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LET KNOWLEDGE GROW

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Dear Reader,

Editors Carlin Chismar and Emma Cragun have brought in a nice crop of essays for this year's issue of *Crescat Scientia*. Altogether it displays the variegated green shoots of historical understanding and expression pushing through each spring among our students. History does not bloom on its own, after all. It must be cultivated, year by year, semester by semester, and paper by paper. The authors have tended their expository gardens carefully. And *Crescat* offers a sweet taste of their first fruit.

It is a little ironic to say that there were more orchards in Orem when Bill Cobb first arrived twenty years ago. As a professor of history, then Dean of Humanities, Arts, and Social Sciences, and then professor once more, he has been a rather different sort of master gardener. With a naturalist's acumen he has invigorated everything he has touched with his academic green thumb. Now he has decided to retire. I am happy to reflect on the good fortune of being here for the whole span of his Utah Valley career. The meaning of Bill's contribution to this place resists easy definition, but if you ever have had the benefit of a compassionate teacher, inspiring colleague, or graceful mentor you can imagine what it might be.

Crescat emerges in the full poignancy of Commencement season, beginnings and endings intertwined with hopefulness. As you page through this volume and see the struggle for insight made explicit through writing, think of the people behind the words. The people behind the people, as well. History is all about relationships. We have tried to make these nurturing ones.

May Knowledge Grow.

Dr. Keith Snedegar
Faculty Advisor

Learning never exausts the mind.
-Leonardo DaVinci

———○————————————————○———

Sit down before fact as a little child, be prepared to give up
every conceived notion, follow humbly wherever and whatever
abysses nature leads, or you will learn nothing.
-Thomas Huxley

———○————————————————○———

Learning is not attained by chance. It must be sought for with
ardor and attended to with diligence.
-Abigail Adams

———○————————————————○———

The sweetest path of life leads through the avenues of learning,
and whoever can open up the way for another, ought, so far, to
be esteemed a benefactor to mankind.
-David Hume

———○————————————————○———

Education is what reamins after one has forgotten what one has
learned from school.
-Albert Einstein

The editors would like to dedicate this edition of *Crescat Scientia* to Dr. William Cobb.

○————————————————○

Dr. Cobb has made significant contributions to the history discipline and the History Department at Utah Valley University. Dr. Cobb has been teaching at UVU since 1994 and has served as the Dean of the School of Humanities, Arts and Social Sciences. Since 2011, he has been the Director of the Vietnam Era Oral History Project. This project engages students to become involved with the history of our country and also to actively participate in the creation of new history. He ignites a passion for history within the students by providing guidance and insight that goes beyond what is taught in the classroom.

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Thank you, Dr. Cobb. Good luck with your endeavours and new adventures.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Editors Note

History and Political Science are subjects that evoke passion from all those who study them in depth. Within the eleventh edition of *Crescat Scientia*, I have chosen papers that truly express the interests of the students at Utah Valley University and evoke passion in our readers. I hope that I have successfully achieved this feat and inspired more interest within these disciplines.

History has always held a special place within my heart. My father was a History teacher and ever since I was young I have been curious about the way in which our world has developed. I wanted to ensure that multiple aspects of the history of the world were touched on to provide a somewhat complete look at how human civilization has prevailed through the centuries. Not only that, but I wanted to give readers and students alike a new perspective on World History.

Utah Valley University has provided avenues for students to explore their interests and passions. This is very noticable in the papers that are published in this years edition. We, as a team, were able to accentuate the different areas and really capatalize on their historical importance.

History is all around us and can be found in the most unexpected places. From friendships to small town history to the development of our nation, history comes into play in our daily lives. I implore you to sit back and take a closer look at how history effects you and also how you can effect history.

Observe good faith and justice toward all nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all.
-George Washington

Carlin Chismar
Editor-In-Chief

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Disease History

Christopher Wiltsie

Christopher Jay Wiltsie is a Senior at Utah Valley University. He is majoring in history and political science and plans to graduate with both degrees in Fall of 2014. He has plans to study in England for a graduate program that is common in Europe, but not in the United States called Social Policy with an emphasis on racial issues. This program combines many of his interests such as history, sociology, and political science into one degree. He wants to eventually teach at the university level while working to address racial issues in the area that he lives in.

Early assumptions made by historians as to the reasons why colonization of the Americas was successful, or even what life was like in pre-enlightenment Europe, differed greatly from the current views of historians. Much of this change can be attributed to the development of the historical study of diseases. It was not until the 1960s that historians began to show an interest in the influence that disease has had on history.[1] Disease history has been an ever evolving historical field. It has been complex and furthered as technologies relevant to the field have been enhanced and schools of thought, through different methods of historical inquiry, were capable of engaging these technologies as a means of better understanding the subject. Environmental and social historians have led the way in understanding the history of diseases and their impact on different societies, however, each historians approach and reason for attempting to understand

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1 Alfred Crosby, "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a Factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America," The William and Mary Quarterly, Vol. 33, No. 2 (April, 1976), pp. 289, http://www.jstor.org/stable/1922166.

the subject differ greatly.

Perhaps the emergence of environmental history in the 1960's allowed for a fresh take on the subject of colonization which eventually led to the idea of studying history through the lens of diseases and their effects. Their ideology was based on the concept that nature is not only the setting in which history takes place, but is an active participant in the unfolding of the events. In 1976, environmental historian, Alfred W. Crosby, published an article entitled "Virgin Soil Epidemics as a factor in the Aboriginal Depopulation in America." This article was significant because it helped frame, in very general ways, the idea of virgin soil. This idea would be accepted and used extensively in disease history throughout the next few decades.

Virgin soil is the idea that certain populations had not had contact with specific diseases and therefore they were especially susceptible to the effects of those diseases because they had not been able to develop the necessary immunities to protect themselves.[2] Initially the epidemic thesis was considered merely one of many theories as to why the Native American population decreased so rapidly. Historians such as Crosby, using such evidences as the idea of virgin soil, laid the groundwork for the research and articles that would establish it as the leading cause of Native American deaths. It is probable that the influence of diseases was not initially comprehended, as many of the primary documents from the time period only briefly mentioned diseases among the Native Americans. However, when historians began to consider primary documents as a whole, the realization arose that accounts of destructive diseases among the native populations were widespread.[3]

One of the most telling aspects of the success of early historians studying disease history was its acceptance as a legitimate topic of research among many different historians from different schools of thought. In 1981, ecclesiastical historian, John McManners, wrote an article entitled "Death's Arbitrary Empire." In this article, McManners lays out a bleak depiction of eighteenth century Europe in which he re-examines European his-

2 Ibid,, 289.

3 Ibid., 290.

tory through the view of disease history. This approach allowed McManners to articulate the history of the eighteenth century in Europe by the peoples inability to overcome the customs and living conditions that led to disease and death. This is especially significant as this was the enlightenment era; considered to be a time when men were climbing out of the intellectual darkness of the past centuries. McManners argued that medicine during this period was still primitive in many ways and unable to cope with disease.[4] He wrote of disease as being widespread in the eighteenth century Europe[5] with widespread deaths not unlike that of Native American populations.

Social historian, Richard J. Evans, took the subject of diseases in European history and attempted to understand it through the context of industrialization and the effects of diseases on different social classes. The concept of virgin soil was not an exclusive effect relevant to the Americas. In nineteenth century Europe, a disease originating in Asia, aptly named the Asiatic flu, ravaged Europe's population and focused on the rising industrial society. He considered overcrowding and urbanization to be the chief factors leading to the intense grip that the disease had on the European population.[6] Evans also looked at the ability of diseases to be spread through the trade routes coming from Asia, or in other words, as an economic byproduct.[7]

Perhaps Evans' most important contribution to the discussion of diseases in history was his analysis of the effects of disease, more specifically cholera, on nineteenth century Europe. McManners already hinted at the idea of overcrowding among the poor classes as being an important factor in the spread of disease,[8] but Evans discussed, in depth, the terror that diseases

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4 John McManners, "Death's Arbitrary Empire", in *The Social Dimension of Western Civilization* ed. Richard Golden (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 151.

5 Ibid., 149.

6 Richard J. *Evans*, "The Challenge of Cholera in Hamburg", in *The Social Dimension of Western Civilization* ed. Richard Golden (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 276.

7 [7]Ibid.

8 McManners, "Death's Arbitrary Empire", 154.

such as cholera instilled in European society.[9] Evans argued that although death was common in European society, Europeans could usually cope with its presence through the "ideology of heroism, chivalry, or self-sacrifice".[10] For example, if someone died on a battle field, they could be remembered as a hero, but death from disease failed to fall into any of these categories. The effects of cholera, for example, were horrifying and could strike anyone at any time leaving Europeans in a state of widespread fear.[11] Evans even went so far as to surmise that the effects of cholera, such as extreme diarrhea that could occur at any time, could have been a possibly scarier prospect than death for a society that attempted to hide the existence of bodily functions out of disgust. Evans' training as a social historian successfully took disease history in a new and relatively unexplored direction.

Environmental historian Jared Diamond wrote his definitive essay, *Hemispheres Colliding: Eurasian and Native American Societies, 1492*, in 1997. In this article, Diamond presented evidence for why Native Americans had the characteristics that allowed them to be victims of virgin soil idea. Diamond argued that Native Americans did not, and could not, live near large domestic animals nearly as often or on the same scale that Eurasians did. Therefore, diseases had not developed on the same levels as in Europe. For this reason Eurasians developed immunities and Native Americans did not.[12] To support this idea theory, Jared Diamond explained that Europeans had thirteen species of large domesticated animals, whereas Native Americans had only one; the llama/alpaca. This disparity was due to widespread extinction of North and South America's larger mammals during the Late Pleistocene. According to Diamond, had this not happened, modern history could have had a much different turn of events.[13]

9 Evans "The Challenge of Cholera in Hamburg",, 277.

10 Ibid., 278.

11 Ibid., 278-279.

12 Jared Diamond, Hemispheres Colliding: Eurasian and Native American Societies*, 1492*, in *The Social Dimension of Western Civilization* ed. Richard Golden (Bedford/St. Martin's, 2003), 6.

13 Ibid., 5.

The large animals used for farming so common in Europe, such as pigs, goats, horses, etc. carried the microbes that constantly infected Eurasians and allowed for the development of immunities.[14] Had the Americas been populated by large domesticated animals, the Native Americans would have been able to develop immunities to their own diseases that possibly would have destroyed European invaders.[15] This argument clearly sets diseases as a key player in the outcome of the world's history.

Social historian Sheldon Watts wrote the controversial book, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism,* in 1997 in which he argued that the upper class members of society used diseases to their advantage to control the lower classes.[16] Watts' work is important in the historiographical tradition of disease history not only because it looks at the uses of diseases in society, but that it is controversial and calls into question the standard interpretation of history within the context of class struggle. Since the beginnings of disease history as a serious study in the early 1960s, it evolved into a subject in the late 1990s full of nuanced arguments. No longer were historians laying the foundations of disease history, explaining such simple terms, like virgin soil, to their readers. These terms had become common place, and more specific as deeper aspects of the study were being approached.

As disease history became more nuanced, historians with more specialized historical skill sets began to write on the subject. Ethno-historian James Axtell had a book published in 2001 called *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America.* In this book, Axtell looked at the impact of diseases on native societies in more specific ways than had generally been done. Using his skills in studying ethnic groups, he outlined how different Native American tribes specifically coped with diseases. One example he used was the Iroquois practice of mourning wars, in which they went to war in order to gain captives in an effort to replenish their dead. As diseases ravaged their popula-

14 Ibid., 7.

15 Ibid., 6.

16 Sheldon Watts, *Epidemics and History: Disease, Power and Imperialism,* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1997), 10.

tion, they increasingly practiced this tradition leading to other situations, such as colonial retaliation. [17]

Axtell specifically used the term "virgin soil" in his explanation of the impact of diseases on Natives in such a way that it is assumed the reader understands the term.[18] This showed the longevity and common use of a term that once needed to be explained but had become standard in the historiographical tradition of disease history. Disease history had matured to such a point that common phraseology could be used and understood by historians from such diverse schools of thought as Ethnohistory.

In 2003, disease history took on a whole new dimension when three professionals, Ann Ramenofsky, Alicia Wilbur, and Anne Stone, each bringing different expertise ranging from anthropology to biology, attempted to look at the introduction of diseases in the Americas from not only a historical context but from a biological standpoint.[19] They challenged many of the widely accepted theories prevalent in the historical study of diseases. Historians Diamond and Fenner had popularized the idea that through a "three-stage, unilinear model," diseases had developed and spread to the Americas. More specifically they wrote that as society went through different stages, for example, hunting-gathering to agriculture to urban, new diseases were added onto the current disease load and spread among the world's populations. The aforementioned stages led to crowding and an environment conducive to the spread of these diseases.[20] This essay challenged the unilinear model that was established by Fenner and Diamond. They presented the possibility of other means of the development and spread of diseases among populations. One such example is that of gene research which suggests

17 James Axtell, *Natives and Newcomers: The Cultural Origins of North America,* (New York: Oxford University Press), 299.

18 Ibid.

19 Ramenofsky et al, "Native American Disease History: Past Present and Future Directions," World Archaeology

Vol. 35, No. 2, Archaeology of Epidemic and Infectious Disease (Oct., 2003), 241, http://www.jstor.org/stable/3560225.

20 Ibid., 243.

that the 1918 influenza pandemic was a result of direct infection of the flu virus from birds.[21] The implication of this information is that there are other means of virus dissemination and origin than from livestock and strictly crowded environments. Ramenofsky et al, argue that factors such as diet and genetics can also play a significant role in the spread of disease among certain populations.[22]

The 21st century marked a period in disease history in which the accepted interpretations within the study were called into question. Stephen Greenberg complicated the disease history of Europe in his essay *Plague, the printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London.* Greenberg argues that Europe was constantly assaulted by plagues and almost every year in English history reported plague deaths throughout the 14th to 17th centuries.[23] He then outlined the development and evolution of newspapers, more specifically bills of mortality, as a means of disseminating news about plague deaths. In a new way Greenberg showed the effect of disease on early media sources as a force that caused the institution to adapt and, as a result, led to a better informed English population.[24] Through Greenberg, and others doing similar work, disease had become more than just a destroyer of man and creator of fear, but instead a molder of society in the historical context.

From the beginnings of disease history, it had been a field of study not limited by a single school of thought. It was studied by every type of historian from environmental to social. Even schools of thought and professionals from outside the historical academic community participated in the discussion. Owing to its nature as a history that encompasses everything from widespread death, to biology, to traditions, it is no wonder that so many academics attempted to understand and relate the subject in coherent terms. Many of the early and widely

21 Ibid,, 244.

22 Ibid., 255.

23 Stephen Greenberg, "Plague, the Printing Press, and Public Health in Seventeenth-Century London," Huntington Library Quarterly Vol. 67, No. 4 (December 2004), 509, http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.1525/hlq.2004.67.4.508 .

24 Ibid., 509-510.

accepted theories within the study of disease history had been challenged or even debunked, but considering the fact that it has essentially only existed as a field of serious study for 50 years, it is exceptional in that it has drastically changed all historians understanding of general history.

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The Japanese Side of the Pacific Campaign

Brian Bassett

Brian is currently working on a degree in History Education at UVU and is looking forward to starting on a rewarding career teaching at the Jr. High level. Although he has lived in Utah for many years he still considers the East Coast home.

There is much that can be learned from the study of the traditional values of the Japanese people. They are values of patriotism, loyalty, dedication, and hope; values that never become outdated. Unfortunately those values became polluted by pride, arrogance, and tyranny and led to the humiliating defeat of an ancient and beautiful culture during WWII.

One of the first things to understand about the Japanese people is the absolute reverence they had for their emperor. To them, "The emperor commanded total respect. Children were taught that he was half-human, half descended from the sun goddess...when he left the palace on ceremonial occasions, the upper portion of all buildings along the route had to be cleared lest someone look down on him".[1] The military though reserved the right to reject Imperial will via *gekokujo*, which meant that if they felt the emperor was being ill-advised they could act in what they thought was the best interest of the empire. This made

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1 Roehrs, Mark D,, and William A. Renzi. *World War II in the Pacific*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2004.

Emperor Hirohito the head of state as opposed to the head of government. However this was more or less due to the fact that the mundane ritual of running the government was considered beneath the emperor's notice. The emperor was not often seen in public and rarely addressed his nation. Most Japanese citizens had never heard his voice which created issues when Emperor Hirohito later addressed his people via radio to declare the unconditional surrender of Japan and plead with all citizens to cease any hostilities and try to build a new life for themselves.

This extreme demonstration of the devotion to country and emperor is found in the military's adherence to the Bushido Code, or the Way of the Warrior. The Bushido Code relied on strict obedience, stamina and aggression while also, "...[emphasizing] unflinching loyalty to the emperor, even to the point of willingly sacrificing one's life, by suicide if necessary...[and was] intimately linked to the rise of Japanese imperialism, *kamikaze* attacks, suicide charges, and prisoner of war atrocities."[2] A British field marshal commented on this warrior mentality., "We talk a lot about fighting to the last man and the last round, but only the Japanese soldier actually does it."[3] I t was an underlying factor throughout Japanese society with its most stringent observers being the young recruits and the higher ranking military officers. Those in between would often find themselves questioning the logic of blindly doing what the Bushido Code required of them.

The other aspect of Japanese culture that needs to be understood was their immense sense of racial pride and love of country. The Japanese people had an innate connection to their lands and often turned to it in order to find solace during times of stress. This is reflected in the journal entries of a Japanese admiral towards the end of the war when it's recorded that he was, "...drawn ever more closely to nature, as is the Japanese when crisis threatens...."[4]

It was this notion of superiority that was a major premise

2 Hurst III, G.Cameron . "Death, Honor and Loyalty: The Bushido Ideal." *Philosophy East and West*. 40. no. 4 (1990):

3 Doughty, Gruber, Flint, Grimsley, Herring, Horward, Lynn, Murray, First. *WWII: Total Warfare Around The Globe*. Lexington: D. C. Heath and Company, 1996.

4 Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Last Kamikaze*. Westport: Praegar Publishers, 1993

for Japan invading China. The Japanese felt strongly that they not only had the right, but also the obligation to lead the other, inferior, Asian countries because they believed that they, the Japanese, were the superior Asian race.

The most startling example of this superiority is seen during the invasion of China, in what came to be known as the Rape of Nanking. Chinese men, women, and children were used to practice bayonet drills. Women were raped with glee in brutal fashion by Japanese soldiers and, for amusement, babies would often be thrown up into the air and impaled on bayonets as they came down. It became normal in conquered nations, mainly China and Korea, that women were forced to act as comfort women, or sex slaves, for the Japanese military. When this incident went to trial after the war there were, "... estimates of about twenty thousand cases of rape and one third of all buildings in the city damaged...[death toll] at over 200,000 [but] ...the trial claimed in the verdict that more than 300,000 Chinese had been massacred by the Japanese troops..."[5] The brutality was demonstrated as the Japanese chain of conquests continued until finally halted by the United States Navy at the battles of the Coral Sea and Midway in May and June 1942.

The Bataan Death March was also an example of Japanese brutality in war time. It occurred when 78,000 soldiers (12,000 American and 66,000 Filipinos) surrendered after being assured by the Japanese commander that they would be treated fairly and that the Japanese were not uncivilized. This decision proved fatal for scores of the prisoners because the Japanese understood that other, "... nations [did not] believe or behave similarly, but they had little respect for soldiers who quit short of expending their last effort in battle".[6] There were cases of prisoners being beaten to death with rifle butts, water being dumped out of prisoner canteens, Japanese soldiers passing by in transport trucks sticking their bayonets out the slats in the side therefore

5 Fujitani, T., Geoffrey M. White, and Lisa Yoneyama. *Perilous Memeories*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2001.

6 Roehrs, Mark D., and William A. Renzi. *World War II in the Pacific*. Armonk, New York: M.E. Sharpe Inc., 2004.

decapitating or maiming enemy POWs being marched along the road. This was not the treatment all soldiers received. Other soldiers that were forced on the march later were treated quite well. It depended on the officer in charge as to how you were treated.

One man who dissented and had reservations regarding Japan's supposed racial superiority was Yoshido Kodama. He wrote that, "....the Japanese never once...engaged in noble acts conforming to their traditions of bushido, (the way of the samurai, with its tenets of mercy to a fallen enemy and its rigid code of ethics and conduct)...The brutal inhumane acts of massacre and mistreatment of prisoners of war...are such to vilify all the good points of the Japanese people". [7]

Another prominent form of patriotism, which Admiral Yamamoto actually opposed as a waste of good men, came to prominence towards the end of the war when fuel and pilots began running low. This was the *kamikaze*, or Divine Wind, attacks where airplanes, after expending all munitions, dived towards enemy ships in hopes of sinking it. It was considered especially honorable if the pilots died taking out an enemy aircraft carrier as these ships were the deciding factors in most, if not all, battles in the Pacific. "Any who indicated that they were reluctant to die for the Emperor were put in the forefront, to be gotten rid of on the first possible suicide missions".[8] These attacks had some success initially in damaging American aircraft carriers because the decks were constructed mostly of teakwood (as opposed to British carriers which had steel decks). However, no significant losses of any major Allied aircraft carriers or other ships were ever wholly attributed to kamikaze attacks, although many other smaller ships often succumbed. Also initial success was practically nullified once the Allies caught on; when Japanese officers began to see that the kamikaze attacks as were a waste of manpower and equipment.

Another factor that contributed to the increasing ineffectiveness of the kamikaze attacks was unseasoned pilots sent up in training aircraft with only enough fuel for one way. Up

7 Kodama, Yoshio. *I Was Defeated*. Japan: Radiopress, 1959.
8 Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Last Kamikaze*.

until that point, only the most experienced pilots were used due to the extreme difficulty involved in getting the plane past enemy anti-aircraft fire and crashing into the ship at the few areas of vulnerability. Eventually the top Japanese military leaders, "...acknowledged these tactics as a complete failure... nothing more than vain repetitions of meaningless suicides in the face of the vast might of the enemy and the invincibility of their scientific prowess". [9] What also supports this thinking on the part of the Japanese military was that at the end of the Pacific War the Japanese military still had about 5,000 planes, but had not used them due to a lack of pilots or a fear of them being uselessly shot down. The saddest example of the futility of the kamikaze attacks is the last one attempted after Japan's surrender. Admiral Ukagi, who oversaw the implementation and execution of the kamikaze missions, felt shame at having failed to defend the emperor's honor and his homeland of Japan. He, therefore, decided to launch a nighttime suicide mission against Allied ships in Tokyo Harrbor with a select group of loyal pilots. The following account details the outcome:

> Late at night the radar picked up blips of a flight of planes coming in, and aboard the ships in harbor the noise of approaching aircraft engines could be heard. But night fighters on routine patrol had been vectored out to meet the incoming planes, and when they were determined not to be American they were attacked. The noise of firing could be heard in the harbor, and one by one in the darkness the aircraft plunged into the sea, not one of them striking any of the Allied vessels. Admiral Ugaki's final flight ended, as did so many of the kamikaze missions, in a last glorious failure. [10]

As stated before, this blind patriotism was not shared by all Japanese, especially when it came to fighting the United States. Admiral Yamamoto, the Japanese version of the America's Eisenhower, voiced grave concerns about the wisdom of facing off

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9 Kodama, Yoshio. *I Was Defeated*, 1959
10 Hoyt, Edwin P. *The Last Kamikaze*,

against the United States with its vast resources and industrial might. However, when he realized that his superiors viewed this as a defeatist mentality, he fell in line behind them and fully supported the cause. When he was asked by the emperor if they could defeat the United States, "Yamamoto candidly replied, 'For the first six months of a conflict I will run wild like a boar, and for the first two years we will prevail; but after that, I am not at all sure of events".[11] The sweeping victories and gaining of apparent unchecked dominance of the Pacific Rim in the latter part of 1941 and early part of 1942 seemed to confirm his predictions. Yamamoto underestimated the United States' ability to rebuild and industrial strength, therefore when he failed to meet his deadline of crushing the US Pacific fleet, the tide, as he predicted, began to ebb against him and the Imperial Japanese Navy.

The failure to keep their citizens properly informed is also an example of the Japanese government's failure to accept the inevitable. The first lie was in the reasoning for going to war with the United States. " Not a single Japanese at the time knew that the attack against Pearl Harbor had been carried out in violation of International Law...The Japanese people...believed that the United States was seeking to oppress the Japanese in in every way possible...[and believed] that that they were now launched upon a war of righteousness and self-defense".[12] Following the crushing defeat at Midway, the military continued to report victories. This was a mistake because if the citizens had known the truth about losing half the fleet they would have committed to a higher rate of manufacturing. The propaganda began to unravel as the war entered its final months. Even though many Japanese citizens felt skeptical of what was being reported, they still wanted to believe in their hearts that what they were hearing was true. They finally realized the actual situation when they witnessed American B- 29s, or Mr. B's as they called them, flying overhead in the morning on their way to bomb a city and returning unscathed that evening. It was especially frustrating because the 10,000 ft. at which the bombers flew made it

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11 Roehrs, Mark D,, and William A. Renzi. *World War II in the Pacific*.
12 Kodama, Yoshio. *I Was Defeated*. Japan: Radiopress, 1959.

impossible for their anti-aircraft guns, which could only reach an altitude of 5,000 feet., to reach them as well as any fighters they would have wanted to send up.

The Japanese were still dumbstruck, or filled with indignation, when the Emperor tearfully got on the radio and announced the surrender."Although the people of Japan had determined to resist until Japan was turned into a complete scorched earth..."[13] Once the Emperor spoke the Japanese people had no longer desired to resist. There were still some citizens who did not believe that it was actually the Emperor, but instead a trick and, therefore, continued resistance efforts. This, again, could be attributed to the fact that no normal citizen had ever heard the Emperor's voice.

The Japanese defeat was more than just a military defeat to them; it was a defeat of all they held dear. The Japanese people soon became worried about whether or not Japan would be divided up like Germany. Would the Emperor have to go on trial? How would they be treated by the Americans? The Americans quickly allayed their fears when they came in with fanfare but immediately began rebuilding the damaged physical and emotional bridges.

The Japanese perspective during WWII is often overlooked in many of today's history classes. This is perhaps due to the fact that their way of life was very different than that of the United States. Whatever the reasons may be, it will remain a sad chapter in world history that a once proud and ancient culture allowed themselves to become so blinded by their views of superiority and justification.

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13   Ibid.

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"It Did Not Seem Real – But You Could Not Look Away":

Travelers' Impressions of Salt Lake City Utah in the 1850s

William Bates

"When Brigham Young called this a paradise I do not think he exaggerated at all: for it is truly the most lovely place I ever saw . . . On entering the city, we could see . . . at a glance that everything was laid out in the most accurate manner," wrote William Drown, a trumpeter in the US Army, when he saw Salt Lake City, Utah for the first time. [1] Drown's record of Salt Lake City is not unique; other visitors have written similar accounts upon seeing the city for the first time. Upon reading such accounts of the city's beauty and its "most accurate" manner of lay out, brings readers to ask why. Why does it appear to be such a lovely paradise and why such a precise city layout?

An examination of travelers' eye witness accounts of Salt Lake City, from 1850-1870, provides insight to how the Mormons urban planning changed the landscape to fit their Eastern ideas of

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1 William Drown, "Personal Recollections—A Trumpeter's Notes ('52-'58)," in *From Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry, 1836-1875,* by Theophilus F. Rodenbough (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 230.

beauty while their religious beliefs lead to a uniform city layout. While their religious beliefs and theological church hierarchy led to accurate and uniform city layout. The founding of Salt Lake City and the subsequent settlement of the Great Basin by Mormons has been addressed in many books and articles by scholars. An examination of these scholars works shows that a majority of them from 1932 to 2005 emphasized that the beliefs of Mormons had the largest impact on the physical appearance of Salt Lake City, but that was not the only influence they discussed. Over the years, mentioned above, scholars discussed five major influencers on the design and layout of SLC: biblical, European, societal cooperation, religious leadership hierarchy, and the idea of Zion and the gathering. These five influencers can be broken down into two categories: external influencers, biblical and European, and internal influencers, the idea of Zion and the gathering, societal cooperation, and the LDS Church hierarchy.

 Following this exploration, this paper than will examine firsthand accounts of visitors to Salt Lake City to show a first-hand view of how the Mormons' urban planning appeared from 1850-1870. These descriptions show how the physical landscape of Salt Lake City reflect the idea of Eastern beauty while also holding a religious belief in making a city beautiful for God. These accounts also show that their religious beliefs and the theological church hierarchy led to accurate and uniform city layout.

 The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints (LDS Church) was founded in 1830 in New York State with Joseph Smith Jr. as its president. The members of this church are commonly known as Mormons in reference to a prophet in their scriptures, the Book of Mormon. Troubles arose between the locals and the Mormons that the church soon moved to Kirtland, Ohio. While in Kirtland they built an industrious community and some thought that they had found a permanent home. While there, Joseph Smith Jr. received a revelation that Jackson County Missouri was to be the true *gathering* place for the Church, i.e. Zion.[2] He then drew up a plan on how Zion was to be laid out (Fig. 1) with instructions written in the margins. Joseph Smith

2 Thomas G. Alexander, and James B. Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles: A History of Salt Lake City* (Boulder, Colo.: Pruett Pub. Co., 1984), 20.

along with two other prominent church leaders at that time, Sidney Rigdon and Frederick G. Williams, signed their names to the city plan document. This plan would have significant impact on the founding and physical layout of Salt Lake City.[3]

The city plan was sent to Church members in Missouri so they could begin implementing it.[4] The plan was never brought to full fruition because the locals and the LDS Church were again having problems getting along, both in Kirtland and Missouri, and the Mormons were driven off. They then moved to Illinois where they built a city called Nauvoo. Here they were able to implement some of the ideas of the Zion plan but troubles arose. This time the trouble eventually lead to the death of Joseph Smith and the subsequent migration of the Mormons, under the direction of Brigham Young, to the Salt Lake Valley. Once in the Valley the Mormons began to construct a city that was based on the original plan of Zion.[5]

Few scholars have written exclusively on the founding and organization of Salt Lake City. Subsequently most of the scholars examined herein look at Mormon Settlement in the West and touch on Salt Lake City as just one of many cites planned and settled by the Mormons. With that in mind seven of the nine authors that are examined address the idea of external influences on Mormon town planning, three of the seven address the idea of an external biblical influence and all seven address the idea of external European influences (There is one scholar who published in 2005 that will be discussed after all the rest of the scholars because she is the only one to address all five major subcategories in her paper, subsequently all number counts may appear to be one off).

D. W. Meinig published a book, entitled *The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West 1847-1964* in 1965 on Mormon settlement.. In this book, Meinig's main purpose was to track and show how the social make up of <u>Mormon communities</u> had a large effect the physical appearance

3 Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: A Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 26.

4 Ibid.

5 Alexander and Allen, *Mormons and Gentiles,* 20-23.

of the towns. He spends a lot of time looking at the turn of the century when Mormon towns began to have more non-Mormons in them then they had heretofore.[6] What is of interest to this paper is when Meinig talked about the origins of Mormon city planning. Meinig briefly discussed the idea that Mormon town planning was influenced by the Bible and New England.[7] The author provided a brief reference without any elaboration and it appears that the scholar expects his audience to understand his reference..

The only other scholars, examined herein, that addressed the idea of a biblical influence was Jeanne Kay and Craig Brown in their article entitled, "Mormon Beliefs about Land and Natural Resources, 1847–1877", published in 1985. Kay and Brown thoroughly explained exactly how they thought the Mormons were influenced by the Bible and are not vague, like Meinig, on the topic. They showed how the Mormons thought of themselves as ancient Israelites calling non-members Gentiles and the places where they lived and worked Babylon. This meant that scriptures in the Bible that were addressed to the Israelites were interpreted to apply to Mormons. They even went so far as to call Zion the New Jerusalem that they one day hoped to return to. They went on to state that when Zion could no longer be in Jackson County, Missouri Zion became a term to mean wherever the saints were.[8]

Kay and Brown were environmental historians so they were primarily interested in how these beliefs transformed into how the Mormons treated the land. They stated that this biblical influence meant that they believed God would bless them or curse them through the land, by making it bloom or causing droughts and famines. But this relationship was not stagnant. Mormons were admonished to play an active role in making the ground produce fruit. Kay and Brown showed that because of

6 D. W. Meinig, *The Mormon Culture Region: Strategies and Patterns in the Geography of the American West, 1847-1964* (Indianapolis, Ind: Bobbs-Merrill, 1965), 209-215.

7 Ibid.,196.

8 Kay, Jeanne and Craig J. Brown. "Mormon Beliefs about Land and Natural Resources, 1847–1877". *Journal of Historical Geography* 11, no. 3 (1985): 255.

this biblical influence Mormons were very conscious of what the land produced and played an active role in making sure that it provided. What this meant in application was the planting and cultivation of farms trees and gardens, and the production of irrigation ditches to make these projects possible.[9]

The second subcategory of external influences discussed by scholars was European influences. By European the author means English, Spanish, and New England. As was stated above there are seven scholarsthat discussed the idea of an external European influence. Most of these scholars discuss the same points so the examinination of two of them will serve as representations of the others.

Raymond Lifchez published an article in 1932, entitled "Inspired Planning: Mormon and American Fourierist Communities in the Nineteenth Century," wherein he describes two utopian communities; the Mormons and the Fourierists. This scholar gives brief acknowledgment that the Mormon settlement resembled European land settlement but does not expound how or where.[10] The main argument the scholar makes is that it was the Mormons belief in divine revelation that caused them to have success in their Western settlements and the way they worked together as a group and not as individuals.[11] Most scholars herein examined will follow Lifchez lead and focus in on the internal influences that the Mormon culture produces while only briefly mention that the Mormon's may have got their idea for their city construction from other places. It is not till the late twentieth century and twenty-first century that scholars began to go into more detail on where some of the Mormons ideas of city building may have come from.

John Reps does a better job in going into more detail on exactly what European settlements Salt Lake City may have got some of its layout from, rather than being vague like Lifchez was. Reps wrote two books on the topic, one in 1979 and the other in 1981. In his first book he pointed out that the grid system found

9 Ibid., 255-257.
10 Raymond Lifchez, "Inspired Planning: Mormon and American Fourierist Communities in the Nineteenth Century," *Landscape* 20, spring (1932), 34.
11 Ibid., 32.

in Salt Lake City is not a unique system for laying out cities. He argued that the grid system was used all over the American West because anyone with a little training could form the simple layout. Also, the grid system is in no way unique to America. It was used by the Spanish in their colonies before America became a country and by the Greeks and Romans before that.[12] In his second book, he also points out that the layout of Salt Lake City largely resembles William Penn's city plan. Penn laid his city out in a grid but the idea that is of interest here is his use of public squares, or Gardens, that have been planned into the city. The plan for Salt Lake City did a similar thing.[13]

The next category that scholars wrote about was internal influencers, with the sub categories of the idea of Zion and the gathering, societal cooperation, and the LDS Church hierarchy. The reason for the designation of internal influencers is because they all arose from a unique Mormon culture that was founded on their religious belief system. This is not to say that other belief systems did not hold to these similar beliefs. One scholar stated that the Mormon system was a new invention, new not in its components but in the application of those components.[14]

When Zion and the gathering is referenced, it is referring to the idea that Mormons believed it was crucial to gather in one place in order to build the kingdom of God or the City of God,.[15] An essay by Alan H. Grey, entitled "Mormon Settlement in Its Global Context," published in 1980, compared the Mormons to the Christchurch in New Zealand. He showed how both churches sett up their cities at about the same time (1847 and 1851) and they both tried to separate themselves from society to make a more Godly community. They also both used the grid system in their city planning and both put religious buildings at the center

12 John W Reps, preface to *Cities of the American West: a History of Frontier Urban Planning* (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), x.

13 John W. Reps, *The Forgotten Frontier: Urban Planning in the West Before 1890* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1981), 1-5.

14 Lowry Nelson, *The Mormon Village: a Pattern and Technique of Land Settlement* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1952), 28.

15 Norton, William. "Mormon Identity and Landscape in the Rural Intermountain West". Journal of the West. 37, no. 3 (1998): 32.

of their plans, or as near center as they could. The purpose of Grey's article was to show that the founding and set up of Salt Lake City was not as unique as some scholars have argued in the past. That there was at least one other settlement that was founded on the same general idea of Zion and subsequently took on several characteristics of Salt Lake City.[16]

C. Mark Hamilton, in his book *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning*,took this idea of Zion and went into further detail on what that meant for the Mormon community. He stated that Zion was to be under theocratic government and the people had to prepare themselves mentally and physically for that day. Zion was to be a place where all members of the LDS Church would be able to gather if they were pure in heart and all things would be held in common. He states that Joseph Smith was the first to teach this doctrine and Brigham Young continued it after his death.[17] What this meant in practice was an influx of immigrants and emigrants into Salt Lake Valley, who tried to build a place for God to live and to work together to achieve it. Lifchez is the first scholar who addressed the issue of Mormon cooperation. He pointed out that one thing that helped Mormon utopianism work so well at first was by working together.[18] Kay and Brown did a better job in showing what ways Mormon cooperation effected how the city developed and what the Mormons were capable of doing because they worked together. They state that because of their communitarianism the Mormons were able to build temples, churches, and an irrigation system. The most important system for their survival in Utah was the irrigation system. When they worked together and shared the water between all they were able to accomplish much more than if they worked separately.[19]

Lowry Nelson argued that cooperation was one of the key

16 Alan H. Grey, "Mormon Settlement in Its Global Context," in *The Mormon Role in the Settlement of the West,* ed. by, Richard H. Jackson (Provo: Brigham Young University Press, 1980), 75-90.

17 C. Mark Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995), 13-14.

18 Lifchez, "Inspired Planning", 33.

19 Kay and Brown, "Mormon Beliefs", 257.

influencers that made, "The Mormon Village", his term for the particular way Mormons settled in the West. He did not use the term "Cooperation" but the term "Solidarity," but for the manner in which cooperation is used both terms mean the same thing.[20] Nelson pointed out that the Mormons cooperation was a very, "intense group integration" and almost militaristic in its setup and execution. He pointed out that this form cooperation made it essential to have a leader to direct them. Because of the setup, Nelson argued that the group would comply with immediate obedience to any orders from the leader.[21]

Nelson brought across the next subcategory of internal influences, the Mormon religious hierarchy. In order to understand Mormon leadership, more about their belief system will have to be explored. "I saw two personages (whose brightness and glory defy all description) standing above me in the air. One of them spake unto me calling me by name and said (pointing to the other) 'This is my beloved Son, Hear him.'".[22] The above quote describes Joseph Smith's first vision. This is an embodiment of one of the founding principles of the LDS Church; that God still talks and gives direction to his prophets, the leaders of the LDS Church. In another revolution given to Smith in 1831, the Lord stated, "And whatsoever they shall speak when moved upon by the Holy Ghost shall be scripture . . . shall be the word of the Lord".[23] This quote is in reference to certain Elders of the Church but is applied even more so to the leaders of the Church, i.e. Joseph Smith and Brigham Young. These founding principles are very important in order to understand Mormon communities because the people involved are acting from these principles, that God speaks to his prophets and when his prophets speak that word becomes scripture for the people.

20 Nelson, *The Mormon Village*, 53

21 Ibid., 51.

22 Joseph Smith, "History, 1838–1856, volume A-1 [23 December 1805–30 August 1834]," accessed November 23, 2013, Joseph Smith Papers, http://josephsmithpapers.org/paperSummary/history-1838-1856-volume-a-1-23-december-1805-30-august-1834?dm=image-and-text&zm=zoom- inner&tm=expanded&p=3&s=undefined&sm=none.

23 Book of Mormon, Doctrine and Covenants, 68:4.

This idea that leadership was a significant influencer on Mormon settlement was discussed by six of the nine scholars that are being examined, but only a few will be examined because many of the sources stated similar ideas. In the book, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture and City Planning,* C. Mark Hamilton's argument is the uniqueness and peculiarity of Mormon city planning and architecture. One of his main arguments for this peculiarity was Mormon leadership. Particularly the influence of Joseph Smith, his Zion plan and the actual actions of Brigham Young in planning Salt Lake City. [24]

Cecilia Parera's 2005 article, "Mormon Town Planning: Physical and social Relevance", mentioned all five of the influences on the founding of Salt Lake City. Her writing culminated all of the ideas that have come before all in one place where she neatly organized the data. She agreed with Nelson's idea of the town being original in the sense that Mormons took ideas that were around and made their own city plan that was unique. She covered in detail the external influences mentioned above by other scholars: the bible/Jerusalem, New England, William Penn, and Spanish settlements. She did mention one more that was not discussed by the other scholars and that is the influence of the United States Public Land Survey. This system laid out what size cites should be and the original Zion plat was that size.[25] She also talked about the internal influences of Zion, cooperation, and Church hierarchy.[26]

In order to understand how all five of these influencers affected the layout and appearance of Salt Lake City it is important to look at what both Joseph Smith and Brigham Young wrote and said on the topic. As was stated above, Joseph Smith was the onethat designed the city plan for Zion which Salt Lake City was based off of. A photo copy of the original plan is displayed below.

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24 Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture*, 14, 24-28.

25 Cecilia Parera, "Mormon Town Planning: Physical and Social Relevance". Journal of Planning History 4, no. 2 (2005): 158.

26 Ibid., 171.
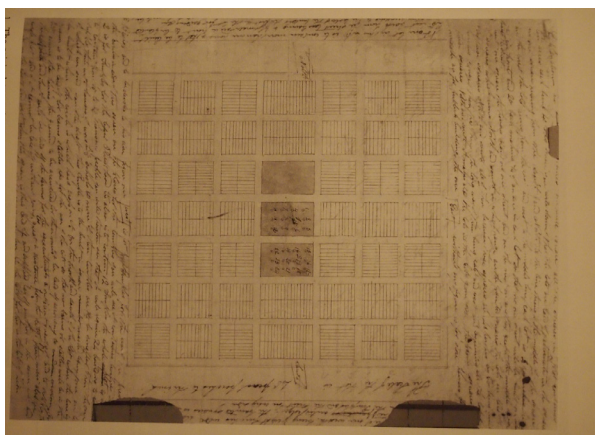
Fgure 1. The origional 1833 plat for the City of Zion. (Curch of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, Historical Department, Salt Lake City, Utah).

Each square represented a city block. The lines crossing those blocks are meant to be subdivisions for individual housing property. The writing in the margins are from Smith where he explains what the drawing means. He stated, "The painted squares in the middle are for public buildings." He went on to say that these public buildings are Temples and store houses.[27] As was stated above, some of the features that Smith incorporated into his community were not unique, such as; the grid system and the method of putting important civic or religious buildings in the center. What is different is the manner in which the houses are laid out. Smith stated, "You will observe that that the lots are laid off alternately in the squares; in one square running from the south and north to the line throughout the center of the square; and in the next, the lots run from the east and west to the center line." What is stated here is that houses are not to be set up so that each is facing another's front door, as is done in most cities, but each front door looks at a section of another's back yard. The purpose of this was to give the city a more agrarian feel. [28]

27 Hamilton, *Nineteenth-Century Mormon Architecture*, 16.
28 Ibid., 15.

Smith continued, "No one lot, in this city, is to contain more than one house, and that to be built twenty-five feet back from the street, leaving a small yard in front, to be planted in a grove, according to the taste of the builder; the rest of the lot for gardens; all the houses are to be built of brick or stone." [29] As will be seen by the firsthand accounts by visitors to Salt Lake City this description is one that Brigham Young held to quite well.

When writing in his journal, Wilford Woodruff, one of the Apostles of the LDS Church, records Young's first instruction on the building of Salt Lake City when the Mormons first entered the Salt Lake Valley:

> We walked from the north camp to about the centre between the two creeks, when President Young waved his hand and said: 'here is the forty acres for the Temple. The city can be laid out perfectly square, north and south, east and west.' It was then moved and carried that the temple lot contain forty acres on the ground were we stood. It was also moved and carried that the city be laid out into lots of ten rods by twenty each, exclusive of the streets, and into blocks of eight lots, being ten acres in each block, and a quarter in each lot.
>
> It was further moved and carried that each street be laid out eight rods wide, and the there be a side-walk on each side, twenty feet wide, and that each house be built in the center of the lot twenty feet from the front, that there might be uniformity throughout the city.
>
> It was also moved that there be four public squares of ten acres each, to be laid out in various parts of the city for public grounds.[30]

The ground where he stood would not end up being the center of

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29 Ibid.

30 Wilford Woodruff, *Journal,* as quoted in *Cities of the American West: A History of Frontier Urban Planning*, by John W. Reps (N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1979), 303-304

the city but it was as close to the center as the topography would allow. It is also interesting that he added four public squares which Smith did not have in his plan but, as mentioned above, Penn had in his. What this came to look like when taken into practice can be seen in a city survey that was done in 1860, at the request of Captain Thomas Burton, by Thomas Bullock. The survey showed how the city was laid out at the time of Burton's visit to Salt Lake City in 1860.
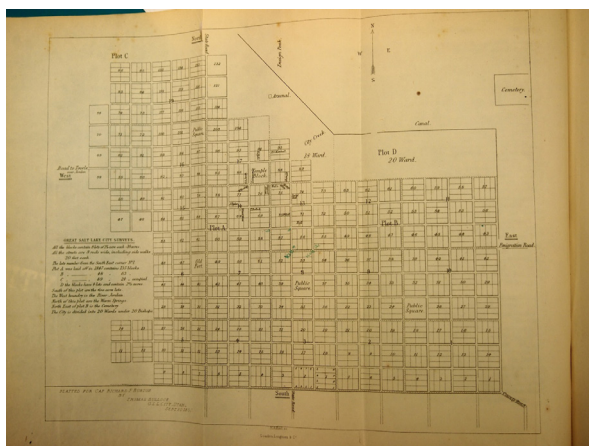
Figure 2. Salt Lake City survey of 1860 by Thomas Bullock, as cited in The City of the Saints, and Across the Rocky Mountains to California, by Richard Francis Burton (New York: Harper & Bros, 1862), to face 193.

By comparing figure 1 and 2 it can clearly be seen that Young kept the grid system and the alternating plots that Smith insinuated. Young also followed Smiths idea of beautifying the city that he laid out in his Zion plan. Young stated in an address to the members of the LDS Church in 1854 that he wanted people, "building up this kingdom; in building houses; in breaking up land; in setting out fruit and ornamental trees; in laying out fine gardens, pleasant walks, and beautiful groves"[31] Here it can be seen that Young is worried about making the city beautiful because he wanted "ornamental trees" and "beautiful groves."

31 Brigham Young, *Journal of discourses* (Liverpool: B. James, 1854), vol. 2, 145.

These things are not for simple function but for experiences. As will be seen by examining travelers' accounts it is safe to say that he succeeded in his goal.

Now that a general understanding of what scholars have written on the subject of Mormon settlement, a look at primary sources wherein the authors' described their first impressions of Salt Lake City. These impressions show how the physical landscape of Salt Lake City reflected the idea of Eastern beauty, that Smith implied the city should have in his Zion Plan, while also holding a religious belief in making a city beautiful for God. These accounts showed how the influencers, discussed above, cultural cooperation and the Church hierarchy, led to accurate and uniform city layout.

The first thing that stands out is how these sources described the beauty they see in Salt Lake City. When William Drown, a trumpeter in the Army, recorded his impression on Salt Lake City when writing in his diary stated, "When Brigham Young called this a paradise I do not think he exaggerate at all: for it is truly the most lovely place I ever saw. If I were situated to do so, I would be almost persuaded to turn Mormon Myself, just for the privilege of living here".[32] Drown was passing through SLC with the military and had just spent a hard winter in the mountains. His experience might help to understand his comments about the idea of paradise. From this comment it can be seen that the inhabitants, as well as the army, shared something in common; a love for beauty. Elizabeth Cummings, wife of the Governor of the Utah Territory, described her recollection of the city in a letter to a friend stating, "It did not seem real – but you could not look away".[33] Again, another source commented on the beauty of the valley. It begs the question of what they may find so entrancing about the city.

32 William Drown, "Personal Recollections—A Trumpeter's Notes ('52-'58)," in Theophilus F. Rodenbough, comp., From *Everglade to Canyon with the Second United States Cavalry, 1836-1875* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000), 230.

33 Cumming to Sarah, 17 June 1858, in *The Genteel Gentile: Letters of Elizabeth Cumming, 1857-1858*, eds. Ray R. Canning, and Beverly Beeton (Salt Lake City: Tanner Trust Fund, University of Utah Library, 1977), 76.

The diary of Captain Albert Tracy provided a reason for Drowns' and Cummings' fascination with the beauty of the city. He wrote, "one saw that which one so longs to see from long familiarity with these deserts—perfectly bright green and luxuriant trees and shrubbery."[34] It can be seen that one of the elements that made this city so beautiful was its greenery, something that would have become less frequent as travelers went from the East to the West. It is important to note that Utah's average rainfall is about 13 inches.[35] The amount of rainfall for New York, the home state of Smith and many of the saints is 35 inches.[36] As can be seen from these simple figures, the Eastern states are far wetter than Utah and the Western states were where these travelers were coming from when entering Salt Lake City for the first time. From Tracy's diary entry the main reason this city had such a draw on the emotions of the visitors passing through can be ascertained. It was due to the contrast between greenery and desert, home and abroad.

This is why the picture that they described of a beautiful city is surprising and raised questions such as; why the praise and what does it say about the builders of this city? The praise appears to come from the genuine beauty of the area. Reflecting on what was stated above and with careful analysis of these documents it appears that the builders had a love for the green beauty of the east that they left behind when migrating to the West. An Eastern newspaper had an article from one of their correspondence state:

> [Salt Lake City] is laid out in blocks of ten acres each, eight lots to the block, an acre and a quarter in each lot; the streets eight rods wide; the sidewalks twenty feet wide; the sidewalks to be beautifully shaded; the blocks to be surrounded by a purling brook, issuing

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34 Drown, "A Trumpeter's Notes" 23

35 "Utah Precipitation", accessed December 16, 2013, http://utahweather.org/UWC/lightning_precipitation/precipitation.html.

36 "Annual Temperature, Precipitation, and Snowfall Data Syracuse, New York", accessed December 16, 2013, http://www.erh.noaa.gov/bgm/climate/syr/syr_annual_totals.shtml.

> from the mountains; every house to be built twenty
> feet from the front fence. No two houses front each
> other; standing in his own door, every man may not
> look into his neighbor's door, but into his neighbor's
> garden. They have four public squares, which are here-
> after to be adorned with trees from the four quarters
> of the globe, and sup-plied with fountains of water.[37]

An examination of this description shows that Young complied
with the layout that Smith wrote in his Zion plan. The houses
were set back, trees were planted along the streets, and the
placement of houses was such that none looked out on the front
of another. The width of the streets and sidewalks complied
with Woodruffs journal entry of what Young stated he wanted
them to be.

In order to accomplish the feats described by these writers,
this group of people must have been unified and ran by some
central power/authority to help in the organization and directed
the building of the city. They also had to have worked out forms
of specialization or at least large coordinated group efforts to
create such a city; it could not have been done by one individual
who was reliant on just his or her own labor. Yet with all this
willing to fallow a central government of some sort, the Mor-
mons showed little trust of any outside centralized government.

The next area of study is the physical layout of the city and
what can be learned from the study from these first time visi-
tors to Salt Lake City. Trumpeter Drown wrote, "On entering
the city, we could see that at a glance that everything was laid
out in the most accurate manner, the city being laid out off in
perfect squares, every street as straight as an arrow, and fifty
yards wide."[38] In order to build a city that has such attention on
organization, there must have been some form of specialization
or organized group effort. What is meant by specialization is that
this society must have people in it who specialized in different
tasks. There would be a carpenter, a farmer ,a roofer, etc. .. The
reason for this is if there was not this skill and some kind of

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37 "Great Salt Lake City" *Bradford Reporter*, 9 Nov. 1850.

38 Drown, "A Trumpeter's Notes" 23

group effort there would not be the skill base or the manpower to build this kind of city. They must have been organized in such a way to make time for beautification. If their sole worry was getting a roof over their heads and when or how they were getting their next meal, they would not have had time to build a city like what has been described by these authors. They were able to build such a city so it stands to reason that they have a skilled population as well as an organized one.

Charles A. Scott, a member of the United States Army entering the city, wrote that the, "City is well laid out with broad streets crossing at right angles" with clear streams of water in them.[39] His recollection in his diary not only gave affirmation to what Drown stated but also gave a hint at why the area was able to be so green. Captain Tracy wrote that, "Beyond this, [city] the gray of the eternal desert, hemmed remotely by picturesque peaks and mountains".[40] This shows that the city was a green spot in an "eternal desert." Scott discussed that because of the streams in the streets acting as irrigation the inhabitants of the city were able to create the green beauty of a city that was described.. The creation of these streams or irrigation systems did not happen on their own. They had to be built by the inhabitants of the city and this again points to an organized plan to create such a city that the authors described.

Fitz Ludlow started his trek out west in 1863; he was a writer who had graduated from Union Collage.[41] He did not arrive in Salt Lake City until 1870, where he described how, "the sidewalks along the front of [Salt Lake City's] court-yards are densely roofed avenues of living green; the maple, the cottonwood, the poplar, a species of acacia like our honey locust, seeming to have thriven apace wherever the settlers' hand has planted them, and

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39 Charles A. Scott, "Charles A. Scott's Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1858," Edited by Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis in *Utah Historical Quarterly 28, no. 2* (1960): 173.

40 Albert Tracy, "Journal of Captain Albert Tracy," in *Utah Historical Quarterly 13, no. 1* (1945): 26.

41 "Erowid Fitz Hugh Ludlow Vault." The Vaults of Erowid, http://www.erowid.org/culture/characters/ludlow_fitz_hugh/ (accessed December 2, 2013).

at a more rapid rate than in the East".[42] This again showed the Mormons ability to work together under the direction of Young and how they pulled their efforts together and accomplish much they would not have been able to do on their own.

Solomon Carvalho was passed through Salt Lake City as an artist for one of Colonel John C. Fremont's expeditions in 1854.[43] He described, "a delicious stream of water flows through the center of the city, this is subdivided into murmuring rivulets on either side of all the streets".[44] Here Coravalho described the presence of ditches that would be necessary for moving water throughout the city in order to keep the orchards and gardens watered in the dry Utah climate.

From looking at how the authors of these diaries and letters wrote about the green beauty of the city and its physical layout, it can be seen that they were pleased and sometime shocked by what they saw when they visited the city. What is more important, these diaries show how strong of an influence LDS Church leaders had over their members. This can be seen in the fact that ideas that Joseph Smith laid out in his 1833 city plan for Zion was continued with the founding of Salt Lake City in 1847. It can be seen by authors' descriptions of the city with large, straight streets lined with trees, with houses alternating directions, and people's lots containing gardens and orchards. It was not the Church leadership alone that made Salt Lake City the way it was. It was both the external influences from the Bible and Europe and the internal influences of the idea of Zion and the gathering and societal cooperation that made Salt Lake City the beautiful and orderly place travelers encountered as the passed through in the late nineteenth century.

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42 Fitz Hugh Ludlow, *The Heart of the Continent: A Record of Travel Across the Plains and in Oregon, with an Examination of the Mormon Principle* (New York: Hurd and Houghton, 1870), 323.

43 Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1954), 32-34, 206.

44 Ibid., 207

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The Israeli-Palestine Conflict:
Modern History

Ben Aldana

Ben Aldana's experiences in life have exposed him to social problems on a large scale. His experiences have resulted in a personal desire to explore, explain, and increase overall public awareness of unjust situations. While Ben's passion is advocating on behalf of those suffering as a result of unnecessary heavy-handedness, he also understands the importance of representing all points of view. Ben will graduate from UVU in May 2014 with his BS in Behavioral Science, minoring in Political Science. He will begin law school in August 2014.

The ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians is often attributed to ancient or ideological disputes between the two peoples. While ancient and ideological contributing factors certainly need to be considered when examining this conflict, it is important to have an adequate understanding of its modern history, as well as why neither side seems to be psychologically capable of presenting a viable solution to the events that continue to take place.

In this paper, a theory as to why both sides of this conflict are guilty of complicity in the commission of perceived unjust actions against each other is first discussed. Also included in this analysis are reasons why violence between the Israelis and Palestinians has long been condoned and encouraged by each side against the other. The frequent incidences of violence reported between the two sides are often baffling. Their intensity can occasionally lead to conclusions where one side or the other is demonized in the media or perceived to be unreasonable, extreme in its ideology, or simply failing to utilize more 'civilized' options

to resolve their differing views.

Injustice on a large scale, regardless of where it is occurring, is worthy of international attention. On April 16, 1963 in his Letter from Birmingham Jail, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. stated, "Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere."[1] He went on to quote Thomas Aquinas by saying, "any law that degrades human personality is unjust," and "any law that uplifts human personality is just."[2] These statements can lead to the conclusion that when injustice occurs, human personality is degraded and consequently more injustice is encouraged, which seems to be similar to what is taking place between the Israelis and Palestinians.

When the Palestinians are forced from the lands they inhabit, although viewed as a right and lawful activity by the Israelis, it degrades the humanity of Palestinians. If we accept the logic of King, described in the previous paragraph, then the seizure of Palestinian lands perpetuates an injustice. When the Israelis seized Palestinian lands, the Palestinians felt justified in committing violence directed at the citizens of Israel. When Palestinian citizens or militants launched rocket attacks or committed suicide bombings with the intent of killing Israeli citizens in response to Israeli incursions into their territories, they were also committing unjust actions, but felt legitimate in the violence of their choices because they were harmed when the Israelis took or destroyed their property.

It is wrong for someone to direct violence at another who has done nothing unjust to them. To do so is to commit an injustice. Currently, when the Palestinians attack Israeli civilians in response to the incursions by Israeli settlers, they commit such an injustice. However, even though it is wrong for someone to direct violence at another, there is something in human nature which helps individuals in justifying violence against anyone associated with the 'enemy,' or the original perpetrator of the injustice. The unarmed citizens of Israel were the victims of this kind of violence along with anyone closely

1 Martin L. King, "Letter from Birmingham Jail," *The Atlantic Monthly*, 212 no. 2 (1963): 1.
2 Ibid, 3.

associated or aligned with the 'enemy.'

Albert Bandura's theory on moral disengagement goes a long way in helping us understand why 'immoral' actions taken by occupying forces can occur at the hands of those on the front lines of a conflict, as well as why those retaliating against such actions in an immoral manner feel justified.[3] Moral disengagement is the process by which immoral or injurious conduct is converted into righteous conduct, which fits very well with what has occurred in recent history and is ongoing between the Israelis and Palestinians.[4]

In the cases of both the Israelis and Palestinians, moral disengagement occurs through justification, displacement of responsibility, diffusion of responsibility, minimization of harmful consequences of the actions taken, dehumanization of the enemy, and attribution of blame, which are all ways in which people can morally disengage.[5] Through these processes, "what was once morally condemnable becomes a source of self-valuation."[6] Also through these psychological processes, the Israeli and Palestinian leaders, as well as those who carry out their desires concerning the perpetuation of retaliatory violence, become national heroes and protectors of the homeland rather than ruthless killers.

This was recently exemplified when the Israelis released multiple Palestinian prisoners as a result of a pre-arranged deal in the furtherance of a peace process. The prisoners, upon their return to the Palestinian territories, were given a hero's welcome, large amounts of cash by the Palestinian Authority, and high military ranks and honors as rewards for what they had done which landed them in Israeli prisons to begin with. The prisoners had been held by the Israelis on terrorism and murder charges and were viewed as terrorists and murderers by the Israeli government. The Palestinians on the other hand,

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3 Albert Bandura, "Selective Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency," *Journal of Moral Education* 31, no. 2 (2002): 103.

4 Albert Bandura, et. al., "The Role of Moral Disengagement in the Execution Process," *Law and Human Behavior* 29, no. 4 (2005): 373.

5 Bandura, "Selective Moral Disengagement in the Exercise of Moral Agency," 103-110.

6 Ibid, 106.

held a very different and positive view of the former prisoners' activities, which is exemplified by the way they were treated upon their release and return home.[7]

The unjust 'terrorist' attacks launched against the Israelis by some of the Palestinians are not as random or unavoidable as the Israelis would like the rest of the world to think they are. The violence and target choice both have purposes, and as long as the Palestinians feel they have been dealt with unjustly by the Israelis, they will continue to feel absolutely justified in committing 'terrorist' attacks against the Israelis.[8]

Since the late 19th century, Zionist-Jewish settlers have been systematically encroaching upon and displacing the Palestinian population in the area of the world currently known as Israel. Prior to the arrival of these Zionist-Jewish settlers, the Palestinians had inhabited and used these particular lands for hundreds of years.[9] Before and during the arrival of many of these Jewish settlers, Palestine was an area controlled by the Ottoman Empire. The area however, was very loosely governed because of the numerous difficulties encountered by the Ottoman Government in ruling a land so distant from the Empire's capital.[10]

When the land of current day Israel and the Palestinian territories was a part of the Ottoman Empire, and prior to 1858, land 'ownership' had been handled in a very localized and

7 Paul Alster, "Freed Palestinian Killers Showered with Cash, Military Promotions," *Fox News*, 19 November 2013, Available from http://www.foxnews.com/world/2013/11/19/freed-palestinian-killers-showered-with-cash-military-promotions/, accessed 1 February 2014.

8 Hanne E. Roislien and Jo Roislien, "The Logic of Palestinian Terrorist Target Choice? Examining the Israel Defense Forces' Official Statistics on Palestinian Terrorist Attacks 2000-2004," *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 33, no. 2 (2010): 143. doi:10.1080/10576100903488436

9 Jon-Jay Tilsen, "Ottoman Land Registration Law as a Contributing Factor in the Israeli-Arab Conflict," *Congregation Beth El-Keser Israel*, Internet, available from http://www.beki.org/landlaw.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

10 "The Origin of the Palestine-Israel Conflict," *Jews for Justice in the Middle East*, Internet, available from http://www.ifamericansknew.org/history/origin.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

traditional way. This area was utilized and cultivated according to the traditions of the population that had occupied it, which was as a communal farming community in which land was not legally 'owned' by any particular individual.[11]

The Ottoman Land Code of 1858 changed this traditional ownership and allowed an individual to register as the legal owner of a tract of land, making it possible for people to obtain large tracts of land which they essentially had been absent from.[12] This allowed someone who was not inhabiting or using land in a particular area to register as the legal owner of the land with the Ottoman Government, which gave that person the legal right to sell it to anyone they wished. The Zionist-Jewish settlers coming into the area took full advantage of this situation and began purchasing property in the 'holy land' upon which they could settle. If it just so happened that there were Palestinians living on the land, had been there for many years, and were unwilling to vacate the premises, government authorities would take care to evict the occupants for the legal property owner.[13]

One of the problems this situation has helped in creating is that both parties (the Zionist-Jewish settlers and Palestinian inhabitants) felt they had a valid claim to the area in question. This has played a large part in creating the current, ongoing conflict between the Israelis and Palestinians, and has now plagued the area for well over a century. Additionally, many Jewish settlers feel they have a historic and biblical right to settle on the land previously and currently inhabited by the Palestinian people, which adds an ideological aspect to the conflict activity.[14]

11 Ibid.

12 Ibid.

13 Tilsen, "Ottoman Land Registration Law as a Contributing Factor in the Israeli-Arab Conflict," n. p.

14 Nancy Murray, "As Kerry Talks Peace, Israeli Settlers Dispossess Palestinians," *Aljazeera America*, 22 November 2013, Available from http://america. aljazeera.com/opinions/2013/11/gaza-west-bank-israelisettlementspalestinian-rights.html, accessed 30 January 2013. Leslie Wroughton, "Kerry Warns Israel of Troubles Ahead if Peace Talks Fail." *Reuters*, 7 November 2014, Available from http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/11/07/us-palestinians-israel-kerry-idUSBRE9A60P220131107, accessed 30 January 2013.

The current land acquisition activity engaged in by the State of Israel is justified in part by the Israeli Government in the name of maintaining national security. None of the activity has anything to do with legal ownership anymore. The Israelis argue they must have a sufficient 'buffer zone' in order to prevent the deadly attacks being launched against their civilians from the Palestinian territories, and the land used to create these buffer zones is simply taken from the Palestinians by force.[15] This land-acquisition activity has typically gone unanswered in any direct way by the international community, and has resulted in a pressing humanitarian situation in the Palestinian territories.

The killing of unarmed Israeli civilians by Palestinians in their homes and cities do not provide examples of justice. The killings do not correct the injustice done to the Palestinians by the Israelis. It can also reinforce the idea in the Israelis' mind that the injustices they have committed are not injustices at all, but truly a defense of their territory. This Israeli-held attitude has furthered the acquisition of a larger buffer zone between themselves and the Palestinians, accomplished by increasing the distance Palestinians would need to travel before being capable of attacking Israeli civilians. This increase in buffer zone territory controlled by Israel is obtained at the expense of the Palestinians and only serves to increase the feelings of justification on the part of the Palestinians to commit more acts of terroristic violence against those occupying the former Palestinian territories or those close to the occupiers, or those associated with whomever is occupying the lands they feel belonged to them in the first place. This then, becomes a case of moral disengagement.

Through the seizing and settlement of Palestinian lands by the Israelis, many Palestinians have effectively been deprived of their ability to work, to obtain an education, to receive health care services, and to engage in free assembly, as well as several other activities many in the world would consider basic human

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15 "Buffer Zone Reducing Palestinian Land in Gaza," *Irin News*, 16 June 2008, Available from http://www.irinnews.org/report/78765/israel-opt-buffer-zone-reducing-palestinian-agricultural-land-in-gaza, accessed 1 December 2013.

rights.[16] The Palestinians still have some lands, but they cannot access all of the necessary services in their lands because many of the Palestinian areas are inside of Israeli-settled or Israeli-controlled territory. The Palestinian territories are in separate, sporadic locations, spread throughout Israeli-held territory (see Fig. 1), in which Palestinians are not free to travel. This restricted travel is the result of several factors, one of which is the construction of "Jews-only" roads, upon which Palestinians are forbidden to travel.[17] The segregation of travel paths has made it very difficult for Palestinians to get from one area of their territory to another, and is a mechanism by which Israelis are depriving the Palestinians of the rights outlined above.

Israel's Borders
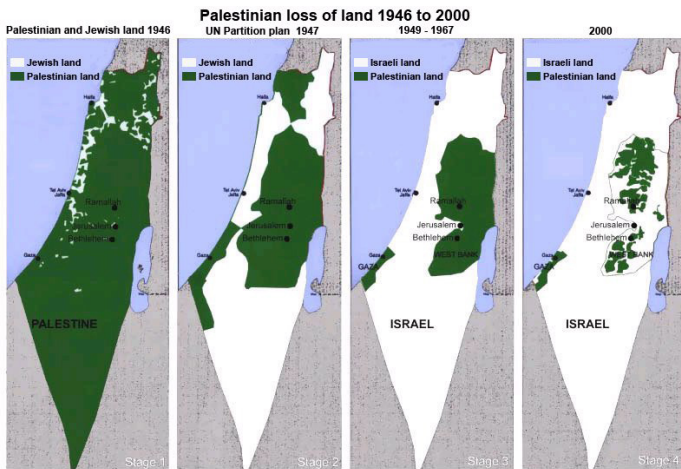
(Fig. 1)[18]

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16 John E, Richardson and Leon Barkho, "Reporting Israel," *Studies* 10, no. 5 (2008), 606.

17 Ibid, 603.

18 Michael R. Burch, "Are the 1967 Borders of Israel 'indefensible' according to Jewish military experts?," *The Hyper Texts*, Internet, available from http://www.thehypertexts.com/Israel%20Indefensible%201967%20Borders%20Nakba.htm, accessed 1 December 2013, Fig. 1.

The United Nations passed a resolution calling for the partition of Palestine on November 29, 1947.[19] The intention of this resolution was to provide separate territories in which both groups could live and exercise the principle of self-determination, not to create Jewish or Arab states.[20] Israeli leaders declared independence on May 14, 1948, after which the new state was immediately attacked by multiple Arab nations to prevent the formation of the state of Israel.[21] Instead of remaining to prevent the invasion of Israel by Arab armies, or intervening in an attempt to enforce an agreement between the two sides, British forces left the area, and the Arab-Israeli War of 1948 ensued.[22]

Israel's armies prevailed. In February of 1949 an armistice agreement was reached and borders were established.[23] By this armistice, Israel had secured its own legitimacy in the world, not through its membership in the United Nations, as some in the world believe.[24] Through the waging of war, Israel established its own legitimacy in the world community. As can be observed in the map in Figure1 above, had the Arabs accepted the state of Israel as was declared in 1948 by Israeli-Jews, the Palestinians would have ended up with a great deal more land than they currently possess, and quite possibly a state of their own. As a result of Arab rigidity concerning the existence of Israel, they

19 "U.N. Partitions Palestine, Allowing for Creation of Israel," *New York Times*, 29 November 2011, Available from http://learning.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/11/29/nov-29-1947-united-nations-partitions-palestine-allowing-for-creation-of-israel/?_r=0, accessed 1 February 2014.

20 Jeremy R. Hammond, "The Myth of the U.N. Creation of Israel," *Foreign Policy Journal*, Internet, Available from http://www.foreignpolicyjournal.com/2010/10/26/the-myth-of-the-u-n-creation-of-israel/, accessed 13 December 2013.

21"Milestones: 1945-1952," *State Department, Office of the Historian.* Internet, available from http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/creation-israel, accessed on 13 December 2013.

22 *U.N. Partitions Palestine, Allowing for Creation of Israel*, n. p.

23 "Milestones: 1945-1952," *State Department, Office of the Historian.* Internet, available from http://history.state.gov/milestones/1945-1952/arab-israeli-war, accessed on 13 December 2013.

24 Hammond, "The Myth of the U.N. Creation of Israel," n. p.

now have much less territory than they otherwise would have ended up with, had they been willing to compromise with the Jews in Israel.

The 1967 borders shown in Figure 1 are the ones internationally recognized as Israel's legitimate borders. During the 1967 Arab-Israeli War, Israel seized control of and occupied more Arab territory, including the West Bank.[25] As can also be seen from Figure 1, since 1967 Israelis have encroached tremendously upon the Arab population inhabiting the West Bank, resulting in many of the problems previously described. While a good argument can be made to support the position Israel has taken concerning the legitimacy of its settlements in the West Bank, there must come a point when the basic human rights of those living in an occupied territory need to be considered. Israel has fought for and won its legitimacy in the world. The Israelis have a solid hold on that which preserves the existence of Israel. Continued military action by the Israeli government against the Palestinians however, is harming its legitimacy in the eyes of the world. Many of Israel's own citizens have even begun to question the legitimacy of what their government is doing with respect to its treatment of the Palestinians.

Historically, Israelis have blamed Palestinians for the conflict, and Palestinians have blamed the Israelis. Both sides have shaped the conflict narrative in a self-favoring manner, leading the citizens in each of their respective groups to psychologically view themselves as being on the 'right' side of the conflict. This has been partially due to the fact that both groups sought to "establish homelands in the same territory," creating an in-group/out-group situation, which has a unifying effect upon each of the in-groups against the out-group(s).[26]

The conflict narratives on both sides have supported the view of being on the 'right' side, until recently. Because Israel is no longer faced with an existential threat to its existence, many

25 "Milestones: 1961-1968," *State Department, Office of the Historian,* Available from http://history.state.gov/milestones/1961-1968/arab-israeli-war-1967, accessed on 13 December 2013.

26 Rafi Nets-Zehngut, "Israeli Memory of the Palestinian Refugee Problem," *Peace Review: A Journal of Social Justice* 24, no. 2 (2012): 188.

divergent views have been able to develop within the country and have even become prominent ideas concerning what Israelis should do concerning their conflict with the Palestinians.[27]

Take, for example, one of the previous views held by a majority of Israelis, which was that no Palestinians were expelled from their homes or lands during the 1948 war with the Arab states. The view of Palestinians has been very different, and there are many conflicting accounts of what actually took place. The Palestinians want to return to their lands, and the issue has been a major sticking point in the numerous peace processes that have been attempted during the last half-century. The Palestinians want to return to the homes they left during the 1948 war. Israelis previously had been unwilling to budge on this issue because they had been led to believe by the power structures in their country, through official narratives, that their people had done nothing wrong and that the Palestinians had abandoned the property under no duress whatsoever. The Israelis had merely filled the gap.[28]

This view however, is changing. A representative public opinion survey of Israeli citizens conducted in 2008 found that more Israelis now discount the popular narratives they have historically been provided through official sources, and more commonly believe the 'critical narratives' now prominent in Israel that Palestinians actually were expelled in 1948 during the war. This enhances prospects for peace because it gives Israeli leaders the ability to negotiate on an issue which had previously been politically off-limits.[29] Since many Israelis now believe the Palestinians may in fact have been dealt with unjustly in 1948 in regard to their lands, the Israeli people have become more willing to compromise on the issue, which creates the ability for Israeli leaders to do so as well.

The 'critical narratives' mentioned above began developing in Israel in the mid-1970s through the 1990s. During this time, the newspaper and television media became privately-owned and operated, and the main threats to Israel's very existence

27 Ibid, 190.
28 Ibid, 188-189.
29 Ibid, 191.

had essentially been resolved, with the exception of Iran. This has led to the dissemination of new ideas and a change in the psychological attitudes of the Israelis with respect to the Palestinians and what the Palestinian people are experiencing at the hands of the Israeli government.[30]

Peace talks between the Palestinians and Israelis resumed on August 14, 2013. [31] Shortly after the resumption of peace talks between the two sides however, Israeli security forces killed three Palestinians and wounded 19 others when they entered the West Bank on August 26, 2013 to detain a terror operative. This operation was interrupted when the Israeli soldiers encountered a violent crowd of Palestinians. The confrontation took place after Israeli security forces arrested the suspect they had been looking for to begin with.[32] On September 6, 2013, a Palestinian man living in the West Bank was ordered by the Israelis to either demolish his home or pay for the demolition out of his own pocked in order to make way for Israeli settlers. He ultimately was ordered to do this by an Israeli court.[33] Numerous other examples of such instances continue to be reported in the West Bank, which diminishes prospects of a viable peace agreement.

As of September 4, 2013, Palestinian officials were claiming that the peace talks appeared to be going nowhere. From the Palestinian point of view, the Israelis were and still are negotiating in bad faith. The Palestinians ultimately want to have their own state, and the land the Israelis are settling on is land the Palestinians envision as a part of their future state. Since the Israelis are very well aware of this fact, Palestinians view the settlement activity as a sign that Israelis are not actually serious about negotiating. They feel the Israelis are only trying to buy

30 Ibid, 192.

31 Wroughton, "Kerry Warns Israel of Troubles Ahead if Peace Talks Fail." n. p.

32 "Palestinians Killed in Clashes with Israeli Police," BBC News, 26 August 2013, Available from http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-middle-east-23839675, accessed 1 February 2014.

33 "Israel Forces Palestinian to Demolish his Own House in Al-Quds," Palestine News Network, 6 September 2013, Available from http://english.pnn.ps/index.php/politics/5624-israel-forces-palestinian-to-demolish-his-house-in-al-quds, accessed 1 February 2014.

time to cement their presence in the West Bank and in East Jerusalem, which will make it much harder for the Palestinians to reclaim that which has been taken.[34] Not only have the Israelis not halted settlement activity since the beginning of current negotiations, they have actually accelerated the construction of settlements, which adds credibility to the argument that the Israelis are negotiating in bad faith.[35]

On September 9, 2013, U. S. Secretary of State John Kerry met with both Israeli and Palestinian leaders in London to get an idea of the position each side was taking in regard to creating a separate and sovereign Palestinian state.[36] Palestinian frustration appeared to be growing shortly after the conversations Kerry had with leaders from both sides. This is because the U.S. Envoy assigned to participate in the negotiations was being excluded from the meetings by the Israelis, which the Palestinians viewed as being obstructionist to any form of constructive negotiations.[37]

There are however, a number of reasons to be optimistic about the potential current peace negotiations have over those of the past. In addition to that which has been discussed above, Alan Elsner reports there is a much better groundwork now than there has been in the past. There is more time to facilitate a lasting agreement between the two sides, the cost of not reaching an agreement will be greater than it has ever been, President Abbas is 78 years old and wants to leave a legacy behind, Israeli

34 "Talks with Israel Going Nowhere," The Daily Star, 5 September 2013, Available from http://www.dailystar.com.lb/News/Middle-East/2013/Sep-05/230027-talks-with-israel-going-nowhere-senior-palestinian.ashx#axzz2dxvvCpUD, accessed 1 February 2014.

35 Murray, "As Kerry Talks Peace, Israeli Settlers Dispossess Palestinians," n. p.

36 Stuart Winer, "Kerry, Abbas Meet in London to Review Peace Efforts," The Times of Israel, 9 September 2013, Available from http://www.timesofisrael.com/kerry-abbas-meet-in-london-to-review-peace-efforts/, accessed 1 February 2014.

37 Daoud Kuttab, "Palestinians Frustrated as Israel Stalls Peace Talks," Al-Monitor, 11 September 2013, Available from http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/09/palestinian-israel-talks-stalled.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu is facing political pressure to reach an agreement, Arab states are now willing to help in the process, and U.S. Secretary of State John Kerry appears committed to making an agreement a very important issue.[38]

The Palestinians have made it abundantly clear what they want out of the current peace talks; a Palestinian state. The Israelis need to decide what it is they want if an agreement is to be reached.[39] It is not just the Israelis, however, who are doing things to sour relations between the two sides. Both sides are engaging in activities which threaten a desirable outcome to the negotiations. On September 23, 2013, it was reported that two Israelis were killed in separate attacks perpetrated by Palestinians in the West Bank.[40] So far, both sides appear to be committed to talking despite the various isolated incidents which often happen between the two peoples. Palestinian President Mahmoud Abbas says he is seeking a "final agreement" to end the conflict.[41]

European nations also appear to be ramping up their support of the Palestinians' cause.[42] On November 18, 2013 French

38 Alan Elsner, "Seven Reasons to be Optimistic about Israeli-Palestinian Peace Talks," The Christian Science Monitor, Available from http://www.csmonitor.com/Commentary/Opinion/2013/0912/7-reasons-to-be-optimistic-about-Israeli-Palestinian-peace-talks/Better-groundwork, accessed 1 February 2014.

39 Stephen Cohen, "Prospects for Mideast Peace," New York Times, 19 September 2013, Available from http://www.nytimes.com/2013/09/20/opinion/prospects-for-mideast-peace.html?_r=0, accessed 1 February 2014.

40 William Booth and Ruth Eglash, "Some Israeli Leaders Question Peace Talks with Palestinians after Weekend Attacks," Washington Post, 22 September 2013, Available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/middle_east/israeli-leaders-question-peace-accord-with-palestinians-after-soldiers-death/2013/09/22/aabcaf7c-2382-11e3-ad0d-b7c8d2a594b9_story.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

41 Wroughton, "Kerry Warns Israel of Troubles Ahead if Peace Talks Fail." n. p

42 Anne Gearan, "At U.N., Palestinian leader Abbas criticizes Israel, but Pledges good faith in peace talks," Washington Post, 26 September 2013, Available from http://www.washingtonpost.com/world/national-security/at-un-palestinian-leader-abbas-criticizes-israel-but-pledges-good-faith-in-peace-talks/2013/09/26/4767d2ee-26ed-11e3-9372-92606241ae9c_story.html,

President Francois Hollande made the position of France very clear regarding Israeli settlement activity in the West Bank. He stated emphatically that he, and the French government, want Jewish settlement activity in the West Bank territory to be halted. He demanded that Israel stop building settlements on land in the West Bank which it seized during the 1967 Six-Day War against the Arabs, because such activity compromises any prospects for peace.[43]

Vitens, which is a Danish water company, also recently cut ties with Merkot, Israel's national water carrier. This severance was as a result of the continued settlement activity by Israel's government in the West Bank.[44] Since the resumption of peace talks in July 2013, Israel's acceleration of the pace of its settlement activity has sparked increased and vocal international criticism of the practice, as well as action, such as that recently taken by Vitens.

Many prominent world leaders, including Israeli leaders, have argued the necessity of reaching a two-state solution to the impasse regarding the current territorial conflict the Israelis are involved in with the Palestinians.[45] No solution can be reached however, unless Israeli settlements are not only stopped, but in many cases removed from where they are currently located. It would be virtually impossible for Palestinian leadership to have the political ability to negotiate a meaningful peace agreement if the Israelis continue building settlements on land the Palestinians view as belonging to them; the practice undermines the legitimacy of Palestinian leaders because it contributes to the

accessed 1 February 2014.

43 Ben Armbruster, "French President Says Israeli Settlement Activity 'Compromises the Two-State Solution,'" Think Progress, 18 November 2013, Available from http://news.yahoo.com/france-urges-full-complete-halt-settlement-hollande-111203077.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

44 Amira Hass and Barak Ravid, "Dutch water giant severs ties with Israeli water company due to settlements," Haaretz, 10 December, 2013, Available from http://abcnews.go.com/International/wireStory/israel-slams-dutch-company-cutting-water-ties-21175036, accessed 1 February 2014.

45 Armbruster, , "French President Says Israeli Settlement Activity 'Compromises the Two-State Solution," n. p.

perception that they are unable to protect their citizens from Israeli settlers.[46]

Israeli leaders have time and time again cited the Palestinian leadership's refusal to recognize their country as a Jewish state as one of the factors inhibiting peace between the two sides. Without a peace agreement that contains a two-state solution however, the Palestinian leadership will very likely never recognize Israel as a Jewish state. Israel is a democracy with a sizable Arab minority, and recognition of Israel as a 'Jewish' state could effectively deprive non-Jews of rights enjoyed by the Jewish population within Israel.[47] On the same note however, if the Palestinians are ever to have a state of their own, in which their rights are recognized and respected by Israel, they must afford Israelis the same respect of recognizing their state as Jewish, so the rights of Israel's Jewish population can also be preserved.[48]

Essentially, any peace must include both a recognition on the part of the Palestinians that Israel is a Jewish state and a recognition by the Israelis of a Palestinian national state. This is easier said than done however, since sizable minorities of each nationality live in the territory of the other.

In order for a two-state solution to be reached, both sides will undoubtedly be required to give up some of what they feel belongs to them. The violence and other acts committed by both sides against the other have resulted in a perpetual and emotionally-charged conflict. Ideological sentiments and rhetoric have added to the turmoil. Recent developments seem to have created an atmosphere in which these problems might be overcome through negotiation and compromise involving the right actors. Ultimately, reaching a lasting peace agree-

46 Alon Ben-Meir, "The Settlements: Israel's Albatross," The World Post, 14 November 2013, Available from http://www.huffingtonpost.com/alon-benmeir/the-settlements-israels-a_b_4276317.html, accessed 1 February 2014.

47 Zvi Hauser, "Peace Demands Palestinians Recognize Israel as Jewish State," Al Monitor, 28 October 2013, Available from http://www.al-monitor.com/pulse/originals/2013/10/zvi-hauser-opinion-nabeel-kassis-jewish-state-palestine.html#, accessed 1 February 2014.

48 Ibid, n. p.

ment resulting in a two-state solution to this problem is in the interests of both the Palestinians and the Israelis.

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Utah's Mineral Prosperity

Kyle Carter

Utah is an extremely geologically diverse region with numerous natural resources; the chaotic tectonic history of the region has created vast deposits of mineral wealth. From the salt deposits of Salt Lake and the coal seams in Carbon County, to the precious metal deposits across the state, Utah is truly rich with economic potential. The discussion of the various regions and minerals mined throughout Utah and their economic importance is significant to the history of the state.

Before mining began in Utah, the native peoples of the region were mostly hunter-gatherers and only harvested surface rocks for use as tools. Mining in Utah began shortly after the arrival of Mormon settlers in the region in 1847.. When the Mormons first entered the Salt Lake Valley the first mining opportunity became obvious to them. The enormous deposits of salt in the evaporation basins made collecting and refining this valuable substance easy. The Great Salt Lake is the remnant of an ancient ocean which was closed off by drifting continents to become Lake Bonneville. Over the ages this lake drained and

evaporated into the body of water that dominates northern Utah today.

The salt from the Great Salt Lake was first used for food preservation; however, the varying lake level made the production of culinary salt a difficult process. When the Mormons first entered Salt Lake Valley, the lake's water level was lowand exposed a large amount of high quality salt crystals. Unfortunately, when the lake level rose the salt deposits dissolved in the water and became impossible to use without proper evaporation methods. Evaporating ponds were created by cutting off sections of the lake with dikes and allowing these sections to fully evaporate. Some of these ponds still exist today and fulfill the same duties they did over a century ago. A problem many early salt miners encountered with the salt from Salt Lake was the large numbers of undesired chemicals it contained, such as potassium and magnesium which made the salt taste bitter[1]. In order to compete with outside producers of high quality salt, Utah miners developed a complex evaporation system to purify the salt. With the development of other mining operations and the extension of the railroads into Utah, salt mining soon went commercial. Salt is vital to the process by which silver is refined. The process is a complex system of exposing the silver ore to different chemicals.; This process and the abundance of salt in the Great Salt Lake created a major boon for the Mormon settlers.

Beginning in the late 1880s, nearly twenty companies were established to mine salt in Utah. These companies maintained a healthy competition until the merger of Inter-Mountain and Inland Salt Crystal in 1898 when a monopoly was established.[2] The Inland Crystal Salt monopoly was heavily influenced by the LDS church and was aggressive in the suppression of potential rivals. This domination of the salt industry was broken in 1918 when Morton Salt established a plant in Utah. By 1923 Morton Salt began to dominate Inland Crystal Salt until the company

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1 Colleen Whitley,. *From the Ground Up: The History of Mining in Utah*. Utah State University Press, 2006.

2 Ibid.

was purchased by Morton Salt in 1927.[3] This dominance lasted until the formation of the Lake Crystal Salt Company in the late 1940s and a new era of competition began. Since the 1970s various international companies have gained and lost interest in the salt resources of Utah., Modern salt mining is primarily focused on the trace elements in the salt, namely potassium and fertilizer components, which are now much more valuable than salt.

Brigham Young noted that the presence of coal in Utah was the most vital element to self—sufficiency, aside from land and water.. Various small deposits were found early in Utah history and were shipped to the cities for use in heating homes, running steam engines, and producing coke for metal smelting.[4] The primary location for coal mining became Carbon County, so named because of its vast deposits of the useful mineral. Several companies sprang up in the Carbon County area, producing both coal and coke; however, the cost of transportation via wagon proved prohibitive. The coal deposits in central Utah gained the attention of various railroad companies who were looking for fuel sources in the west. Both the Union Pacific and the Denver & Rio Grande Western railroads began to acquire local coal mines to support their operations. Enormous amounts of coal and coke were exported, so much so that the mining companies resorted to forcing their employees to make mining claims and then transfer their titles to the company in order to secure the rights for expansion.

The coal mining boom in Utah was not without consequences. Mining accidents led to the deaths of hundreds of miners. On May 1st, 1900 a huge explosion rocked the Winter Quarters Mine and killed 200 miners. This incident was the worst of its type at the time and led many to question the safety practices of coal companies.[5] A similar tragedy occurred in 1924 at the Castle Gate Mine where 172 miners were killed when a methane pocket caught fire and set off a coal dust explosion. These tragedies created tensions between the miners and the

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
5 Ibid.

mine owners.[6] The mines attracted foreign immigrants who were looking for an opportunity to work. People with mining experience form England, Wales, Finland, Italy, Greece, Austria, the Balkans, China, and Japan created a unique diversity that was absent throughout the rest of Utah. These foreigners worked alongside Mormon farmers, who would move to the coal mines after the fall harvest and work until it was time to plant in the spring. This diversity of laborers proved beneficial to the coal companies because ethnic tensions prevented the miners from uniting and demanding better working conditions.

Despite their differences, miners began to grow discontent with their employers and organized several strikes in the early 1900s. These strikes were short-lived and many who were involved were fired or forced to sign anti-union contracts to retain their employment. The strikes in Utah gained the attention of the United Mine Workers of America, or UMWA, union, which started campaigns to recruit Utah miners into their organization. In 1903, a large strike, supported by the UMWA, broke out across Carbon County. The Utah National Guard and strike breaking groups were brought in to ensure the resumption of work. The miners demanded a 10% pay raise, an end to exurbanite prices at the company store, and the appointment of their own weight man. Ultimately the strike was defeated in 1904 when the coal companies were able to portray the strikers as greedy foreigners; this destroyed public support for the strike and also prevented the LDS church from intervening. Unions remained largely unsuccessful in Utah until the advent of World War I, when demands for coal skyrocketed and many potential laborers joined the military. When WWI finally ended, many miners experienced a 30% reduction in wages. The UMWA along with the National Miners Union organized a strike that restored the wages and ultimately set the stage for the decline of company towns.

Miners began to establish their own cities in the 1930s and residency in the company towns drastically fell. With the decline of the use of steam engines and the replacement of coal with natural gas for cooking and heating, coal companies had to

6 Ibid.

find new customers. As electricity became the new energy source sought after by the country, the coal companies found a new use for their product. Large coal fire power plants were built in the uninhabited regions of Utah; they sold the power they produced across the western United States. The ever-increasing demand for electricity means that coal mining will likely continue to be a lucrative and successful business in Utah for generations to come.

Like Carbon County, Iron County is aptly named -- it contains the largest and most accessible iron deposits in the western United States. In 1850, a group of "Iron Missionaries" were assigned to settle in the area of what is now Parowan to establish an iron mining community. The area also hosted a large coal deposit which was necessary for the refining of iron ore, and a blast furnace was in operation by 1852. Many hardships befell the iron mine. Floods and food shortages left the miners with few resources, while disputes about how to mine and refine the ore most effectively stressed the community to the breaking point. These issues, combined with the Walker War and the Utah War, made the efficient production of iron very difficult. Despite these difficulties and the poverty they brought, the workers of the Iron Mission continued to look for solutions to their iron production problems.

The mines of Iron County finally became successful in the early 1900s when large companies made their entry into the market and brought substantial funds to develop the proper mining infrastructure. Utah iron mines approached their zenith when the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor and dragged the United States into World War II, This created an enormous demand for steel to support the war effort and the mines of Iron County were perfect to supply it. The mines in Iron County sent millions of tons of iron ore to be processed into steel at foundries such as the Geneva Steel Plant in Orem. Geneva and other steel plants contributed greatly to the Allied victory in WWII, but when the war was over, demand for new steel declined. The establishment of modern steel foundries in other countries also contributed to the fall of Geneva Steel. Countries such as Japan could produce steel and flood US markets at a much lower price

than any produced domestically. Large unexploited ore bodies still exist in Iron County, waiting to be mined; however the low cost of imported steel has prevented these iron deposits from being developed for now.

Precious metal mining in Utah has been around since the beginnings of modern settlement. Every pioneer dreamed of finding a gold or silver vein and striking it rich. Prospecting and claim staking were a common occurrence during the mid to late 1800s; the first mining claim in Utah was filed on September 7th 1863 for the Bingham Canyon area.[7] The area was established as the West Mountain Quartz Mining District. Gold and silver veins had been discovered and, despite ridiculous prices for mining equipment, miners flocked to the area. Most of the early mining in the area was done with the sluicing method to obtain precious metals in placer deposits. As these resources dried up, tunnels were dug to access the hydrothermal deposits in the hill sides. Ore was originally hauled out of the canyon by wagon trains, but with the arrival of railroads a branch was extended to the mine for the transportation of ore and machinery in 1873.

Today Bingham Canyon is best known for its large copper production; but this was not always the case. The copper in Bingham is dispersed through a granite pluton with a concentration of just under 3%. It was not economical to extract this metal in the early days of mining. After the easily accessible gold, silver, and lead had been mined out, Colonel Enos A. Wall purchased all 19 claims in the area and began the open pit mine we see today.[8] A new mining technique had been developed by 1900 that made the extraction of copper easier and more economical. The ore would be dissolved in sulfur, then attracted to electrodes to be further refined. Huge smelters were built by the American Smelting and Refining Company and by 1904 the exhaust from these plants was so toxic that local agriculture was destroyed. The courts ordered many of the toxic smelters closed, and newer and more ecological methods were developed to avoid pollution and extract the small amounts of copper more efficiently.

By 1907 steam shovels were in use in Bingham Canyon which

7 Ibid.

8 Ibid.

increased the efficiency of mining and allowed for the expansion of the pit mine. Like many mines in Utah, Bingham attracted a large number of immigrant workers who formed unions and engaged in several strikes. The strikes, combined with a number of disasters ranging from fires to floods, made the Bingham mine a dangerous place through much of the early 1900s. The two World Wars brought great prosperity to the mine when demand for copper became higher than ever before. The discovery of molybdenum also became a great boon for the mine owners because of its excellent properties when alloyed with steel. In the twentieth century, the Kennecott Copper mine has become the largest open pit mine in the world. The mine produces large amounts of copper along with smaller amounts of gold, silver, lead, molybdenum, platinum, palladium, tellurium, selenium, rhenium, and nickel sulfate. There are still substantial amounts of minerals to be extracted and the mine is planned to remain in operation until at least 2028.

Another of Utah's frontiers for precious metal mining was Silver Reef in Washington County. The native Paiute bands in the area had long known of the silver veins in the area and used the ore to create paint pigments. It was this usage which led the Mormon settlers to discover the silver deposits. A silver rush subsequently occurred in southern Utah. Individual prospectors and large corporations pumped vast sums of money into the local economy in their attempts to locate silver. Only moderately sized deposits existed in the area and the boom went to bust over the course of a couple of decades. The impact of this mining activity did not end with the mining bust, as the money that flooded the economy of southern Utah allowed for the expansion of agricultural systems and the settlement of permanent towns.

Smaller mines were developed in other locations, such as Alta and the Cottonwood Canyons. These mines were very successful in their early endeavors to extract silver-lead ore. Many cities, like Park City were founded to support the mining effort in the canyons, but the mineral resources in these areas proved to be limited. By the 1920s much of the rich ore had been removed, and the once prosperous mining towns were at risk of becoming ghost towns. Fortunately, the location of these cities high in

the canyons made them the perfect bases for skiing expeditions and today many of these old mining towns have become tourist resorts; catering to skiers and snowboarders.

The Tintic mining district is famous in Utah for its large number of ghost towns and open mines. The area used to boast many successful mines that extracted gold, silver, copper, and lead. The area first became known for its ore in the late 1860s; the towns of Eureka, Diamond, Silver City, and Mammoth were established shortly thereafter. Mills and smelters were built to extract the precious metals from the ore and by 1880 production was in full swing. Eureka became a fully-fledged town as businesses opened to support miners. Large numbers of immigrants flooded the area and labor unions soon followed. The mines in the Tintic district flourished through the turn of the century with only a few years of reduced production. This all changed with the Great Depression in 1929. The production value of ore in the Tintic district totaled 10.5 million dollars in 1929 and then plummeted to just under 7 million dollars the following year (Notarianni). Between 1929 and 1934 mineral production almost ceased in the Tintic district. An abundance of minerals were left to be mined but the economic downturn left no market for the production of new metals. By the 1940s, many of the mines in the Tintic district closed for good. The towns of Eureka and Mammoth became ghost towns while Diamond and Silver City were abandoned altogether. Today most towns in the Tintic district remain ghost towns, and the US government declared the area a Superfund Site due to the high amounts of lead in the tailings and soil in the area.

The story of uranium mining in Utah is very interesting. Early miners saw the uranium ore as worthless rock, and it was not until the late 1940s that the importance of this rare mineral was known. In 1946, Congress passed the Atomic Energy Act, which replaced the earlier Manhattan Project, for the development of nuclear weapons. Test bombs were prepared and tested in the Pacific and remote areas in the continental United States. The uranium needed for the production of these weapons was in short supply, so the U.S. Government began to explore all areas within the states where uranium ore was present. Substantial

deposits were discovered in the sandstone of southeastern Utah near the present city of Moab and prospectors scoured the area for claims to stake. Two of the most influential were Charlie Steen and Vernon Pick; these uranium prospectors risked their own money in ventures in the scarcely populated and undeveloped Utah wilderness. They took core samples of the sandstone and used Geiger counters to search for radioactivity in the rock. What they found amazed them. The radioactivity of the samples was off the scale. Traffic in the sleepy towns near the claims increased 300% and the water and electricity supply of the area were stretched to the limit.[9] The boom cycle of mining caught up with the uranium miners by the late 1960s; with treaties against nuclear testing and weapon reduction on the rise, the demand for radioactive elements disappeared by the early 1980s.

Health issues soon arose due to the radioactivity of the mines. Hundreds of miners were stricken with radiation poisoning and hundreds more developed lung cancer. Radon levels in the mines were recorded at 4,750 times the safe limit, and the federal government stepped in to research proper safety methods for uranium mining.[10] Safety measures, such as dust suppression and respirators, were developed but cancer rates for miners still remained disturbingly high. The testing of atomic weapons in the Nevada deserts and the subsequent radiation clouds they produced also fell over the area, contributing to the abnormal cancer rates in the area.

The final major mining industry in Utah is oil and natural gas. The first known natural gas well was drilled in 1900 in the Uinta Basin. A natural gas boom soon happened in the area. Just a few years later, oil was discovered in the same area but economic depression prevented these deposits from being exploited for several decades. After World War II limited oil and natural gas drilling became economically feasible in the region. The increase in oil demands in the post-war years had increased the price of oil and domestic producers sought to compete with foreign imports. The oil embargo of 1973 created a surplus of jobs in the domestic oil mining industry and Utah enjoyed its fair

9 Ibid.
10 Ibid.

share of growth. This did not last for long as oil exploration in the Middle East in the 1980s created a surplus of cheap Middle East oil and busted the domestic market once again. With the increasing price of oil in the present, the reserves of oil shale and tar sands in the Uintas have become a potential source of future mining operations.

Utah's long and complex history of mining rivals that of any other Western state. The unique nature of Mormon culture has left its impact on the development of mines by retarding the boom and bust process in favor of a slower and steadier growth. Unlike many states, like California and Nevada, the days of mining are still alive in Utah. With increased demand for energy, coal and oil deposits will continue to be mined, and renewed interest in nuclear power may yet revive uranium mining in the red rock country of Central Utah. Finally, the presence of copper and other, newer elements required for industry, such as beryllium, will secure the financial future of the Beehive State when it comes to mining wealth.

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Planning Operation Overlord

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D-day was a major turning point in the War in the European Theater. It had huge effects for the war and played a major part in the eventual victory of the Allied powers. However, an operation of this caliber took massive amounts of preparation and cooperation between the United States and Britain. D-day is, to this day, the largest amphibious assault ever made and as such the planning and logistics behind this feat are almost beyond comprehension. D-Day, otherwise known as Operation Overlord, was a famous turning point in WWII. It was an unprecedented show of cooperation and planning by the Western Allied Powers. In looking at the commander chosen to lead the operation, the decision on where the assault should take place, when the assault should take place, the planning and preparation, the massive amounts of training, and finally the cooperation involved; it becomes clear that these factors played a huge role in the success of Operation Overlord..

With an operation as massive and daunting as Overlord, the person chosen to be in charge of the operation became of

significant importance. Dwight D. Eisenhower was chosen to be the supreme allied commander and lead Operation Overlord. The decision behind choosing Eisenhower as the person to be over Operation Overlord was made by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The decision was initially made during a Conference in Tehran in 1943 between Roosevelt, Churchill, and Stalin. During the conference discussions took place about the allied forces and when Stalin could expect the United States and Britain to open a second front against the Germans in the West. It was at this conference that Churchill and Roosevelt discussed the preliminary plans for Operation Overlord with Stalin. During the discussion Stalin demanded to know who was going to be in charge of the operation. President Roosevelt replied that a commander had not yet been chosen. Stalin then stated that unless there was a commander chosen he did not believe that the Western Allies were serious about the operation. Roosevelt replied that they would have a decision in a few days' time.[1]

Dwight Eisenhower was not the obvious choice for the job. General George Marshall was initially thought by many to have been the man chosen for the job. However, there were major pressures on Roosevelt to have Marshall remain in Washington as Chief of Staff, where they argued he was extremely effective and of the most use rather than in the field. In the end Roosevelt acquiesced to these arguments and chose Eisenhower as the man to lead Overlord, saying to Marshall: "I didn't feel I could sleep at ease if you were out of Washington."[2]

While Marshall may also have made an excellent choice as the commander for leading Operation Overlord Eisenhower in the end was clearly the better choice. Eisenhower had already had three successful invasions during the war, all of which were joint operations with British forces. He got along well with British leaders and their forces, and maybe most importantly, with General Montgomery, a British general, who had already been chosen as commander of the ground forces in Operation Overlord. All of these factors played a role in the effectiveness of

1 David M. Kennedy, *The American People in World War II Freedom from Fear: Part II.* (Oxford: New York, 1999), 260.

2 Ibid., 262.

Eisenhower, in the successful planning of Overlord, in particular his ability and effectiveness in working with the British.[3]

While the importance of the choosing the commander played a major role in the successful planning of Operation Overlord, another one of the big factors in the success of the invasion was the decision in determining where and when the operation would take place. There were many variables to take into account while making the decision which limited the possible locations for the attack. Some of the requirements that needed to be taken into account were; the site had to be in range of Allied planes based in Britain, it had to have access to or be close to a major port that could be used once the landing had taken place (so they could use it to supply their troops), also they needed to attack in a place where the Atlantic Wall was incomplete so the German defenses would be weaker, and finally the beaches needed to be suitable for prolonged use and unloading of material.[4]

Possible locations considered in for the assault were locations on the Mediterranean coast but they proved to be too far away from the ultimate objective of the Rhine and the industrial heart of Germany. Holland and Belgium regions had excellent ports, but were too heavily defended and too close to Germany and were susceptible to German air attacks. The coast of Pas-de Calais was the ideal location for the assault, except for the fact that it was the most obvious location and the Germans had it heavily defended. In the end it was decided upon that the assault would take place on the beaches of Normandy.

Normandy was ultimately chosen because the port of Caen was close and could be captured quickly. There was an airfield just outside of Caen that could also be captured in the initial assault. Also Caen's strategic location would cut of the railroad and highway from Paris isolating the Cotentin Peninsula, where the beaches of Normandy were located, and put the invaders in a favorable position. An additional advantage was that Cotentin Peninsula protected the area from the worst Atlantic Storms.[5]

3 Stephen E Ambrose, *D-Day June 6, 1944: The Climactic Battle of World War II.* (Simon and Schuster: New York, 1994) 65-66.

4 Ibid., 71-72

5 Ibid., 73

However, it is possible that the greatest advantage gained by choosing the Beaches of Normandy as the invasion site was the element of surprise that could be achieved by attacking there. Another advantage was, the possibility they had in making the Germans think it was a feint attack and trying to get them to draw armor away from Pas-de-Calais. In order to make sure that the attack at Normandy would come as a surprise and to instill the notion that it was a feint attack, a plan and operation of deception was put into effect. The plan was code named Fortitude. The idea behind Fortitude was to try to trick Hitler and the Germans into thinking that the invasion was going to happen somewhere other than Normandy. So that when the actual invasion came they would believe that it was just a feint trying to draw their forces away from where the real invasion would take place.[6]

In the end, the choice of Normandy as the location for the invasion played a factor in the success of Operation Overlord. It may not have been the most convenient location to attack but the preparations made before the actual invasion, such as Operation Fortitude and the Transportation Plan, made the decision to stage invasion at Normandy an excellent one. It can be argued that the invasion of France would not have had the same level of success if the plan had taken place anywhere else.

After making the preliminary decision for the attack to take place on the beaches of Normandy, the actual date and time of the attack needed to be determined. Obviously the first factor taken into account on the exact date the attack was to take place was the preparedness of the troops and to ensure that the plan and operation details were in place. Once all details had been completed, setting the date for the operation was much more complicated than it seemed. Some of the many problems faced in determining the launch of the invasion were the need for calm seas and relatively good visibility, the need of late rising moon for airborne forces to be able to complete their portions of the assault, and a low tide just after dawn so that the amphibious invasion would be able to land successfully. The last two conditions would be met on the days of June 5th, 6th, and 7th of the

6 Ibid.

month of June in 1944. As such, the initial date set for D-Day was the 5th of June, but due to stormy weather the invasion was delayed until the weather improved slightly. Eisenhower gave the order for the invasion to begin at dawn on June 6th 1944.[7]

Another major factor of the success of the operation was that when the invasion was launched, a large majority of the German leaders and generals were on leave away from the front. Due to the bad weather, General Hammel had left the front to celebrate his wife's birthday. He thought there was no chance for the assault to take place in the next few days. In addition, a number of other German leaders and Generals had left the Atlantic coast. They left to participate in military exercises designed to simulate and prepare them for an upcoming invasion. Ironically, the same invasion they were preparing for would take place during this time.[8] While, obviously, this was something that was planned, the decision and timing of the attack could not come at a more ideal time. The attack would catch the Germans as woefully unprepared as they possibly could be.

The timing of the attack was a major part of the invasion and the date on which Eisenhower choose it could not have been more ideal. Deciding when the Operation and D-day should take place was more complicated than many would assume and it played a much bigger role in the planning, and eventual success, of Operation Overlord.

While the date and place of the invasion carried major importance, one of the biggest, and probably most time consuming, factors of the invasion took place during the planning and preparation for the operation. During the planning for the operation, Eisenhower said, "This operation is not being planned with any alternatives. This operation is planned as a victory, and that's the way it is going to be. We're going to go down there, and we're throwing everything we have into it, and we're going to make it a success."[9] The planning for Operation Overlord was extensive and in depth. As Eisenhower had stated every effort was "thrown"

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7 Michael J. Lyons, *World War II: A Short History.* (Prentice Hall: New Jersey, 2010) 249.

8 Ibid., *250.*

9 Ambrose, *D-Day June 6,1944,* 107.

into it. However, the initial outline for the plan was made even before Eisenhower was chosen as Supreme Allied Commander. The outline for the cross-channel invasion that would become known as Operation Overlord started back in the early part of 1943, in what was known as the COSSAC plan.

When Eisenhower was chosen as the Supreme Allied Commander in charge of Operation Overlord, he was presented with the outlined COSSAC plan. After looking over the initial plan, Eisenhower and his advisors made some extensive and critical changes. The main change that was made was the size and scope of the invasion force. The COSSAC plan originally called for a three divisional attack. In Eisenhower's opinion, this was a huge weakness and the attack force was much too small if they expected this assault to be successful. In Eisenhower's revised plan, he called for a five divisional assault.. In addition, another change was introduced by General Montgomery. He proposed the landing of airborne troops on both flanks of the assault in order to prevent any interference with the amphibious landing at a time when they would be most vulnerable. This change would prove to be invaluable and instrumental in the success of D-Day[10]

However, not all these changes went unopposed. In response to Eisenhower's insistence on the size increase of the invasion force used for Overlord, the question arose regarding where the extra troops would be obtained from. In order to procure troops, supplies were diverted from Overlords supporting operation code-named Anvil. Anvil was supposed to be a supporting operation that had troops landing and invading Southern France. As a result of making Overlord a bigger operation, Anvil, after much debate, would be significantly reduced and delayed.[11] In addition, Marshall challenged the decided use of the airborne troops. He wanted the airborne troops to be dropped deeper inland to essentially create another front instead of acting in supporting roles during the landing and preventing German reinforcements and interference with the Normandy landings. Eisenhower sided with Montgomery's suggested use of the air troops and overruled Marshall's, arguing that the troops would

10 Carlo D'este, *Decision in Normandy.* (Harper Perennial: New York, 1991) 64-65.

11 Kennedy, *The American People*, 274.

lack mobility and they would be nearly impossible to supply which rendered them ineffective in the role he proposed. In the end, all differences were resolved and after months of planning, they were ready for Operation Overlord.[12]

In addition to all of the months of planning, there were obviously many months of training as well. This kind of operation not only needs excellent planning but also precision in its execution, which is only obtained through training. Eisenhower was determined that this operation would be successful and that the troops would be well trained and prepared for war, unlike they had been in North Africa and other theatres. Following the events in North Africa, Eisenhower implemented a rule saying, "From now on I am going to make it a fixed rule that no unit from the time it reaches this theater until this war is won will ever stop training."[13] This rule was enforced and from the time American troops reached England in 1943 until the day of the invasion, they were training for the eventual cross-channel invasion.

Determined to make sure that the men would be prepared for the eventual invasion and the actual stress of war, the emphasis was to make training as realistic and stressful as possible. Not only were they given weapons training and physical conditioning, they were put into situations and exercises that replicated what the invasion would be like from disembarking from the amphibious craft to the placement of buildings and terrain on the beaches. One soldier Sgt. Tom Plumb from Canada recorded the actual invasion, "It was identical to the beach we had been training on in Inverness, Scotland, right down to the exact location of pillboxes."[14] Many of these exercises were undergone at the Assault Training Center in England, which was run by Col. Paul W. Thompson. Nearly all U.S. troops earmarked for the Overlord assault went through some kind of training at the facility.

However, not all training operations went smoothly. One such training disaster case was Operation Tiger. During the operation miscommunication and missed schedules resulted in

12 Mark Perry, *Partners in Command.* (The Penguin Press: New York, 2007) 271.

13 Ambrose, *D-Day June 6, 1944*, 130.

14 Ibid., 136.

craft arriving late and during the operation, two German E-boats got past the British blockade and sank two landing craft and damaged multiple others. This resulted in the death of 749 men and injured 300 more. While Operation Tiger was a disaster, some critical lessons were learned that day that ultimately would save lives and aid with the operation on D-Day. Two critical issues were fixed as a result of Operation Tiger. The first being after the operation, it was realized that the men were not being taught how to use their life preservers. Secondly, that the British were operating on a different radio wavelength than the Americans which had led to a critical breakdown in miscommunication. Both of these issues were addressed and fixed quickly following the operation.[15]

The casualties that occurred during Operation Tiger were not the only casualties that occurred during the training. The use of live ammunition and night operations lead to other casualties during training. The purpose of the intense training and the use of live ammunition, as stated before, were to try to prepare the troops for the realities of combat and to make them believe that combat could not be worse than training. Therefore, they were able to look forward to the live combat situation and increase their commitment to the battle.

The training involved with Overlord was long and intensive. It can be argued that it played a huge role in the eventual success of the Operation. Eisenhower's commitment to the continual training of the troops prepared them as well as presented them with the eventual realities of combat and war. In addition, while the Allied troops were undergoing intensive training and preparation, the German troops were hardly training at all. The Germans were preparing and improving upon the Atlantic Wall's defenses. While important, these still lead to the German troops becoming soft and anything but prepared to face an invasion. It is clear that the extensive, intense and non-stop training by the allied forces in preparation for the D-Day invasion played a role in the eventual success of the invasion.

Finally one of the most impressive feats of D-Day was the amount of cooperation between the United States and Britain.

15 Ibid., 139.

Pulling off the biggest amphibious assault in history is impressive in and of itself, but when you take into account the fact that this assault was coordinated between two separate countries with relatively impressive results it becomes even more astounding. Often times we see the difficulties that lie in the coordination and planning within a single country's military, but between two countries the difficulties are even more immense.

Eisenhower recognized early on, after he received command as Supreme Allied Commander, the importance of cooperation between the United States and Britain He also realized that this assault would not be possible without full trust and cooperation between the two countries. This is seen early on in his actions while in command of the forces in Africa and the Mediterranean, where he gained a reputation for working well with the British. Eisenhower's emphasis on teamwork and cooperation was essential to the operation and, when contentions and conflicts arose between the two countries, it was his attitude that may have played a role in the successful cooperation between them.[16]

Although the cooperation displayed was impressive, that is not to say that there were not times of conflict and disagreement. One of the first disagreements between the United States and Britain on Operation Overlord was about whether it should take place and ir they should focus their efforts on the Mediterranean campaign instead. Up until the Conference at Tehran in 1943, Churchill and other British leaders initially backed the idea of a cross channel invasion but had since changed positions and hoped to focus more on the campaign in the Mediterranean, the "soft underbelly" of Europe. It wasn't until after the meeting at Tehran, when both Roosevelt and Stalin pushed for the cross-channel invasion, which finally set in stone that a cross channel invasion would happen.

Despite the disagreements and tension that sometimes surfaced during the planning and preparation, these disagreements were overshadowed by the overall sense of cooperation and that was found during the D-Day operation.

In taking a closer look at the planning and preparation that went into Operation Overlord, we see that there were, obviously,

16 Kennedy, *The American People,*n.p

many factors that played a role in its success. The choice of Eisenhower as the commanding officer, deciding on the beaches of Normandy as the location of the assault, picking the ideal time for the attack, choosing a time where all the conditions for the assault were just right, making correct adjustments to the initial plan to ensure better chance of success, the massive amounts and intense training that prepared the troops for the actuality of war and the assault, and, finally, the amount of cooperation that played a role in its success. All of these things clearly played a role in the eventual success of D-Day.

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Nuclear Power and Shippingport, PA

Jay T. Cherry

Jay T. Cherry was born in 1988 in Orem, Utah. His life has taken him far and wide, visiting 43 of the 50 United States along with Mexico. Jay was a diesel cross-country truck driver until his father was diagnosed with liver cancer and passed away 6 months later. He realized, through that experience, that his life left him unattached from friends, family, and with nothing more than acquaintances. He reevaluated his life and decided to come back to Orem to finish his college education. He now studies at UVU as a History Major. He hopes to one day obtain a PHD, but for now he studies Chinese with my history classes and plans to travel to China this summer with UVU's study abroad program.

In 1942, the Fermi Pile Experiment was a success in Chicago which helped to pave the way for large nuclear power plants. Fifteen years later, in December 1957, the first United States Commercial Nuclear Power Plant was operational just off the Ohio River in Pennsylvania in a little town called Shippingport. .[1] The understanding of the growth of nuclear power in those 15 years are important in the understanding of nuclear power and its growth in the United States through a discussion of the pure facts that are available, attempts to glimpse into the minds of people working in nuclear power, a discussion of American's views of a new power source and how at people viewed nuclear power's potential.

Richard G. Hewlett wrote, "On December 2, 1942, Enrico Fermi stood in the racquets court under the old West Stands of Stagg Field at the University of Chicago and directed the experiment. . . Finally, at 3:25 p.m. Fermi declared the chain reaction

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1 Richard G. Hewlett, "Pioneering on Nuclear Frontiers: Two Early Landmarks in Reactor Technology." *Technology and Culture* 5 (1964): 512-522.

self-sustaining. . . The December 2 experiment was experienced and even anticipated as an historical event. The 42 persons who witnessed the experiment sensed that they were standing for a moment in the main stream of world history."[2]

  This quote was published in 1964, only 22 years after the experiment. Hewlett felt many would remember that day as the beginning of the nuclear power era.[3] In his article, he mentioned a phone call to the president of Harvard, a phone call that most others don't even mention if they bother to talk about Fermi at all. It seems Fermi's work goes unappreciated and unnoticed in most the world because his experiment proved what most physicists would say they already knew. Due to the success of this experiment, it can be argued that it would have taken additional years or another person to do it before nuclear power was seen as an option to create energy.

  After that fateful night, it would be several years before a larger experiment could be done to test the possibilities of the sustained reaction. As the Second World War raged on the public became aware of nuclear power when the United States dropped the first nuclear bombs on Japan with Germany and Japan surrendering the Second World War ended just in time for the Cold War to start. Now the United Stated had another enemy; shadowy and communist. The communists had stolen secrets and the Soviet Union benefited. When Soviet Russia tested its first nuclear bomb a new race started this one wasn't to end the war or build a bomb but one of technology. The competitors needed to show they had a technological lead that would make them the world's leader without the possibility of being contested.

  The nuclear race turned from bombs to energy. The hope of better and more sustainable energy from nuclear power rather than traditional means, along with improved submarines, made it of vital importance as the Cold War threatened to heat up. During the down year, a man of seeming little importance had been transferred around the United States Navy. He was a slight <u>man but intelligent</u> and trained to lead. He studied nuclear power

2 Ibid., 512.

3 Ibid.

and believed it was then key to the future of the United States Navy. Admiral Rickover climbed the ranks and had been talking of a Nuclear Navy for years and he had worked his way on to the AEC.[4] As things accelerated with nuclear power, Admiral Rickover managed to be involved in most of the nuclear testing while promoting a Nuclear Navy. In 1951, Admiral Rickover received approval for a Nuclear Submarine and counted it as a victory. He pushed forward to test reactors in Idaho and pushed to solve problems to get a submarine operational as soon as possible. Before his submarine project was finished, he pushed to get a Nuclear Carrier which was under construction, but was denied. In the process, it was acknowledged that a land based nuclear power plant was needed to insure that the United States remained ahead of the Soviet Union. Admiral Rickover's carrier's plans were adapted for a land based nuclear reactor which became the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant.[5]

On September 6, 1954, with several nuclear reactors tested and private partners selected after bidding, Dwight D. Eisenhower made a formal announcement and waved a neutron wand in Colorado to start a bulldozer in Shippingport.[6] As construction in Shippingport started, the little town of 400 saw more people than they were used to. The people came to see the nuclear plant and work on it but even with the plant nearby the town grew little i being just outside of Pittsburgh. Most people in the local area enjoyed the increased traffic from the nuclear power plant and hoped they might get a bridge over the nearby river because of the plant.[7] For the local residents little had changed and they had no fear of the nuclear plant. They only saw it as a positive influence if they thought of it at all. This is how most Americans felt as the nuclear power plant was built in Shippingport. The technology was so new that few knew much about it. Little fear

4 William Beaver, *Nuclear Power Goes On-Line: A History of Shippingport* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1990) 1-23.

5 Ibid., 1-23.

6 "A Power Plant Will Start to Rise Today." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, September 6, 1954, pg. 27.

7 Steven M. Spencer, "Atomic Power for American Homes," *Saturday Evening Post* 230 (1958): 32.

existed at a time when people were curious about not knowing what to expect. Some people thought their lights might change color or glow brighter. [8]

The government had headed the fear that might have come up by making Westinghouse Electric Corporation and the Duquesne Light Company the lead in the project. Due to this change, very few questions were directed at the government which left it to these companies to handle the public. In the questions directed at the companies, bombs did not come up and neither did radiation. The focus was on the success and expansion of the company. In reality, this could only be done because no one knew what questions to ask and the companies did not lead anybody to ask the questions. Admiral Rickover, the governments head official, generally disliked the public media at large and only interacted with them if he believed he could be favored by public opinion or received other political favors In the early years, due to the newness of Nuclear Power, the public was curious about nuclear power.[9] The public wanted to beat the Soviet Union due to the spread of anti-communism. The major actions of the multiple Red Scares were finished and people wanted to prove that the United States was better than Soviet Russia. This is demonstrated by the *Pittsburgh Gazette* when they stated, in reference to nuclear power, "Soviet Russia may be winning the first round." [10] In response to the advancement of the Soviets, most people wanted the nuclear power plant to go forward.

Admiral Rickover believed that engineers would make the nuclear power plant a reality faster and better than scientists.. Under his leadership, people were pushed to be solution orientated and to get the plant finished in time. Even with him doing all he could, the construction of the Shippingport Plant <u>fell behind and </u>corrections and adjustments had to be made.

8 Ibid., 32-33, 102-104, 107-109.

9 Beaver, 1-23. "Atomic Power Activities of Westinghouse Large" *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, November 9, 1956, pg. 31. "Atomic Power is Viewed as Added Energy Source." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, March 2, 1955, pg. 18.

10 Russia Leads Industrial Atom Race." *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*, July 11, 1957, pg. 2.

Admiral Rickover's involvement made people want to finish faster without sacrificing quality and the people working on the plant were focused on the completion and getting things done. They addressed issues quickly and directly. They found new solutions and created industry to support the construction of a nuclear power plant. There was little time to think of anything but finishing the plant.[11] As Admiral Rickover drove the plant to completion, he hoped that both he and his team thought of every problem and created a failsafe. The plant came online December 1957 and generated the first United States Commercial Nuclear Energy. With the nuclear power plant operational, many people looked to the future wondering if nuclear energy would or could replace traditional energy sources.

Some of the first people to look at nuclear energy as a replacement to traditional energy sources did so before the plant was even planned. J. R. Dunning was one of these individuals and discussed it as early as 1950. He wrote article called, "The Future of Atomic Energy." He, along with others, attempted to look at nuclear energy as a viable replacement to traditional sources and discussed a variety of issues that never really seem to make it into the main stream of nuclear history or public opinion. Dunning discussed the science of a fast nuclear reactor and a slow nuclear reactor and determined that a slow nuclear reactor is the only viable option for a nuclear power plant. He goes on to say that U-235 would be the best to use in a nuclear reactor which means sending U-238 through an enrichment process. He noted that because of the Manhattan Project, a system to enrich uranium already existed and discussed how much cheaper it could potentially be for power companies to have nuclear reactors in some areas because of higher coal costs. In the end, Dunning concluded that it is unlikely nuclear energy will replace traditional energy sources but will be a viable substitute in some places.[12]

E. W. Morehouse and Theodore Baumeister did the same thing as Dunning in 1955. That is how they start, but by really

11 Beaver, 23-35.

12 J. R. Dunning, "The Future of Atomic Energy," *American Scientist* 38(1950): 60-84.

looking at the possibility it becomes clear that they argued for more research. They cover a lot of information and discussed predictions of what may happen regarding nonrenewable energy resource supplies running out as they continued to be used with the increased demand. They discussed nuclear energy resource supplies and predicted that because so much less fuel is needed for the nuclear power plant, it is likely that the fuel could renew before running out. They also discussed that with new technology; other radioactive elements will probably open up and expand the supply further. They concluded that this is all really just guessing and more experience is needed to really understand the economics of nuclear power, along with whether nuclear energy is viable as a future energy source.[13]

Steven M. Spencer also discussed nuclear energy as a viable source of energy in the future at the end of his article, "Atomic Power for American Homes." Spencer cast a much darker light on nuclear power when he discussed the radioactive waste from the plant only a year after it has been in operation. He discussed the dangers this waste presented and whether or not the waste could be handled if it continues in large quantities.[14] His voice of concern is lost as the Cold War heated up. Nuclear power is one of the primary sources of electrical power even though environmental controversy surrounds it at every turn and public fear has been so bad that nuclear power plants were not able to get permits for more than 25 years. The discussion of nuclear historians is essential to understand the growth of nuclear power in the twentieth century. The opinions and insights of Stephen E. Atkins, William Beaver, Willis L. Shirk Jr., Karen Ferrick-Roman, Conrad M. Ladd, and P. Guinness are analyzed. They are demonstrated the different views of nuclear power and discussed the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant. The primary focus of these historians = will be on the Shippingport Plant and people involved with it; however other aspects must be mentioned to cover the issue.

Stephen E. Atkins wrote a reference book that is extremely

13 E. W. Morehouse and Theodore Baumeister, "How will Atomic Power Affect the Electric Power Industry?" *Land Economics* 31 (1955): 93-107.
14 Spencer, 107-109.

helpful to start to learn about the Shippingport Nuclear (Atomic) Power Plant (Station). Atkins' book is an alphabetical guide to all things nuclear. When Shippingport, PA is looked at, Atkins gives a brief history of the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant. He provided key dates that allowed people to understand what period of history they are looking at, when the first commercial nuclear power plant started operating in the United States. The author explained, in brief, who was involved in getting the Shippingport plant started, so he directed people to Admiral Rickover.[15] Atkins gave a brief summary of Admiral Rickover's life. He summed it up in a few paragraphs and made it clear that Admiral Rickover planned to use the Shippingport project as a test site for his reactor. Rickover then planned to use it as a sounding board for Congress to hear him. Atkins explained that through commercial interests and good connections Admiral Rickover received funding and launched the Nautilus 3 years ahead of completion on the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant, taking the first step towards his dreams of a Nuclear Navy.[16]

It is widely accepted that Admiral Rickover was not only invaluable as far as the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant is concerned but that he is the father of commercial nuclear power plants. Without him, his persistent voice and direct action, it is likely that the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant would have taken several more years or never have been built. William Beaver's article demonstrated a clear bias and focused on a few of the traits that made Admiral Rickover a key player. The article is clear and concise, which made it valuable because we can get a clear view of Admiral Rickover and his involvement in Nuclear Power.[17] Beaver discussed how hard working and motivated Admiral Rickover was in making a Nuclear Navy a reality. Beaver goes talked about how Admiral Rickover waited for the right time to take opportunities he saw. He explained that the Admiral continually nurtured relationships with congressmen so

15 Stephen E. Atkins, *Historical encyclopedia of atomic energy* (Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 2000), 329-330.

16 Ibid., 310.

17 William Beaver, "Admiral Rickover: Lessons for Business Leaders," *Business Forum* 23 (1998): 4-9.

he could get his funding and that he was always focused on his goals even while making relationships. Beaver stated that part of Admiral Rickover's success was because he was a leader that was result orientated but still took his time to know everyone under him and made sure they were up to his standards.[18]

Beaver described how much Admiral Rickover valued well trained people. He explained that his efforts to have a highly trained and excellent staff led to him to create a navy school and helped to develop new nuclear courses for universities. Beaver went on to explain that Admiral Rickover used his people to solve problems in group meetings. He would look for problems and always wanted bad news first because he was solution and results orientated. He wanted no delays so he always tried to head problems off or address them quickly.[19] Through Beaver's business description we can get a clear picture of Admiral Rickover at work . Clearly, Admiral Rickover saw nuclear power as the gateway to the future and wanted to push open the gates himself. Beaver described Admiral Rickover as a hard working problem solver focused on his personal goals.[20] That is what made him so vital to the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant and why it is likely that without Admiral Rickover the plant may have never existed.

Willis L. Shirk gave an overview of nuclear history and discussed how important the Shippingport Plant was in its day. Shirk then compared the Shippingport Plant to the infamous Three Mile Island plant. The relative success of the Shippingport Plant and how it can be used as a model for other plants so they can estimate costs and other aspects before construction was discussed along with how the Shippingport Plant turned into the standard for success. Then Shirk used the Three Mile Island to counter the Shippingport Plant and outlined the dangers of nuclear power. Shirk seemed to close in favor of nuclear power because of Shippingport's success. His review is about the institution or idea of commercial nuclear power and he barely touched on outside opinions while focused on giving dates and facts to

18 Ibid., 4-7.
19 Ibid., 7-9.
20 Ibid., 4-9.

strengthen his argument. Shirk agreed that Admiral Rickover is the father of commercial nuclear power in the United States but pointed out Shippingport was not the first nuclear reactor, or even the first commercial nuclear reactor in the world, just the first commercial nuclear reactor in the United States. In the end Shirk's article discussed nuclear power and gave a small view into the history of nuclear power.[21]

Karen Ferrick-Roman wrote a newspaper article that covered the history of the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant. Ferrick-Roman discussed local individuals that were involved and local sentiment which gave us a view unseen in the other pieces. Ferrick-Roman still touched on the fact that Admiral Rickover was very important to the success of the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant. Ferrick-Roman is also included some short stories and interactions of the Shippingport Plant workers along with a few local residents. Her article showed how excited people there were as the plant was announced and became operational.[22]

Ferrick-Roman explained that people were more curious then scared, at first, and enjoyed the benefits of the nuclear power plant as it brought in more people. Along with increased people taxes, the power plant enabled lower property taxes without reduced services. For years people enjoyed the Shippingport area. Ferrick-Roman continued into and past the 1970s as controversy erupted around Nuclear Power. Unverifiable data hit the media backed by a popular scientist and discussed the crisis for Nuclear Power, which started in the late 1970s. Ferrick-Roman then covered current things that are not relevant to the discussion of the Shippingport and the history of nuclear power. Ferrick-Roman focused on the people, not the industry, unlike the other authors reviewed.[23]

Conrad M. Ladd took a very different approach. He focused

21 Willis L. Shirk Jr., "Atoms for Peace," *Pennsylvania Heritage* 35 (2009): 20-29. (Web Access at http://www.portal.state.pa.us/portal/server.pt/community/history/4569/it_happened_here/471309)

22 Karen Ferrick-Roman, "Atomic Plant Begat New Era 50 Years Ago," *Beaver County Times*, September 12, 2004. Please note Shippingport, PA is about the middle of Beaver County PA along the Ohio River.

23 Ibid.

on electricity in the United States instead of focusing on one specific power plant. Ladd focused on the turbines and their relation to the generation of electricity. Ladd started by giving a brief overview of the history of electric power generation and the amount of power commonly seen coming out of power plants. Ladd also stated that he felt the power industry has been shaped by three things, "cost, technology, and reliability."[24] Ladd then discussed technology, which affected the other two directly. Ladd explained how important turbines are to power generation. He went over the history of them in a matter of fact way and gave dates, facts, and little else. [25]

Ladd then quickly glazed over nuclear power admitting Admiral Rickover was a key figure in the construction of the Shippingport Nuclear Power Plant and was motivated by the dream of a Nuclear Navy. Ladd then jumped to the problems of the 1970s for nuclear power and continued on to the current time. He took more time with other facts and situations that were not relevant to the history of nuclear power or Shippingport. Overall he focused on the technology of turbines more than anything else and only brought up things like nuclear power and coal because they drove the process that made the turbines spin. In the end, his primary focus is the history of electricity and only mentioned nuclear power as a small part of the history of electricity.[26]

P. Guinness took a close look at the Nuclear Power Crisis. He started in the 1970s and picked several highlights of the current problems faced by nuclear power construction and production. Guinness discussed the environmental arguments, construction delays, relegation issues, and legal battles faced by new nuclear power plants. Guinness pointed out that even though he listed legal battles at the time, legal battles were a small part of the delays in the data he showed. He argued that this has likely gone up as more nuclear power plants are built and increased public fear. Even as the electrical power industry faced the facts that their supply of non-renewable fuel sources will run out, they at-

24 Conrad M. Ladd, "Power to the People," *Mechanical Engineering* 122 (2000): 69.

25 Ibid., 68-73.

26 Ibid., 68-75.

tempted to adapt to the nuclear power process which could have more sustainable patterns. Public fear made it increasingly harder to go forward with new nuclear plants.[27] Guinness only briefly discussed how the public's view of nuclear power has changed. His discussion was important because by seeing how nuclear power has changed it shows how much faith people had in the government in the 1950s as nuclear power rose in popularity. Until the 1970s things like nuclear waste, environmental hazards, and the dangers of nuclear power went largely unaddressed as nuclear power began. None of these questions are looked at by other papers because they aren't part of the concern.

There are a variety of ways to approach the history of nuclear power in the United States. To most, Shippingport, PA seems like the place to start but it is not the only place or way to approach nuclear power's history. Ladd would argue that nuclear power is only a small piece to the history of electricity and that it should only exist paired with the overarching picture of that history. Shirk would agree with this but say that it is a large piece not a small one. Guinness and Atkins would make the argument that nuclear power history is unique in its own right and ,although it is tied to the history of electricity, it has faced a greater debate in the public's eye than any other part bringing nuclear power to center stage.

Ferrick-Roman would argue that a close look at each nuclear power plant will have its own unique history because of the people around it and the location. These factors can make a huge difference, just as Admiral Rickover's direct involvement helped insure the success that was experienced with the Shippingport plant. Beaver would argue that there are many aspects of the history of anything and it cannot be simply encompassed in broad statements. Just as Admiral Rickover was important to Shippingport's success he never would have claimed he did it alone or was solely responsible for the plants success. There are many parts to the history of nuclear power and the Shippingport Plant is just a small piece in the longer history of energy in the United States. As these Authors show in the variety of ways they

27 P. Guinness. "Nuclear Power and the American Energy Crisis," *Geography* 64 (1979): 12-16.

approach the history of nuclear power and right now with these there seems to be no or little middle ground. It cannot be denied that Shippingport was important in the history of nuclear power but, in the end, other things managed to overshadow it. Once Shippingport's nuclear power plant was finished, it became a pattern for other nuclear plants in some aspects. Due to high security in relation to everything that had happened in the Cold War, the plant was not used to the extent that it could have been and other plants had problems they needed to work out. It did manage to show that nuclear power could become a viable substitute for traditional sources and proved nuclear energy could work on large scale. In the end, it is impossible to say that the plant lead to the Nuclear Revolution. Many factors were involved and necessary for nuclear power to expand. Even today, nuclear power only supplies 20% of the United States energy. Nuclear power could expand much further and be more widely used but it seems fear from the lowest to the highest levels have helped to slow and for a time managed to stop nuclear expansion. 71 years after Fermi's experiment, nuclear power only makes up a minor part of the energy system of the United States.

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Southern Origins of Liberian Genocide

Brian Simmons

The genocidal conflicts in Liberia represent an interesting case, encompassing not only African history, but American history as well. The African nation was established in 1820 by repatriated African American slaves. They established a government based strongly on that of the United States. The repatriated slaves, though representing a minority, united together in forging a campaign of oppression against the indigenous population of West Africa, lasting more than one hundred and fifty years. The prolonged ethnic conflict between descendants of American slaves and the indigenous Africans was a long story of death and slavery that culminated in the Liberian genocides of the 1980s and 90s. The American form of government, as it was perpetuated by the former slaves who emigrated to Liberia, led to a class structure strongly based on that of the American South, resulting in the subjugation, oppression, and eventual genocide of the indigenous African population. Repatriated slaves, in their attempt to seek freedom and a place to call their own, simply recreated the same system of oppression from which they had

sought to escape in the American South.

Shortly after winning independence from Great Britain, the United States was faced with the dilemma of what to do with the growing community of freed black slaves, as the number of freed blacks had more than tripled from 1790 to1810. Southern slaveholders feared political activism by a vocal freed black community. If a strong freed black presence in the South emerged, the slaves might be inspired by the freedmen to revolt against their oppressive owners so they too might obtain freedom. In the view of Southern plantation owners, freed former slaves were a nuisance, as well as a potential threat, as they were a constant reminder to the slaves of what escape or rebellion might bring them.[1]

The proletarian white class in the North had the attitude that freed blacks represented a threat to their white work force. White laborers feared that an influx of freed blacks, willing to work for lower wages, would take many of the lower paying jobs, thus leaving whites without work. The emancipation of slavery in the North did not necessarily mean the North was anti-slavery.[2]

The House of Representatives met in 1816 to discuss the future role of freed African American slaves in the United States. Speaker of the House and Kentucky Congressman, Henry Clay, suggested the idea of starting a "back to Africa" movement for the former slaves. His idea was to convince freed slaves into accepting exile for the purpose of founding their own colony in West Africa. Emigration of former slaves would solve the problems of both the free North and the slave-owning South. The meeting resulted in the founding of the American Colonization Society (ACS), with branches springing up in all states in the Union.[3] The ACS was founded based on Clay's ideas. Freed slaves were to be voluntarily exiled to a West African colony, with all expenses covered by the ACS. The ACS received enough

1 Gus Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 13.

2 Ibid., 12-13.

3 Clark Andrew Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 31-32.

federal funding to exist as an organization, but failed to secure sufficient government money for a land purchase in West Africa. The movement for African colonization gained momentum as it received funding from activists and philanthropists, rather than federal and state governments. Those who participated in the ACS had various reasons to contribute, but all hoped to achieve the same end through African colonization. The concept of African American relocation, whatever the intent represents an all-encompassing plan with the intent to hopefully remove an ethnic group from the United States, namely freed black slaves. Though enacted entirely through non-violent, peaceful means, the ACS was a direct attack on a group of native born Americans whose ancestors had lived in the New World for generations.[4]

Activists and philanthropists were attracted to the idea of African colonization for many different reasons. Some abolitionists were proponents of colonization, as they felt allowing free slaves to return to their native Africa was the best way to bring a gradual end to slavery. Their reasoning was such that if it was inherently wrong to send slaves to America from Africa, then the proper thing to do was to send them back. If enough force got behind sending blacks back to Africa, the number of outgoing blacks would eventually exceed the number of blacks being born into slavery, thus bringing about a natural termination of slavery.[5]

Those who were pro-slavery saw African colonization as a way to keep their slaves oppressed. If there were no freed slaves existing in Southern towns and cities, then slaves would have no role models to whom they could look for an example of a free life. Black market slave traders saw African colonization as a way to potentially tap into existing African slave trade networks, as it was often the Africans themselves who traded other black slaves to white slave traders. As an added bonus, the indigenous Africans might be more willing to barter at a lower rate with people sharing their same skin color.[6]

4 Marie Tyler-McGraw, *An African Republic: Black & White Virginians in the Making of Liberia*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 4.
5 Clegg, *The Price of Liberty,* 33.
6 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy,* 12-13.

Christians groups representing two extremes favored African colonization. The puritanistic North, in particular, viewed themselves as God's chosen people, both racially and religiously. They liked the idea of a pure white society. A strong black presence was counterproductive to their beliefs of filling the earth with white Puritan children. African colonization offered them a chance to further isolate themselves, avoiding the risk of exogamy with blacks and allowing them to purport religious bigotry.[7]

Christians who were more open to the idea of equality saw African colonization as an opportunity to spread the Word of God into the heart of black Africa. If a colony of Christian African Americans were to be established in West Africa, it would serve as a base for missionary endeavors on the continent. They believed Native Africans would be more willing to accept Christianity from people of their own skin color. Unlike the Puritans, Christians who believed in equality saw African colonization as an opportunity to spread Christianity, rather than purify it.[8]

At the time the ACS was formed, the War of 1812 was fresh in the minds of Americans, causing many of them to seek trade in regions of the world outside of Europe. These people thought colonization in Africa would result in the opening of a vast trade network between the United States and Africa, thus allowing the United States to bypass Europe in gaining economic power. Such a trade arrangement would provide an economic relationship benefitting both white Americans and repatriated freedmen.[9]

Secular enlightened men who viewed themselves as the center of high society saw colonization as a way to rid themselves of African Americans, whom they thought to be barbaric and

7 Andrew T. Judson, et al, "Appeal to the American Colonization Society (March 22, 1833)," published in Fruits of Colonization, 1833. http://www.yale.edu/glc/crandall/07.htm

8 Andrew Foote. "Speach of Rear-Admiral Foote." New York Times, January 27, 1863. http://www.nytimes.com/1863/01/27/news/american-colonization-society.html?pagewanted=1

9 McGraw, *An African Republic,* 7.

uncivilized. Even more barbaric and uncivilized than the African Americans were the indigenous Africans themselves, who were looked at in the same light as Native Americans. Repatriating African American slaves would serve the dual purpose of raising the indigenous Africans to some degree of civility, as well as ridding the United States of her lowest element.[10]

Racists saw colonization as a means to simply get rid of black people without the use of violence. Advocates of equality saw colonization as a way for black people to prove to the world that they were fully capable of establishing a functioning civilization. They saw segregation as the only way for African Americans to achieve a degree of full equality, as they believed the United States would never allow them to fully participate in white society.[11]

The ACS, in trying to gain financial support, demonized blacks when advertising to potential white donors. ACS advertisements to blacks painted a picture of a West African paradise.[12] To many groups of whites, the ACS seemed like a healthy, moderate solution to the question of black removal. Blacks were not stupid and were as familiar with advertisements to potential donors as they were with the advertisements directed at blacks. They viewed colonization as an attempt to banish them from America, a nation they had been born into and helped build. They thought the premise of the ACS to be contradictory to the egalitarian principles on which the United States was founded. Blacks believed they were entitled to participate and take part in the United States, as most of them had been born and raised in the States. To the majority of blacks, colonization represented a ruse attempt to kill off former slaves by sending them into the savage malaria-infested jungles of Africa. The most glaring reason for black opposition to the ACS was the reinforcement of the idea that blacks had no place in the United States.[13]

Despite majority black opposition, the ACS was able

10 Ibid.

11 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 13.

12 "Ho! for Liberia." Daily Courier, July 7, 1854. http://www.in.gov/history/2549. htm.

13 Clegg, *The Price of Liberty*, 34-35.

to persuade around 14,000 freed blacks to relocate to a tract of land purchased in Western Africa. The land surrounding Cape Mesurado was purchased at gunpoint from the indigenous Bassa tribe for about three hundred dollars' worth of non-military goods.[14] The African Americans who made the trek to Liberia were willing to accept whatever measure of freedom they could gather, even if it meant complete disenfranchisement from their native homes in America.[15]

The indigenous Africans were against the idea of colonization, as what they thought to be a temporary sailor camp quickly turned into a blatant foreign intrusion onto their lands. The natives had no concept of land ownership upon making the forced sale to the ACS, as they had a traditional society in which land was distributed communally. Black Americans represented every bit as much a threat to indigenous peoples as marauding Anglos. There were 16 different indigenous tribes in Liberia, most of whom lived in a state of relative peace. It is no surprise they were put off by an armed takeover of their coastal lands and fishing waters.[16]

The repatriated American slaves, who came to be known as Americos, established the capital city of Monrovia, named after U.S. President James Monroe, who had been a vocal advocate of the colonization movement.[17] The Liberian colony offered former slaves an opportunity to build a society opposite the one they had left. They could offer full acceptance and equality to all blacks, something they and their ancestors had craved in America for generations. The Liberian version of America could be a chance right the wrongs committed against blacks by the United States, as well as to avoid making her same mistakes.

The freed slaves who chose to make the exodus to Africa often found themselves disillusioned upon encountering natives. They were surprised to find they had little with which to

14 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 16.

15 David Kazanjian, "The Speculative Freedom of Colonial Liberia," *American Quarterly*, 63, no. 4 (2011): 864.

16 Morten Boas, "Liberia and Sierra Leone--Dead Ringers? The Logic of Neopatrimonial Rule," *Third World Quarterly*, 22, no. 5 (2001): 702.

17 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 13.

identify themselves with their colored "brethren". An Americo who founded a Methodist school described his encounters, "It is something strange to think that these people of Africa are called our ancestors. In my present thinking, if we have any ancestors they could not be like these hostile tribes."[18] The Americo Liberians were ignorant of, and indifferent to, the differences amongst the surrounding indigenous tribes, reflecting an attitude not unlike that of European settlers towards the Native Americans, or towards the slaves they bought/stole from Africa. During the initial phase of settlement, the natives were driven to the peripheries, as the Americos squatted on tribal land. The early Americo settlers were small in number compared to the natives, but had rifles and superior weaponry, often employing brute tactics against natives who were unwilling to comply. United States Navy escorts prevented the Americos from being tossed back into the sea by the natives.[19]

As the Americo freed slaves found no commonalities with indigenous Africa, they recreated the life familiar to them in America. More than a third of the Americo Liberians had come from Virginia, resulting in the creation of family owned plantation system not unlike those they had worked on as slaves in the American South (Appendix 1).[20] The primary difference was that cash crops were sugar cane and coffee, rather than tobacco and cotton. Liberian plantation owners traded freely with the United States, as well as the Dutch and British, who had interests in neighboring Sierra Leone.[21]

The 1819 Slave Trade Act sought to further discourage the slave trade by allowing the crime to be considered piracy at sea, an offence punishable by death.[22] The United States Navy, rather than offering asylum to black market slaves liberated from sea pirates, chose to send them to Liberia to take part in

18 McGraw, *An African Republic*, 142.

19 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 15-16.

20 A Liberian Coffee Plantation at White Plains on the St. Paul's River. Photograph. 1906.

21 McGraw, *An African Republic*, 128-129.

22 Act of 1819, Pub. L. No. 15-77, Stat. 510 (Mar. 3, 1819). http://abolition.nypl. org/content/docs/text/Act_of_1819.pdf.

establishing the American colony in Africa, disregarding the captured slaves' homelands. This demonstrated ignorance on the part of the United States as it assumed, as it did with the Native Americans, that all Africans were the same, disregarding tribal differences. The recaptive slaves, as they were called, added another element of indigenous cultural diversity to Liberia.[23]

Rather than integrating the recaptive slaves into Liberian society as intended by the United States, the Americos immediately subjugated them as a cheap source of slave labor, many of them starving to death as they were not given sufficient sustenance.[24] The inward flow of recaptive slaves into Liberia endured for many years, ceasing with the American Civil War. The United States, in trying to prevent the slave trade, inadvertently provided the Americos with a constant, not to mention free, supply of slave labor. The Americos segregated themselves from the recaptives by referring to them as the "Congoese", despite the fact the recaptives came from many different regions and tribes throughout Africa, not just the Congo Basin. The word "Congoese" quickly gained a negative connotation, with the Americos using the term in the same manner as white people used the word "nigger" in the American South.[25]

As the family-based plantations quickly expanded, the native tribes on the peripheries were killed, driven out, and absorbed into the Congoese labor force. This gave way to a distinct two-class system in Liberia. The Americo upper class, comprised of five percent of the total Liberian population, and the Congoese lower class, formed from the ranks of indigenous Liberians and the recaptive slaves.[26] The Americos, upon initial settlement had the opportunity of creating a truly egalitarian democracy, one in which not only colonizers were given equal status, but native tribes and repatriated slaves as well. The Americos chose instead to perpetuate the very system of brutal inequality from which they had fled in the United States. They

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23 McGraw, *An African Republic*, 133-134.

24 Ibid., 135.

25 Ibid., 133.

26 Morten Boas, "The Liberian Civil War: New War/Old War?," *Global Society*, 19, no. 1 (2005): 76.

allowed themselves to become as bad, if not worse than their Southern slave owners, for the Southerners had a system of racial hierarchy that distinguished between Native Americans and imported African slaves. The Americos made no distinction between indigenous natives and recaptive slaves, all minorities were marginalized equally. The mission of the ACS had failed in that it had not accomplished its aim of deporting African Americans *en masse*, but had unintentionally succeeded in exporting Southern injustice and inequality into Africa.

Liberia was given independence in 1847, as the United States had little economic interest in the country, although freed slaves and recaptives continued to be sent to Liberia until the American Civil War. The Americo Liberians fashioned the Liberian Constitution largely on that of the United States. Although based on liberty and equality, the Liberian constitution allowed for many of the same flaws as the United States Constitution. The most glaring flaw was the banning of the Congoese from the polls.[27] While a strong divide existed between the Americos and Congoese prior to 1847, the disenfranchisement of the Congoese institutionalized the segregation between groups, ensuring future Americo dominance over the indigenous Africans. This put the Congoese into the class of "other" both in name and on paper. The system allowed all political and socio-economic power to be monopolized by the Americos, who comprised a relatively small portion of the population.[28] Liberia was established as a republic more than one hundred years before any other democracy was established in Africa. What might have been a contagious example of representative democracy turned into a tyrannical oligarchy. Had the Americos established a true representative democracy, native tribes might have recognized it as a way to better improve their own societies, voluntarily assimilating the good elements of Western culture. Instead, tribes and recaptives alike lived in fear of Americo brutality. For the Congoese, democracy was something to be feared, not desired.

Liberia was able to remain isolated from African culture due to the Americos viewing themselves as descending from a

27 Ibid., 76.

28 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 17.

superior Western Cultural tradition, rather than African. Liberia had a disinterest in African trade, as the neighboring African tribes were not yet extracting precious resources, therefore offering the Liberians little incentive to interact with neighboring nations. Liberians opted for a mercantilist economy centered around trade with Europe and the United States. American investment in the early 1900's served to further isolate Liberia from the rest of the world. American tire companies invested money in Liberia to promote the growth of rubber trees on Liberian plantations. Liberian plantations switched from growing sugar cane and coffee to producing rubber almost exclusively. Rubber became the primary economic export of Liberia, leading to the country becoming one world's top producers of rubber. The rubber industry served to exaggerate the slave plantation system in Liberia, further widening the rift between the Americos and the Congoese. The Congoese were forced to into doing much more labor worked under worse conditions. Many workers died of hunger and exhaustion; more Congoese were forced to fill the voids.

World War Two saw Liberia become a strong ally of the United States, as Liberia became the United States' primary provider of rubber in meeting war demands. The Liberian economy surged, with all war profits falling into the pockets of the Americos elite. In meeting the demands of the United States war effort, more Congoese laborers were forced onto plantations and more production was demanded. While the war benefitted the Americos greatly, the Congoese suffered worse conditions than they had prior to the war.[29] Liberia maintained a system of government in which the Americos were in power from the 1820s all the way through the 1970s, all the while supported by slave plantations, a system driven by foreign investment and perpetuated by Southern social structure.

The Liberian political system saw some degree of change at the end of World War II as a young charismatic president was voted into office. In seeking broader power, President William Tubman tried to garner support from the Congoese by pushing for a unified Liberia. He thought himself a sort of god-king, hav-

29 Boas, *Dead Ringers*, 703.

ing portraits and statues of himself erected throughout Liberia. President Tubman feared a loss of his power by military coup at the hands of the large army of Congoese underlings. His plan to avoid being deposed was to enfranchise the indigenous population, thus swaying them away from potentially revolting against the ruling Americo class, including himself.[30] Prior to granting Congoese suffrage, Tubman centralized all political power to the executive office, thus rendering the Liberian Senate powerless if a Congoese majority were to be voted into office. Tubman promised to bring members of Congoese tribes into his cabinet, thus diversifying the political body and meeting the interests of the various tribes within the Congoese social class. At best, such appointments were a token gesture, as Tubman appointed Congoese men into powerless offices such as Minister of Tourism and Minister of Sport.[31]

Tubman's policies, while intended to prevent a military coup, served to be the catalyst for a coup. Tubman's rhetoric about equality between the Americos and the Congoese helped the Congoese become more enraged of the injustice under which they and their ancestors had lived for more than a century. Tubman's willingness to take accountability and acknowledge political injustice caused the Congoese to be more willing to speak out when Tubman did not live up to his promises. His equality facade served to further marginalize the Congoese as he, more than any of his Americo predecessors, rewarded obedience to his regime and more harshly punished those who opposed him. Tubman did not hesitate to pre-emptively eliminate perceived political enemies and their families. Tubman was known for having the mutilated bodies of his political enemies put on display in Monrovia, as a means to strike fear into the hearts of those who would speak out against him.[32]

The increase in deplorable conditions for the Congoese, along with mass political killings, served to fuel revolutionary sentiment. Tension spilled over following the sudden death

30 Quentin Outram, "Liberia: Roots and Fruits of the Emergency," *Third World Quarterly*, 20, no. 1 (1999): 164.

31 Liebenow, *Liberia: The Quest for Democracy*, 118-119.

32 Boas, *Dead Ringers*, 704.

of William Tubman in 1971. As Vice President Tolbert took office, elitists among the Americo class waged their own war for economic power. Several years of squabbling amongst the Americos depleted their political power and unity. Tolbert managed to stay in office, but struggled to maintain the same type of order as had President Tubman. Massive riots ensued in 1979 as the Congoese attempted to force Tolbert to resign. Tolbert brutally quelled the riots by publicly executing many of the participants and their families.[33] Tolbert's actions prompted seventeen Congoese NCOs serving in the Liberian army to stage a small, swift, and effective military coup. The group of NCOs and their leader, Samuel Doe, claimed to be of the Krahn indigenous tribe. The soldiers entered Tolbert's executive mansion during the night and murdered twenty-seven people, including President Tolbert, whom they first tortured for several hours[34].

The Congoese population initially celebrated the military coup. One Liberian woman described the scene, "I watched people cheer, 'Tolbert is dead!' and ' Now a man of the soil will lead Liberia!'"[35] Many Americos and their families were killed in the waking hours of the coup, however most were able to flee into neighboring countries using their wealth. It was akin to a giant slave uprising, with all Congoese targeting the Americos. With the Congoese now in power, they had an opportunity to fix the system of tyranny and oppression they had lived under since the early nineteenth century. The failure of the military coup to achieve equality for the Congoese was that Doe established himself as the supreme commander, rather than staging a legitimate democratic election.[36] Doe immediately employed the very scare tactics used by the Americos in an attempt to secure power for himself. Doe rounded up Tolbert's officials and their families and had them publicly executed before a group of journalists. Doe then had the bodies of Tolbert and his cabinet

33 Ibid., 78.

34 Clegg, *The Price of Liberty*, 271.

35 Diane Jordan-Grizzard. "Liberia's Tortured History -- and Happy Ending." CNN Opinion, September 24, 2010. http://www.cnn.com/2010/OPINION/09/24/jordan.grizzard.liberia/index.html?iref=allsearch.

36 Boas, *New War*, 79.

members paraded through the streets of Monrovia, only to be dumped into a swamp on the outskirts of the city. Rather than filling his presidential cabinet with members of the various tribal Congoese subgroups, Doe filled vacant cabinet offices with fellow members of his Krahn tribe, much in the same manner as the Americos had only appointed fellow Americos to positions of power. Doe attempted to separate the Krahn from the Congoese as an ethnic group in order to establish them as the new ruling class, thus causing the Congoese to turn on each other after they had rid themselves of the Americos.[37]

Doe succeeded in causing a rift between different subgroups of Congoese, resulting in a surge of tribalism that had lain dormant since the early years of Liberian colonization. As the Krahn usurped power from the Americos, other tribal subgroups took the opportunity to separate themselves from the Congoese as individual tribal groups, some allying themselves with the Krahn, and others allying against the Krahn. As Liberia plunged into a civil war, pitting tribe against tribe, warlords emerged as commanders and leaders of tribal militia forces, largely composed of child soldiers, while the leaders themselves hid deep within the confines of heavily fortified compounds. Many of these warlords used tribal identities as a platform from which to launch their political and military campaigns. As the military coup escalated past a political conflict and became tribal, fueled by militias composed of civilians, it was members of opposing tribal groups who were targeted, rather than regular army soldiers. Women and children proved easy targets, many of them being raped and burned alive in their homes. The slaughter of innocent civilians was not perpetrated by only one side of the conflict, but by militias on all fronts as thy tried to fill the power vacuum created by Doe's military coup. The question of ethnicity in Liberia had no simple answers. The groups had been intermarrying and living in relative peace with one another for one hundred years, resulting in gradient, rather than distinct, tribal bloodlines. Congoese individuals simply laid claim to any given tribe and its warlord in an effort to pursue their own personal interest or to preserve their own lives. Ethnic groups

37 Clegg, *The Price of Liberty*, 271-272.

were also targeted as a way to bring newly established warlord tribal leaders out of hiding.[38]

Doe was able to put down several military coups by using scorched earth tactics against different tribal ethnic groups. One uprising in particular, led by Thomas Qwiwonkpa, an ethnic Gio, led to Doe retaliating by virtually wiping out the entire Gio ethnic group.[39] In 1989, Charles Taylor, an ethnic Gola, formed a Gola militia force numbering several thousand men. Included in their number were Gio men and boys who had escaped the killings by Doe's forces. Taylor targeted Krahn villages, laying waste to tens of thousands of lives, mostly women and children. Doe retaliated by targeting ethnic Golas, as well as other tribal groups who sympathized with Taylor.[40] As the warlords fought their struggle for power, thousands of civilians were killed, raped, beaten, and displaced.[41] Taylor's forces, led by his second in command, Prince Johnson, eventually stormed Doe's stronghold, where Doe was tortured and executed. Johnson personally oversaw the murder of Samuel Doe. The execution was filmed, reproduced, and distributed.[42]

Taylor stayed in power until he was forced into political exile by Nigerian peacekeeping forces in 2003. Agreeing to take asylum in Nigeria, Taylor was promised he would not be prosecuted for war crimes in Liberia. In April, 2012, Charles Taylor was convicted for crimes against humanity for the smuggling of arms into Sierra Leone. He was the first former head of a state to be tried and convicted in international court since World War Two, but has yet to be punished for his actions in Liberia.[43] Prince Johnson, in recent years, has become a born

38 Outram, "Liberia: Roots and Fruits of the Emergency," 167.

39 Boas, *New War*, 80.

40 Boas, *Dead Ringers*, 709.

41 Danny Hoffman, "The Civilian Target in Sierra Leone and Liberia: Political Power, Military Strategy, and Humanitarian Intervention," *African Affairs* 103, no. 411 (2004): 222.

42 Clegg, 272.

43 Ben Brumfeild. "Charles Taylor Sentenced to 50 Years for War Crimes." CNN, May 31, 2012. http://www.cnn.com/2012/05/30/world/africa/netherlands-taylor-sentencing/index.html?iref=allsearch.
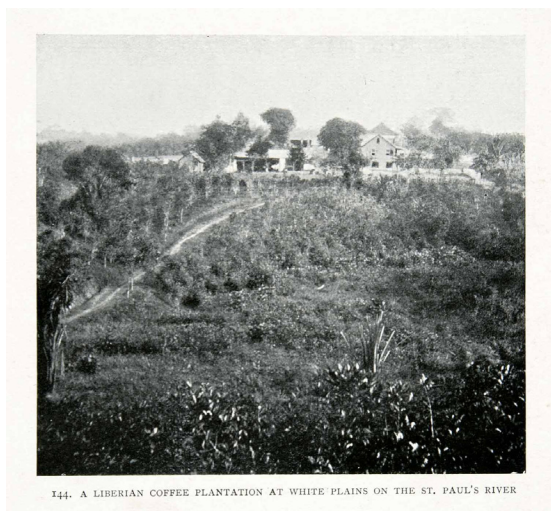
again Christian, claiming he has been forgiven by God and the people for his role in the war. He denied ever torturing or killing anybody, despite film evidence. He said of himself, "That person of General Johnson in the wartime is not the Johnson now. The Johnson now is the diplomat, the senator and pastor. It's wonderful!"[44] The loss of life during the Liberian Civil war amounted to more than 200,000 people, or one tenth of the Liberian population, with another estimated one third mutilated and displaced.[45] Rape was used as weapon by all sides. It is estimated that up to 90% of Liberian women were raped or sexually assaulted during the conflicts. As a an act of initiation, some child soldiers were required to rape their own female family members.[46]

The freedmen who colonized what became Liberia had the option to establish a true egalitarian democracy, free from the racial problems plaguing the United States. What happened instead was a violent ethnic subjugation of a large indigenous population by a very small armed minority. The violent system of slavery, patterned after the American South, lasted for more than one hundred and fifty years, culminating in a tribal war in which the newly liberated Congoese commit genocide against one another in an effort to take control of the traditional master/slave system. Regardless of intent, African colonization stands today as a tragic failure, for in planting the seeds of democracy, the freed slaves also planted the seeds of master and slave, thus becoming the very evil from which they had sought refuge.

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44 Christian Purefoy. "Former Liberian Warlord 'Finds God,' Seeks Presidency ." CNN World, August 5, 2010. http://www.cnn.com/2010/WORLD/africa/08/05/johnson.liberia.religion.index.html?iref=allsearch.

45 Hoffman, 216.

46 Almudena Toral. "Struggling With the Legacy of Rape in Liberia." Time World, April 30, 2012. http://world.time.com/2012/04/30/history-of-violence-struggling-with-the-legacy-of-rape-in-liberia.

144. A LIBERIAN COFFEE PLANTATION AT WHITE PLAINS ON THE ST. PAUL'S RIVER

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Spoiled Zion

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In the spring of 1854, Amos Fielding, William Beardshall, John Clegg, and John Carson and his four brothers erected a small fortification in Cedar Valley, Utah. Called Fort Fairfield, this small fieldstone enclosure was established on the north bank of the Cedar Creek as part of the colonizing effort directed by Brigham Young, leader of the Mormon Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. With just enough space to sustain a handful of families, the fort contained eight adobe apartments and a cistern for storing water from the creek. Completely isolated from all other settlements and surrounded by miles of sagebrush, it appeared that life at this new fort, while difficult, would be quiet and tedious. The next seven years of Fairfield's history, however, proved otherwise.[1]

Not long after Fort Fairfield's completion, a Paiute war party from nearby Rush Valley assaulted the Mormon outpost, killing two of the settlers. The shaken survivors abandoned their settlement and relocated to the safety of

1 Donald R. Moorman, *Camp Floyd and the Mormons: The Utah War* (Salt Lake City, UT: University of Utah Press, 1992), 59-60.

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nearby Cedar Fort, where they remained for three years. When it seemed that the danger had passed, the resilient Saints returned to once again settle Cedar Valley in 1857.[2] Food was scarce, and Elvira Egbert Carson, wife of John Carson, informed her grandson that upon returning to Fairfield, they did not taste bread for three weeks.[3]

Yet the hardships which the Saints had thus far faced while settling Cedar Valley would pale in comparison to upcoming events which would occur in the following three years. In 1858, the United States army would arrive in the valley, and would bring with it droves of murderers, prostitutes, and gamblers. While the army was to establish its outpost, Camp Floyd, just across the creek from Fort Fairfield during the Utah War, these nefarious camp followers would settle themselves among the residents of Fairfield, making it a living hell for the Saints. Moreover, the effects of the unwanted camp followers would not be limited to Cedar Valley. The crime, prostitution, and gambling which could be found in Fairfield during the Utah War would spread, infecting neighboring cities and tempting virtuous Church members. And although the majority of these miscreants would depart with the army in 1860 and 1861, their unscrupulous behaviors and lifestyles would nevertheless have established deep roots in the surrounding communities, particularly in Salt Lake City, in only three years' time. Thus, the establishment of Camp Floyd and the subsequent settlement of camp followers in Fairfield would lead to the end of Mormon cultural hegemony in the Utah Territory, and would result in a deluge of saloons and brothels in Salt Lake City which the Church and political leaders of the city, try as they may, would never have the power to eliminate.

Originally, the settlers of Fairfield expected to receive trouble not from the camp followers, but from the soldiers. Elvira Egbert Carson's grandson recorded that some of the settlers of Cedar Valley chose to leave Fairfield when they heard of General Johnston's forthcoming arrival. The Carson family abandoned

2 Ibid., 60.
3 Elvira Egbert Carson Autobiography, p. 7, 1901, MSS SC 169, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

their fortification and home in exchange for a provisional dugout within the safety of Lehi, a nearby Mormon town. Not long after leaving, however, they were advised to return, and upon so doing found that the army had already been peacefully established. Life in Fairfield appeared to be tolerable, and the initial feelings of anxiety and vulnerability subsided.[4]

This stability, unfortunately, would not last long. According to John Carson's grandson, David, General Johnston wished to warn the Saints of the impending barrage of sin which the camp followers would soon bring. For this purpose, a private audience was conducted between John Carson and General Johnston, the dialogue of which would later be told by John Carson to his grandson. Subsequently, David would record the warning given by Johnston: "Mr. Carson, I have felt since I have been here that you feel like me and my men may harm you...I want to tell you we do not intend to molest you or your people at all, but I do want to say this—whether you know it or not, there is always a rough element that follows an army and they are coming here now...[and] it may be that...you may not be able to keep order."[5]

These words, while they cannot be verified, proved to be true. Almost overnight, the Mormon settlement was flooded with an array of unsavory characters, including "mountaineers, greasers, loafers, thieves, black legs, rum-sellers, large beer brewers, and Lord knows what else."[6] These disagreeable camp followers made Fairfield their temporary home for the duration of the Utah War, and found shelter using the meanest of resources.[7] Their presence made the town an attraction for others with similar values and reputations, and enticed flocks of people from California to come to Cedar Valley.[8] Immediately, the population of the once small, struggling settlement skyrocketed, and Fairfield quickly became the third largest city in the territory with a population

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4 Ibid., 7.
5 David H. Carson, History of the Carson Family, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
6 Charles A. Scott, "Charles A. Scott's Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1861," Edited by Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis, Utah Historical Quarterly 28, no. 2 (April 1860): 176.
7 Travel diary of R. W. Jones, 1 July 1859, Utah State Historical Society.
8 Henry S. Hamilton, Reminiscences of a Veteran (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1897), 110.

said to be over five thousand.[9] As this transformation occurred, the soldiers, settlers, and nearby Mormons began to refer to Fairfield as "Frogtown" and "Dobe Town," for as a correspondent to the Deseret News commented, "...if names, so far as practicable, are given to designate or imply some property or quality of a town or other thing, it must be conceded that *Fair-field* is altogether out of taste."[10]

The front street of Frogtown looked much like a California mining town at its peak of success.[11] Nearly every establishment sold liquor and encouraged gambling, and business owners were never in want of customers. For the business owner with experience in dealing with a rough clientele, there was a great deal of money to be made in Frogtown.[12] However, individuals with little to no experience were in danger of being exploited. Such was the experience of Ebenezer Crouch, the son of a Mormon manager of a Frogtown mercantile business. Like all other stores in Frogtown, liquor could be purchased within Mr. Crouch's franchise. Soldiers from the camp came to his store frequently, although they were often too poor to afford a drink. Therefore, they would steal merchandise while Mr. Crouch's attention was averted and later sell the stolen goods back to Mr. Crouch in exchange for liquor.[13] No doubt Mr. Crouch was cheated out of a great deal of money during his time in Frogtown.

Crime in Frogtown, however, was not simply reserved to petty thievery in Mr. Crouch's store. It ran rampant throughout the entire town, and criminals rarely received any repercussion for their actions. An anonymous observer from Lehi reported to the *Deseret News* that during the twelve hours which he spent in Frogtown, five head of cattle and a watchdog were stolen,

9 Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858-1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1966): 9; Charles A. Scott, "Charles A. Scott's Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1861," Edited by Robert E. Stowers and John M. Ellis, Utah Historical Quarterly 28, no. 2 (April 1960): 176.
10 "Affairs at Camp Floyd," *Deseret News*, 25 April 1860.
11 Scott, "Charles A. Scott's Diary of the Utah Expedition, 1857-1861," 389.
12 Harrington O'Reilly, The Adventures of John Young Nelson as Described to Harrington O'Reilly (Oklahoma: University of Oklahoma Press, 1963), 132.
13 Autobiography of Ebenezer Crouch, MSS 614, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

a store was broken into, and a gambling saloon was robbed.[14] Horse stealing was common in the area, and thieves could get away with heisting entire bands of horses at once.[15] Additional records state that murder was a nightly occurrence.[16] These victims were seldom buried; rather, their bodies were left where the murder occurred. Discovering a dead body on his way to breakfast shocked one visitor to Frogtown so much that he spent the entire day seriously contemplating whether he, too, was prepared for a sudden death.[17]

Justice for these crimes most often came in the form of vigilantism, a fact which Frogtown resident John Young Nelson knew all too well. Nelson had been an extremely successful saloon owner until one evening he observed the workings of a murder while peering into the window of another gambling establishment. The murderers, furious, turned on Nelson, and though he ran as fast as he could, he was aware that one of them was swiftly approaching. Nelson therefore made the decision to defend himself, and after one warning, shot and killed his pursuer. Immediately aware of his actions, he went to his business partner to inform him of what had occurred. Then, without delay, Nelson left Frogtown and his successful saloon behind. This hasty departure was not made because Nelson feared trouble with the law. Rather, it was because he knew that the friends of his victim would certainly attempt to take their revenge.[18] In Frogtown, accidentally taking a wrong step could result in death.

While high risks were involved for all who ran a business in Frogtown, the most dangerous and menial of all occupations was indubitably prostitution. Contraceptive technology available during the nineteenth century included douches, rubber condoms, and womb veils, all of which had a questionable rate of success.[19] In addition, venereal diseases posed a threat to these

14 "Twelve Hours at Camp Floyd," *Deseret News*, 21 December 1859
15 *Valley Tan*, 29 June 1859.
16 Henry S. Hamilton, *Reminiscences of a Veteran* (Concord: Republican Press Association, 1897), 110.
17 Travel diary of R. W. Jones, 3 July 1859, Utah State Historical Society.
18 O'Reilly, *The Adventures of John Young Nelson as Described to Harrington O'Reilly*, 132-133.
19 Jeffrey Nichols, *Prostitution, Polygamy, and Power: Salt Lake City, 1847-1918* (Champaign, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2002), 69.

women, the most common of which were syphilis and gonorrhea. Many of Frogtown's prostitutes lived in deplorable conditions, finding residence in holes in the ground, pens made out of sticks covered with tent cloth, and inadequately small rock houses.[20] While an indiscernible number lived within these makeshift huts, there was at least one large scale house of ill fame in Frogtown. Called the "Love House," it stood two stories tall.[21]

Unfortunately, little is recorded about the lives which these prostitutes led. If they are at all mentioned in journals and diaries, it is often only in a brief or vague reference. One exception to this, however, is the journal of David D. Bowen. Bowen, a Mormon, lived in Fairfield with his wife during the Utah War. He held a wood contract for Johnston's army, and his wife received weekly payment from a nearby woman for keeping and looking after her eleven month old son. One evening, the father of the child came to the Bowens, expressing a desire for them to keep the boy forever, for the mother had "[taken] a bad step."[22] The proper paper work was filled out, and the little boy, Charles, was adopted into the Bowen family. Nevertheless, when the camp followers began to leave at the close of the Utah War, the mother returned, demanding to have her child back so that she might to take him with her to the East Coast. Charles was seized from the Bowens and taken to his birth mother's residence, a house of ill fame.[23] Contrary to her word, she did not make the return trip to the East Coast with Charles. The prostitute had only traveled as far as Provo when she decided to drown her own son in the river. Fortunately, a passerby saved Charles from his mother before any harm could be done, and the boy was later returned to his legal guardians, the Bowens, who raised him as their own.[24] This unique glimpse into the life of a Frogtown prostitute tells a story of desperation and shame, one which the

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20 Travel diary of R. W. Jones, 2 July 1859, Utah State Historical Society.
21 J. W. Phelps Diary, 5 November 1858, MSS 2318 Box 1 Folder 7, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.
22 David D. Bowen, Reminiscence and Journal, 1845-1863, MS 1873, 11 April 1860, Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah.
23 Ibid,, 18 May 1860.
24 Ibid., 24 December 1860.

rest of the city's prostitutes no doubt shared.

Surely, life in Frogtown was not for the faint of heart. The Mormons, who had come to the Utah Territory to escape the evil influences of the world, found life in Cedar Valley to be appalling. As a result, the majority of the Saints abandoned the town which they had worked so hard to establish. While it is unknown precisely how many Mormons lived in Fairfield during the Utah War, the number is estimated to be quite small. Richard F. Burton, a European visitor, wrote that there were very few Mormons living in Cedar Valley, while Horace Greeley went so far as to say that "no Mormons live within this valley nor within sight of it."[25] Undoubtedly Greeley's comment was incorrect, for records provide evidence that at least three Mormon families, the Bowens, Ebenezer Crouch and his father, and the Carsons, lived in Fairfield during the Utah War.

These remaining Mormon families faced many challenges and temptations in Frogtown. They were required, for the first time ever, to shield their children from the wicked influences of the world. Elvira Egbert Carson informed her grandson that they had to work hard to ensure that their children did not associate too closely with the camp followers, and that they had regularly turned down large sums of money offered to them in an attempt to obtain their permission to escort their daughters.[26]

It was not only the Mormons living in Frogtown, however, who had to be diligent in withstanding the temptations which the camp followers had to offer. Latter-day Saints across the territory were aware of Frogtown's wicked reputation, and while some found it appalling, others yielded to its invitation. The camp followers caused many Saints to turn away from the Church, and even persuaded a number of Mormon women in the Territory to join the prostitutes of Frogtown.[27] Other Mor-

25 Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California,* Edited by Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 500; Horace Greeley, *An Overland Journey from New York to San Francisco in the Summer of 1859,* Edited by Charles T. Duncan (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 207.

26 Elvira Egbert Carson Autobiography, 1901, MSS SC 169, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Harold B. Lee Library, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

27 Wilford Woodruff, *Wilford Woodruff's Journal 1833-1898 Typescript*, Edited by Scott G. Kenney, 9 vols., (Midvale, UT: Signature Books, 1984),

mons who managed to maintain their church membership still gave into the temptation of drinking with the camp followers. These behaviors alarmed the leaders of the Church, and they vigorously launched a campaign to keep their members virtuous and unspotted by the world. Wilford Woodruff, then a member of the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles, admonished those in his prayer circle not to interact with the gentiles of Frogtown. He urged the Saints to diligently live their religion, magnify their church callings, and continually pray in order to avoid falling into temptation.[28]

Second to Fairfield, perhaps no other city in the Utah Territory suffered more from the effects of the camp followers than Salt Lake City, the City of the Saints. Members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints had traveled to Utah to gather together and establish Zion, the City of God upon the earth. They were desirous to escape what they considered to be the evil influences of the world, and therefore prostitution and gambling were uncommon in Salt Lake City prior to 1858. Most of the Saints there obeyed what was known as the Word of Wisdom, a piece of revelation given to the Mormon prophet, Joseph Smith, in 1833. It advised the members of the Church to abstain from alcohol, tobacco, and hot drinks, and suggested moderation when eating meat.[29] Such religious beliefs meant that drunkenness was unusual in Salt Lake City and resulted in a clean community. Prior to the federal army's arrival in 1858, visitors to Salt Lake were often impressed by its orderly state.[30] S. N. Carvalho, a Jewish man, recorded that he did not see a single drunken man, gambling house, grog shop, or house of ill fame during his ten week sojourn in Salt Lake City in 1854.[31]

5:215; Charles L. Walker, *Diary of Charles Lowell Walker*, Edited by A. Karl Larson and Katharine Miles Larson 2 vols., (Logan, UT: Utah State University Press, 1980), 1:41

28 *Wilford Woodruff's Journal,* 5: 215.

29 *The Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints* (Salt Lake City, UT: The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1949), Section 89.

30 For examples, see: Jules Remy, *A Jounrney to Great-Salt-Lake City* 2 vols., (New York: AMS Press, 1971), 1:196-199; Franklin Langworthy, *Scenery of the Plains, Mountains, and Mines* (New York: Da Capo Press, 1972), 78.

31 Solomon Nunes Carvalho, *Incidents of Travel and Adventure in the Far West* (New York: American Book-Stratford Press, 1954), 209.

This is not to say that Salt Lake City was completely free of trouble, sin, and vice before the Utah War, nor that the followers of the army should be held completely responsible for introducing prostitution and liquor into Salt Lake society. While Carvalho may not have seen any houses of ill fame during his visit, prostitution did indeed exist on a small scale, although the practice of which was grounds for disfellowship from the Church.[32] In addition, the city contained several businesses wherein alcoholic beverages could be purchased.[33] For whereas the Word of Wisdom was obeyed by many of the Saints, it was not a requirement for church membership. In actuality, it was intended to be neither a "commandment [nor] a constraint," and to disobey it was not considered to be a serious sin; those who partook of alcohol could still get a temple recommend and serve as bishops..[34] While the presence of liquor shops in Salt Lake City concerned the leaders of the Church, their subtle existence did not pose a great threat to the mission of the Saints. In 1852, Ezra T. Benson told the members of the Church that these grog shops could be completely removed if the good and faithful Saints of the city would simply "temporally knock." In other words, Benson felt confident that the men of Salt Lake City could physically force these establishments to close. Those who owned these businesses were warned by Benson that they would not get rich by selling alcoholic beverages in Salt Lake City.[35] Accordingly, prostitution and alcoholic consumption, while their existence cannot be doubted, were nevertheless kept in check by the leaders of the Church during this period.

Beginning in 1858, however, this all changed. A large number of camp followers made their way into Salt Lake City, causing unprecedented amounts of crime, drinking, gambling, and forni-

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32 Edwin Brown Firmage and Richard Collin Mangrum, *Zion in the Courts: A Legal History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, 1830-1900* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1988), 358; J. M. Grant, "Exposing Wickedness Among the Saints—Corrupt Men Threatening the Saints with the United States' Troops…," *Journal of Discourses* 3 (1856): 234.
33 Ezra T. Benson, "Liberty, Reform, Etc.," *Journal of Discourses* 6 (1859): 248-249.
34 Doctrine and Covenants 89:2; Orson Pratt, "Trials of the Saints—Redemption of Zion…The Word of Wisdom," *Journal of Discourses* 3 (1856): 18.
35 Benson, "Liberty, Reform, Etc.," *Journal of Discourses* 6 (1859): 248-249.

cation.[36] All of the influences and behaviors which the Saints had successfully bridled in Salt Lake City now surged uncontrollably through Zion, and the Mormons lamented that the unwanted practices had been brought upon them by the very people who had claimed to be bringing civilization to the Territory.[37] Salt Lake City was transformed, and like Fairfield, it soon came to be known as a violent and unruly community.[38]

Murder was nearly as common in the City of the Saints as it was in Cedar Valley. While Frogtown experienced a murder each day, Salt Lake City witnessed a death almost every week, and as in Frogtown, most of the murderers went unprosecuted.[39] The *Deseret News* claimed that more murders had been committed in the Salt Lake Valley in just eight months than had previously been committed in the entire twelve year history of the county.[40] Unfortunately, there was very little to be done by way of curbing this violence. According to B. H. Roberts, the size of Salt Lake City's police force was increased by two hundred members, making it four times larger than what it had previously been.[41] This effort, if it indeed took place, was highly unsuccessful. Attempts by the police to maintain the peace were met with great resistance, and police riots came to be a weekly occurrence.[42] Therefore, in order to avoid harm, the *Deseret News* recommended that women remain indoors while men limit the number of hours spent outside of the home and restrict themselves to their places of business.[43] No one was safe to walk the streets of Salt Lake City after nightfall. Fortunately for the Saints, this high level of violence would immediately dissipate following the departure of the camp followers in 1860.

Notwithstanding, the grog shops which filled the city as a

36 "The Utah Expedition: Its Causes and Consequences," *Atlantic Monthly*, May 1859, 579.
37 "Progress of Civilization (!)," *Deseret News*, 15 September 1858.
38 "Shooting Affairs," *Valley Tan*, 10 August 1859.
39 "Another Murder," *Valley Tan,* 19 October 1859.
40 *Deseret News,* 20 April 1859.
41 B. H. Roberts, *A Comprehensive History of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints: Century I,* 6 vols., (Salt Lake City, UT: Deseret News Press, 1930), 4:462.
42 For an example, see "Mayor's Court," *Deseret News*, 1 December 1858; *Deseret News,* 24 November 1858.
43 *Deseret News*, 24 November 1858.

result of the camp followers' brief presence would long remain after the army's departure and continue to challenge to Mormon dominance. As previously discussed, prior to 1858, the leaders of the Church were confident that the selling of alcohol could effectively be bridled with little effort on the part of mortal men. However, in 1859, as the Church began to lose a great amount of control over this matter, Erastus T. Snow stated that it would be the very sword of God which would fall upon the wicked and wipe the saloons out.[44] The destruction of these ever increasing saloons was far too great for man to achieve; rather, a higher power was required to perform the deed. Twelve years later in 1872, Brigham Young would essentially concede altogether to the definite and unwavering presence of drinking establishments in Salt Lake City. In an address to the Saints, he would preach temperance rather than the destruction of grog shops by either God or the Saints, and would admit that these establishments could only be removed if the Gentiles inhabiting the city wished it to be so.[45] This loss of authority over what once could be called the City of the Saints began when the followers of Johnston's army advanced into the Salt Lake Valley.

The level of prostitution introduced to Salt Lake City during the Utah War proved to be yet another challenge which the political and religious leaders of the city were not capable of controlling. Interestingly, however, when the first prostitutes from Frogtown appeared in Salt Lake City, a significant number of citizens expressed pity for these new fallen doves, seemingly unaware of the destruction which they would bring upon Zion. In 1858, an anonymous citizen wrote to the *Deseret News* regarding the very first sighting of a prostitute in Salt Lake. Supposing that she had come from Frogtown, the observer noted her pitiable condition, stating that it aroused sympathy of all who witnessed her. The police provided her with friendly council, and she was even admitted into a house.[46] This sympathy, however, did not last long, nor was it shared by all in the community. It soon

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44 Erastus Snow, "The Work of God Among the Nations Effected by the Power and Testimony of His Spirit, and not by the Talents of Men, etc.," *Journal of Discourses* 7 (1860): 130.
45 Brigham Young, "Temperance," *Journal of Discourses* 14 (1872):225.
46 "Painful Incident," *Deseret News,* 24 November 1858.

became clear to the Saints that these prostitutes threatened the virtue of their wives and daughters and posed a great threat to Zion.[47] The city council began to fiercely combat prostitution in 1860, passing an ordinance which would make harboring a prostitute punishable with a fine of one hundred dollars and/or imprisonment for upwards of six months.[48]

Despite these efforts, prostitution sharply increased in Salt Lake City in 1869 with the completion of the transcontinental railroad. By the early 1870s, a red-light district was firmly established on Commercial Street.[49] When Police Chief Pratt was asked in 1895 what method he considered best for controlling prostitution in Salt Lake City, he admitted that prostitution could not be destroyed. Rather, it would be most effective to place all of the women in one locality and there keep them under close surveillance.[50] What had begun in 1858 as a lone prostitute wandering the streets of Salt Lake City at night became a booming stockade business which could and would never be eradicated.

While Salt Lake City would continue to feel the effects of the followers of Johnston's army long after their departure, the town of Fairfield would be left without a trace. Just as quickly as Fairfield had been filled with prostitutes, gamblers, and murderers, it was restored to its original and humble size. When Richard Burton visited Fairfield in the year 1860, he recorded that the town had already become considerably more respectable and only contained approximately one hundred to two hundred men.[51] By the 23 May 1860, the *Deseret News* joyfully announced that the number of undesirable camp followers in Fairfield was half as plentiful as it had been two weeks ago.[52] Only seven days later, a correspondence of the *Deseret News* commented that a visitor to

47 "Notes from a Policeman," *Deseret News,* 24 November 1858.
48 "An Ordinance Relating to the Houses of Ill-Fame and Prostitution," Charter of Great Salt Lake City and Ordinances and Resolutions of the City Council, with Constitution of the United States, and Organic Act of the Territory of Utah (1860), sec. 1.
49 John S. McCormick, "Red Lights in Zion: Salt Lake City's Stockade, 1908-11," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 50, no. 2 (Spring 1982): 170; "To Purge Commercial," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 31 March 1903.
50 "High Officials Assailed, Malignant Attack on the Police Administration, Removal of the Courtesans," *Salt Lake Tribune,* 4 January 1895.
51 Richard F. Burton, *The City of the Saints and Across the Rocky Mountains to California*, Edied by Fawn M. Brodie (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1963), 373.
52 "Moving Off," *Deseret News*, 23 May 1860.

Fairfield would only see a few solitary individuals, and that all of the camp followers, save a few petty thieves and prostitutes, had left.[53] After two years of suffering and affliction, peace was restored once more to the Saints in Fairfield.

Today, only a handful of families live in the formerly bustling town of Fairfield.[54] What was once the epicenter of the Latter-day Saints' greatest challenges and afflictions now is all but forgotten. Yet the historical significance of Frogtown remains great in the history of the state of Utah . Because of this vastly overlooked town and its unusual inhabitants, Mormon cultural hegemony in the Utah Territory was brought to an end, and the lives of the citizens of Utah were forever changed.

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53 "Camp Floyd and its Environs," *The Deseret News*, 6 June 1860.
54 Thomas G. Alexander and Leonard J. Arrington, "Camp in the Sagebrush: Camp Floyd, Utah, 1858-1861," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 34, no. 1 (Winter 1966): 20.

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The Path of Women in Latin America:

From Subsirvient to President

Kori Grose

Kori is currently a senior at Utah Valley University, and is pursuing her degree in History Education. She loves to research how history affected the minority groups; information that you don't find in mainstream history textbooks. She plans on continuing her education and receiving her Master's degree, as well as guiding America's youth to love and appreciate the past.

Research into the lives of Latin American women is a relatively new phenomenon. This is surprising since most "first-world" countries are deeply involved in Latin American politics and society. It was not until the 1980's that the complete lack of equality and respect of women in these areas and their fight against it was really noticed. Latin American women, specifically from Argentina, Peru, Chile and El Salvador were able to change their lives, as well as the lives of other women in the region, from ones who were constantly ignored and disrespected to ones who changed the culture and paradigm of their societies in the late half of the 20th century.

Each country in Latin America had to go through many stages or types of rule to get to a state where women could enhance their lives. With the conquest of Latin America by various European countries, women were forced into servitude, subservience, and silence. When each country gained their independence, the government bodies that took over were typically of the ruling, aristocratic class. The periods of rule and the inevitable

revolutions that followed brought strife, conflict and violence to each individual country. This resulted in macho-istic ideals and patriarchal cultures which socialized women to believe that they were less than men and that their main duty was to be in the home raising their children, especially their daughters, in order to repeat the cycle. Women were expected to teach their daughters their way of life in order to subconsciously train them to have similarly low expectations of her future life. According to Nancy Caro Hollander, in patriarchal culture and the father-centered family, girls see themselves as being like their mother. Boys, on the other hand, are trained in the male culture and end up resenting their mothers, womanhood and all women in society. The boys begin to harbor negative feelings toward representative motherhood, which leads to macho-ism and violent crimes against women in order to exert their manliness and to enforce the lower standing of women in society.

In times of armed conflict these feelings and actions are escalated. Macho-ism turns into acts of extreme violence including torture, rape and murder, while feelings of subservience turn into fear and isolation. Hollander focused her studies mainly in Argentina and the effects of the "Dirty War (A conflict between the government's military and police forces and terrorist/revolutionary Marxist regimes, during which thousands of civilians were killed, abducted or tortured) " on women's lives. Through interviewing Argentine Feminists who became refugees during the war in 1976 she uncovered many psychological consequences of the violent attacks as well as the "disappearing's" of loved ones and themselves. 30% of those who disappeared (abducted without a trace, and often never heard from again) during the Dirty War were women; some of them pregnant. These women were exposed to horrific torture and rape by their abductors. Those who survived, as well as those who had family members abducted, were often raped in their homes and had Post Traumatic Stress Disorder as a result. Post Traumatic Stress Disorder caused them to trust no one and resulted to self-preservation mentality expressed through isolation and silence. Many came to believe that they somehow deserved the punishment and their captors became their way to salvation for their crimes.

These acts of violence exacerbated the differences between men and women. Gender roles and thus experiences were reinforced, male-dominant institutions were strengthened and misogynist ideologies were intensified. This resulted in an increase in discrepancies between the female and male emotional states and interpersonal behavior This deepened expectations of the roles for women and men, as well as what each group could expect from their lives. Women expected to be domineered by men, who held all of the power.. This fact is further verified by Robin Kirk's work in Peru.

During Peru's 12 year internal war, which began with the government fighting off guerrilla groups and escalated to both sides committing horrendous violations against human rights, women were targets of sustained brutal violence by both the elected government and guerrilla groups (Shining Path and MRTA). Many women were often brutalized and raped by each side for supposedly being sympathetic towards the "enemy". These attacks were most often inflicted by army officers who then often received rank promotions. Few women were able to bravely come forward and charge the officer with a crime and even fewer officers were convicted. In fact, until 1991, rape was considered a crime against honor and not a woman's body. In order to get a conviction, a woman had to prove that she was honorable. If it was found that she was not a virgin, the case was often thrown out, a direct violation of the Geneva Conventions of 1949, common article 3 which prohibits acts against civilians... including (a) violence to life and person, in particular murder... cruel treatment and torture and (c) outrages upon personal dignity...humiliating and degrading treatment(Stephan, 1997)[1]. According to Kirk, in the few instances that these officers were convicted, they were never punished and regularly received promotions within their ranks. The police and army actively protected and promoted these individuals claiming that the women persecuted them in order to give their individual institutions a negative view.

The Shining Path, the communist party fighting the

1 Stephan, Lynn. "Women and Social Movements in Latin America: Power From Below". University of Texas Press, Austin TX, 1997.

government, used rape and public torture much less than the security forces. In fact, they had many women within their party. Instead, they threatened and murdered in order to suffocate dissent and force the women into collaboration.[2]

Similar atrocities occurred in El-Salvador during their Civil War between 1979 and 1992. It is estimated that one out of every one hundred citizens was murdered or had disappeared. In 1991 they counted 80,000 dead and 7,000 missing. The military was linked to tens of thousands of assassinations, torture, imprisonments and rapes which totaled 85% of 25,000 civilian deaths.[3] During the late 1970's, when the conflict was escalating, people would wake up to "body dumps" or piles of mutilated family members or neighbors on the street. Priests would be disappeared and everyone lived in constant terror. Founded on Christmas Eve in 1977 by the Archdiocese of Monsenor Romero, the CO-MADRES (committee of Mothers and Relatives of the Political Prisoners Disappeared and Assassinated of El Salvador) became a force to be reckoned with. Starting with nine members, they quickly grew to thirty within months.[4] These individuals began by demanding information about their missing, incarcerated and assassinated family members. They quickly moved into the political sphere by demanding women's inclusion in formal politics. Many of the women involved in CO-MADRES have received awards, but more importantly, they forged the way for women to be heard and respected.

According to Hollander, "The thread that connected [the women activists] was their profound commitment to their children and grandchildren and their unswerving refusal to accept passively their disappearance perpetrated by an illegitimate government."[5] This was an incredible feat since the violence of the day caused most of the society to become submissive to authority, no matter how corrupt, and to deny reality, which would in

2 Kirk, Robin. "Untold Terror: Violence against Women in Peru's Armed Conflict". *America's Watch and the Women's Rights Project*, 1992. New York, NY. 34

3 Ibid., 30.

4 Ibid., 37.

5 Nancy Carol Hollander. "The Gendering of Human Rights: Women and the Latin American Terrorist State." *Feminist Studies* 22 (Spring 1996): 41-80.

turn shield them from their conscience or external demand to act. This culture of "giving up" was then passed on to their children and created an apolitical and self-censoring generation. These women altered their ideal system. They changed their purpose of motherhood from teaching their children to accept the roles that society had created for them, to be the mother who would fight for her children, or to fight for life (p. 57). In adopting this new perception they changed their world forever.

Advances in all aspects of life for women escalated during the 1990's, especially in representation of women. Esther Del Campo argues:

> If women [before the 1990's] were incorporated into political institutions, it was in isolated cases (i.e. The Shining Path in Peru) that corresponded to personal experiences of political and social leadership and not with the incorporation of women as a collective force or representative body in the political system.[6]

It was during this decade that women began to tilt the scales of inequality to a lesser degree. They used their past experiences to fight their way into politics and into the hearts of the people.

The most influential example of this is Michelle Bachelet, who became the first president of Chile on March 11, 2006. She defies all of the stereotypes of women during this period by being a single mother, separated, agnostic and a socialist in a time where women were considered to be ultra-conservative and divorce was not yet legalized until the following year in 2007. When she was 21, her father was kidnapped and tortured. He later died due to a heart attack from the abuse he received. Bachelet and her mother were then abducted and taken to Villa Grimaldi, which was a notorious detention center, in 1973. They were then sent to exile in 1975. Although her past was horrific, people saw her as charismatic with a constant smile on her face. According to a Newspaper at the time, she symbolized the

6 Esther Del Campo. "Women and Politics in Latin America: Perspectives and Limits of the Institutional Aspects of Women's Political Representation." *Social Forces* 83, no. 4 (June 2005):

reconciliation with the past that many in Chile had been hoping for. She accepted her past and used what she learned from the experience to create a better Chile.

The first female President in Costa Rica, , Laura Chinchilla, stated in her acceptance speech, "Wives and working women continue overcoming barriers to make a greater Costa Rica". She understood the power of the female citizenry and the importance of their involvement in political decisions and the political process.[7]

Unfortunately, the difference between the political participation of men and women in Latin America is immense. A greater percentage of eligible women do not vote and thus the voices of the group are dulled. Women, tend to vote more conservatively and are often outnumbered due to their lack of votes. However, the largest difference is still the inequality suffered by women in gaining access to political positions. There are two circles which tend to keep women out of political positions, the "excluding circle" and the "vicious circle". These two work together to keep women out of politics because the men feel threatened by the idea of women having power, so women have less opportunity to gain access to higher appointments and often work in only local government bodies. They then get discouraged because they do not receive recognition in their local appointments and they continue to be an important part of the mother-centered home. They quickly lose interest and do not demand change resulting in no new opportunities being created.[8] The "glass ceiling" metaphor of women only being able to attain a certain status used in the United States is very applicable to the situation in Latin America.

Fortunately, the trend is changing in favor of the women in Latin America. Many countries are enforcing minimum quota's of female involvement in political parties. The justice power is more open to female participation, if only in the lower courts at the time and most importantly, there have been significant

7 Carroll, Rory. "Landslide Victory for Costa Rica's first female President." Irish Times, February 04, 2010.

8 Garretón, Manuel Antonio. 1990. *Espacio public, mundo político y participación de la mujer en Chile. (p. 25)*.

advances due to the creation of antidiscrimination legislation which fosters gender equality.

Women in these countries are refusing to be silenced. They are fighting for rights and are winning the war. They came from cultures which not only discriminated against them but used them as mediums to prove male power and female powerlessness through violence, rape, and murder. Now that they have gained their foothold, they will continue to improve the lives of women and of the citizens within their respective countries.

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Fabian and Guild Socialists Reaction to World War I

Paul Wilcox

In 1937, Berkeley University held a conference concerning problems of "War and Peace in the Society of Nations."[1] Carl Launder, an economist, lectured about "Socialism in Relation to War and Peace."[2] In it he asked "what has the socialist movement contributed to the cause of peace?"[3] and proceeded to explain how European socialists reacted to World War I. He argued that socialism makes war less likely than capitalism does, because while capitalism focuses on competition, socialism focuses on cooperation.[4] These two types of economic viewpoints become "habits of thought" and the competitive version is "dangerous for human society, and particularly dangerous for international peace."[5] Launder explained that even though the war did not begin for any explicit economic purpose, it was aided by

1 Carl Launder, "Socialism in Relation to War and Peace," in *Problems With War and Peace: Six Lectures*, ed. (Berkley: University of California, 1937), vii.

2 Ibid., 25.

3 Ibid., 25.

4 Ibid., 26-27.

5 Ibid., 27

"mistrust...fear, and...hatred among nations which had grown out of industrial competition."[6] Indeed, he concluded that the war would not have erupted had the European countries that participated in the in World War I such as Germany, England, and France had "not acquired the habit of viewing each other as bitter rivals."[7]

Launder continued to explain that in reaction to the war and its aftermath, European socialists represented one of the strongest voices for peace. Generally speaking, this was because socialists were universal in their outlook: "Socialism is only a means to an end" a "better life for all mankind."[8] He argued that even though many socialists still felt national pride for their home countries, they also recognized, "that all nations depend on each other and should live together in brotherhood."[9]

Launder acknowledged that there was no universal socialist opinion on warfare; nevertheless, most European socialists believed in two principles: (1) they opposed war as a solution to international conflicts, and (2) they believed in self-determination of countries. Thus, when World War I broke out in 1914, most socialists had a paradoxical dilemma: they either had to fight in war, or allow their country to be conquered. According to Launder, during the war this dilemma split many socialists between those who were absolute pacifists, and those who wanted to continue the national defense of their countries but end the war through peaceful political agreements. Despite this difference in philosophy, both pacifists and non-pacifists shared the same resolve for a peaceful end to World War I. A more significant schism occurred after the war between socialists and communists as socialist movements gained greater political authority.[10]

After the war, Launder explained that socialists again adopted a universal mindset and tried to organize the world in a way that discouraged war. Launder described how the Treaty of Versailles eventually helped socialists gain political

6 Ibid., 27.
7 Ibid., 2.
8 Ibid., 30.
9 Ibid., 29.
10 Ibid., 33-35.

power, because even though "The militarists had overruled the socialists...this had not made the world feel any better. International understanding seemed more necessary than ever, and the socialists recognized the great task."[11] Socialists were central to strengthening the League of Nations, and promoting various treaties such as the Lacarno Pact.[12] More specifically, however, World War I also had an impact on Fabian and Guild socialists of England. For example, the war helped to develop socialist thought within England, thereby intensifying the differences between Fabian, who believed in a strong centralized government, and Guild socialists, who thought guilds should run industries without interference from government. World War I also caused Guild socialists to divide into two different schools of thought: "quasi-organics," thought that guilds should dictate the responsibilities of each member of their community to promote shared societal goals and functionality. "Individualists," by contrast, believed that guilds should be run democratically and that individuals ought to decide for themselves, what their role in society would be. As political organizations, neither Fabian nor Guild socialists were able to organize official opposition to the war because opinion toward it was too divided among socialists. For example, Fabian and Guild socialists disagreed with each other on the role of government during wartime, with Fabians believing the power of the government during World War I was strength, and Guild socialists fearing centralized government. Furthermore, within these socialist organizations themselves, there was no clear answer to questions of whether England was

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11 Ibid., 35.
12 Ibid., 36. The Larcano Pact of 1925 was a treaty signed between German, Belgium, Italy, France, and Great Britain which tried to create "security and protection" for the signatory powers that fought in World War I, and to ensure "peace in the area which has so frequently been the scene of European conflicts." The pact stated that the boundaries between Germany, France, and Belgium ought to stay as they are, and that future disputes should be settled judicially through the League of Nations. (Yale Law School: Lillian Goldman Law Library. "The Locarno Pact." The Avalon Project: Documents in Law, History, and Diplomacy. http://avalon.law.yale.edu/20th_century/locarno_001.asp (accessed April 4, 2014).

justified entering the war, the role of patriotism, the desirability of pacifism, and many other war related controversies relevant to ending the war. Therefore, while World War I accelerated socialist thought, because of the internal divisions it caused among socialism Fabian and Guildsmen of England were unable to generate international, or even national, opposition toward the war.

To understand Fabian and Guild socialist's reaction to World War I it is helpful to know the general beliefs and history of socialism. According to political scientists Terence Ball and Richard Dagger, socialism has an aversion to "self-interest, competition...individual liberty," and private property. [13] Socialists insist that these aspects of capitalist economic systems lead to imbalances of power between classes and poverty for the lower one. Socialists believe while capitalist societies stress economic competition, socialists choose to emphasize cooperation and communion as the essential qualities of building healthy and productive societies. Socialists believe that since we all share in the functioning of society, people ought to share in ownership of resources, and that resources should be distributed more or less equally throughout society.[14]

The authors explained that on one extreme socialists think that most resources and means of production ought to be collectively owned and operated; on the other end, some socialists believe that only the major means of production such as rivers, mills, and factories should be collectively owned. Some socialists argue for a centralized economic system to manage public property where the state takes most responsibility of caring for it. By centralizing the economy, they hope it would be easier to coordinate and implement planning and decisions. But other socialists encourage a de-centralized system that gives power to laborers, consumers, citizens, and local groups. De-centralized socialists fear that centralized systems concentrate too much power in the government, and that state-wide bureaucracies are too cumbersome to be efficient. They also argued that it is fairer

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13 Richard Dagger and Terence Ball, *Political Ideologies and the Democratic Ideal* (Arizona: Electronic Publishing Services Inc, 2009). 125-126.
14 Ibid., 125.

to give the localities greater responsibility for their economies because they are most impacted by it.[15]

Additionally, according the authors, socialists analyze social class as a condition where some people are rich and others are poor. The upper-class become rich by exploiting the working classes' desperation by paying subsistence wages- thus, the poor are not able to enjoy "freedom," which socialist define as ones opportunity to "pursue one's aims and aspirations."[16] The upper-class is able to consolidate its power by controlling communication outlets and wielding political influence such as media and religious institutions. In order to liberate the working class, socialists promote greater material equality and taking care of basic human needs such as food and shelter.[17]

Terrance and Ball also gave a brief history of socialism. Socialism was promoted at least as early as Plato, and as an economic philosophy it (or at least aspects of it) was practiced by the Christian Church during the first two centuries A.D. and continued through the middle Ages. Various utopian philosophers also experimented with agrarian versions of it. But the industrial revolution changed the dominant economic mode from agrarian to industrial, and socialism, as a philosophy gained greater momentum as many people began to criticize the inequality and poverty induced by industrial capitalism.[18]

One of the most influential critics of industrial capitalism was Karl Marx, a nineteenth century philosopher whose ideas spawned much of the socialism that people call "Marxist." Marx saw history as the constant struggle between classes, and the emergence of industrial capitalism was no different, because the "bourgeoisie," or capitalist class, subordinated the "proletariat," or the working class. Capitalists (or, the bourgeoisie) owned the means of production; while, the working class, caught between the factory and absolute poverty, was forced to "sell" themselves through subsistence wages to the upper-class. Even though the working class outnumbered the ruling class, the bourgeoisie was able to maintain their social status by promoting a variety of

15 Ibid.,125-126.
16 Ibid., 127.
17 Ibid, 126-127.
18 Ibid, 128-130.

beliefs that "justified" the inequality in the masses' minds. The rich were able to do this because they controlled (either directly or indirectly) the major religious and secular institutions, such as universities.[19]

Ball and Terrance further explained that Marx viewed capitalism as a necessary step to overthrowing feudalism and progressing towards communism because merchants opened trade routes to Africa and Asia, and because capitalism has led to a variety of inventions such as railways and electric telegraphs. But capitalism, thought Marx, out lived its usefulness. According to Marx, industrial capitalism isolated people from both their work and each other by turning them into minor parts of a factory system, thereby reducing their pride and creativity in producing goods. Furthermore, capitalism necessarily kept factory owners uncaring and calculating because those who would try to improve the working conditions and wages of the proletariat ultimately go out of business to a competitor who is unwilling to make such changes. Thus, by its own competitive logic, according to Marx, capitalism forces wages down and leads to monopolies. Marx thought that capitalism sowed the seeds of its own downfall. He predicted that the proletariats' desperation, and the fact that they were already organized and accustomed to cooperating in the factory, would lead to a revolt in order to establish a communist government.[20]

Marx theorized that the revolt would look like this: capitalism is prone to economic fluctuations which cause widespread insecurity and desperation. This misery would cause the proletariat to realize the "injustice" of the current hierarchy of classes and develop a "revolutionary class consciousness."[21] The proletariat would eventually revolt, using violence if necessary. After the proletariats overthrew the bourgeois they would then establish a temporary dictatorship mostly to protect the revolution from counter insurgence from the former bourgeoisie. Marx hypothesized that while the proletariat was in power they would work-together democratically and temporally run the

19 Ibid, 136-139.
20 Ibid, 140-142.
21 Ibid, 144-145.

apparatus of the state. The proletariats would slowly transform the capitalist state into a communist one, supposedly based on the ideal of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his need.' After accomplishing this, the proletariat would relinquish its power.[22]

According to the authors, the period between Marx's death in 1883 and 1914 was the "golden age of socialism." Socialism became popular as a movement and many socialists debated the value and implications of Marx's theory. Some rejected all of socialism fearing that it would result in totalitarian government. Others criticized Marx's advocacy for violent revolution, instead favoring peaceful methods. Still, while some either accepted or rejected most of his theory, others were influenced by Marx, but created their own distinct variants of socialism. Nevertheless, most socialist theorists "thought it necessary to come to terms with Marx's theory."[23]

Sociologist Norman MacKenzie argued that one of these variants of socialism was Fabian socialism, which was officially formed in 1884 by middle class scholars such as Bernard Shaw and Sidney Webb who desired not to operate the group as a political party, but rather as a British organization designed to influence the attitudes of other political organizations. In this regard, they forged a strong alliance with the labor and liberal parties such as the International Labor Union and the Liberal Party.[24] Philosopher Nile Carpenter explained that, Fabians wanted to tax the rich and provide welfare and healthcare programs to the poor, as a way to level society. Perhaps because of the inequality private ownership of industry induces between people, Fabains advocated giving control of industry to centralized government or municipalities. In order to accomplish this task, according to Niles, Fabians endorsed a strong centralized government[25]

However, while Fabians agreed with Marx in some ways such as redistribution of wealth, Fabians disagreed with

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22 Ibid, 146-147.
23 Ibid, 151-152.
24 Norman MacKenzie, *Socialism: A Short History*, (New York: New York, 1969), 90- 91.
25 Niles Carpenter, *Guild Socialism: an Historical and Critical Analysis* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, New York, 1922), 56-57.

him in key ways. For example, while Marx promoted revolution, Fabians encouraged incremental, slow constitutional changes to create a socialist society.[26] In fact, the very origins of the name came from the ancient Roman general, Quintus Fabius Maximus, who defeated Hannibal's army gradually and with minimal loss of life.[27] While Fabians thought socialism ought to replace capitalism, they disagreed with Marx's prediction that capitalism would fall on its own. That is, society could still function under capitalism indefinitely and there was not an urgent need to replace it. Additionally, they did not care which social class was in power, as long as that class did not rule "coercively."[28]

However, many individuals were disillusioned from various aspects of Fabian socialism. For example, trade union members were concerned with the governments power threaten trade unions. Also, perhaps because of the Fabians acceptance of any classes' authority to rule as long as they administered wisely, many people afraid of how Fabians 'placed themselves at the mercy of the governing class.' Thus, many theorists such as George Cole, and Samuel Hobson, began favoring guild socialism as an alternative to Fabianism. Carpenter argued that three movements in particular helped to facilitate the splintering of Guild socialists from the Fabians: (1) strike fever, (2) the promotion of syndicalism, and (3) the Osborne Decision. First, in 1907, there was widespread unemployment among the working class, and Government was unable to deal with the situation adequately. This led to a wave of strikes from 1907-1912, and a revolutionary spirit among laborers.[29] Second, the philosophy of syndicalism added to the revolutionary tone already induced by the strike fevers of 1907-1912, and advocated giving industrial control to workers instead of governmental or private control. This helped to facilitate Guild Socialism because many guildsmen adopted syndicalism (Carpenter never explained why these guildsmen embraced syndicalism, but perhaps they enjoyed the idea of workers, through guilds, controlling industries without

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26 MacKenzie, 91.
27 Ball and Dagger, 178.
28 Ibid, 91-93.
29 Carpenter, 75-76.

the interference from government).[30] At the same time however, many guild socialists feared that syndicalism would damage the notion of collective ownership by giving too much power to the workers of the industries themselves, and according to Carpenter, at least as late as 1922 (the year his book was published), most socialists fell between "the syndicalist position on the one hand and the extreme Collectivist position on the other."[31] Thirdly, the Osborne Decision of 1909 which made "trade union grants to the Labor Party" illegal further corroded the trust people had with centralized government power.[32] Thus, from this historical background, on "Easter Holiday of 1915," the guild supporters officially broke from the Fabians ideals of a strong centralized government to manage industry, and organized the National Guilds League.[33]

Ultimately, the guilds primary goal was to give "control of industry" to "workers."[34] Guildsmen would accomplish this by decentralizing government and giving power to guilds which would be free to manage their particular industries without interference from government, and the industries would be directed by a "congress of guilds." While parliament would focus on non-economic issues such as foreign affairs, guilds would have stronger control in economic issues, thereby giving the workers themselves greater control of their craft than the wage system allowed. Guild Socialists opposed wages and thought that productivity could be induced through the desire people have to serve their community. Guild socialists hoped these measures would make society more efficient and would ensure better payment and satisfaction than capitalist systems could among workers. Unlike Fabians, Guild socialists (perhaps because of their growth from "strike fever" and distrust of government to manage the economy) were less patient in waiting for their system to become a political reality.[35]

Marc Stears, in "Guild Socialism and Ideological Di-

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30 Ibid., 74-76, 81.
31 Ibid, 80.
32 Ibid, 80.
33 Ibid, 95.
34 Ibid, 85.
35 MacKenzie, 97-98.

versity on the British Left," explained how the war helped to develop socialist thought within Britain, and he described some of the basic differences between Fabian and Guild societies. Before the war, socialism had little respect within England: "It was theoretically vague and popularly under-subscribed" too.[36] However, compelled by the war, many British socialist thinkers created periodicals which helped to expand Socialist thought and increase popularity of the movement. Stears wrote that "As the Labor party secured its independent political future and the trade union movement increasingly flexed its industrial muscles, a large number of activists involved themselves for the first time in an explicitly socialist milieu."[37] Indeed, thanks to the war, Britain became 'rich in radical ideas.'[38] Thus, World War I provided a fertile atmosphere for socialist thought and popularity to grow. However, this would have an impact on socialists' inability to organize national opposition to the war effort.

Stears further described how the socialist movement splintered in England. He emphasized that British socialism during the war was not a unified movement. For example, Fabian socialists sought economic and social reform by increasing control of the central government and its bureaucracy, and they dominated socialist thought for most of the prewar years. But during the war, Guild socialism emerged to challenge Fabian statists. They advocated for "smaller, localized and democratized associations for meaningful and long-lasting political, social and economic reform."[39] Stears wrote that because many Britons were disillusioned with the control of the government during World War I, that "these alternative--increasingly anti- or non-statist--ideas found a particularly warm reception."[40] Many social reformers and labor unionists transformed Guild socialism from obscurity, into a powerful movement.[41] Thus, the war facilitated socialist

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36 Marc Stears, "Guild Socialism and Ideological Diversity on the British left, 1914-1926," *Journal of Political Ideologies*, October 1998, 289.

37 Ibid., 289.

38 Ibid., 290.

39 Ibid., 290.

40 Ibid., 290.

41 Ibid., 290.

thought, but tore socialists between Fabians who believed in a powerful centralized government and Guildsmen who demanded decentralized guilds to manage the economy.

Not only was there tension between the Fabian and Guild socialists during World War I, but Stears identified two types of Guild Socialism that emerged during the war which would further illustrate the disharmony of socialist thought during the war: "Guild socialism as quasi-organicism" and "Guild socialism as individualism." Quasi-organicism emphasized the importance of "social solidarity" in community life, and some of its advocates included Ramiro de Maeztu, Samuel Hobson, and A.E. Randall. According to quasi-organic theorists, community is analogous to a "quasi-organic entity" with collective goals that can be "objectively identified." Stears explained that "communal function" was important because if society was to reach its objectives, each individual had a role to play. Everyone was dependent on each other. The problem with capitalism, according to quasi-organic theorists, was that it does not provide guidance to a community, and consequently not everyone would perform their role. Therefore, society needed to be reorganized into a more functional system.[42]

Stears was careful to note that many political organizations held overlapping beliefs with this philosophical model, including the Fabian socialists who believed that the state should help determine one's role in society. However, the main difference between quasi-organics and Fabians was their explanation for why society malfunctions. Quasi-organics blamed centralized government for these problems, while Fabians blamed the lack of centralized government for them. According to quasi-organics, the reason why centralized governments failed to improve society was that they usually became an oligarchy looking after its own interests. Additionally, according to quasi-organics, the free market was an abysmal failure whose invisible-hand was no more likely to unify communities. The quasi-organic theorists wanted to replace the centralized government with community guilds which were responsible to their localities. Guilds would regulate "the essentials of communal life" and be

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42 Ibid., 295.

they would be willing to cooperate with other guilds because they would produce other important services and goods to the community.[43]

Stears again claimed that the overriding importance of community goals was shared by both Fabian and Guild socialists in general. But the difference between the two groups was in the role of the central government. For example, Fabians believed the state should make agendas and determine the responsibility of individuals, whereas the Quasi-organics believed that guilds should be responsible for these decisions because they understood their communities more intimately. Quasi-organics held the functioning of their communities as paramount. If there ever was a discrepancy between community goals and individual liberty in Organic society, the higher priority was given to community goals. In so far as liberty loosened the functionality of society, it was not allowed.[44] If the individual resisted performing his/her assigned duty, then, according to Maeztu, society should let him 'die of hunger.'[45] Thus, while both Fabian and quasi-organic socialists believed that a central authority ought to determine one's roll and set community goals and visions, they disagreed with each other on whether the state or guild should determine that.

However, Stears discussed that during the war, Guild socialism as individualism emerged in response to the quasi-organic system, and it was represented by George Cole, Ivor Brown, and R.H. Tawney. Guild individualists thought that quasi-organic socialism was too repressive on individual rights. While Fabian and quasi-organic theorists either argued that individual liberty was inferior to community function, or tried to define freedom in a way that was consistent with it, individualists emphasized that 'Man himself, the individual, is the central fact...It is of the essence of the ... human...that he is individual and cannot be absorbed into anything else.'[46] According to guild-individualists, because individuals had different opinions of what is "good," and because it is impossible for any society to completely understand

43 Ibid., 295-296.
44 Ibid., 296-297.
45 Ibid., 297.
46 Ibid., 298.

their needs or wants, individuals cannot be easily controlled.[47] Therefore, individualists declared that people have 'the right...to live their own lives and express their own personalities.'[48] Thus, while organic and Fabian socialism placed more importance on the community needs than the individual's wants and needs, this type of socialism placed preeminence on the individual's autonomy.

Stears explained that Guild individualists, like the organics also supported the decentralization of government to local guilds. However, they supported this not for increased functionality of society, as the quasi-organic socialists did, but for because they thought it was important to divide power among branches of government. By dividing the power of government, it was reasoned, the more one could decentralize power of government (and guilds), people could enjoy liberty because would not just be parts at the disposal of a larger system. Another way these guildsmen differed from quasi-organic socialists, according to Stears, was that the guilds would not have absolute power over their localities. That is, the guilds would operate democratically. To protect the individual from the guild itself, everyone who was a member of the guild could take part in the decision making processes of the guilds. One quasi-organic theorist, A.E Randall, feared that the guild, under such democratic conditions, could not "remain an organic structure,' meaning that the guild could not enforce community goals at the expense of individual liberty.[49]

Individualist socialists did not reject the value of functionality and community goals, but the economic system they advocated was designed to aide the individual in achieving their desires. Stears explained that they believed, "the economy should expand and produce a broad range of goods to enable citizens to pursue their own lives independent of economic constraints. A functional system was one which ensured continuity of supply; the 'object of industry' was simply 'to produce goods.'[50] Instead of the guilds choosing an individual's duty in society, the indi-

47 Ibid., 298-299.
48 Ibid., 299.
49 Ibid., 299.
50 Ibid., 300.

vidual would necessarily choose for themselves in order to ensure personal freedom and also because they supposedly understood their personal needs best. It was thought that by allowing the individual to choose their duties, then they would, incidentally, increase the functionality of their community. Individualist guildsmen argued that capitalism, Fabian, and quasi-organic socialism suppressed peoples passion to work because it took their autonomy. But freedom to choose ones own work within a guild system was ideal for functionality.[51] Thus, during the war, socialists were internally divided not only between Fabian and Guildsmen, but between quasi-organics focus on community over individual liberty, and individualists who wanted greater personal freedom to select one's role in society.

Not only did the war have an impact on how Guild socialism developed, but it also influenced how Fabians developed. Historian A.M. McBriar explained that whereas before World War I Fabians did not worry too much about international affairs, the war pressured them to develop platforms for international situations. The first Fabian to address the possibility of war with Germany was William Stephen Sanders in a lecture during 1911. He explained many of the causes for the tension that existed between England and Germany including colonialism, the Boer War, and the navy build-up. But he was hopeful that peace could be achieved because 'the German people in the mass were a sober, peace-loving people who had no great love of military glory.'[52] Also, he argued that peace was possible because both the armament and war would be expensive; thereby inflaming social democrats who wanted a peaceful existence with England. Because of this, McBriar wrote that to Sanders, "England's foreign policy should be directed less by fear and hostility to Germany and more by the desire to arrive at an understanding with her."[53] But, according to McBriar, socialists did not pay much attention to Sander's ideas until 1913 when they were compelled to by the possibility of war.[54] Therefore,

51 Ibid., 300.
52 A. M. McBriar, *Fabian Socialism and English Politics: 1884-1918* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962), 135.
53 Ibid., 135.
54 Ibid., 135.

the war accelerated Fabian philosophy by forcing them to think about international affairs.

Though World War I compelled Fabians to think about establishing policies toward international affairs and warfare, this new interest in foreign issues would come a little too late for them to establish an anti-war movement. During World War I, Fabians were torn and indecisive regarding how to react to it which would ultimately damage their ability to oppose World War I. According to McBriar, during 1912 when war seemed likelier, Fabians held an "Emergency International Socialist Congress" and had three Fabians speak at it including Dr. Marion Phillips, who was anti-war, Robert Ensor, who was pro war (McBriar did not list the third speaker's name, but he was apparently neutral).[55] Between these speakers one can see the conflict of opinion which made unified action against the World War I difficult.

Dr. Phillips recognized that the British trade unions and Fabians took little interest in foreign affairs up to this point. In order to break this apathy, she argued that socialists needed to support a general hunger strike to give the people direction in how to fight against the declaration of war. Because of this, she encouraged the mobilization of the miners and transport workers. Dr. Phillips believed that peace propaganda would be pointless to dissuading Fabians from war because "'the fascinating hysteria of war'" was too great, and, unlike the hunger strike she proposed, peace propaganda provided no clear direction to combat the war.[56] Thus, Phillips represented the Fabian opinion against World War I.

Ensor, by contrast, was pro-war. He argued that historically socialists had been ill-equipped to deal with international affairs because policing the state, military control, and colonialism, were traditionally executed by capitalists. Furthermore, he asserted that British socialists were divided by two views regarding relationships to other countries: "Cosmopolitanism—the view that nations are unrealities, patriotism absurd, and all wars caused by capitalism, and Internationalism—the view that na-

55 Ibid., 136.
56 Ibid., 136.

tionality is real and precious, patriotism a duty, and that war, representing the main genuine conflicts of national interests, can only be abolished by finding a substitute for it."[57] Ensor rejected Cosmopolitanism because such a person who holds this view may neglect the needs of his or her country, and to Ensor, that was unacceptable because loyalty to country was 'of supreme human and moral value.'[58]

Ensor went on to describe four attitudes toward international affairs: pacifist, pugnacious, sentimental, and official. He argued that socialists were largely immune to "pugnacious" attitudes, but that they could still be overly "sentimental" by becoming too radical in their reforms, as is what Ensor believed happened with the French Revolution. Also, Ensor reasoned, the socialists' belief in progress and socialism might cause them to misjudge how much they could trust other countries. "Pacifist" attitudes, if taken to extremes would undermine the security of the State. Meanwhile, the "official" attitude was that countries needed to make alliances to protect themselves. Ensor argued that a combination of "official" and "pacifist" attitudes is what was necessary to make sound international policy.[59] Therefore, Ensor represented Fabians who would support England during World War I out of a sense of patriotic duty and national survival.

According to McBriar, most Fabians fell within the opinions of Dr. Phillips and Ensor; that is, of pacifism and a refusal to support Britain, and Ensor's belief of a need to support Britain but attempt to work out a diplomatic solution. McBriar described that most Fabia's opinions fell somewhere between these two speakers.[60] For instance, when World War I began, some Fabians thought Germany was justified to attack and build up her army. Others condemned Germany for invading Belgium. Some defended England; others believed she overstepped her bounds. Some thought that all socialists should organize; others hoped that peace could still be obtained diplomatically, and still, others reasoned that World War I should be "fought till

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57 Ibid., 137.
58 Ibid., 137.
59 Ibid., 137-138.
60 Ibid., 139.

the end."[61] Consequently, the Fabian party did not make an official pronouncement on the war. In 1915, there was an attempt to declare "A Stop-the-War" resolution, but the very same year, Fabians voted against it and most Fabians supported the war. Thus, within Fabian circles the campaign to end World War I became a minority movement.[62]

Nevertheless, though Fabian interest towards international affairs came too late for them to effectively oppose World War I, they did make progress during the war toward official policies on international affairs. They also sought to increase government control by nationalizing some industries in order to pay for the war (this nationalizing would be in sharp contrast to the decentralized government philosophy of Guild socialists). They began focusing on the history and politics of other nations to gain a better understanding of how to make public policy.[63] Fabians also encouraged a supra-national organization to mediate disputes between countries. Though Fabians did not make an official pronouncement on how to deal with the war, they were able to coordinate a response on the peace that should exist afterwards. Among other elements, they supported disarming Germany and Austria, but opposed the "territorial mutilation of Germany," and they argued that the boundaries of countries should be made on "national grounds."[64] However, when the League of Nations came to light, Fabians were again divided on its purpose, organization, and what countries should be included (All countries? Or, only countries that were republics or constitutional monarchies?) Regardless, when the League of Nations was established, Fabians "attitude to [the League of Nations]...was one of support mixed with criticism."[65] Thus, Fabians were too divided in opinion to develop platforms that would have allowed for effective opposition to the war, but the war did force them to make some progress in that direction.

The key difference between the Fabians and Guild Socialists was how they perceived the role of government during World

61 Ibid., 140.
62 Ibid., 141.
63 Ibid., 143.
64 Ibid., 144.
65 Ibid., 145.

War I. For example, while Fabians tried to exploit the war to restructure government to make it more efficient for paying for wars, Guild socialists sensed a threat from centralized government. For example, in 1915 Ramiro de Maeztu argued in "Bureaucracy and War" that "the unchecked growth of bureaucracies" was largely responsible for the war. He further asserted that, "Fabians in England looked upon officialism as the instrument of Divine Providence for the solution of social problems."[66] He expressed frustration with the fabians inability to see World War I as evidence against centrzlied government when he wrote "Disdained by the officials of the State and the State Socialists of the Fabian Society because they refuse to regard the State as the universal panacea." Maeztu also argued that only "a guild organization of the nation is the only means of warding off the catastrophes to which we are perpetually exposed by the uncontrolled supremacy of the executive power of the State."[67] In other words, according to Maeztu, by discouraging bureaucracies, Guild socialists are not only different than the Fabians, but they are more likely to discourage war.

However, not only did Maeztu argue centralized government and bureaucracies were responsible for the war, but many Guild socialists were alarmed at what they believed were abuses of power by the centralized government during World War I. For example, *The Modernist Journals Project* explained in the introduction of volume 18 of "The New Age," that:

> In the course of these debates [November 4, 1915 to April 27, 1916], conscription emerged as another instance of the British government's increasing regulation of the daily lives of its citizens. The passage of the Defense of the Realm Act in the first months of the war had already enabled the government to intervene in private industry and the lives of its citizens in unprecedented ways, from regulating key industries and censoring the press to shortening pub hours. Conscription appeared to further this process

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66 Ramiro de Maeztu, "Bureaucracy and War" in *The New Age*, 16, no. 20 (1915): 530.
67 Ibid., 532.

of greater government incursion into the private sphere, by proposing to compel individuals to serve in the armed forces.[68]

Guild Socialist Clarence Norman, for instance, rhetorically asked, "how long are the British people going to remain quiescent in face of a policy which is destroying the manhood of the country, ruining its economic prosperity, and under cover of which liberties that the reformers of the past won so dearly are being filched away by legislation of the character of the Defense of the Realm Act?"[69] Therefore, Guild socialists were wary at the amount of control the government took during World War I and how the government applied its power to restrict various liberties.

Despite Guild socialists' strong opposition to the war on the basis of a government takeover, many Guild socialists were concerned that the socialist movements could not organize to stop the war. For example, S. Verdad worried in 1915 that, "the Socialist movement the world over has always given way at a time of national crisis to the influence of race; and if the race-feeling is in favor of war the power of Socialism, even when it is thrown on the side of peace, is used in vain." He continued to explain that contrary to opposing World War I, many socialist groups throughout Europe supported their nation's entry into the war. Verdad finished by saying, "All that I have denied is that International Socialism, as it exists at present, can stop a war."[70] These statements demonstrate the difficulty the socialists had

68 Rebecca Wingfield, "An Introduction*," The Modernist Journals Project*, (accessed April 3, 2014, http://dl.lib.brown.edu/mjp/render. php?id=mjp.2005.00.019&view=mjp_object.

69 Clarence Norman, "Why I think the War Should be Stopped," *The New Age*, 17, no. 13 (1915): 303 The Defence of Realm Act of 1914 granted "his majesty" the power to create "regulations for securing the public safety and the defense of the realm" during World War I. Some of these regulations included to "take possession of factories" and to have at his "disposal the whole or any part of the output of any factor or workshop in which arms, ammunition" and other war related materials are made. It was also illegal to give "reports likely to cause disaffection to his majesty." National Archives. "Defence of Realm Act," Britain 1906-1918. http://www.nationalarchives. gov.uk/pathways/firstworldwar/first_world_war/p_defence.htm (Accessed April 4, 2014).

70 S. Verdad, "International Socialism," *The* New Age, 16, no. 14 (1915): 388.

in organizing oppositional effort to World War I.

Within Guild socialism, like the Fabians, they also had a broad mix of opinions toward peace and war. And like the Fabians, they were unable to organize even guild-wide resistance to it. For instance, Clarence Norman demanded that, "this calamitous war should be brought to an IMMEDIATE AND HONOURABLE CONCLUSION."[71] M. B. Oxon went so far as to claim, "the enemy in our midst...is not the German writer or the spy, it is the full blooded British Jingo," (or those who support war) and that to fight World War I to its finish would be a horrible mistake.[72] Other Guild socialists, by contrast, were more supportive of the war and contended pacifism. For example, the *Modernist Journals Project* explained that:

> "North Staffs" sets his own pro-conscription arguments against a critique of the pacifist philosophy propounded by Bertrand Russell and levels a scathing rebuke at Clive Bell's pacifism...Bell, a prominent art critic, was the husband of Vanessa Bell, Virginia Woolf's sister. Charles Brookfarmer (Carl Bechhöfer: pseudonyms) also takes aim at Russell's pacifism, offering a satirical report on one of his lectures. Ramiro de Maeztu presents his critique of the philosophy of pacifism and the "graver sin" of German militarism in his two-part series 'On Right and Might.'[73]

Despite this group indecisiveness however, some Guild socialists, on their own initiatives did create meaningful organizations to end the war. For example, Edmund Morel, Ramsay MacDonald, and Norman Angell, created, "the Union of Democratic Control, which would become one of the most important-and reviled-anti-war organizations in Britain."[74] Nevertheless, this organization hardly represented the majority of Guild socialists, or an official policy by the Guild association itself. Thus, Guild

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71 Norman, 303.
72 M. B. Oxon, "The Promethean Way," *The New Age*, 16, no. 18 (1915): 482.
73 Rebecca Wingfield, "The New Age, Volume 18: An Introduction," *The Modernist Journals Project*, np.
74 Daphne Rentfrow, "The New Age, Volume 17: An Introduction," The *Modernist Journals Project*, np.

socialism, as an organization, was not able to generate resistance to World War I.

As political organizations, neither Fabians nor Guild socialists of England were unable to organize anti-war movements. Before the World War I, socialist thought in England was already diversifying, but the war dramatically facilitated this process and expanded socialisms popularity. During the war, socialists were fundamentally divided into different schools of thought: Fabians, who wanted a powerful centralized government, and Guild socialists who wanted political power to be transferred to guilds. During the war, Fabian and guildsmen clashed over the amount of power the centralized government took during the war. While Fabians tried to increase governmental efficiency during the war, guildsmen generally feared the militaristic government altogether. Furthermore, Guild socialism splintered into quasi-organics who cared most about community functionality at the expense of individual liberty, and Guild individualists which advocated for individual liberty to choose one's role in society. As World War I approached, both Fabians and Guildsmen had barely begun to address question concerning peace, war, and international relationships, and consequently, were too divided over these issues to organize opposition to the war (though the war did influence socialists to study international issues more intensely). Therefore, though individuals were inspired by their socialist philosophies to end the war, as organizations, Fabians and Guild socialists were unable to foster an international, or even a national, movement against World War I.

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Press, Prejudice, and Public Opinion
The East Coast Response to the Utah War

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In April of 1858, President James Buchanan issued a proclamation to the citizens of Utah concerning a reported rebellion in the Utah Territory. "After carefully considering this state of affairs and maturely weighing the obligation I was under to see the laws faithfully executed, it seemed to me right and proper that I should make such use of the military force at my disposal."[1] In the previous year, numerous reports from federal judges and other sources had reached the eastern coast of the United States describing acts of rebellion and suppression by members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, or Mormons, in Utah Territory. By the summer of 1857, President Buchanan would order federal troops to Utah to escort a new governor and establish federal authority in the rebellious territory. Historians would later term this conflict as the "Utah War".[2]

    Eventually, it would be found that no state of open rebellion

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1 James Buchanan, "Proclamation - Rebellion in the Territory of Utah." April 6, 1858.

2 "Troops for Utah Territory." *The New York Times,* August 16, 1857.

had existed in Utah and that many reports had been exaggerated or unfounded[3]. This poses the question: what influence did such exaggerations and biases play in the course of the "Utah Expedition?" By examining contemporary public opinion, it can be seen that prejudice, misconceptions, and biases found in the eastern United States directly correspond to bureaucratic decisions made. Views held by the press, the public and political leaders prior to, during, and after the war mirror the acts of the government, thereby creating a direr situation than existed.

To understand the atmosphere of the Eastern perception of Mormons and how it became a cause of the Utah War, the conflicts and prevalent opinions prior to the actual conflict during the late 1850s must be taken into consideration. Previous to the war, views toward Utah Territory and its inhabitants varied. As one observer noted, opinions of the Mormon group were "on the one side so obviously prejudiced and on the other so partial"[4] Therefore, it is important to understand from whence previous views stemmed.

Originating from the East, persecution due to their beliefs had driven members of the Mormon faith from communities in New York, Ohio, Missouri, and Illinois. Eventually they would settle in the future Utah Territory, considered by them to be a haven from persecution. Some who encountered the group believed Mormons "were a lawless band, and the subject of rising up and driving them from the country was strongly advocated."[5] This was due in part to their rapid growth, called "The Mormon Invasion" by one paper, and their different beliefs, such as polygamy, which the conservative, Victorian moral society of the time looked down on.[6]

The doctrine of polygamy, which had existed before the Mormons had settled in Utah, was officially announced in 1852.[7]

3 "The Mormon Exodus." *The New York Times*, June 17, 1858.

4 Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden" Thomas L. Kane, Romanic Reformer*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 55.

5 Michael Scott Van Wagenen, "Sam Houston and the Utah War," Utah Historical Quarterly, 76, no. 1 (2008): 69,

6"The Mormon Invasion" *The New York Daily Times,* 1857.

7 Eric A. Eliason, "Curious Gentiles and Representational Authority in the

This practice was seen as un-Christian and a threat to traditional society[8] during the height of evangelical culture. Stories related the experiences in Utah and the 'harems' of women that were kept in domestic obedience in Utah.[9] By the mid 1850s polygamy was linked in context with slavery, and just a year before conflict with Utah erupted, the Republican Party platform of 1856 deemed the two practices as "those twin relics of barbarism."[10]

Contrastingly, visitors to the developing territory praised the communities and settlements the Mormons had created in the desert. In reference to the citizens there, one man noted, "They seem to be a very happy and merry set...I find many intelligent persons and quite good society, generally", a much different picture than other contemporary sources implied. He also spoke of the "universal love" that the people had for their leader, Brigham Young.[11]

Other factors would influence the way the public would view the Utah War. The United States at this time was a country in conflict. Sectionalism, slavery, and the nature of states' rights would eventually divide the nation one decade later. To combat the growing tensions, the Compromise of 1850 established and admitted Utah Territory as a slave territory. As the tensions grew, Congress attempted to placate opinion by giving states the right to decide on the slavery issue. This would prove to be a controversial and defining decision, as seen with the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854, which resulted in bloodshed and was evidence of the continued turmoil between the states.

These prior and various views and perceptions would lend themselves to the eventual conflict between Utah Territory and the federal government. Fear of civil conflict within the states and fear of attack on the morality of the era were on the

City of the Saints," *Religion and American Culture: A Journal of Interpretation*, 2, no. 2 (2001): 155,

8 Ibid., 156.

9 "Brigham Young and His Wives En Famille." *Harper's Weekly,* October 10, 1857.

10 Republican Party Platforms. "Republican Party Platform of 1856", June 18, 1856.

11 "From the Mormon Country." *The New York Times*, March 27, 1854.

minds of the public during the 1850s. The stage for the events of the Utah War was in place.

By the early 1850's, rumors of rebellious activities in Utah had begun circulating. For example, in 1852 newspapers from New York and Washington had published stories concerning a declaration of independence issued by the Mormons in Utah. These stories also proclaimed that in defiance of the government the Mormons had begun preparations of war. However, the *National Intelligencer* of Washington D.C. dismissed such claims, blaming them on recent conflicts with federal judges.[12] Conflicts with officials were common, as many came back from Utah with reports of violence and threats of murder against "Gentiles", or non-Mormons, and Mormon dissenters.[13]

Other conflicts with federally appointed officials also contributed to the swirling gossip surrounding the Mormon people, but none as much as the resignation of Judge W.W. Drummond. In Eastern papers he was painted as a well liked thirty-seven year old man with "a(sic) iron will and a fixed determination of purpose."[14] Therefore, it caused no small disturbance when Drummond submitted his resignation in the spring of 1857, after three years of serving as Justice of the Supreme Court in Utah Territory. His notice appeared in newspapers across the country in which he listed serious concerns about happenings in Utah.

In his resignation he brought to light a report that would have been seen as dangerous, especially in light of the bloody and lawless conflicts in Kansas, along with sectional disputes in Congress. His narrative painted a picture of a people who destroyed federal records, "harassed and annoyed"[15] the appointed federal officials, went against federal rulings of the court, and were behind as series of murders in the territory. Worst

12 "The Mormon Rebellion." *The New York Times*, March 4, 1852.

13 "Affairs in Utah: The Latest Mormon Outrages." *The New York Times,* July 11, 1857.

14 "Latest Intelligence-Arrival of Judge Drummond." *The New York Daily Times,* June 18, 1857.

15 Drummond, W.W. "Resignation of Judge Drummond." *Raftsman's Journal,* April 29, 1857.

of all, "Brigham Young, the Governor of Utah Territory, is the acknowledged head of the 'Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints'...the Mormons look to him, and to *him alone*...therefore no law of Congress is by them considered binding."[16] It appeared to be a territory in outright rebellion against the United States. Combined with rumors of independence and the mistrust in strange beliefs the Mormons practiced, many in the East began to worry about "The Utah Problem" or the "Mormon Problem" as it would be termed.

Stories in the press of 'people [who were] steeped in superstitious fanaticism' and who 'followed their prophet in blind obedience'[17] shocked many of the readership across the country. One editorial described the horrors suffered by those who went against the Mormon leadership:

> Men have been murdered...others have suffered robbery, arson, and persecution...for no other reason than their attempts to protect the weak from Mormon violence. Women have been forced...to enter the already overstocked harems of the elders...We know these statements are denied by the organs of Mormonism...but we know...that it is a part of Mormon religion to lie.[18]

The rumors of rebellion in Utah Territory had turned into an "Anti-Mormon Crusade".[19]

The public opinion surrounding the Mormons also took a decided stance against their leader, Brigham Young. Besides Drummond's criticisms of the governor, others spoke about the tight reins of power which Young appeared to have.[20] One newspaper decisively stated, "BRIGHAM YOUNG, in the last half of the nineteenth century, in enlightened America...stands boldly at the head of an organized mob of land pirates, and breathes open

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16 Ibid.

17 "Healing Symptoms in Utah." *The New York Times*, August 2, 1857.

18 "Healing Symptoms in Utah." *The New York Times,* August 2, 1857.

19 Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden" Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 150.

20 "Policy in Utah." *The Raftsman's Journal*, June 21, 1857.

defiance at the Government under which he lives."[21]

However, the Mormons were not without allies in the public sphere despite the popular stance against them. One of the most influential champions for their cause was Thomas L. Kane from Pennsylvania. A non-Mormon during the Mormon migration to the Utah area, Kane had negotiated with the Polk Administration to enlist members as troops for the war with Mexico.[22] Kane later advised Brigham Young and other leaders to steer clear of political issues, such as slavery, while lobbying for territorial status and statehood.[23] He eventually wrote a pamphlet, *The Mormons*, and gave lectures to "remove in the minds of his hearers the prejudice existing against this people."[24] When rumors of rebellion began to appear in the public sphere, Kane attempted to lobby the Administration with firsthand reports from the Territory of the prejudice in the federal officials' reports and to dismiss ideas of rebellion.[25] In the later governmental decision to dispatch troops to Utah, Kane would travel with Governor Cummings and be influential in his attempt to change perceptions of the Mormons and Young[26].

However, despite reservationists like Kane, critics condemned the government and called for action in Mormon affairs. They believed that a prompt decision should be taken against the tales of rebellion. One man complained to the *New York Times* that, "His [Buchanan's] Administration has been dragging... for eighty days. No one knows to-day what is to be done with Utah. Ask the members of the Cabinet what is to be done, and they very politely inform that *decided* steps will be taken...[It is of] necessity of action, without so much undecided talk and

21 "The Mormon Question: Culpable Delays of the Government in Settling the Affairs of Utah-improbability of the Success of Military Operations this Year." *The New York Daily Times*, , sec. editorial, June 27, 1857.

22 Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden" Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 54.

23 Ibid., 81.

24 Matthew J. Grow, *"Liberty to the Downtrodden" Thomas L. Kane, Romantic Reformer*, (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009), 82.

25 Ibid., 156.

26 Ibid., 182.

promises unfulfilled..Have not the American people the right, and is it *not* their duty to demand a speedy and decided *action* on this vital subject?"[27]

These public opinions would soon be placated, for by the end of May 1857, plans to displace Brigham Young as governor and establish a military presence in Utah Territory were underway. President James Buchanan would appoint Alfred Cummings of Georgia to replace Young and enforce federal authority in the territory. However, some seemed to think that such measures would not be enough. "...in all candor, the idea of sending only two hundred men to enforce law and order in Utah is so extremely ridiculous...if even *one thousand men* were sent to Utah"[28] In June, however, a force of soldiers "not less than 2,500"[29] were dispatched to accompany Governor Cummings and establish a permanent military presence in Utah[30], eventually to be led by Albert Sidney Johnston. This move for military intervention seemed to be met by popular approval overall.[31]

As the troops made their way from Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, to Salt Lake City, the press continued their assault on the Mormons, including of their practice of polygamy. While moral Victorian American society had taken a strong stance against polygamy, the sensationalism of the accounts would also

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27 "The Mormon Question: Culpable Delays of the Government in Settling the Affairs of Utah-improbability of the Success of Military Operations this Year." *The New York Daily Times*, , sec. editorial, June 27, 1857.

28 "The Mormon Question: Culpable Delays of the Government in Settling the Affairs of Utah-improbability of the Success of Military Operations this Year." *The New York Daily Times*, , sec. editorial, June 27, 1857.

29 James Buchanan, "Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 71, p. 4.

30 James Buchanan, "Report of the Secretary of War," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 11, p. 8.

31 William P. Mackinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W.M.F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31, no. 2: 129,

draw the attention of readers.[32] Cartoon artists created popular comics that poked fun at the practice of polygamy.One such cartoon imagined the organization of Brigham Young's troops as an army of women (his wives) who were being handed guns.[33] Yet another comic, found in *Harper's Weekly*, holds the caption "Major Bayonett, of the Mormon Irregulars, consents, in a rash moment, to give each of his devoted Wives a Lock of his Hair. The result is very painful to behold." The cartoon following the description is of a man's hair being completely cut off.[34] Both cartoons illustrate the trend of insulting the institution of polygamy that would continue long after the war's conclusion.

Others produced images to play on the emotions of the people. *Harper's Weekly* featured sketches from the army's march to Utah, filled with hopeless, miserable images of the hard winter the army faced during the winter of 1857.[35] One depicts a group of men huddled around a campfire, coughing and straining against the cold.[36] It is titled "The Bivouac", or a temporary shelter. Another image shows a ragged army straining against a winter blizzard while a horse lies in the snow, dead and left behind.[37] Both images intended to call to mind the hardships the soldiers endured on their journey in the dead of winter. Images and written reports combined drew the pity and support of the readership.

The opinions of the soldiers also reflected the popular outlook toward the venture to Utah. Lieutenant Colonel Philip St. George Cooke, who accompanied Governor Cummings, wrote of the experiences of the soldiers and their general opinions during the march. "This people design our starvation, our destruction... from assassination, murder, fire and flood...The Mormons are a

32 Richard H. Cracroft, ""The Assault of Laughter": The Comic Attack on Mormon Polygamy in Popular Literature," *Journal of Mormon History* (2008): 237,

33 "Brigham Young Mustering His Forces to Fight the United States Troops." *Harper's Weekly*, November 28, 1857. Cartoon.

34 "Affairs at Salt Lake City." *Harper's Weekly,* May 1, 1858. Cartoon.

35 "The War in Utah." *Harper's Weekly,* April 24, 1858.

36 "The Bivouac." *Harper's Weekly,* April 24, 1858. Cartoon.

37 "The March Across the Plains in a Snow-Storm." *Harper's Weekly,* April 24, 1858. Cartoon.

set of cowards, like all assassins and bullies...I hope Congress will declare the Territory in rebellion."[38] After such an arduous journey across the desert it is little wonder their views hardened.

While the soldiers' opinions certainly displayed a universal distaste for Mormons, the opinions of Congressmen in Washington were more varied. As Johnston's Army struggled across the deserts of the west, the perceptions of political leaders did not always complement each other. From the beginning this was evident, and as time wore on their differences would come to a head. Although some views ran in line with the popular approval of Buchanan's decision, others disagreed with the methods and measures the Buchanan Administration had employed.

This was largely in part due to the unsuccessful efforts of the Administration by the end of 1857. The army had been unable to reach Salt Lake City due to harsh weather and drop in soldiers. Congress had also not been in session during Buchanan's decision to dispatch troops to Utah and therefore their advice had not been solicited.[39] Yet despite these issues, members of the Administration continued to promote military efforts and denounce the rebellious Mormons in Utah.

Senator Stephen Douglas was a supporter of military involvement in Utah Territory. Douglas had prior experience with Mormon-related conflicts during his career as judge in Illinois. In 1842, he had been involved with a case against their leader, Joseph Smith, concerning an assassination attempt on former Governor Boggs.[40] Douglas had dismissed the case due to no evidence and the evident hostility to the Mormons because of their religious views. This followed in line with the Democratic Party's policy to "let them [Mormons] alone...Every man has a right to worship God as he pleases."[41] However, by 1857 Douglas'

38 "Interesting Information from the Utah Expedition: Col. Cook's Report." *The New York Times,* January 26, 1858.

39 William P. Mackinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W.M.F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31, no. 2: 129,

40 James L. Huston, *Stephen A. Douglas and the Dilemmas of Democratic Equality*, (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. , 2006): 30,

41 Ibid., 31.

views had turned against the Mormons in Utah Territory, as evidenced by a speech given in July of that year. *Harper's Weekly* reported the Senator's opinion was that a people who once were viewed as citizens were instead alien enemies.[42] He went as far as to even suggest repealing their status as a territory.

One of the influential voices behind Buchanan's decision was Secretary of War, John B. Floyd. Floyd was a supporter for intervening in Utah affairs despite the predicted cost of such a venture. In his annual report, published in the winter of 1857, his views of the Mormons appeared in his discussion of the Utah Expedition. He told of their religious fanaticism and the 'crafty' acts it caused, which were a threat to the rest of the country. "It has, nevertheless, always been the policy and desire of the federal government to avoid collision with this Mormon community... but unfortunately for these views...They [the Mormons] stand a lion in the path... defying the military and civil authorities of the government." [43] At this time, Floyd was also an ardent supporter of increasing the size of a federal army that was already spread thin.[44] Not only had the government encountered other military troubles during this time, such as the struggles in Kansas, but due to the harsh weather, the army dispatched to Utah had decreased in size.[45] Because of these complications, he would argue that 'there is no substitute for an army' and an effective force would require additional numbers.[46]

His sentiments would echo those of President Buchanan. In early 1858 Buchanan began to urge for higher recruitment in the military. The issue would be subsequently presented as a bill to Congress where it would be debated on the senate floor. It soon appeared that while the idea of intervention in Utah had been a popular issue in the public, it would be contested

42 "The Question of the Mormons." *Harper's Weekly*, July 4, 1857.

43 James Buchanan, "Report of the Secretary of War," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 11, p. 8.

44 Ibid., p.4.

45 "Important Army Orders: Reinforcements for the Utah Expedition." *The New York Times,* January 11, 1858.

46 James Buchanan, "Report of the Secretary of War," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 11, p.4.

in Congress.

Support for the army bill and a continued martial presence in Utah were expressed by particular members of Congress. Senator Jefferson Davis, who would later become the Confederate president during the Civil War, lobbied for the increase, citing the necessity of additional numbers to deal with conflicts such as Utah and the continued problems the government had with the Indians.[47] He argued that a larger army was needed to protect aspects of the frontier and be used if in case of civil war, and possibly other rebellions, were to occur.[48]

Their most outspoken opponent would come in the form of Senator Sam Houston of Texas. Houston, like Douglas, had previous dealings with the Mormons as they had settled in part of his state during the 1840s. In addition, some of the men with which he fought during the era of the Texas Republic had converted to Mormonism.[49] During the Utah conflict, an acquaintance of Houston's, who had converted, wrote to him after the army's removal to Utah, urging, "In my heart I believe you are the only Senator…who dares lift up his voice in opposition to public opinion."[50] This acquaintance also warned that the efforts would drain the treasury and open the way to other disputes that would disrupt the precarious Union.[51]

The army bill passed in the House and moved its way to the Senate floor for debate. While Jefferson and others, including William W. Boyce of South Carolina[52] argued for the expansion of the army, a force of men stood against them, including John Bingham of Ohio[53] and Sam Houston. They casted doubt of a rebellion existing in Utah, and therefore dismissed the idea of an increased military.[54] Houston later challenged the Buchanan

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47 *Cong. Globe,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, 53-54.

48 Ibid.

49 Michael Scott Van Wagenen, "Sam Houston and the Utah War," Utah Historical Quarterly, 76, no. 1 (2008): 70,

50 Ibid., 72.

51 Ibid.,

52 *Cong. Globe,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, 1084.

53 *Cong. Globe,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, 1172.

54 Michael Scott Van Wagenen, "Sam Houston and the Utah War," Utah

Administration directly, saying, "I am satisfied that the Executive has not had the information he ought to have had on this subject before making such a movement as he has directed to be made. I am convinced that facts have been concealed from him."[55] He spoke about the letter he had received and how there wouldn't have been a problem in the first place had the government sent "respectable men," rather than the federal officials who had harassed the Mormons.[56] He then warned the Senate that if the military were to proceed, a bloodbath would ensue. The army bill was defeated the following day.

Doubts of the validity of the expedition crept up over time, not only for political officials but for the public as well. Rather than continue their popular support of the war and attack the 'rebellious' Mormons, the *New York Times* questioned why "...a hostile army was sent against Utah at the onset. There were undoubted disorders in the affairs of the Territory...but it has never yet be shown that they were such as could only be remedied by fire and sword."[57] Not only that, but the public became concerned over the costliness of the expedition[58] which had contributed to the continued draining of the federal treasury.

Because of the turn in popular support both publicly and politically, Buchanan was charged by the House of Representatives in the spring of 1858 to show sufficient evidence of a Mormon rebellion.[59] In the over two hundred plus documents presented in his defense, only a few preceded the military orders given during the summer of 1857.[60] Besides a handful of notes

Historical Quarterly, 76, no. 1 (2008): 73,

55 Michael Scott Van Wagenen, "Sam Houston and the Utah War," Utah Historical Quarterly, 76, no. 1 (2008): 77,

56 Ibid.

57 *New York Times*, May 11, 1857

58 William P. Mackinnon, "The Gap in the Buchanan Revival: The Utah Expedition of 1857-58," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 45, no. 1: 40.

59 James Buchanan, "Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 71, p. 1.

60 William P. Mackinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expe-

concerning a couple of deaths, two of the damaging documents were Judge Drummond's resignation and a letter sent to President Pierce by a Mr. W.M.F. Magraw. In the letter, he describes a situation devoid of law and order, of a people with "passions and elements of character calculated to drive them to extremes."[61] He related that the territorial government was a theocracy, "despotic, dangerous, and damnable", molesting non-Mormons who wouldn't adhere.[62] As extreme as his account seems, it would be later found out that Magraw had lost his contract of business in the territory and had many bitter feelings toward Mormons in general.[63] Judge Drummond's account would be seen as biased along with the cases of other federal officials.[64]

All too soon it became apparent that conditions in Utah weren't as tumultuous as originally perceived. Despite Buchanan's proclamation to Utah Territory warning the citizens of continued rebellion,[65] when the federal troops reached the territory they were met with relative peaceful conditions. Governor Cummings reported of his diplomatic meeting with Brigham Young and that Young had transferred power willingly.[66] As the soldiers marched through Salt Lake City, they were met with a calm city in spite of the contrary reports published in the East.

Even with favorable reports from the new governor,

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dition: Careers of W.M.F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31, no. 2: 130,

61 James Buchanan, "Message from the President of the United States, Transmitting Reports from the Secretaries of State, of War, of the Interior, and of the Attorney General, Relative to the Military Expedition Ordered into the Territory of Utah," *Executive Documents,* 35th Cong., 1st sess., 1858, Ex. Doc. 71, p.3.

62 Ibid., p.2.

63 William P. Mackinnon, "The Buchanan Spoils System and the Utah Expedition: Careers of W.M.F. Magraw and John M. Hockaday," *Utah Historical Quarterly*, 31, no. 2: 139,

64 Thomas G Alexander, "Carpetbaggers, Reprobates, and Liars: Federal Judges and the Utah War (1857-58)," *Historian*, 70, no. 2,

65 James Buchanan, "Proclamation - Rebellion in the Territory of Utah." April 6, 1858.

66 "Gov. Cumming's Official Account of his Reception at Salt Lake City," *The New York Times,* June 14, 1858.

several critics still predicted rebellion and obstruction from the territory, including General Johnston as the *New York Times* reported.[67] Because of these fears and a desire to keep federal authority in the territory, the army would later establish a camp south of Salt Lake City, named Camp Floyd.[68] Regardless of these later unfounded rumors, inPresident Buchanan's State of the Union address in December of 1858 he announced, "The present condition of the Territory of Utah...is a subject for congratulation."[69] The "Utah War" was over.

After the expedition was officially brought to a close, the public still had questions as to the true nature of the venture. In the years following the conflict, President Buchanan and his cabinet would come under scrutiny by the press for the state of national finances[70] and the need for a large scale military intervention.[71] Reports of the affairs of Utah prior to the war slowly were recognized as misinformed and prejudiced. As one reporter lamented:

> The Mormon war was as promising a little quarrel
> as ever...it contained every element of success and
> popularity...murders, rapes, polygamy, treason...noth-
> ing was wanting to convert our venerable President
> into a glorious crusader. It too has failed him. Even
> Brigham, the Prophet, has not turned out as well as
> was expected, and refuses to be a traitor; and when
> the Lord's anointed deserts our President in the time
> of his need, his case is indeed pitiable. The latest news
> from Utah places the Administration in a position...of
> tragedy, and the whole story of the war is crowded
> by as much ignorance, stupidity, and dishonest, as

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67 "The Mormons- More War Rumors," *The New York Times,* June 15, 1858.

68 James Buchanan, "Second Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union," December 6, 1858.

69 James Buchanan, "Second Annual Message to Congress on the State of the Union," December 6, 1858.

70 "Expensive Negotiations," *Harper's Weekly,* April 30, 1859.

71 "Old Mother Buchanan at Wheatland," *Harper's Weekly,* November 29, 1862.

any Government ever managed to get into.[72]

Indeed, it was a war waged by the word of public opinion, perceptions, and bias. In the height of propaganda and reports against the activities in Utah Territory, public approval generally mirrored the decision and call for a military intervening against what was an 'informed' rebellion. Without the prejudice that was prevalent during the era, it is doubtful that the idea of a large scale military endeavor would have been approved, let alone conceived. It speaks to the nature and influence public opinion directly has on episodes of history.

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72 "The Mormon Exodus," *The New York Times,* June 17, 1858.

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United States Newspapers on the Irish Famine:

History, Roles and Effects 1845-1847

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A potato famine devastated the people of Ireland from 1845-1850. Much of the world was ignorant of Irish suffering until late 1846 after a second crop failure made it abundantly clear that the Irish Potato Famine was a serious problem. The crop failure in 1846 spelled disaster as the blight had blackened Irish potatoes for two straight harvests, leaving millions of Irish scraping to find food at every meal. Inefficient British Poor Laws and public works schemes had failed to assuage Irish suffering during 1845 and 1846. Finally, in late 1846 and 1847 the British government, for the first time since the famine's ugly inception, publically recognized it as a legitimate problem. As news of the suffering spread, it provoked an unprecedented worldwide humanitarian effort. Donations for famine relief came from a wide-range of geographical origins. In fact, contributions were sent from five continents. Of any people in the world, however, it was the citizens of the United States contributions that played the most important role in foreign relief efforts, monetarily or otherwise. It was the effort of the United States newspaper agencies that

initiated the wave of charitable donations for the cause of Irish relief. The papers were the main source of information for most of the citizens of the United States; as well, they encouraged, motivated and shamed their readers to donate to the Irish cause. The focus of this paper will be to demonstrate the pivotal role that United States newspapers played in spearheading relief efforts for the suffering Irish, especially during 1847.

In1845, initial reports on the famine had been uninteresting and very general. In late 1846-'47 the press in the United States made the Irish famine a major news storyby reporting personal accounts of Irish suffering. They were able to accomplish this through news correspondents in Europe, personal letters from witnesses and victims, and through publication of the European news they received by steamboat from London. Ultimately, it was the efforts of newspapers which prompted Americans to action; it lit a fire in American hearts. Editors across the country endorsed the campaign for famine relief. They began editorial-izing on behalf of famine relief, printing advertisements without charge from the state committee, printing stories and letters about conditions in Ireland, and encouraging towns, cities, and counties to create relief committees. For the first time in history, private citizens and political figures in America made consider-able pecuniary contributions to a foreign country, totaling well over one-million dollars; the highest of any country outside of Britain.[1] America was the only country to send ships, like *The Jamestown*, laden with foodstuffs and other supplies to aid the Irish. Americans who were able to set aside religious differences as Catholics, Protestants, Jews, Quakers, Methodists and Shak-ers united under the cause of Irish relief. The United States also welcomed over 600,000 Irish immigrants, more than any other single country in the world. Nativist backlash would continue throughout the famine years as background noise, drowned out by the resounding cry from United States newspapers, citizens and politicians alike, who bridged the gaps, religious, racial or otherwise, to provide a great magnitude of relief for the suffering Irish. Men and women across the United States joined in the

[1] *The Meaning of the Famine.* Christine Kinealy, "Potatoes, providence and philanthropy: the role of private charity during the Irish Famine*", 166.*

effort to assist the famished Irish, disregarding racial, ethnic, religious and political distinctions. Germans in Newark and Charleston, Jewish Congregations in New York City, free blacks in Richmond and even Choctaws and Cherokees all contributed.[2] Upon examination it becomes resoundingly clear that the efforts of American newspapers were the major driving force to this wave of charitable spirit in the United States.

The majority of newspaper coverage on the Irish famine was initially localized to the eastern seaboard of the United States, especially in cities and states with large Irish-American populations, such as Boston, New Jersey and New York. By March 1847, however, the majority of newspapers east of the Mississippi were reporting regularly on the famine, almost all of which would not be classified as 'Irish-American' papers. The list of the newspapers that were committed to reporting on the famine is too exhaustive to name them all, but to illustrate the magnitude and breadth of news coverage on the Irish famine a sample list includes: Pike County Missouri's *Democratic Banner*, in South Carolina the *Edgefield Advertiser*, *Hartford Weekly Times* in Connecticut, *Jeffersonian Republican* and *Sunbury American* from Pennsylvania, Vermont's *The Northern Galaxy*, *Vermont Phoenix*, and *Watchman*, Michigan's *Ypsilanti Sentinel*, from Columbus Ohio the *Antislavery Bugle*, *Juliet Signal*, *Daily Journal*, *Western Herald* and *the Democrat* from Illinois, not to mention the several papers from New York, New Jersey and Boston that were headlining news reports on the famine. The sheer number of papers that were reporting almost weekly on the famine , demonstrates the incredible relevance that the famine had with news agencies in 1847. The towns and cities that may not have shown any interest in news of the famine become irrelevant when exploring the driving force that American journalism played for the unprecedented wave of humanitarian spirit that swept the United States in 1847.

The Irish-American newspapers had become increasingly influential during Famine years Namely, Boston's *Arcadia* and the *Boston Pilot*, and New York's *Irish World*, *Irish American* and *The Shamrock*. The influence of Irish-American newspapers in the pre-Famine years had been marginal however, even among

2 Strum, *A Jersey Ship for Ireland,* 1.

the Irish in the United States. Prior to 1845 much of the material published in the Irish-American papers was either political commentary that heavily favored the nationalist movement in Ireland or defensive responses to United States nativist attacks. The paper's principal goals were in seeking to secure footholds for the Irish in America. The founder of the *Irish American* declared the mission of his paper was to protect the Irish from, "...the vulgar and impertinent abuse of pretended friends' and the prejudice and hatred of open enemies."[3] His statement, made in 1849, reflected the purpose that the majority of Irish-American papers had exhibited for several years and would continue to demonstrate for years to come. During the famine years, (particularly in 1847), citizens of the United States were gripped with sympathy for the Irish which successfully penetrated political, racial and religious prejudicial barriers. Many of the aforementioned papers played key roles in instigating the United States' humanitarian effort. In particular the *Boston Pilot* carried great influence during this time due to its evolution since its inception in the 1835.

The *Boston Pilot* was founded by Patrick Donahoe, an Irish-born entrepreneur. Donahue's paper struggled through its first few years. The circulation number in December 1838 was a mere 638.[4] In an attempt to create a larger readership Donahoe began to pitch his paper as Catholic-American rather than Irish-American and painted the struggle between the Irish and English as part of a greater religious drama.[5] He also sought to establish more contacts with newspapers in Ireland in order to publish more Irish news. These maneuvers proved successful. By 1844 his circulation numbers had reached 7,000 monthly subscriptions, almost 11 times what it had been just a few years earlier.[6] Donahoe, however, was eager to bolster his paper further by strengthening his fledgling network of transatlantic connections, "in order to furnish [his] readers with the fullest

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3 *Irish American*, 12 August 1849.

4 Joyce, *Editors and Ethnicity,* 69.

5 *Ibid.*, 54.

6 *Ibid.*, 69.

possible intelligence from [Ireland]."[7] The *Pilot* added several Irish papers to its exchange list, including the Dublin's *Freeman's Journal* and *Nation.* Donahoe was certain that this network of free exchanges between Irish and Irish-American papers would cultivate, "a more liberal and Irish spirit [that] will in [the] future govern the Irish Press in their intercourse with the Repeal Press of America," and that the potential "mutual advantages" of these exchanges ought to in no way be misplaced out of "any selfish desire for pay."[8] His policy changes and hard work paid off, especially as the Irish-American population increased during the Irish-Famine years due to the mass immigration of Irish to the United States.

The *Pilot's* readership continued to increase with the advent of the second crop failure in 1847. By 1847 the news from Ireland was a popular headline for the majority of East Coast newspapers in the United States. Connecticut's *Hartford Weekly Times* reported on its front page, "We are glad to see that the people are giving freely in aid of Ireland."[9] The Liberal Republican Party's *New York Daily Tribune* published on its front page a lecture by Irish-born Reverend John Hughs, the Catholic archbishop of New York, which outlined Irish suffering and the responsibility of United States citizens to act on their sympathy.[10] In Pennsylvania, *The Somerset Herald* highlighted an article entitled "Results of the Famine in Ireland," on its front page.[11] The popularity that the famine news had gained, along with the increase of the Irish-American population in Boston, led to an increase of the *Pilot's* readership to 17,000 weekly subscriptions in the late 1840s and early 1850s.[12] The papers popularity and its status as a chief Irish-American newspaper make the *Pilot* a primary source of principal importance to famine scholars. This study will draw heavily upon the *Pilot's* archives in representing all of the other Irish-American newspapers which shared similar sentiments as

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7 *Boston Pilot*, 3 December 1842.

8 *Ibid.*

9 "The Famine Abroad", *Hartford Weekly Times,* 6 March 1847.

10 "The Tyrand and His Famine", *New York Daily Tribune*, 22 March 1847.

11 "Results of the Famine in Ireland", *The Somerset Herald,* 22 June 1847.

12 Joyce, Editors and Ethnicity, 5.

the *Boston Pilot.* A variety of other newspapers from across the nation will be used to demonstrate the enormity, geographically and socially, of famine coverage in the United States.

Although the Irish Famine had permanent effect on the social, political, and economic fabric of Ireland, there was virtually nothing written about the famine outside of a handful of research books, personal accounts and articles, until the late 1980s. In fact, the famine received a very small amount of academic interest until the centennial anniversary in the 1950s, when research was only started, and did not accumulate momentum until the 1980s. Historian James Donnelly found that only five articles related to the famine were published in the academic journal *Irish Historical Studies* within the first fifty years of its existence, beginning in 1938. The fact that there are a plethora of primary sources, including governmental documents, newspaper articles and journal accounts, makes the delay in historical commentary very astonishing.

There is a large pool of newspaper articles, pamphlets and other United States press materials to utilize for primary historical research on the famine. Most historians who have written about the famine have drawn upon, at least to some degree, the vast collection of newspaper articles that are available for their primary source research. There are, however, only a few historical studies that exclusively highlight the use of United States journalism during the famine years. Mick Mulcrone, a member of the American Journalism Historians Association, wrote an eighteen-page article entitled *The Famine Irish and the Irish-American Press: Strangers in a Hostile Land.* In his article he examines two of the most influential Irish-American newspapers, the *Boston Pilot* and the *Arcadia* from 1846-1879. The focal point of his study, however, was to explore the role the press had on the Irish who immigrated to the United States and less upon the role the press had during the famine years. There is a three page section called "The Famine and the Irish-American Press" that focuses on the criticism of the press for the perceived failures of the British government to manage the famine situation. A highlight from that section is a report from the *Boston Pilot*, "This brutal misgovernment of England- who thrust Ireland out like a

diseased leper and bids her help herself in her misery and refuses her the assistance she may claim from the taxes she pays...this brutal policy is producing its natural results. Distress, evictions, emigrations..."[13] His research on the effect of American journalism during the famine years is cripplingly limited to citing a few criticisms that the principal Irish-American newspaper of the time, the *Boston Pilot*, had for Britain.

   Harvey Strum is another historian that explored the effect of United States newspapers on the campaign for famine relief. In 2000, his article was published in the *Journal of the Illinois State Historical Society* entitled "Famine Relief from the Garden City to the Green Isle". Strum surveyed the efforts of the citizens of Chicago in famine relief efforts and does so by exploring the role that the local and national press had on inspiring these efforts. While his scope was narrow (one city in the United States), it represents the template by which most newspaper agencies in the eastern United States responded to the Irish crisis. He highlights the fact that newspaper coverage not only reported the facts about famine suffering, but it created a motivating atmosphere by encouraging meetings, donations and other relief activities. "These grim accounts," speaking of the reports of the famine in newspaper articles, "acted as the catalyst that changed the public mood in the United States from apathy to action."[14] In his article he makes it abundantly clear that, in his estimation, Chicago's newspapers were the key contributing factor for inspiring residents from all over the city of Chicago to become aware of and find the motivation to participate in the famine relief cause. The formula that he found to be true in Chicago symbolizes that United States newspapers were the driving force behind famine relief efforts.

   A more comprehensive work on the role of newspapers during the famine is found in an article entitled "American Newspaper Coverage of the Great Hunger" by Neil Hogan. The study's is wide-ranging in that it covers the whole United States, outlining some of the processes by which newspapers reached the four corners of the nation, as well as some of the tactics that

13 *Boston Pilot*, 25 November 1848,7.

14 Harvey Strum, *Famine Relief from the Garden City to the Green Isle*, 2.

newspapers used in their coverage. While Hogan's study does cover a lot about the history and process of newspaper coverage, it fails to explore the direct results of the newspapers and their motivating role for the United States public. There are further sources that create a more complete account of the history, roles, and effects of the United States press in 1845-1847 during the initial years of the Irish Famine.

Improvements in steam shipping in the 1820's had facilitated the ameliorated passage of both people and goods to America. It also became a faster means to get the news across the Atlantic to Ireland when compared to the old wind-driven sail ships of the pre-1820s. In North America, news of the famine initially reached Halifax, Nova Scotia. The fastest mail currier vessel in Britain, *The Cambria*, delivered its cargo to Halifax on the morning of October 1, 1845, after a short eleven days on the Atlantic.. Among the cargo was a leather pack that was full of European newspapers. The editor of Halifax's *The Nova Scotian*, William Annand, had been tasked with scouring and summarizing the foreign news. His initial report was that European news was "unusually uninteresting". However, there was a bit about a famine in Ireland that caught his eye, and he reported, "As in other parts of the United Kingdom and on the European Continent, the potatoe [sic] crop has suffered an epidemic, and the effect of such a disaster to Ireland will be very serious."[15] Several of the larger east coast newspapers in America had established an express from Halifax that utilized horse, steamboat and railroad. Because of this, the earliest report on the Irish famine in North America was able to reach the United States by 10:45 PM that same evening, as reported by the *U.S. Gazette* in Philadelphia.[16] *The Cambira* made it to the East Boston harbor the next day, October 2, at 5:30 PM and delivered the news to New England's newspaper couriers who raced to deliver the news to their respective news agencies.[17] In many cases, the news did not reach many of the New York newspaper agencies until Friday October 3rd.

15 "The English Mail," *The Nova Scotian* (Halifax), Oct. 6, 1845.

16 "Arrival of the Steamship Hibernia," *U.S. Gazette* (Philadelphia), March 26,1846.

17 "The Cambria," *New York Herald*, Oct. 1, 1845.

Initial news of the famine did not get the attention in the same way that it had by William Annand in Halifax. On October 4, 1845, the editors of *The New York's Herald* reported one simple line on the famine, "The disease among the potato crop in Europe appears to be almost universal."[18] News travelled much more slowly in those days as the majority of the distance was typically covered by horse or railroad. The slow step-by-step progression of the news across America was typical for the times and would continue in a similar fashion throughout the famine years. The news on the famine was printed in Richmond, Virginia's *Richmond Enquirer* on October 7. "The potato disease had prevailed to an alarming degree in some parts of England and also in Belgium, France and other parts of Europe."[19] Then famine news was reported in Cincinnati, Ohio on October 10th, where it received the same general sweeping coverage. What these editors may have failed to realize was that these initial reports, especially William Annand's report from Halifax, would serve as the lead for what would become one of the most significant nineteenth century stories on the American continent.

Areas of the United States that were too far inland to receive the newspaper reports directly from England were forced to rely on the accounts of other newspaper editors. For example, in South Carolina, citizens learned of the potato failure on October 9th through the account of the *Charleston Courier* who had read its report directly from the Dublin's *Freeman's Journal*. In fact, these exchange subscriptions with larger coastal dailies were encouraged by the U.S. Postal Service, which provided the service of exchange subscriptions for free.[20] In some cases, the service exchange meant that news could lag behind a few months. For example, news of the famine did not reach Oregon until April 1, 1847,.. The *Oregon Spectator* reported, "By the *New York Sun* of the 9th of November last.... The intelligence of most moment relates to the deplorable condition of Ireland, in consequence

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18 "Two Weeks Later From Europe…," *New York Herald*, October 4, 1845.

19 "Arrival of the Cambria," *Richmond Enquirer,* October 7, 1845.

20 Frank Luther Mott, *American Journalism*, *A History: 1690-1960* (New York: Macmillan, 1962), 305.

of the failure of the potato crop."[21] It was typical for the famine reports to lag at least six months before reaching the Pacific Northwest. In this case, the report's headline relates this fact; it read "Late and Important European News"[22]. For the times, the exchanging of newspapers proved to be an extraordinarily efficient method of diffusing word of the famine throughout the United States, allowing editors to be selective with the sources they used to inform the local public.

The reports on the famine took a backseat in the news, especially since the Irish potato crop in the summer of 1846 was predicted to be very successful. Also, with the outbreak of the Mexican-American War in 1846 newspapers began to show limited interest in the Irish famine. It wasn't until the arrival of the *Arcadia*, in Boston, that news on the famine started to gain traction again in 1846. But it was the failure of the second potato crop in the fall of 1846 that really grasped the attention of the United States press. Newspapers in the United States offered sympathetic reports toward those affected by the famine, highlighting suffering and the duty of the United States to help their 'Irish brothers."[23] The papers immediately began to encourage the public to respond to Ireland's cries for help. As early as December 1846, United States newspapers found ways to motivate donations for famine relief. Publishing the names of contributors was one of the more popular and effective tools used by newspapers in raising monetary donations. In Jersey City, for example, the local press agreed to publish contributions weekly. There were no large contributions in Jersey City and most ranged from 50 cents to $2.00.[24] In one month $1,008 was raised and the funds were sent to the Irish Relief Association in Dublin.[25] The example of the citizens in Jersey City encouraged residents of other cities. The *New York Tribune* reported; "Jersey City took the lead of us in the good work... what village will not emulate

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21 "Late and Important European News," *Spectator*, April 1, 1847.

22 Ibid.

23 *The Times*, 24 March 1847

24 Jersey City *Sentinel*, 7-15 December 1846

25 H.N. Fryatt to General Robert Armstrong, *Sentinel 5* January 1847.

her glorious example?"[26] Soon after this article was published, residents in other cities in New Jersey, Newark, Plainfield and Paterson, organized meetings to sponsor relief efforts for the Irish. This pattern was followed in many cities across the eastern seaboard as newspapers encouraged individuals to contribute.

From late 1846 through 1847 the Irish famine took the spotlight in United States papers. Chicago's *Western Herald* reported, "From Ireland the accounts continue to be most distressing... They are starving. Frantic looking women and children... quite feeble from starvation."[27] As well, Chicago's *Northwestern Gazette* featured a reprint of a letter from Roscommon, Ireland. "Ireland is visited from north to south, from east to west, with a most direful famine; the poor are living in many parts on cabbages and salt, and many of them dying in the highroads, in the fields and in the towns, of Irish cholera."[28] Likewise, the *Boston Pilot* brought attention to reports about food riots and starvation deaths, "An incubus," it cautioned, "is now weighing heavily upon Ireland."[29] *The Burlington Gazette* in Princeton reported to its readers "Ireland appears to be in deplorable condition... and the famine continues to spread."[30] Likewise, in Newark, those residents who read the local paper, *the Eagle*, learned that, "great numbers [of Irish] are dying of starvation."[31] Other newspapers followed the example of these first newspapers and press reports about the suffering in Ireland soon began to be suffused though the Unites States.[32] Reports such as these began to flood the United States and captured the attention of the public. Much of the ammunition that newspapers used to motivate the public involved reporting on the suffering, summarizing European reports, publishing letters from Ireland or those who had witnessed the suffering, and pleading for citizens to donate or organize to

26 *New York Tribune*, December 28, 1846.

27 Chicago *Western Herald*, 2 December 1846.

28 Galena *Northwestern Gazette,* 27 November 1846.

29 *Boston Pilot,* 20 March 1847, 6.

30 Burlington *Gazette*, November 20, 1846

31 Newark *Eagle*, Nov. 20, 1846

32 Princeton *Whig, Nov. 3, 1846, (*Woodbury *Constitution*, October 6, 1846, Trenton *News*, November 18, 1864)

help. The other method was to criticize the British government, which antagonized many to move to action for the Irish cause.

Much of the initial reporting in 1847 focused on the failures of the British government in not caring for its Irish citizens properly. The *Pilot* boldly asserted that the starvation of the Irish was, "a crime that cries to high heaven for vengeance."[33] The ideological framework Britain had employed for famine relief came under considerable scrutiny in the United States. Sir Charles Trevelyn, the official managing the Irish crisis, had suggested that giving the Irish charitable assistance would, "thwart the providence of God."[34] The dominatingly Protestant British public also held to the doctrine of evangelical faith in the machinations of God in the affairs of the market place. This belief led the vast majority of British citizens, common people and government officials alike, to view the famine as an act of God's will. Fettered by the idea of the famine as being a judgment of God, British officials in power, such as Trevelyan, Peel and Russell, saw Irish suffering as atonement and the only way for Irish salvation. Consequently, relief action was late, inefficient and inadequate. Also, that meant that the famine was viewed as, "divine encouragement to reformation and redemption before it was too late."[35] Advocates of Irish relief in the Unites States had plenty of ammunition to use in their efforts to fund-raise for Irish relief. Criticisms were voiced without restraint in both newspapers and town meetings.

The *Boston Pilot* newspaper reported that the speakers had talked of England as "disgracing herself in the estimation of all nations, by suffering tens of thousands of her subjects to die for want of food."[36] The newspapers were right. Thousands were dying in Ireland while Britain had done almost nothing effective to alleviate the situation. While neither political party in Britain, Whig or Tory, had yet used outright arguments of racial superi-

33 *Boston Pilot,* 27 March 1847, 6.

34 *Boston Pilot,* 27 November 1847, 6.

35 Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought 1785-1865, Perceptions of Ireland in the Famine Era*, Claredon Press, Oxford, 1988, p.11

36 *Boston Pilot*, 2 Feb. 1847.

ority, they had made plenty of inferences to such dogma. They alluded to English superiority in every ethnocentrically crafted sentence of ineffective relief legislation. These ideas shifted blame to Irish character rather than recognizing the requirement for equality, not only in political economy but in liberal relief of suffering. Traditions of ideologically driven racial and social tyranny led to the general view that "relief should be made so unattractive as to furnish no motive to ask for it, except in the absence of every other means of subsistence."[37] This oppressive idea was also manifest in the legislation of the Poor Law in regards to the public works schemes. It had been stipulated to "be as repulsive as possible consistent with humanity," evincing the perception of the Irish as lazy and too willing to depend on the government for lively hood. This idea was commonly held in Britain in both pre-famine and famine years.[38]

The Boston Pilot reported on a meeting held in Rutland Vermont where blame was placed firmly on the British for the starvation of the Irish. The Boston newspaper published in its weekly edition that those at the meeting had agreed that "as England boasts of her power and wealth, and continued to extend her empire in every quarter of the world, she should be held responsible by all nations, for the degradation, suffering and starvation of her subjects."[39] In other relief meetings, United States citizens gathered to voice criticism of the British policies that had been legislated by their government. In one such meeting, on March 1847, John Hugh, Bishop of the Catholic Church, gave a lecture entitled "Antecedent Causes of the Irish Famine," where he attributed the origins of the starvation mainly to "bad government."[40] He stood in opposition to the Whig policies of faith in political economy, contending that more government intervention, not less, would be necessary to help relieve suffering. Hugh gave especially scathing remarks regarding Lord

37 Trevelyan, *Irish Crisis*, p. 138

38 Edward Twistleton, Poor Law Commissioner to Charles Trevelyan, Public Record Office London, T.64.370C/4, 27 Feb. 1848

39 *Boston Pilot*, 2 Feb. 1847.

40 Given by the right reverend John Hugh's, Bishop of New York, March 20, 1847

John Russell's dogmatic determination to not interrupt concepts of free trade in the face of incredible human suffering and loss. British sentiment toward the Irish had paralyzed the need for liberal legislation throughout famine years. It is no wonder that United States newspapers were able to fill their pages with the criticism that Irish and United States' citizens had voiced.

Letters were also used by the press to create sympathy for the Irish cause. United States citizens in Ireland were sending letters to news agencies to be published. Those who had witnessed the suffering in Ireland for themselves provided some of the most graphic descriptions of any of the published letters. In November 1845 the *New York Tribune* published an interesting letter that was sent to them by a United States man in Dublin, who accurately predicted the dire consequences of the famine. He wrote:

> Ere this letter will have reached you, the famine will actually have commenced and whatever may be done in the interim to avert its evils, immense suffering must ensue. Could I detail to you the many cases of wretchedness and want daily under observation, I believe it would arouse [the United States] to immediate and energetic action. But I need not detail them. Is it not enough that six millions of human beings in England and Ireland are within eight weeks of starvation?[41]

This kind of letter to the editor, as they call it, was one of many letters that would be sent to newspapers over the course of the famine. In the nineteenth century letters to the editor were published on the front page as news and not as opinion pieces like they are today. The letters came from a variety of individuals; United States citizens in Ireland, Irish celebrities, and Irish common folk. In any form, this type of reporting was very effective in touching the hearts of the people of the United States, as the letters provided extremely vivid and touching accounts of the Irish suffering. This man's plea for "immediate and energetic action" was not answered until the second potato crop

41 "The Famine in Ireland," *New York Daily Tribune*, November 24, 1845.

failed in 1847 but it was letters like his that were instrumental in inspiring the United States public to act.

There is little doubt that word of mouth played a role in the distribution of news about the famine, but this is hard to comment on due to the lack of documentation.. There are, however, a few noteworthy cases that have been well documented. In both cases exampled here, the letters printed in newspapers were read at the meetings held to fund-raise for famine relief. The Native American Choctaw tribes in Oklahoma were informed of Irish suffering by their government agent, Colonel William Armstrong, and the Society of Friends. They quickly resolved to hold a meeting at the Choctaw Agency to discuss ways to raise funds for Irish relief. A letter was read at the meeting which delineated the suffering in Ireland and appealed for donations. The meeting resulted in a collection made by 'Red-men and White'. Missionaries, traders and Native Americans contributedand the collection totaled $170. The Society of Friends regarded this money as a representation of "the voice of benevolence from the western wilderness of the western hemisphere."[42] The *Arkansas Intelligencer* commented, "What an agreeable reflection it must give the Christians and the philanthropist, to witness this evidence of civilization and Christian spirit existing among our red neighbors".[43] This donation was received with special thankfulness since it came from a poor people who had known great suffering themselves.

The Cherokee Native American Indians also displayed incredible sympathy through organizing and donating a relatively reasonable amount of money. They too heard about the suffering by word of mouth, from the Society of Friends. The Cherokee people's sympathy can be attributed to the fact that many of their ancestors had married Scottish and Irish settlers. They called a meeting and read letters from those who had witnessed Irish suffering first-hand. The meeting was successful in raising a subscription of $245, the majority of which was sent to Scotland. A local Cherokee newspaper reported, 'Although we may never receive any pecuniary benefit or aid in return,

42 *Arkansas Intelligencer,* 3 May 1847

43 *Arkansas Intelligencer*, 8 May 1847

we will richly be repaid by the consciousness of having done a good act, by the moral effect it will produce abroad and by the reflection that we have helped to allay the sorrows of the land rendered illustrious by the deeds of Wallace and Bruce and the songs of Scotts and Burns."[44] The Philadelphia relief committee described the donation from the Cherokees as an act "Of truly Christian benevolence, evidence that they had 'already attained to [a] higher and purer species of civilization derived only form the influence of our holy religion by which we are taught to view the sufferings of our fellow beings wherever they exist as our own."[45] The United States Gazette took a much more humanistic explanation of the donation by stating that it was particularly welcome because "It comes from those upon whom the white man has little claim. It teaches us that the Indian is made like as we are, has humanity common with us."[46]

In New Orleans, *The Picayune* printed a letter that they had received from Henry Barry Hyde, who had served as secretary of the Galway Industrial Society. In his letter he gave chilling descriptions of the suffering on the west coast of Ireland. He wrote of workers and fishermen in Galway who were so weakened by the starvation that they could hardly manage menial labor tasks.[47] The newspaper directly quoted his letter: "Language is inadequate to give even a faint idea of the horrors endured by the sons and daughters of that most beautiful portion of God's earth."[48] A United States Methodist minister, Reverend William Livesey was another who sent a letter. He sent his correspondence to two different Methodist newspapers, Boston's *Zion's Herald* and Portland, Maine's *Wesleyan Journal*. The Reverend's letter focused on the deplorable conditions that Irish immigrants faced in sailing to the Unites States, most did so out of dire necessity. He described the passengers as being "So close... that it was almost impossible to change their position without trading on someone.

44 *Arkansas Intelligencer*, 13 May 1847

45 *Arkansas Intelligencer*, 15 July 1847.

46 *Cherokee Nation,*15 July 1847

47 "Galway Industrial Society," *Daily Picayune* (New Orleans), July 3, 1847.

48 "The Distress of Ireland," *Ibid.*, July 4, 1847.

No chair or bench of any kind was provided."[49] These letters were tremendously helpful in raising money for famine relief. Likewise, they motivated citizens to gather in meetings and organize fund-raisers or ships to send relief to Ireland.

In communities across the eastern Unites States business, civic, political and religious leaders had initiated non-partisan and non-sectarian citizen's committees to petition for and collect donations. It was reported that in Connecticut "North Baptist Church [raised]... $150", "In St. Mary's Church, N.Y. on Sunday, the sum of $2,200 was collected.", and "The people of the island of Nantucket... have raised and sent out, for the relief of the poor in Ireland, the sum of $2,000."[50] Newspaper articles were often read in meetings as a way to persuade people to donate to the Irish cause. Accounts of Irish suffering were read and pleas made exhorting the people of the United States to give liberally. As sympathetic sentiment for the sufferers in Ireland spread across the eastern states, some of the first city meetings in regards to famine relief were held in Boston, New York, New Jersey, Baltimore and Philadelphia, all cities with high Irish-American populations. These meetings were held to devise the best and quickest means of helping the starving in Ireland. Eventually these meetings were being held throughout the country, drawing a wide range of support from all different levels of political, social and religious status. Ignoring ethnic, racial, religious and political differences, men and women were responding to the calls to join in the effort to aid the Irish.. Diversity was created through meetings by Choctaw Native Americans in Oklahoma, Jewish congregations in New York City, free blacks in Richmond Virginia, Quakers, Germans in Newark and Charleston, and Baptists in Connecticut.

In Chicago, there were thirty citizens who organized a committee and called a town meeting, to be held on February 25, 1847, at the local courthouse for the purpose of, "tak[ing] into consideration the suffering condition of the inhabitants of

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49 Letter From England," *Zion's Herald and Wesleyan Journal,* September 16, 1847.

50 "Aid for Ireland", *Hartford Weekly Times,* 6 March 1847.

Ireland."[51] The meeting was postponed until March 4th, but the newspapers put in several advertisements encouraging citizens to attend.[52] The *Journal* further promoted attendance by reminding its readers of the immense suffering and terrible conditions in Ireland. The night before the event they goaded readers by reminding them, "The relief meeting for starving Ireland for tomorrow evening will not be forgotten by any... who have a feeling to be awakened, or a farthing to bestow."[53] The efforts of the newspapers paid off. As a result of the meeting, over $1,600 was raised and sent to Ireland.

As meetings were being held across the eastern sea-board, new methods of inspiring donations were being tested. One that proved successful in raising money for relief efforts involved reading letters from England or Ireland which described the suffering.. These were read in town meetings across the United States. For example, a letter to the Duke of Wellington, written by Nicholas Cummins, described the state of those who resided in Ireland's Skibbereen district. He pleaded with the Duke:

A mother, herself in fever, was seen the same day to drag out the corpse of her child, a girl about twelve, perfectly naked, and leave it half covered with stones....Let them, however, believe and tremble that they shall one day hear the Judge of all the Earth pronounce their tremendous doom, with the addition, "I was hungered and ye gave Me no meat; thirsty and ye gave Me no drink; naked, and ye clothed Me not."...It is yet in your power to add other honor to your age... You have access to our young and gracious Queen- lay these things before her... Once more, my Lord Duke, in the name of starving thousands, I implore you, break the frigid and flimsy chain of official etiquette, and save the land of your birth...[54]

The poignant letter was read on several occasions in meetings held across the nation in cities that spanned from Albany to New Orleans. As a result of this letter, a total of $30,000 was raised for Irish relief in the cities of New York and Philadelphia alone.

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51 *Chicago Daily Journal*, 26 February 1847.

52 Ibid. 4 March 1847.

53 Ibid. 3 March 1847.

54 *The London Times,* 24 December, 1847.

Considering that there were anti-Irish riots in both New York and Philadelphia as late as 1844, this donation characterizes the change in sentiment toward the Irish in 1847.

Another letter read in a town meeting addressed to the "Ladies of America", written by a woman of Dunmanway, in County Cork. One exceptionally poignant section read:

> Oh! That our American sisters could see the laborers on our roads, able bodied men, scarcely clad, famishing with hunger, with despair in their once cheerful faces. Staggering at their work... Oh! That they could see the dead father, mother, or child, lying coffin less, and hear the screams of the survivors around them caused not by sorrow, but by agony of hunger...[55]

Her letter was read in Washington D.C. and influenced many political figures that, in turn, donated to Irish relief, and wielded their influence to encourage others to do so as well. For example, Vice-President George Mifflin Dallas brought additional weight to the appeals for relief donations. The Vice-President chaired a meeting in Washington DC, on February 9, 1847, which promoted relief for the Irish and gave efforts an impressive backing by a popular political face. The meeting attracted a number of wealthy and influential individuals, which included private citizens and public servants. Members of both the House of Representatives and the Senate were well represented. Several letters were read, which detailed the distress in Ireland, after which members agreed that such a calamity ought to overcome all considerations of distance, foreign birth and residence. The meeting resolved:

> The enlightened and improved spirit of the age, the dictates of humanity, and the authority of our holy religion suggest that the people of the United States that such exampled calamity and suffering ought to overcome in their regard all considerations of distance, foreign birth and residence, and difference in national character, and that it is enough that they are

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55 *National Intelligencer*, 11 February 1847.

men, women and children and as such belong to our intellectual human nature.[56]

As part of the resolution, it was also recommended that committees should be established throughout the country with the purpose of organizing the collection and the effective distribution of relief funds. The proceeds were to be forwarded to the two general committees which were located in New York and New Orleans. Also, as a result of the Vice-President's endorsement most of the United States' major political leaders gave their blessing to and encouraged a nationwide movement for charitable donations.[57] This movement catalyzed a response from local businesses, the general public and civic leaders who joined to fight for the Irish cause.

Another major political figure involved in efforts to persuade the United States government to directly intervene was Senator Crittenden form Kentucky. He proposed a bold plan that called for the federal government to donate $500,000 to alleviate the distress in Ireland and Scotland. Senator Crittenden's intentions were noble but his plan was rejected by the *Ways and Means Committee* as presumptuous and, more importantly, as unconstitutional.[58] The measure had passed in the Senate but its chances at fruition stopped in the House, which shut it down. A sympathetic President Polk admitted that he wished to see the plan work out but recognized that the unconstitutionality of it made that improbable.[59] However, the *Boston Pilot* discerned an insincere tone in President Polk's statement, accused him of not sincerely supporting the measure and criticized him for only contributing $50 to relief funds, a sum that was allegedly coerced out of him.[60] Whether this public criticism was well founded or not has become historically irrelevant. However, the fact that a well-established newspaper agency criticized the president for his relatively small donation effectively showed that

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56 *Washington Gazette*, Jan. 1847

57 Washington *National Intelligencer*, 12 February, 1847.

58 *Charleston Courier,* 17 February 1847, 2 April 1847

59 *The Great Irish Famine*, "Philanthropy and Private Donations" p. 77

60 *Boston Pilot,* 13 March 1847

the sentiment for the Irish had mesmerized the United States.

Despite deliberately disregarding the effrontery in Kentucky Senator Crittenden's plan, congress demonstrated its desire to assist Ireland in other ways by proposing new ways of helping in relief efforts. Committees across the country, including Galena, Springfield, Chicago, Joliet, and Naperville, were raising funds, provisions and clothing to be sent to Ireland on ships. Monetary donations were typically used for the purchasing of flour, Indian corn, meal, clothes, blankets and any other means deemed necessary for Irish relief. Therefore, a high proportion of the contributions that eventually reached Ireland from the Unites States were made in kind, and not in cash. This method was typically slower than simply sending money to the relief associations located in Dublin or London, but it was done for several reasons that proved attractive to United States economic progress. The Boston Relief Committee asked congress for a ship loaded with relief provisions to send to Ireland to which Congress responded affirmatively and granted the commission permission to use United States warships as a means to transport food to Ireland. The most notable vessel of transport was the *Jamestown*, which was among the most publicized acts of charity of United States. The ship was run at virtually no cost, manned by volunteers, and there were no freight charges. This was especially significant because the Unites States was in the middle of a war with Mexico. Many citizens and government officials criticized the government for permitting valuable war ships to be used during a time of war to benefit Ireland. The *Jamestown*'s captain, Robert Bennett Forbes, vindicated its cause on the grounds that "it is not an everyday matter to see a nation starving."[61]

On St. Patrick's Day in 1847, the *Jamestown* was loaded with 87,000 barrels of flour, 400 barrels of pork, and 353 barrels of beans to be sent to Cork. The Boston Relief Committee, who had provided the provisions, estimated the amount of the subscriptions raised to purchase supplies to be over $100,000. "Every paper in this country has noticed most enthusiastically the mission of the *Jamestown*, and all concur that it is one of the

61 *Cork Examiner*, 16 April 1847.

most sublime transactions in a nation's history", reported the *Boston Pilot* on April 3, 1847. Captain Robert Bennett Forbes warned his men that in return for their efforts they would get "room to swing a hammock on the gun deck, plenty of bread and small stores, plenty of hard work under strict discipline, and a return to Boston in about two months."[62] It took 11 days to load the foodstuffs onto the *Jamestown* and only 15 days and three hours to arrive at Colbh, a town just outside of Cork. Here philanthropist William Rathborn of Liverpool, who had agreed to oversee the equitable distribution of the relief, met them at the harbor. Forbes refused to participate in the official welcomes held by the British Government in Dublin. *The Boston Pilot* quoted Forbes: "If the relief could cross the Atlantic in 15 days, it should not take a further 15 to reach the poor."[63]

The *Jamestown* left Cork on April 22, after having stayed for just over a week. A tidal wave of praise came from the press as a result of the charitable actions. Many newspapers pointed out, with the arrival of the *Jamestown*, the contrast between the generosity of the United States and the parsimony of the British government. *The Cork Advertiser* published an article in its paper painting an unfavorable comparison between the slow response of the British government and the speedy response of the United States:

> [*The Jamestown* arrived] in less time than it would take to get an intelligible answer form the Board of Works, to comprehend the provisions of one of our bewildering Acts of Parliament, or to take the initial steps towards carrying them into execution.[64]

Likewise, the *Cork Examiner* wrote:"A nation which owes us nothing... [should] be a model to a nation that owes to us her pre-eminent greatness."[65] In contrast to the criticism the British government received, there were a number of articles or letters written that praised the beneficence of the United States. Fa-

62 *Boston Pilot*, 20 March 1847.

63 *Boston Pilot*, 20 March 1847

64 *Cork Advertiser*, 15 April 1847

65 *Cork Examiner,* 16 April 1847

ther Mathew wrote letters of approbation in which he stated that the benevolence of the United States public "has inspired every heart in this island with ardent gratitude."[66] He also noted that corn prices had fallen by 18 dollars as a result of the relief action.[67] Many of Father Mathew's letters were published in United States newspapers.

Jersey City was among the first to respond to the crisis, heeding the call of the local newspaper agencies. As early as November 1846, Jersey City newspapers were publishing accounts of the conditions in Ireland, "Ireland appears to be in deplorable condition... great numbers are dying of starvation."[68] Soon town meetings were being held and it was decided that Jersey City would send a ship laden with foodstuffs to Ireland. 17 March 1847, the *National Standard* reported: "A *Jersey Ship* has been procured."[69] There was extensive support in raising funds and food for the Jersey Ship. The *Sentinel* reported, "The people throughout the state, both far and near appear to have taken this matter into their special keeping."[70] Committees were established across the state. Ultimately, $10,500 worth of provisions and clothing were loaded onto the ship, the *Overmann,* and sent to Ireland. There were four other ships sent from Jersey City alone. The *William Dugan* carried $7,000 worth of provisions, the most of the four ships. The *Sentinel* had further encouraged others to make sure Salem County would not to be the "last to extend its helping hand to the starving people of Ireland."[71] Their plea did not fall on deaf ears.

In 1847 alone there were one hundred and fourteen ships that delivered nearly two hundred eighty thousand pounds in provisions, the equivalent of one and a half million dollars at the time (equal to about thirty million dollars today). These shipments of clothing, flour, corn and other foodstuffs and supplies was welcomed by the British government as they struggled to

66 *Connecticut Courant,* 8 May 1847, cited in Gallagher, *American Relief, p. 15*

67 *Connecticut Courant,* 8 May 1847, cited in Gallagher, *American Relief, p. 16*

68 Princeton *Whig,* November 3, 1846.

69 Salem *National Standard,* March 17, 1847.

70 New Jersey *Sentinel,* 10 March 1847.

71 Salem *National Standard,* March 17, 1847.

take care of their Irish subjects. Even *The Times* newspaper in London, who typically antagonized the Irish in any way possible, was led to:

> confess to a passing sensation of wounded pride when we hear our fellow subjects [the Irish] becoming the objects of republican [U.S.] benevolence, and or social sores being exposed in the cities of New England. But if we are unable to rescue Ireland from the grasp of famine, as confessedly we are, it does not become us to resent the assistance of a generous kinsman and friend. Whoever is to blame, most true it is that Ireland does not prosper in our hands. We must therefore, submit to be commiserated and helped in our task.[72]

The help that did come was, in large part, a result of the various committees and town meetings that were organized across United States. This was essentially facilitated by increase in newspaper coverage on the famine, which informed and motivated citizens to organize and help the Irish.

United States contributions to the Irish famine relief effort were widespread, both geographically and socially. For the first time in United States history there were so many that put aside prejudice, class, social standing, political dogma, and racism to help an isolated group of people suffering from a catastrophic natural disaster. "The sympathies of the people in all parts of our Country seem to be waking up to the distressed condition of the people of Ireland", reported one New Jersey newspaper.[73] The critical factor in the response of the United States was the effort of its newspapers. Editors not only reported on the famine, they pushed, shamed, and encouraged their readers to contribute to the national philanthropic relief effort. The themes that were used included the magnitude of the crisis in Ireland, the United States being a land of plenty, common humanity, the national cause of relief, battering the British and the common bond with the Irish. Often times the

72 *The Times*, 24 April 1847.

73 Elizabeth *New Jersey Journal, 23* February 1847.

newspapers would make it an issue of local or national civic pride to make sure that all were participating. One paper asked, "Will not the people of Hunterdon respond to the loud calls of suffering humanity?"[74] Also, editors would often encourage further participation of the local committees. One paper urged its local committee, "To be up and doing" because "we know of more than one 'Widow's mite' ready for this sacred treasury."[75] All of this effort on the part of United States newspapers led to an unparalleled determination by the citizens of the nation to provide foreign relief for the Irish, the magnitude of which was unmatched in the world.

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74 Flemington *Hunterdon County Democrat 24* March 1847.

75 Elizabeth *New Jersey Journal, 23* February 1847.

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