been much worse than dying by a false accusation. If she died while remaining close to God, then she had a good chance of entering Heaven after her death; if she lied, she might have saved her mortal body, but by doing so she could have condemned herself to spend eternity in Hell. These were just some of the views that the Puritans believed and how their faith was an important part of the trials. While Easty was ready to lose her life for holding on to her truths, she was also willing to sacrifice herself in order for others to be spared.

In her final plea, Easty begged that she would be the last innocent life to be lost on the accusation of witchcraft and that the judges would be able to see their wrong doings and spare the other lives that were put before them. In her petition she states:

I petition to your honors not for my own life, for I know I must die, and my appointed time is set. But the Lord He knows it is, that if it be possible, no more innocent blood may be shed...I question not but your honors does to the utmost of your powers in the discovery and detecting of witchcraft, and witches, and would not be guilty of innocent blood for the world. But by my own innocence I know you are in the wrong way. The Lord in His infinite mercy directs you in this great work, if it be His blessed will, that no more innocent blood be shed.⁷

Easty was willing to allow herself to be a victim of the unjust judgement cast on her, as long as others would be spared the same fate. She knew that the standards and logic that the judges and accusers were using to condemn people was flawed and that many more would die if they continued down this path. Therefore, she knew something had to change in order for things to take a turn for the better. Easty could have been very spiteful and hateful towards those who were condemning her, but her

⁶ Lori Lee Wilson, *The Salem Witch Trials* (Minneapolis: The Lerner Publishing Group, 1999), 27.

⁷ “Petition of Mary Easty.”

petition was full of selflessness and compassion. Her petition shows just how much her faith meant to her and how it was a central point in her life.

Susannah Martin was another woman during the Salem witch trials who was accused of using witchcraft. During her trial, she was a little more aggressive to her judges and accusers than Easty was, but her point was the same as hers; that she was innocent and that she would not lie to save herself. She stated that, "I desire to lead my life according to the word of God."⁸ When asked if she would lie, she replied, "I would not tell a lye if it would save my life."⁹ She knew lying could save her but refused to go down that path. It was better to die while telling the truth than to live a lie. They then asked her if she would tell the truth, to which she replied, "I have spoken nothing else."¹⁰ Both of these women were honest and truthful and did no harm to anyone, and yet their lives were taken from them.

Arthur Miller's famous play, *The Crucible*, also touches on the subject of taking the guilty plea. Although his play is not completely historically accurate, he based his characters on real people who lived during the trials and did his best to be as accurate and truthful to the real-life situations as he could. In Miller's notes on the historical accuracy of his play, he states that, "The fate of each character is exactly that of his historical model, and there is no one in the drama who did not play a similar—and in some cases exactly the same—role in history"¹¹. In Miller's play, John Proctor was a man who was convicted of witchcraft. After he and several other men joined forces to attempt to save their wives from being executed, Proctor and some of the other men found themselves in line with their wives to have their lives taken. Proctor, like the other accused, was given the option to sign a confession and have his life spared, as Tituba had done. It took some convincing, but Proctor seemed willing to sign the confession and start a new life. But once it was mentioned that his confession would be posted publicly for all the village people to see, Proctor refused. What is interesting about this situation is that Proctor knew that by lying with his confession, he was damning his soul. He accepted that in exchange for his life. But he could not and would not allow his name to be ruined in the eyes of the people of Salem. This was where he drew the line. When he was asked why he would not allow his name on

⁸ "Examination of Susannah Martin."

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Arthur Miller, *The Crucible* (New York: Penguin Classics, 2003), 2.

the confession to be placed in public, he replied, "Because it is my name! Because I cannot have another in my life! Because I lie and sign myself to lies! Because I am not worth the dust on the feet of them that hang! How may I live without my name? I have given you my soul; leave me my name!"¹² Proctor was also struggling with the idea of betraying his friends whom he had fought so hard beside in the attempt to free their wives. He knew that if he signed a confession, it would be like turning his back on them and make what they fought for seem like nothing.

While Easty and Martin were using religion to help them navigate the messy waters they were in, those who were judging them were doing the same. John Hathorne was one of the judges who conducted the Salem witch trials. He and the other judges believed that what they were doing was right. They truly believed that they needed to get rid of whoever was associated with witchcraft. Unfortunately, this left little room for proper trials to happen, and the judges of the Salem trials are now looked upon with anger and frustration. How could these men have killed twenty innocent people? The reasoning behind this is that, as mentioned earlier in the essay, witchcraft was strongly believed to have connections with the devil. Reis explains that, "In the Puritan world Satan's appearance signaled God's severe displeasure. And once Satan had successfully gained access to an individual or a community at large, Puritans believed he was very difficult to exorcise"¹³. To have this kind of threat hanging over the people of this village was just unacceptable and drastic measures needed to be made in order to save the people of Salem. Hathorne and the other judges saw what they were doing as a necessary act to save the village, and they were blind to the evil that was coming from their actions. To them, the executions were a necessary part of ridding the village of the witches, and their actions were seen as just by a lot of people. The fear that was consuming the people of the village was enough for the pleas of the innocently accused to fall on deaf ears. Only by confessing and pledging a life devoted to God would their life be spared, and not everyone who was accused was willing to risk losing their soul for their mortal life.

The Salem witch trials lead to a lot of tragedies and unjust actions, and there can be no denying the horrible and unnecessary way that the twenty people lost their

¹² Miller, *The Crucible*, 133.

¹³ Elizabeth Reis, *Damned Women: Sinners and Witches in Puritan New England* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1999), 7.

lives. It is a shame that the Puritan religion played such an important part in the bad outcome of the trials, seeing as many people look to religion as a comfort and use it to guide them through life. The Puritans attempted to be good and Godly people, but it would seem that they let their religious beliefs get out of hand in an extreme way. While it is not wrong to want to follow religious beliefs and practice them, people cannot allow them to rule their lives in a negative way. Religion can often help people see the good in bad situations and can bring out the best in people; most religions practice compassion and charity. But the judges of the Salem trials were so caught up in expelling every trace of witchcraft that they were blind to the good and innocent people placed before them. They seemed determined to only see the negative side of things during the trials and seemed to completely forget that these were actual people that they were dealing with, and not just some evil manifestation. If they had taken a step back and truly observed what was going on, the trials could have had a totally different outcome. Instead, they were rash and excessive, and innocent people paid the price for this.

While the judges let their religious views on witchcraft get out of hand, those accused also used their religion as a way to hold on to hope. Easty and Martin were determined to hold on to their faith in God and allowed His will to be done. They did not lose faith and knew that if they remained loyal to God, they would get their reward in the afterlife. They used their Puritan faith as a way to keep themselves from falling into despair and did not let the dark situation they were in bring them to despair in God. They seemed to have a very different view of things than the judges and their accusers did, and while both sides were heavily relying on their faith, the side of the accused allowed their religion to continue to be a beacon of hope in their lives, while the accusers and judges allowed their faith to be turned into fear and ruled their lives in a dark way.

The Salem witch trials are a lesson on how much religion can have an effect on the lives of people, and how it can be turned into something ugly. It was not a bad thing for the Puritans to want to live a life that was closely associated with God, it was their religion and it was very important to them. However, there is the blatantly obvious negative affect that this had on the accused people of Salem Village, and it should be a reminder for people to always be vigilant in what path they are allowing their religion to take them on.

Two Georges: History in Black and White

Professor Danielle King

In the United States, the lives of Black men have been characterized by vulnerability, instability, and insecurity. During enslavement, they were whipped, raped, hunted by patrols, and killed with impunity. Europeans in the United States had the privilege of disciplining Black people as they saw fit. The Europeans who came to the United States were of British, Scottish, Dutch, German, and Irish descent. The term European was swiftly replaced by “white” as the antithesis of the Black enslaved people who originated from Angola, Congo, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Mali, and Senegal. Being “white” became a privilege that was used to sustain civil domination, especially after Bacon’s Rebellion in 1675.

Nathaniel Bacon led Bacon’s Rebellion in Jamestown, Virginia, against William Berkeley, the governor of the colony. European indentured servants and enslaved Blacks became allied in their plan to destroy Jamestown. This insurrection against Britain threatened to topple the socio-economic hierarchy. As a result, laws were passed to make Blacks enslaved by heredity into perpetuity. European indentured servants and farmers advanced in social stature as they were given more power by landowners. This was specifically executed in order to create more of a divide between “whites” and Blacks, to avoid any potential joining of forces in future rebellions.

With the Missouri Compromise in 1820, Missouri was admitted to the Union as a state that allowed enslavement. Maine was admitted as a free state, and enslavement was banned in former Louisiana Purchase lands north of a designated land line. Additionally, in that same year, states that required voters to be property owners, removed that clause for “white men” and added new, and different requirements for Black men. As a result, “white” men rose in society and became more protective of maintaining their increased wealth, power, and status.

The chasm between Black and “white” continued to widen after the Emancipation Proclamation of 1863 and expanded further throughout the period

of Reconstruction from 1865- 1877. This era was a short-lived period of healing and rebuilding in the South following the ending of the American Civil War. The Reconstruction Act of 1866-1867 attempted to strike down restrictive codes that targeted Blacks. The 14th Amendment in 1868 promised to provide equal protection to Blacks under the law, and grant citizenship to all persons born or naturalized in the United States. The 15th Amendment in 1870 granted suffrage to Black men, however they remained disenfranchised by poll taxes, literacy tests, and other means for almost another century. Despite these constitutional amendments designed to aid Blacks, “white” dominance and subordination persisted. In 1880 Frederick Douglass observed that “the old master class is to-day triumphant, and the newly enfranchised class in a condition but little able that in which they were found before the rebellion.”¹ Similarly, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote of the post-Civil War era that “the slave went free; stood for a brief moment in the sun; then moved back again toward slavery.”²

Growing up in rural Missouri in the 1920s, my father George was sheltered as much as possible from knowledge of enslavement, and the Jim Crow laws of the Deep South that prohibited Afrikan Americans from achieving cultural equality through segregation. Born in 1927, George grew up in St. Louis, Missouri, where the tremors of the Deep South’s racial earthquakes from Black Codes, lynching, and peonage were felt.³

Joining the United States Airforce at eighteen, George was sent to

¹ Frederick Douglass, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass* (Boston: DeWolfe, Fiske, & Co., 1895), 611.

² W.E.B. Du Bois, *Black Reconstruction in America, 1860-1880* (New York: Free Press, 1998), 30.

³ Afrika has thousands of languages and evidence from Afrikan linguistics show that in most Afrikan languages, there is no letter “c.” Languages carry historical messages from ancestors to new generations with a sense of pride in ancestry. As these languages were revised and rewritten by Europeans, the messages were erased. The Afrikan country Kongo become Congo, and the capital city of Ghana, Akkra, is now Accra. As a colonizer, changing an existing language to suit European standards was the beginning of the removal of Afrikan political, scientific, religious culture, then assigning it to the colonizing oppressor. Gwendolyn Brooks, the first Black author to win the Pulitzer Prize, selected the Kiswahili spelling of Afrika with a “k” in order to reconnect and fuse herself and her work with the language of the ancestors. Brooks links her audience as well and signifies the loss of her potential native language through enslavement. Haki R. Madhubuti, noted poet and author, advocated for spelling “Afrika” with the letter “K” in his collection of essays, *From Plan to Planet: Life Studies—The Need for Afrikan Minds and Institutions* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1979). In this collection, Madhubuti encourages Black people to control their destiny and to step away from imposed control. This self-determination and empowerment begins with reclaiming Afrikan languages.

Shepherd's Field, Texas and became a Military Policeman. There, he experienced racism after he, and military colleagues of Mexican ethnicity, were not allowed to enter restaurants through the front door, if at all. Incidences like these instilled in George contempt for all matters of racial injustice. Being in the service opened his eyes to see the racism that had always existed. Nevertheless, upon returning from his drafted voyage during the Second World War, he learned about the evils of racism, and devoted his life to the elimination of this transgression.

Abandoning his original hopes of becoming a minister, George became a journalist, aiming to correct attitudes "based on erroneous information" and enlighten the public about the civil rights that had not been granted to Afrikan Americans. Hand in hand with the church, George used his faith as a way to free him from the troubles brought on by the dominantly "white" and racist community. In this respect, the church acted as a liberator during his most difficult times and allowed him to share as much information about civil rights with an ignorant community.

The rural South of George's lifetime was a land void of civil laws that protected the rights of minorities in the 1920s. Segregated movie houses, schools, restaurants, lodging, and public transportation were the casualties of the South's racial warfare against civil rights that young George had to experience. When he returned from the draft, he received his undergraduate degree in Journalism. Seeking an occupation, George moved to Chicago with the hope of being able to have his voice heard. In 1952, George began to work for *The Chicago Daily Defender*, the principal Chicago newspaper aimed at promoting civil rights. The newspaper appealed, apart from Chicago and the North, to the southern states, encouraging Blacks to migrate to the North as a social upgrade from sharecropping. At the *Defender* he covered the criminal courts, and community news with stories about the uproar of a "white" community after a Black family moved into a "white" housing project.

George worked at *The Defender* during a time of "tokenism" when Blacks were hired minimally, their employers thought that one token Black employee was enough to belie the company's otherwise racist policies. Civil rights spokesmen pushed the government to avoid punishing solely overt acts of racism like tokenism and instead urged its' elimination, giving Blacks fair representation in schools, jobs, and other aspects of society. Court officials took heed of Lyndon B. Johnson and

John F. Kennedy's attempts to ensure that Blacks gained jobs based on merit and not racial preference. Companies suspected of not hiring enough minorities were penalized, and outreach to minorities became standard.

Civil rights groups like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (N.A.A.C.P.) that George strongly supported, attacked school segregation, exposed any uninvestigated lynching, and fumed over Black unemployment under Roosevelt in 1941. The strain against the civil rights coalition of Blacks, however, gave rise to new hostilities as "whites" felt this "reverse racism" was unconstitutional.

Throughout the rest of his life, whether he was rallying in the Civil Rights Movement or was infuriated at the Apartheid of South Africa, the church was the crucial variable that George was allowed to use in his revolt against society and his struggle for ethnic peace. Despite this history of hardship and pain, deliberately designed to keep Afrikan Americans from advancing in all aspects of life, "white" edicts of racism have not fully curtailed Black progress. This progress, ambition, and sense of purpose has released latent "white" resentment that has resulted in the lynching of Black men by "white" men in blue uniforms. In fact, the star-shaped badges or insignia that some law enforcement officers wear today, are remnants of the star-shaped badges that were used to identify the "Slave" Patrollers or Patty Rollers that hunted Black people during times of enslavement.

George Floyd's murder was a modern-day lynching. Who can forget the scornful sneer, and casually pocketed hands of the "white" officer that snuffed out George Floyd's life by kneeling on his neck while three other officers stood idly by and watched? Those officers are America's legacy of white supremacy, imprisonment, peonage, sharecropping, Jim Crow, lynching, and enslavement all in one. Distressingly, the image of an unarmed George Floyd on May 25, 2020, lying prone on the ground, with at least two "white" men standing over him, is eerily similar to many archival photos of "whites" attending a lynching. These troubling photos usually show crowds of "white" observers gathered around the victim, with expressions ranging from exuberance to nonchalance. The fact that George Floyd was murdered by a neck crushing injury, painfully recalls the many Afrikan Americans who were lynched with nooses.

The similarities do not end there. Attending a lynching was an event.

People sent picture postcards and kept souvenirs to prove they were there. With George Floyd, the video of his lynching circumnavigated the globe within hours with his own hashtags, #JusticeForGeorgeFloyd and #ICantBreathe. The latter hashtag was previously utilized after the murder of Eric Garner by chokehold at the hands of yet another “white” police officer. Black people everywhere have been and continue to be viewed as inferior beings solely because of their skin color, with their life-or-death dependent upon the whims of “whites.” The murders of Breonna Taylor, Michael Brown, Tamir Rice, Walter Scott, Alton Sterling, Philando Castile, Stephon Clark, and Amadou Diallo all involved police mistreatment and stirred public consciousness. George Floyd’s murder was different.

What made the murder of yet another Black man in police custody spark such outrage? There had been many prior calls for change regarding civil rights, equalities, and injustices. At the time of Mr. Floyd’s murder, many people were at home during the COVID-19 pandemic.

This meant that more people watched the horrifying video repeatedly, recognized the abhorrence of the video, and were prompted to protest. Tensions were already high from being forced to quarantine, coupled with the murders of Ahmaud Arbery on February 23, 2020, and Breonna Taylor on March 13, 2020. The pandemic brought high unemployment, contributing to even more people being at home, allowing them to protest in droves without concern for work responsibilities. For the first time, many people felt compelled to unify and march together regardless of race, creed, or gender.

Learning from my father about race relations, as well as the sociological and emotional challenges he endured brings the struggle for civil rights into sharper perspective. He often taught me how disenfranchised people revolted against the system with their writing, art, organizing, songs, churches, and protests. Many of the people he knew, if not all of them, were actively involved in agitating and awakening the minds, souls, and spirits of the oppressed. Consequently, many people from that era produced literary work that has become world-renowned, while others changed society with their actions, all of which are now part of American history.

Many believe that “white” racism is a variant of ethnocentrism with “white” privilege buried deep in American society since enslavement. After four

hundred years of repeatedly demanding accountability for overt acts of racism and countless lynchings of Black people, walking in the streets with signs protesting George Floyd's murder may or may not bring widespread structural change to a fortified system of oppression. Our screams have been heard for years and yet, they are still sometimes met with jeers, then silence. Nevertheless, we will wait, "It's been a long time comin', but I know, A change is gonna come."⁴

⁴ "A Change is Gonna Come", song by Afrikan American singer/songwriter Sam Cooke, February 1964. This song was inspired by events in Sam Cooke's life such as being refused lodging while traveling. The song became an anthem during the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s.