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Finding Refuge in Reason and Religion: Understanding Pombaline-era Architecture and Reform through 18th Century *Azulejo*

Introduction

In 1700, Gabriel del Barco, a painter from Spain who lived and worked in Lisbon, recorded a panoramic view of his city titled *Grand Panorama of Lisbon*. For the work, del Barco fused blue pigment to opaque, tin-glazed earthenware panels that in total spanned 23 meters: the most extensive pictorial record of the capital before the disastrous Great Earthquake on All Saints Day, 1755.[1] Originally a fresco painter, del Barco shifted to a career as a ceramic tile painter, becoming a prominent figure during the Baroque period.[2] The artist's transition from plaster to tin-glaze was natural: this form of tilework, *azulejo*, was Portugal's narrative art form. When del Barco painted his panoramic view of Lisbon, the highly syncretic medium existed "as a decorative element narrating, at the same time, events of the Portuguese society and culture."[3]

This paper explores the connection between architecture and *azulejo* produced after the earthquake, during, and after the Pombaline era. The 1755 disaster provoked an increase in the popularity of Pombaline tile and *Registos de Santos* (devotional tile panels). These two significant *azulejo* trends functioned to record the responses of rulers and subjects to this tremendous event during the second half of the 18th century. The literature on Pombaline-era reform and reconstruction mentions a rational, or enlightened, approach to new construction modes, including adopting prefabrication and mass production methods. Most studies focus on earthquake planning or Pombaline style architecture and only briefly if at all, discuss the Pombaline tile. The thesis of this paper is that exploration of the juxtaposition of standardized,

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1   Ana Anjos Mântua, João Pedro Monteiro, "*Grande Panorama de Lisboa / Panoramic View of Lisbon*" in "Discover Baroque Art", Museum With No Frontiers, 2021. http://baroqueart.museumwnf.org/database_item.php?id=object;BAR;pt;Mus12;41;en

2   José Berardo e Silva Álvaro, *800 Anos de História do Azulejo* (Lisboa: Museu BerardoEstremoz, 2020), 344.

3   Fernando Magalhães, "Building Bridges between Cultures: The Originalities of the Portuguese Tile," in *Proceedings of the 7th Mediterranean Interdisciplinary Forum on Social Sciences and Humanities*, Barcelona, 16-7 May, 2019.

patterned tile and figurative, neoclassical *Registos de Santos* has much to reveal about social life and religion after the earthquake.

Further research of the increase in popularity of these devotional images during the Pombaline era—particularly in cases when the plaques were installed on Pombaline facades—will be an opportunity to analyze *azulejo* in a space between the public and private sphere through the lens of material culture. This study will address the prevalence of votive scenes and the role of specific saintly pairs in response to the earthquake and the reformative period that followed. It will argue that the spirituality and religion of the populace remained steadfast against the backdrop of Pombaline-era reconstruction and reform.

Azulejo offers an exemplary framework through which to explore and tell the story of how the Great Earthquake of 1755 transformed Lisbon because of the painted tile's narrative ability and the extent of the medium's transformation during the late eighteenth to the nineteenth century. European responses to the earthquake manifest in this form of material culture will introduce *azulejo* to an audience outside of art history and archaeology (and outside of Portugal) and show how it played a central role in Portuguese architecture and heritage.

Azulejo

The word *azulejo* is significant in that although it suggests the Spanish and Portuguese word for "blue," *azul* the word is of Arabic origin and refers to polished objects, such as stone or earthenware. The Moors first introduced *Azulejo* to the Iberian Peninsula during the 8th century, under Muslim rule. However, *azulejo* was later formally introduced to the region during the early modern period (sixteenth to the eighteenth century) Hispano-Moorish tiles were imported to Portugal from Spain and used in the royal palace, religious buildings, and homes. The tiles, which existed in a space "between decorative art and painting," adapted and transformed according to the space they occupied, whether found on the facades of or hidden inside churches, dwellings, and hospitals as public and private works. By the eighteenth century, the Portuguese had adopted *azulejo* as a natural art form, a symbol of their cultural heritage.[4] Considering how people used *azulejo* to record Portuguese history and culture, the tile-ceramic medium offers an exemplary lens to comprehend Portuguese society after the Great Earthquake—a turning point in the country's history. In his panels, del Barco records Lisbon before the earthquake: a city in an ideal port location that rapidly prospered on

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4   Céline Ventura Teixeira, "A Palimpsest of Ornaments: The Art of Azulejo as a Hybrid Language," *Renaissance Studies* Vo. 34, No. 4 (2019): 593–623. https://doi.org/10.1111/rest.12591.

alluvial soil. However, having grown without planning, the urban topography was congested and unorganized and created hazards that exacerbated the damage caused by the earthquake, fires, and tsunami.

A Brief History of Azulejo in Portuguese Architecture

By and large, architects limit their discussion of ceramic tile to its practical functions, such as its indoor application for cooling and sanitation or its external function as cladding.[5] Most of the literature on Pombaline architecture relies heavily on the writings and plans of military engineer Manuel da Maia and architects Eugenio de Santos and Carlos Mardel, whom the Marquis of Pombal, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, oversaw.[6] During the reconstruction of the *baixa pombalina* (downtown Lisbon), cost-saving measures factored heavily in the design simplification of decorative tile.[7] After the earthquake, the Dom José and the Marquis of Pombal streamlined the construction of architectural elements, such as windows, doors, tiles, "wrought iron staircase components," or even anti-seismic components (i.e., Pombaline cage) through mass production, simplification, and in some cases, prefabrication. Masons followed these decrees to meet safety requirements and speed up the rebuilding process.[8] The concept of a modern and rational rectilinear city grid, Pombaline architecture, and anti-seismic design left little room to understand tiles beyond function. In "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon: An Eighteenth-Century Example of Prefabrication and Dimensional Co-ordination," Richard Penn, Stanley Wild, and Jorge Mascarenhas made an exception by briefly mentioning the Real Fábrica do Rato, a workshop that produced many of the ceramic tiles of the period.[9]

Other scholars, particularly in the field of art history, have explored the decorative function of *azulejo*. In "Building Bridges between Cultures: The Originalities of the Portuguese Tile" and "A Palimpsest of Ornaments: The Art of Azulejo as a Hybrid Language," art historians Fernando Magalhães and Céline Ventura Teixeira discussed the Arabic origins of ceramic tile, its introduction to, gradual transformation, and apogee in the Iberian Peninsula

5   J. De Sousa-Leão, "Portuguese Tiles in Brazilian Architecture," *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* Vol. 84, No. 493 (1944): 83-87. Accessed February 16, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/868752.

6   Ana Carneiro, Ana Simoes, Maria Paula Diogo, and Teresa Salomé Mota, "Geology and Religion in Portugal," *Notes and Records of the Royal Society of London* Vol. 67, No. 4 (2013): 331-54. Accessed April 20, 2021. http://www.jstor.org/stable/43287696.

7   Berardo and Álvaro, *800 Anos*, 459-475.

8   Richard Penn, Stanley Wild, Jorge Mascarenhas, "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon: An Eighteenth Century Example of Prefabrication and Dimensional Co-ordination," *Construction History* Vol. 11 (1995), 13.

9   Ibid., 3-17.

as a vehicle for cultural exchange and hybridity. *Azulejo* underwent various transformations and influences through variations in colors, motifs, scenes depicted, and fabrication techniques by artists. In "*Al zulaiju*: Music in the Ceramic Tiles of São Vicente de Fora Monastery in Lisbon," Luzia Rocha explored the role of *azulejo* in the church by analyzing the panels installed at the site and argued that the choice of allegorical and pastoral scenes reflected the training and values of individual artists. Fernando Magalhães' brief discussion of Pombaline tile did not mention the 1755 earthquake, although he did mention the Marquis of Pombal and alluded to "changes in Portuguese society taste [sic]."[10]

Many art historical discussions of Pombaline tile summarily commented on devotional panels called *Registos de Santos*, popular in the latter half of the eighteenth century. Artists painted icons and allegorical scenes with cobalt blue pigment on a tin-glazed tile installed on facades. Like the Gabriel del Barco panorama, their blue-white figurative composition correlated with a color scheme of the earlier Baroque period.[11] In "Registo de Santos em Azulejo do Município de Lisboa: Algumas Considerações," Fernando M. Peixoto Lopes and Margarida Almeida Bastos engaged with this topic and described the typical function of such tiles as providing protection to buildings. Lopes and Bastos also considered the different kinds of icons, imagery, motifs, style, and colors, providing information on the locations of surviving panels.[12]

The municipal archive of Lisbon houses many photographs of *registos* above doorways and between windows in different *freguesias* (civil parishes), including Santa Maria Maior, the location of the Baixa. Though Lopes' and Bastos' article included a photograph of a *registo* of St. Martial over a doorway in Lisbon, they made no mention of Pombaline tiles or architecture.[13] What they omitted is worthy of study: though registos predate Pombaline Lisbon and the earthquake, and their decoration style was not exclusive to the historic district, artists made the most of this type of devotional panel after the quake (from the mid-eighteenth to the nineteenth century). Another important and neglected subject is how many icons of St. Martial (protector against fires), St. Anthony (the patron saint of Lisbon), and St. Francis Borgia (protector against earthquakes) were made at this time and how often they were placed together on building facades. Lopes and Bastos noted that some panels appeared in places that correspond to their subject (e.g., St. Martial icon on the façade of a

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10   Fernando Magalhães, "Building Bridges between Cultures", 43.

11   Berardo and Álvaro, *800 anos*, 344-5.

12   Fernando M. Peixoto Lopes and Margarida Almeida Bastos, "Registo de Santos em Azulejo do Município de Lisboa: Algumas Considerações," *Olisipo: Boletim do Grupo Amigos de Lisboa*, no. 20/21 (2004): 95-105.

13   Ibid., 97.

Lisbon firehouse).[14] In addition, the juxtaposition of these devotional *registos* on a Pombaline facade with standardized, less refined, and less expensive patterned tiles raises questions about the social status and identity of the person or institution that commissioned the panels, and for what reasons.

Historians such as Timothy Walker and architects including Ricardo Daniel dos Santos Ferreira Nunes analyzed Pombaline architecture in relation to the values and philosophies of the Enlightenment. They considered the Marquis of Pombal a man of the Enlightenment and connected his prompt and rational response to the disaster to his identity as an *estrangeirado* (foreigner), which was shaped by his time abroad as a diplomat.[15] In "The Portuguese Precedent for Pierre Patte's Street Section," Andrew Tallon explored the connection between Pierre Patte, a French architect, and Eugénio dos Santos, a Portuguese architect and military engineer, by analyzing their mutual connection to the doctor António Ribeiro Sanches. Sanches, a Portuguese national, lived in Paris and established "an extensive network of scientists, politicians, diplomats, doctors, and philosophers...with whom he had a significant intellectual exchange." [16] Tallon argued that Sanches likely supplied Patte with dos Santos' plans and that his role in Pombaline reconstruction influenced Patte.[17] Another historian, Timothy D. Walker, similarly argued in "Enlightened Absolutism and the Lisbon Earthquake: Asserting State Dominance over Religious Sites and the Church in Eighteenth-Century Portugal" that the orderly city grid and Pombaline architecture that was imposed by a state whose leaders were influenced by the Enlightenment, were asserting civil power over religion.[18] In his foundational work, Walker challenged established Pombaline Lisbon historiography by addressing the grid's effect on the Catholic Church in Lisbon, arguing that it reflected a desire to "occlude" the church, physically and symbolically.[19] Despite their prominence in churches and public places, Walker did not consider *azulejos*, referring only vaguely to the *Grand Panorama of Lisbon* (1700) and ignoring the *Registos de Santos*, an interesting omission.

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14   Ibid., 103.

15   Timothy D. Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism and the Lisbon Earthquake: Asserting State Dominance over Religious Sites and the Church in Eighteenth-Century Portugal," *Eighteenth-Century Studies* Val. 48, No. 3 (2015), 311.

16   Andrew J. Tallon, "The Portuguese Precedent for Pierre Patte's Street Section," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* Vol. 63, No. 3 (2004), 374.

17   Ibid., 370-77.

18   Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism", 307-28.

19   Ibid., 307.

The Great Lisbon Earthquake: All Saints Day, 1755
and the Marquis of Pombal

The Lisbon Earthquake, which took place on November 1, 1775, All Saints Day, is viewed by many as one of the most disastrous events ever to befall Western Europe. The earthquake occurred at around 9:30 AM and consisted of "three distinct tremors" over a span of ten minutes, measuring 8.75-9 on the Richter Scale and IX-IX on the Mercalli Intensity Scale.[20] The structure of the city, its buildings, its location, and the very day of the earthquake all uniformly exacerbated the natural disaster effects.[21] The earthquake was devastating to the country of Portugal, especially the city of Lisbon and its downtown area. The district was densely settled; its tall buildings (often stacked up to five stories high) were constructed on narrow, winding streets. [22] Candles and small fires tumbled over during the quake and fueled the flames that besieged the downtown area. The fire spread quickly, as it was stoked by the strong winds blowing that day. Most of the convents and churches were reduced to rubble, and the Palace of the Inquisition lay in ruins.[23] Many of those who did survive the earthquake perished in the tsunami and fires that followed. The aftershocks, which lasted into the nights and days after, tormented the survivors. According to eyewitness accounts, shocked and traumatized survivors wandered among the dead and dying in the immediate aftermath, crying out to God for mercy. Some even trailed behind priests, who were walking around "performing the absolution en masse."[24] These accounts described shocking displays of "superstition" or "religious fever" among the survivors, many of whom had been worshiping or participating in festivities earlier that day.[25]

After the earthquake, the Marquis of Pombal traveled to the royal palace to meet with Dom José, who escaped death by residing with his family in nearby Belém. When the King asked what the next course of action was, the Marquis replied, "Bury the dead, and feed the living."[26] This reply demonstrated his control of the situation and foreshadowed his response as he rushed back to Lisbon and worked to ensure the safety of the survivors.

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20   Edward Paice, Wrath of God: the Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755 (London: Quercus, 2008), 72.

21   Penn, Wild, and Mascarenhas, "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon", 3.

22   Ibid., 3-17.

23   Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism", 311.

24   Paice, *Wrath of God*, 95.

25   Ibid., 95.

26   Smith, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal*, John Smith Athelstane, Conde da Carnota, 1813-1886. *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal: With Extracts From His Writings, And From Despatches In the State Paper Office, Never Before Published*. Vol. 1. (London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans, 1843), 92.

In *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal: With Extracts From His Writings, And From Despatches In the State Paper Office, Never Before Published* (1843), John Smith credits the mutual respect between King Dom José (1750-77) and Marquis of Pombal, the monarch's unwavering confidence in the intellectual statesman, and a strong government for the swift rebuilding of the city and reforms ushered in after the disaster.[27] Not only was a modern city with innovative architecture erected on the ruins, but the resulting developments in seismology, safety measures, and civil engineering also had a significant impact on Portuguese society. The Great Earthquake of 1775 catalyzed this reformation.[28]

The Marquis of Pombal was born Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo on May 13, 1699 in the town of Soure. He was the son of Manoel Carvalho a Ataíde, a *fidalgo*, and Theresa de Mendonça e Melo, who was descended from a noble Portuguese family. For a time, Carvalho e Melo attended the University of Coimbra before his studies disillusioned him and instead chose to pursue politics, history, and legislation. Soon after meeting a cardinal with close connections to King João V, he was appointed to the Royal Academy of History in 1733. He took the opportunity to make a name for himself and pursue his interests while serving as an ambassador to London and Vienna. Carvalho e Melo learned from various French writers at court, and "Europeanized intellectuals" like him were critical of their native countries and eager to introduce modern ideas and new values.[29]

Historians and architects often hail the Marquis of Pombal's swift response to the disaster. Safety was paramount in all his efforts concerning the quake. Those who had lost their homes were placed into temporary housing in wooden huts imported from Holland. British merchants' accounts of the aftermath describe how the prefabricated components arrived by sea and could be built and dismantled quickly. The importation of the collapsible huts influenced the adoption of prefabrication and mass production for many of Pombaline architecture's structural elements.[30] The Marquis prohibited anyone from leaving the city without authorization to prevent looters from selling goods purloined from churches and homes or securing them elsewhere. Most of the perpetrators of these acts had escaped from the prisons and descended onto the city. The Marquis of Pombal issued a decree requiring that everyone was accounted for to combat these evils. Any "idlers" or "vagabonds" were put to work clearing debris. Despite being compensated with food and money, many of these criminals continued to rob, rape, and kill survivors.

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27   Ibid., 98.
28   Ibid., 86.
29   Paice, *Wrath of God*, 27-8.
30   Penn, Wild, and Mascarenhas, "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon", 3-17.

The Marquis had no choice but to enact martial law: armed guards stood by the doorways of residences while anyone caught committing a crime was executed.[31] The Marquis of Pombal's swift action brought a semblance of security and calm to the population that they had not felt since before the earthquake: "Like a superior being, he was present everywhere; encouraging the timid, comforting the desolate, awing the wicked, restraining the reckless, soothing the wounded, and pouring the balm of peace and consolation into the bosoms of the despairing and the afflicted."[32] After quelling the chaos, reconstruction was the next order of business.

The Marquis of Pombal consulted Manuel da Maia, a military engineer, to oversee the reconstruction of the city. Da Maia presented a series of plans in three stages. The initial stage presented to the Marquis on December 4, 1755, contained five different plans. The first plan involved rebuilding everything as it had been before. The second proposal would restore the buildings to their previous height while widening the roads. According to da Maia, had they followed the first plan, it would imply that "the last earthquake [was] not the sign of another," and both the first and second proposal "neglected" any anti-seismic design in favor of simple convenience.[33] The third and fourth proposals incorporated anti-seismic design and other safety measures: the third method would limit the building height to two stories while keeping the wider roads. The fourth proposed tearing everything down and starting anew. The building heights would still be restricted to two stories and would be prohibited from exceeding the height of the widened streets. The first, second, third, and fourth plans would utilize the debris to elevate, smoothen and level the ground, while the fifth method proposed leaving the ruins in favor of erecting a new city.[34] Da Maia argued that the fifth proposal was the easiest, as it was the most inexpensive method. Not only would it facilitate clearing the debris, but a new site also eliminated the need to adhere to the "restrictions of the old Lisbon" while giving property owners the freedom to rebuild as they pleased. This could also be interpreted as the military engineer wanting to avoid dealing with proprietors.

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31   Smith, *Memoirs of the Marquis of Pombal*, 92-5.

32   Ibid., 96.

33   Manuel da Maia and José-Augusto França, "Manuel Da Maia – Dissertação (Dissertation) 4 December 1755 - 19 April 1756," in *Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo* (Lisboa: Bertrand Editora, 1983), 1. https://www.academia.edu/38305958/Manuel_ da_Maia_Disserta%C3%A7%C3%A3o_Full_English_version_.

34   Ibid., 3-5.

Da Maia detailed the advantages and disadvantages of each plan and stressed that certain factors had to be considered before making a decision. One such factor determined the location of the new royal palace, which once stood on the waterfront before collapsing during the earthquake. Although the time spent by the King in Belém influenced the decision to relocate the palace, fear was an equal factor in not rebuilding the *Paço da Ribera* on the waterfront.[35] The Lisbon Senate acted within reason and chose the fourth proposal.[36] This decision reflected a desire to avoid a similar disaster while continuing the commitment of the Marquis since November 1: restoring the feeling of security in the hearts and homes of the people of Lisbon. Da Maia proceeded to the second phase of planning. On February 16, 1756, he presented the second phase of the plan and outlined the issues and conditions faced in the reconstruction phase, including how proprietors would be compensated for any property loss.

A survey measuring properties in Lisbon was carried out at the time the second part was drafted. Da Maia acknowledged that a second phase of the survey that appraised the properties needed completion. The Marquis of Pombal prohibited any reconstruction until both survey phases were completed to ensure the plan was thoroughly measured. The third phase of the plan, presented on March 31, 1756, included plans created by military engineers Carlos Mardel and Eugenio dos Santos. Da Maia gave the lieutenant colonel and the captain the challenging task of drafting the plans for the new city while considering "the correspondence between the old and the modern in the situations that require a change from the old to the new."[37]

The series of decrees that the Marquis imposed immediately after the quake, the chosen proposal, and resulting architecture formed a "structural code" that aimed to guarantee the safety of city dwellers[38]. The rectilinear city plan presented a new model of urban planning by straightening and widening the streets. The height of Pombaline buildings (already capped at three stories) could not exceed the width of the widened streets. The base structure met the anti-seismic standards by elevating and leveling the foundation with debris and stabilizing it with timber piles. Architects incorporated a timber-framed cage known as the *gaiola pombalina* into the wall's frame to reduce the buildings' weight and increase their flexibility.[39] They also designed firewalls that extended over the façade to reduce fire spread from one wall to the other.

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35 Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism", 319.

36 Penn, Wild, and Mascarenhas, "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon", 3-17.

37 Da Maia, "Dissertação", 14.

38 Ricardo Daniel dos Santos Ferreira Nunes, "Constructive Characterization of Pombaline Buildings and Simplified Pushover Analysis of Frontal Walls" (Master's Thesis, M.A: NOVA University Lisbon, 2017), 1-87. http://hdl.handle.net/10362/23393.

39 Ibid., 29-30.

A total reconstruction of the downtown district and rebuilding the more expansive city was underway. The adoption of prefabrication and mass production for some components was necessary to quickly execute the fourth plan and achieve the desired uniformity of the modular buildings. Specialized teams produced the wood, iron, and ceramic parts in workshops; then, they were assembled on site.[40] The Marquis of Pombal's modernization of downtown Lisbon also revealed the changing aspects of Portuguese culture and society. Before the earthquake, Dom José and the Marquis felt they had the potential to restore Portugal to its past glory; this disastrous event presented the opportunity to erect something even greater atop the ruins. The reconstruction was a manifestation of Enlightenment values: in an authoritative position, the Marquis of Pombal applied reason to enact progressive reform. According to Walker, the state asserted its power over the Catholic Church by reducing its role in society in favor of presenting an image of "secular state power or commercial enterprise" by harnessing architecture's function as a symbol of power.[41] The functions of *azulejo* transformed after the earthquake, just as the skyline depicted in del Barco's *Grand Panorama* had. Two late-eighteenth-century tilework trends—Pombaline tile and *Registos de Santos*—reflected new styles and existing traditions and revealed Portuguese attitudes amidst radical change.

Azulejo Trends in the Pombaline Era

The uniformity of Pombaline architecture determined the employment of patterned tile cladding. A typical Pombaline building could not exceed four stories (permitted by the mandated incorporation of the *gaiola*). All openings on the façade (doors, French windows, and balconies) were level with each other. The ground floor, or arcade, was reserved for commercial spaces.[42] Pombaline tile was simply another extension of this "rational and programmatic" architecture applied to the interior walls and the exterior of Portuguese buildings as decorative cladding.[43] The simplistic yet dynamic style of tilework was a familiar display of *horror vacui*: its occupation of space and standardized design recalled its Arabic origins. These panels were composed of polychrome patterns that consisted of repetitive floral or geometric motifs.

The prefabrication and mass tile production in workshops like the Réal Fábrica de Louça ao Rato kept costs low. Founded by the Marquis of Pombal in

40   Penn, Wild, and Mascarenhas, "The Pombaline Quarter of Lisbon", 11.

41   Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism", 319.

42   Armando Maia Serôdio, *Inauguração da Exposição Comemorativa da Reconstrução de Lisboa depois do Terramoto de 1755 - Frontarias dos edifíos da Baixa*, 1955, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, PT/AMLSB/CMLSBAH/PCSP/004/SER/001032.

43   Berardo and Álvaro, *800 Anos*, 459.

1767 and active until 1835, this ceramic factory operated under the direction of Sebastião de Almeida and later Francisco de Paula e Oliveira and is one of the only surviving workshops from the period. This workshop, and others, also produced figurative *azulejo* panels depicting saints (*Registos de Santos*) in the latter half of the eighteenth century. The panels vary in size, shape, color (e.g., blue-and-white or polychromatic), and imagery. Despite this, certain saints and religious figures were more popular or appropriate than others.

Icons of St. Martial, protector against fires, St. François Borgia, protector against earthquakes, and St. Anthony, the patron saint of Lisbon, were popular. *Registos* containing this iconography predated the earthquake but rose to prominence during the late 18th century and throughout the 19th century. The popularity of votive scenes on building facades after the earthquake coincided with a shift from Rococo to Neoclassical style during the late 18th century. The Berardo Collection Museum in Lisbon houses a considerable number of these *registos*, many of which were produced during this period. Their collection is notably representative of the neoclassical art movement that had extended to *azulejo* by the 1780s. Most surviving panels, if not explicitly dated on the work by the artist, were produced approximately in the late 1700s to the early 1800s. [44] This collection and a series of photographs of the panels taken by Eduardo Macedo Portugal in different locations throughout the capital reveal the prevalence of pairing St. Anthony and St. Martial on late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century *registos*. For example, an 1807 panel credited to de Paula e Oliviera's workshop contains images of the Holy Family, St. Martial, and St. Anthony (Fig. One). [45] The eye is naturally drawn to the center roundel containing a scene of the Holy Family (The Virgin Mary, infant Jesus, and St. Joseph). In this instance, emphasis on the Marian image is achieved through a hierarchal scale; additionally, it is flanked by two smaller roundels containing the figures of St. Anthony of Padua (lower right) and St. Martial (lower left). The scene conveys purity and devotion through the rendering in cobalt blue on a white tin glaze. The three scenes are framed in a gold finial border along with plumes of palmette ornamentation, contrasting with the polychromatic background decorated with floral motifs. A similar *registo* can be found on a façade located in the Misericórdia district of Lisbon. Installed above the doorway at Travessa da Queimada 11, the building's façade is ornamented in blue, green, and yellow Pombaline tile with marble skirting, its geometrically patterned borders a stark contrast to the neoclassical scenes above the door. [46]

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44 Ibid., 459-476.

45 Francisco de Paula e Oliviera, *Registos Sagrada Parenteral, Sâo Marçal e Santo António*, 1807, majólica, 150 x 97.5 cm Berardo Museum.

46 Eduardo Macedo Portugal, *Registo de Santos votive à Sagrada Familia, Santo António e São Marcal*, 1950. Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. PT/AMLSB/POR/053526.

Figure 1. Photograph by Eduardo Macedo Portugal, *Registo de Santos votive à Sagrada Familia, Santo António e São Marcal*, 1950. Courtesy of Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa. PT/AMLSB/CMLSBAH/PCSP/004/EDP/000226)

Considering that many of the late 18th-century and 19th-century *registos* are compositions including St. Martial, St. Anthony, or St. Francis Borgia (often composed as saintly pairs in varied combinations) and the overall protective function of *registos*, these devotional panels functioned as cultural relics commemorating the earthquake and as spiritual safeguards for the people of Lisbon. As cultural relics, the images of St. Martial, St. Anthony, and St. Francis Borgia invoked the memory of the earthquake, tsunami, and fires that destroyed the city; the veneration of the saints recalled the very day the earthquake transpired. As spiritual safeguards, *registos* offered divine protection against natural disasters, which had been interpreted as divine punishment until that point. In *Wrath of God: The Great Lisbon Earthquake of 1755*, author Edward Paice describes the state of Roman Catholicism during the 18th century, writing:

> The country was in a grip of what Portuguese Liberals of the next century would describe as an 'almost cretinous form of Roman Catholicism. 'When the leading Methodist Reverend

> George Whitefield visited Lisbon on his way to America in
> the spring of 1754 he was appalled by the sight of people
> 'beating their cheeks, and weeping heartily' at the 'Dumb
> Shews' during Lent; at the processions of barefoot penitents
> with chains fastened to their ankles carrying crosses on
> their backs; and at the spectacle of such ubiquitous self-
> flagellation…[47]

The *registos*' rise in popularity can be interpreted as a measure of religious congruence in the wake of natural disasters, namely the historical association of these events with God's fury. The earthquake profoundly impacted Christianity in Portugal and throughout Europe, affecting both Protestants and Catholics alike. For example, sermons delivered across England were filled with messages about the quake, imploring worshippers to see the disaster as a wake-up call to repent and turn their lives around. For these believers, God spoke through nature: the devastating earthquake was an admonishment to his children. Some Protestants believed that God had unleashed his wrath on Lisbon because it was rife with sin. Catholics in Lisbon had previously blamed groups like the New Christians for plagues and other natural disasters. In 1755, they sought to blame Protestants and other "heretics".[48] Believers looked to icons and allegorical depictions for religious instruction; the devotional panels functioned as hagiographies but also symbolized ideal qualities for a believer. Thus, the *registos* were a way for Lisboans to make intangible heritage—the historical characterization of natural disasters as an "Act of God" and their traditional forms of coping, healing, and learning from such events—tangible in the face of modernity.

Conclusion

The Great Earthquake of 1755 was not Lisbon's first earthquake or natural disaster; the capital experienced a handful of damaging earthquakes and disastrous fires over the years. Had they followed the fifth plan and moved to a new location, it would have been regressive. Instead, the decision was made to erect a new city in the old location. The Marquis of Pombal's swift response ensured the safety of Lisbon's inhabitants. The city plan and anti-seismic architecture designed by his subordinates were founded in reason and science and embodied the values of the Enlightenment. However, despite these structural innovations and safeguards that were present in Pombaline architecture, the fact that many in Lisbon still found comfort in the *registos* years after the earthquake reflected the desires of a pious population who witnessed and experienced the Marquis of Pombal's sweeping reforms and

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47   Paice, *Wrath of God*, 23.
48   Ibid., 81.

sought refuge in their faith, whether independently of or supplementary to these changes. The devotional religious scenes panels brought ease to Lisbonites in familiar and traditional ways, thus dissimilar from the shelter of their new buildings. While the former refuge shielded against the acts of a vengeful God, the latter was a defense against future disasters—constructed using seismological research.

In other words, *azulejo* panels of St. Martial, St. Francis, St. Anthony, and others offered protection and reassurance that firewalls, a Pombaline cage, or a rectilinear city plan could not. Placed over the doors or in-between the windows of facades, these two-dimensional figures stood watch, just as those armed guards had in those initial days after the disaster. The continued popularity of the *Registos de Santos* throughout the 19th century was consistent with the years that followed the King's death in 1777, the beginning of the Marquis of Pombal's downfall. Soon after Queen Maria I ascended to the throne, she relieved the Marquis of his duties. Her subsequent actions included the rebuilding of many Catholic churches and the backlash to Carvalho e Melo's identity as an *estrangeirado* which dictated his controversial secular reforms, including the suppression and expulsion of the Jesuits and his overall clash with the Catholic Church.[49] Similar to Gabriel del Barco's 1700 panorama recorded Portuguese history and culture before the turning point that was the Great Earthquake of 1755, two significant eighteenth-century *azulejo* trends—Pombaline tile and *Registos de Santos*—recorded modern and traditional responses to natural disasters.

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49   Walker, "Enlightened Absolutism", 320-1.

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Ethan Brown

Whiteness and an Immigrant's Attainment of the "American Dream": Chinese and Polish Immigrants in the United States

Introduction

After a hard day's work, a well-deserved rest. This slogan captured what Gong Heng expected on the night of September 8, 1885. However, this was not what transpired. In the darkness, danger lurked among the tents pitched in the hop fields of the Wold brothers farm in Squak Valley, Washington Territory. Gong awoke to the sound of enough gunfire that "…it sounded all the same as China New Year…". Luckily, Gong escaped into the surrounding forest. He watched as the tents of his fellow Chinese immigrants, men he had labored with, burned. He bore witness to many of the immigrants living inside the camp being murdered. Three friends of Gong were killed, their bodies riddled with bullet holes. One, Yung Son, had a child at home who had no father to help support him after this tragedy. After the mob of Whites left, Gong watched as Yung Son bled to death from his numerous wounds. Following Yung Son's death, the surviving Chinese laborers fled Squak Valley, save Gong. Gong stayed to mind the bodies of the three victims of the racially driven crime and attempted to seek justice through the legal system, a difficult task since he had not seen the faces of the killers.[1]

Gong's case was not unique in Washington territory; anti-Chinese sentiment ran strong in the coastal regions and further inland. It is probable that the same gang of white criminals was responsible for terrorizing another group of Chinese immigrants also headed for Squak Valley only the day before. Not a week earlier, 28 Chinese miners were killed in Rock Springs, Wyoming Territory.[2] Events such as these contributed to the challenging of the narrative of the "Melting Pot" United States. While particularly hard hit with gruesome violence, Chinese immigrants were not the only immigrants that faced hardship and challenges upon arrival to the "promised land" of

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1   Beth Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America* (Harvard University Press, Feb 26, 2018), 101-103. https://play.google.com/books/reader?id=4KdLDwAAQBAJ&hl=en&pg=GBS.PA92.w.3.0.60.

2   Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 101.

work and opportunity. Race and ethnicity have played a role in a person's ability to prosper and find success in the United States from the moment European explorers set foot on the continent. Polish immigrants were able to achieve different levels of success, primarily due to the perception of them being white-*ish*. The Polish immigrants to the United States were considered Caucasian; however, due to their differences from the White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) tradition, they were branded as other and lesser even if their color was the same. These Poles certainly met their share of challenges and dealt with racism, a term used in this paper to describe a cacophony of forms: prejudice, ethnocentrism, discrimination, and others under the umbrella of racism; however, it was not as violent or omnipresent as racism toward Chinese immigrants. In both Chinese and Polish immigration, race or color was a key determining factor in achieving the "American Dream."

Race and Immigration in the United States

Outlined in the historiography of immigration to the United States, there were easily discernable areas of study. There was the group that focused on European immigration and one that focused on Asian immigration. There are naturally other historians whose work has focused on immigrants from different areas of the world. The studies under review focused on European and Asian immigration, specifically those studying the Polish and Chinese experiences. This study seeks to understand and compare the role race played on each immigrant community's ability to obtain the classic "American Dream" through the analysis of documentation and research devoted to both groups during the immigration period between the Civil War and World War I.

In "The Causes of Polish Immigration to the United States," Sister Lucille examined the reasons that any immigrant, specifically Polish immigrants, would leave their homes to move across the Atlantic.[3] Dominic Pacyga, in "Polish Immigration to the United States before World War II: An Overview," continued with this thesis and provided compelling reasonings as to why Poles immigrated to the United States as well as what they experienced here, specifically focused on urban settlements.[4] On the other hand, Dennis Kolinski looked at the establishment of rural settlements and farming communities by Polish immigrants in "Polish Rural Settlement in America."[5] John Radzilowski, in "In American Eyes: Views of Polish Peasants in Europe and The United States, 1890s-1930s" articulates why Poles were not considered

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3   Sister Lucille, "The Causes of Polish Immigration to the United States," *Polish American Studies* Vol. 8, No. 3/4 (July-December 1951): 85-91.

4   Dominic Pacyga, "Polish Immigration to the United States before World War II: An Overview," *Polish American Studies* Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 1982): 28-37.

5   Dennis Kolinski, "Polish Rural Settlement in America," *Polish American Studies* Vol. 52, No. 2 (Autumn, 1995): 21-55.

white, despite their skin color and classification as Caucasian. He reasoned that being "White" was not simply a definition of skin color to Americans at this time. Instead, "White" indicated a style of living, a social upbringing, and conformity to White Anglo-Saxon Protestant (WASP) traditions.[6] These four works provide a comprehensive history of the reasons for Polish immigration to both urban and rural areas of their new homeland and a foundation for the "reasons" for their treatment upon arrival.

Erika Lee examined the Chinese immigration experience by undertaking the more significant trend of Anti-Asian sentiment in American history began with the Chinese Exclusion Acts in her work "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924."[7] Her study discussed how parallels could be drawn to other race-based practices by exemplifying the racial profiling used against Chinese immigrants during and before the Exclusionary Period. Racialized laws affecting Chinese immigrants often attracted violence. Beth Lew-Williams, in her book *The Chinese Must Go: Violence, Exclusion, and the Making of the Alien in America*, examined specific examples of violence, exclusion, and restrictions imposed on Chinese immigrants. Lew-Williams used the personal stories of different Chinese immigrants to describe the experience of the larger group, be it acts of violence perpetrated on them, appeals to high-ranking officials for just treatment from those acts, or the feelings of fear, hopelessness, and frustration within the group.[8] Chinese immigrants also organized to fight such racialized laws. This political involvement confronted some stereotypes portraying the Chinese as quiet people with heads lowered who, rather than fight for their future, fled back to China. Scott Baxter in "The Response of California's Chinese Populations to the Anti-Chinese Movement" sought to uncover how the Chinese populations in California responded to exclusionary tactics. He examined archaeological evidence, such as bullet casings in a Chinatown neighborhood outside of Truckee, to paint a picture of an armed and intelligent group willing to do what was needed to resist. This strategy meant figuring out ways around laws intended to drive them out or building walls around themselves for protection.[9]

However, what all these works missed is a direct comparison between the two groups' experiences. Erica Lee, an immigrant herself, in "The

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6   John Radzilowski, "In American Eyes: Views of Polish Peasants in Europe and The United States, 1890s-1930s," *The Polish Review* Vol. 47, No. 4 (2002): 394-396.

7   Erika Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924" *Journal of American Ethnic History* Vol. 21, No. 3 (Spring, 2002): 36-62.

8   Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 194.

9   Scott Baxter, "The Response of California's Chinese Populations to the Anti-Chinese Movement" *Historical Archaeology* Vol. 42, No. 3 (2008): 29-36.

Chinese Exclusion Example: Race, Immigration, and American Gatekeeping, 1882-1924" mentioned how the politics and racial profiling of the Chinese exclusionary period influenced immigration policy towards Eastern and Southern Europeans as well; however, she went no further in her comparison than to mention it existed, as her focus was unfortunately limited in this article.[10] Even though there is a wealth of information on the two separate peoples' experiences during the same period, there still exists a gap in the literature that provides a direct comparison between the two communities. This paper seeks to fill this gap by contrasting the different trials and the similar experiences each immigrant group faced. Separated by geography and racial categorization, one *not quite* white and the other "yellow," the two groups faced both drastically different challenges and some familiar to both groups. Both groups had similar numbers immigrate to the United States and in a similar time frame. They also had similar goals, experiences, and ways of handling challenges. This point of connection makes it very worthwhile to take a simultaneous look at the immigration of both Chinese and Polish immigrants and discover in what ways their race influenced their ability to obtain the American Dream of success through hard work, regardless of circumstance.

The Polish Experience

From the end of the Civil War to the beginning of World War I, the United States was a hotbed for immigration of both Polish settlers and Chinese workers. The United States offered work, options for advancement, and the ability to grow in ways that immigrants' home nations did not always have. The United States was a place where a person would be able to find prosperity and possibly fortune. When the Polish and Chinese immigrants arrived in the United States, this dreamland was not necessarily what they encountered. The two groups had differing experiences in which race played a key role.

In 1900, there were 383,407 Polish people living in the United States.[11] Several reasons drove this influx. Poland, divided up by multiple expansionist European nations, was subject to religious persecution, mandatory military service, forced language conversion, as well as economic concerns.[12] The combination of these factors and others drove Poles in the tens of thousands to come to the United States in search of religious freedom, freedom of cultural and linguistic expression, and hope of socio-economic mobility not found in Poland. They left friends and families, as well as familiar surroundings seeking a better life. When they arrived in the United States, they often

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10   Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example", 56.
11   Sister Lucille, "The Causes of Polish Immigration," 85.
12   Ibid., 86.

moved to areas where they hoped to find work and money. With rapid industrialization in progress in major urban areas, they found jobs in the steel industries and the coal mines of the Midwest states such as Ohio, Illinois, and Indiana.[13]

Like many other immigrant groups, the Poles felt safety and comfort in communities where other Polish immigrants had already settled. In the alien environment of major American cities such as Chicago, the Poles formed communities across the city. One such community was "Back of the Yards" in Chicago. These immigrant communities served to help the transition from rural farming life in Poland to the industrialized center that was Chicago. In enclaves like Back of the Yards, Polish community members took it upon themselves, due to their isolation, to found their parishes, schools, saloons, and social clubs. To an extent, the Poles could bring Poland with them or at least recreate the home country. The period of social assimilation of the Poles to the U.S. was one where massive numbers of Polish immigrants, their racial classification as whites, and the drive to establish insular societies that preserved their heritage resulted in moderate to high levels of socio-economic status success. There were minor clashes with white American populations, mainly among the younger generations of immigrant children and the white children. There were also disputes over assimilation, such as "Back of the Yards" parish schools only thought in Polish rather than in English. It was events and sentiments like these that were points of contention in the Poles' new home.[14]

Polish immigrants often dealt with racism; these encounters with racist terms like "Polak" led to the violence between Polish and U.S. youths. Polish people were grouped in with the more prominent attitude extended by Americans to all Europeans that were not White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. At the same time, they were acceptable, and yet they were not equal.[15]

The Chinese Experience

Chinese immigration, on the other hand, was a far different story. With the discovery of gold in California in the late 1840s, there was a harder push to expand the United States westward.[16] With this westward expansion came a need for more accessible transportation. This need prompted the U.S. government to undertake the construction of the Transcontinental Railroad.

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13   Ibid., 85-87.

14   Dominic Pacyga, "Polish Immigration to the United States before World War II: An Overview," *Polish American Studies* Vol. 39, No. 1 (Spring 1982), 30-37.

15   John Radzilowski, "In American Eyes: Views of Polish Peasants in Europe and The United States, 1890s-1930s," *The Polish Review* Vol. 47, No. 4 (2002), 405.

16   Izabella Black, "American Labour and Chinese Immigration," *Past & Present* No. 25 (July 1963), 59.

Chinese laborers easily found work on the railway because there were not enough white American hands to complete the project alone. California, the primary destination for Chinese immigration, had only five residents per square mile in 1870.[17] This shortage of labor prompted U.S. officials to seek out immigrant labor for such grandiose task. By 1882, over 288,000 Chinese immigrants had come to the United States.[18]

For Chinese laborers, immigration was fraught with challenges and even physical danger from its earliest days. In the early 1850s, the Gold Rush brought miners from all over the nation and abroad searching for riches. This rush caused competition to turn ugly, with confrontations between potential miners quickly spreading, and Chinese immigrants were an easily visible threat to the white miners. Their skin color set them drastically apart as racist community leaders and citizens quickly targeted them. In 1849, the white miners of Tuolumne County passed local ordinances prohibiting any Chinese laborers from working on gold claims because their skin color made such ordinances easily enforceable, and racist beliefs predominated in the United States. In the late 1850s, at least 13 mining districts in Nevada County sought to drive out Chinese laborers. Agua Fria, Grass Valley, Horsetown, Oregon Gulch, Middletown, Mormon Bar, Horseshoe Bar, Columbia, Deer Creek, Rough and Ready, Wood's Creek, Foster's Bar, and Yuba River Camp were all among the towns of Nevada County seeking to make Chinese settlement illegal to force out easily identifiable competition.[19]

Like Polish immigrants, Chinese immigrants sought security in numbers. In many large cities, they settled together in what are known as Chinatowns. However, unlike Polish immigrants, the Chinese did not only create these ethnic enclaves for comfort and ethnic solidarity, but they also did it out of necessity to defend themselves. In these Chinatowns, the Chinese ethnicity was a boon rather than a curse as it was everywhere else in America. When everyone looked similar, white antagonists could easily be identified, and protective steps could be taken. In some areas, such as parts of San Francisco's Chinatown, felt it was necessary to outright ban whites from entering, probably out of fear of anti-Chinese action. Despite these attempts at mutual protection and strength in numbers, violence reached into these ethnic enclaves. Many Chinatowns were burned down by white anti-Chinese mobs causing the Chinese to relocate and build fences topped with barbed wire around their new Chinatowns to deter unwanted attention.[20]

17   Ibid., 59-60.
18   Ibid., 59-60.
19   Mark Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation: Anti-Chinese Legislation in Gold Rush California," *The Journal of Economic History* Vol. 65, No. 3 (September 2005), 781-783.
20   Baxter, "The Response of California's", 31.

Perhaps the most glaring difference between the immigrants from Poland and immigrants from China is that from the onset of Chinese immigration, white Americans attempted to bar them from entry through the law.[21] In the late 1850s, various mining towns and settlements passed bylaws that allowed only people who intended to gain citizenship to settle within their boundaries. As only Whites were allowed to become citizens of the United States, this was de jure exclusion of Chinese laborers.[22] There was also the momentous Chinese Exclusion Act, passed on May 6, 1882. This act barred from entry to the United States all Chinese immigrants who were not teachers, students, diplomats, or merchants and made it so no currently residing immigrants could gain citizenship.[23] These laws were structurally racist. They focused on Chinese immigrants because they were Chinese. This was a far cry from just 30 years earlier when the United States hailed a Chinese immigrant coming over the sea as a "… worthy integer of our population."[24] The vitriolic reactions of White Americans toward Chinese immigrants invited similar reactions toward all other immigrant groups. However, this was not necessarily the case.

Similarities and Glaring Differences: Chinese and Polish Immigrants

Both the Poles and the Chinese experienced negative attitudes and faced challenges when coming to the United States. One Polish immigrant, Maker Kroneski, wrote to his mother in 1891, "It would have been better if I had gotten lost; it would have been better if I had drowned at sea; that is how it is in America."[25] Another immigrant from Poland, Andreas Ueland, had better luck. After moving to the United States in 1871, he toiled as a worker for six hard years, tried to learn English in the winters from a book he bought for three dollars, and worked on various farms, homesteads, and quarries in the Minneapolis, Minnesota region. After educating himself at city-held grade-less schools in the brutal winter months, Andreas passed the bar exam at 24 years old and became a lawyer. He wrote home that he could not believe that after arriving with only 20 dollars and a feather quilt from his mother. He had built himself into an American Success Story.[26] These two examples of Polish immigrants demonstrate the different personal experiences of Polish immigrants in the United States. The two stories highlight the variability of

21   Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example", 36.

22   Kanazawa, "Immigration, Exclusion, and Taxation", 783.

23   Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example", 36

24   Mildred Wellborn, "The Events Leading to the Chinese Exclusion Acts," *Annual Publication of the Historical Society of Southern California* Vol. 9, No. 1/2 (1912-1913), 49.

25   "Letters from America,", Johnstown Area Heritage Association, accessed April 6, 2021. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html.

26   Andreas Ueland, *Recollections of an Immigrant* (New York: Minton, Balch and Company, 1929), 28-37.

the immigrant experience in the United States; even when two immigrants came from the same place, they could potentially have drastically different immigration experiences.

Chinese immigrants had many similar goals and conditions upon arrival to the United States as the Poles. They were often poor, did not speak English, did not have the education or experience to find skilled labor, and were culturally different than the Americans, just like the Polish. The major difference in the initial immigration between Chinese and Polish immigrants was one of geography. Poles moved to industrial centers on the East coast, and Chinese essentially moved to agricultural areas on the West coast.[27]

It was the perception that both Polish and Chinese immigrants were unassimilable, which ties two peoples on different coasts of a country and from vastly differing backgrounds. Chinese people being easier to spot and identify offhand may have been a significant component of the ability for politicians and anti-immigrant lobbyists to gain an outright banning of a group of people. Still, both groups were targeted because a nation rapidly approaching a more nationalistic and singular identity feared having internal dissension and large groups of people who did not conform.[28]

Most Polish immigrants arriving from Europe ended up in major cities looking for work in factories, steel mills, and other industries. Often, these immigrants worked in factories and made middle-class wages to afford to go to local saloons and hold religious holidays or other celebrations in their churches. In the Back of the Yards area, in the city of Chicago, Poles faced challenges but also had successes. Families that settled there did face forms of racism. In the United States, Polish immigrants were seen as inferior. Because they hailed from the Slavic region of Europe, they were caught in the web of racism surrounding immigrants and people from that region. Poles were imagined to be stupid but strong, fit for labor and hard work, but not smart enough to rise in social status.[29] In the early 1900's social Darwinism or the belief that certain types of people were inherently better than others, was coming into its own, with White Anglo-Saxon Protestants at the pinnacle of race and culture. Poles were only white-*ish* and were not Anglo-Saxon Protestants; they were viewed as lesser and their traditions as backward.[30]

Polish families banded together, hoping to hold on to their traditions even if they were seen as backward. They formed their parochial schools so that their children would not lose their heritage by going to American public

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27   Roger Daniels, "Westerners from the East: Oriental Immigrants Reappraised," *Pacific Historical Review* Vol. 35, No. 4 (1966), 376.

28   Roger Daniels, "Westerners from the East", 377-378.

29   Radzilowski, "In American Eyes", 403.

30   Ibid., 401-402.

schools. The Parish schools taught the old country's ways, Catholicism, and the Polish language. English was seen as an accessory language, necessary for work and interactions outside "Back of the Yards", but not necessarily one worthy of replacing Polish. This caused tension with the State legislature who forced more English to be used in the parochial schools.[31] Legislatures imposing conditions and restrictions against building a Polish community in the United States were what many Poles had hoped to escape from in their old country. This forced assimilation echoed Native American forced assimilation and even more modern held beliefs that immigrants should "speak English in America."

The parochial schools were not the only elements of Polish immigrant life that felt the pressure to assimilate. In 1912, Jan Kukielka wrote home to his wife that he was working in a brick factory and making good money – $2.70 for 13 hours of work – but was apprehensive about his daughter's wish to join him in America. He said that if she desired to come, she would be able to, but she must learn English or "Then there will be misery and weeping, because somebody speaks and you can only look at him."[32] For Polish immigrants, learning English was essential for survival among their non-Polish neighbors and working in urban centers or factories. Andreas Ueland commented in his memoirs that it would be best for any immigrant to stay home on the farm and learn at least a little English before even considering the migratory move. He noted this because it was not until he learned English that he could make money from someone who did not speak Polish.[33] While ethnic enclaves could be a saving grace and place of comfort and familiarity to new immigrants, overall having a positive effect on Polish immigrants, their rigorous hold to tradition and language, in some cases, hold Polish people back from integrating more seamlessly into American society.

Cultural differences also led to Polish immigrants finding it challenging to assimilate into American society. M. Goodstein, a Polish immigrant, working in San Bernardino, wrote to his aunt in Poland, accusing the Polish American community as very conservative. He mentioned that there was little interaction between the sexes outside closely watched courtship. Because Polish villages could be so judgmental, young Polish men who arrived in America would have difficulty fitting in. They were made fun of as backward and not fun enough to raise a toast with.[34] Poles in the United States often felt

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31 Pacyga, "Polish Immigration", 34.

32 Isaac Thomas and Florian Znaniecki, *The Polish Peasant in Europe and America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf), 832. https://archive.org/details/polishpeasantine01thom/page/832/mode/2up?ref=ol&view=theater.

33 Ueland, *Recollections*, 28.

34 "Letters from America", Johnstown Area Heritage Association, accessed April 6, 2021. https://www.jaha.org/edu/discovery_center/push-pull/letterstohome.html.

isolated and different from those born and raised in the country. This feeling of isolation and difference may have been a major driving force for setting up communities predominantly made up of Polish immigrants where customs and language could be preserved more readily than when an immigrant has little contact with others of their background. Recent immigrants could even feel isolated from second-generation Poles. As Goodstein noted to his mother, Poland was very conservative compared to the United States. Therefore, it is likely that second-generation Poles in the United States, even being raised in parochial schools and Polish neighborhoods, would be detached in some ways from traditional Poland. This detachment could also have influenced new immigrants trying to fit in in a new world, allowing them to assimilate more readily at the cost of their traditional values and beliefs.

The United States was a lonely place for many Polish Immigrants, especially those who left families behind and around holidays, particularly Christmas. Steve Winkowski wrote home to his mother on January 5, 1910, "I am very lonesome, I do not hear the Polish language at all."[35] Andreas Ueland recalled his first Christmas in America as one far different from what he was used to in Poland. He wandered around lonely and drunk, with no one to be with other than an overly drunken roommate vomiting on their small dwelling's floor.[36] In fact, immigrants far from home, across an ocean, often felt disconnected and longed for home. Adam Raczkowski wrote home to his sister begging for information about Poland, how the weather was affecting the harvest, who read his letters, how she was faring, what news there was in Poland, and how any conflicts had gone.[37] Poles often came to America without their families. Even when traveling with some family, as was the case with Adam Raczkowski, who came with his brother, the distance from home could negatively affect an immigrant's mental state. In subsequent letters, Raczkowski became increasingly upset with his family in Poland for the lack of communication. Coupled with not living in a Polish-dominated settlement and money troubles, Raczkowski seemed to decline his excitement about living in the United States.[38] The separation from homeland and familiar surroundings weighed heavy on the minds of Polish immigrants.

While these Polish immigrants longed for home and faced the challenge of learning English to succeed in the United States, Chinese immigrants faced the daunting task of simply stepping on American shores. To come to America at a time where it was illegal for Chinese immigrants to enter the country, Chinese immigrants, seeking to earn money or to settle in the United States,

35   Thomas and Znaniecki, *Polish Peasant*, 811.

36   Ueland, *Recollections*, 34.

37   Thomas and Znaniecki, *Polish Peasant*, 716.

38   Ibid., 717-729.

had to come up with strategies to enter the United States undetected. One such way was to forge documents stating that a potential immigrant was born in the United States and therefore simply returning to his birthplace, and therefore not immigrating. American Newspapers did not take kindly to Chinese immigrants attempting to circumvent the Chinese Exclusion Acts in this way. The term "Coolie" was freely tossed around to describe the Chinese immigrants and demean them as unskilled and unintelligent, as well as being used to describe the tactic that "wily Chinese" use to "Scheme" ways around the racist laws.[39] While Polish immigrants had difficulty finding work, Chinese immigrants had to assume fake names and risk imprisonment and deportation to get into the country.

Even before the Exclusion Acts, Chinese immigrants faced racism. On December 16, 1877, Hing Kee died of a vicious and gruesome death in his bed in Port Madison, Washington Territory. When examiners probed his body, they found multiple knife wounds on his hands and head, evidencing a fight for his life, with the killing blow being a slashed throat[40]. The town newspaper downplayed the racial aspect of the killing, suggesting that Kee was known to have a gold watch and a bit of money in his possession. The town's newspaper reported that the murder was a robbery, rather than the racially motivated killing that it was. This news was read as an isolated incident. However, mere days later, the entire population of Chinese laborers in Port Madison was expelled, their homes demolished, and burned.[41] This kind of violence and arson that the Chinese of Port Madison faced was tragically common across the United States. However, it was not only direct violence that Chinese immigrants faced.

From all levels of society, the Chinese felt the hatred that was extended toward them. H. N. Clement, a lawyer in San Francisco, stood before the California State Senate in 1876 and announced, "The Chinese are upon us. How can we get rid of them?"[42] Later, in 1889, the United States Supreme Court decried the Chinese as "vast hordes of people crowding in upon us… a different race… dangerous to America's peace and security."[43] The highest court in the nation and everyday citizens made it clear to the Chinese living in the United States that they were not wanted. Laws, it seems, could be inherently racist both in their creation and in enforcement. The Chinese Exclusion Acts were racially motivated to keep out an undesirable element. Other laws that afforded protection to whites in the United States did not

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39 "Chinese Coolies Flocking to America Despite Laws Framed to Exclude Them," *San Francisco Call*, September 26, 1902, 1-2.

40 Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 27.

41 Ibid., 27-28.

42 Lee, "The Chinese Exclusion Example", 36.

43 Ibid., 39.

extend that same protection to Chinese immigrants living in the United States. Gong Heng, Hing Kee, and the residents of Port Madison were not protected by laws that would have safeguarded White Americans.

In an attempt to take the law into their own hands, as the authorities have failed to protect Chinese immigrants, some Chinse armed themselves with guns and built fences around their communities to protect themselves and their property.[44] They circumvented laws meant to destabilize their Chinatown communities and push them out, such as the ordinance in San Jose stating that neighborhoods had to have their sewer systems tied in with the primary city system. This ordinance was most likely passed to dissuade the construction of the Woolen Mills Chinatown. Chinese residents built their own sewer lines and connected them to the main city system themselves to avoid this problem. They would not be forced out on a technicality after watching the previous two Chinatowns they had built burned down in racially motivated arson.[45]

Some Chinese sought relief from racial hatred and abuse through the letter of the law. Even established members of Chinese communities dealt with racial prejudice. Comments such as, "Having a Chinese for a neighbor" was one of the perils of living in town,"[46] were common expressions of white residents. Mobs of White men also laid siege to Chinese-run businesses, making threats of arson and murder should the Chinese not leave. Both events took place in Tacoma, Washington, in 1885, evidencing that racial prejudice was not only reserved for newcomers, but it could also drastically differ in intensity even in a small area. Chinese immigrants dealt with everyday racism in language and treatment and a different type of violent racism. Kwok Sue, a prominent businessman in Tacoma, had lived and worked in the United States for twenty years when orders from local White organizations stated that the Chinese were to leave Tacoma by November 1, or that there would be blood.[47] Sue and N.W. Gow both reached out through the legal system, contacting lawyers and even the governor, to find shelter for the masses as Chinese workers in Tacoma who were losing their jobs and fleeing the city. Territory Governor Squire told them not to worry that they would be protected. When November 1 came, the merchants' houses were raided. Those Chinese who stayed were forced out of their homes and ran out of town. Even though merchants were told that the federal government had been informed of the situation, nobody came to help.[48]

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44 Baxter, "The Response of California's Chinese", 33.

45 Ibid., 31.

46 Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 106.

47 bid., 106-107.

48 Ibid., 107-112.

Other Chinese immigrants took to writing, such as Wong Ar Chong, who wrote to William Lloyd Garrison, a prominent journalist, and outspoken civil rights activist, on February 28, 1879.[49] Chong wrote in response to Senator Blaine, who had supported measures to exclude Chinese nationals from immigrating to the United States, saying that the Chinese should be allowed to continue to immigrate since they had contributed to building the nation. He refuted claims from Senator Blaine that Chinese people would not assimilate, that Chinese women were all prostitutes, that Chinese people were dirty and uneducated, and that Chinese people did not pay taxes.[50] Another Chinese writer, Kwang Chang Ling, used historical arguments to denote that the Chinese had never been a threat and still were not. He argued that when China had the upper hand around the 14th century, they did not march on the west and tear down Europe. When they were weaker in the 16th century, Europe sailed the ocean to conquer others; in a way, European descendants were far more dangerous than the Chinese.[51]

Some Chinese immigrants experienced the harsh reality of their lack of whiteness and Europeanness in the United States. This reality was often accompanied by violence and the lack of protection from local, state, and national authorities. From experience grounded in excitement expressed by Huie Kin in 1868 upon arrival to San Francisco Bay, "To be actually at the 'Golden Gate' of the land of our dreams! The feeling that welled up was indescribable…"[52] to the experiences of Kwok Sue, N.W. Gow, Hing Kee, and Gong Heng were not a far leap in the United States. The color of a Chinese man or woman's skin made them targets of hatred, violence, and exclusion. Polish immigrants also had some unpleasant experiences during the early years of immigration, experiences wrapped in forced assimilation and cultural stigma. There is a crucial difference in the experiences of Polish and Chinese immigrants. Poles were considered White-*ish*. While they were often labeled as racially and socio-culturally different, White America expressed a negative attitude toward elements of the Polish culture such as conservatism, language, religion, etc. Poles primarily settled in America with minor incidents while Chinese immigrants were murdered, beaten, forced from their homes, and excluded because they were neither European nor white, and most often non-Christian. The accounts of these groups can be valuable in learning more about either or both. However, to look at them side-by-side is to compare the two and

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49   "Letter from Wong Ar Chong to William Lloyd Garrison, February 28, 1879. (19 February 1903)," Stanford History Education Group. Accessed April 14, 2021, https://sheg.stanford.edu/history-lessons/chinese-immigration-and-exclusion.

50   Ibid.

51   Kwang Chang Ling, *Why should the Chinese go? A pertinent Inquiry from a Mandarin High in Authority* (San Francisco: Bruce's Book & Job Printing House, 1878), 1-6.

52   Lew-Williams, *The Chinese Must Go*, 32.

magnify the harsh origins of Chinese immigration in the United States. As Andreas Ueland wrote 57 years after coming to America, "The early hardship seem [*sic*] now trivial; over-abundant compensation makes me almost forget them."[53] Gong Heng and others were not allowed the chance to progress past their fatal hardships. Racism in the United States against Chinese and Asian people is not simply an issue of the past. In the last year, anti-Asian violence and hate crimes have been on the rise. In fact, Stop Asian American and Pacific Islanders Hate (AAPI), a group formed by Asian American advocacy groups, reported that between March 2020 and February 2021, over 3,800 anti-Asian hate incidents were reported in the United States.[54] These reported numbers, likely underreported, speak to the fact that Anti-Asian and Anti-Chinese racism has not disappeared in the United States and that those who are seen as different still struggle to live in the United States peacefully in pursuit of "The American Dream."

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53 Ueland, *Recollections*, 259.
54 Liz Mineo, "The Scapegoating of Asian Americans," *The Harvard Gazette*, March 24, 2021.

William "Jacob" Dunning

Coffeehouse Capitalism: From London to America

Introduction

In the last months of 1807, John Lambert, a British traveler visiting Canada and the United States Northeast, described many aspects of the American landscape, culture, and technological advances. While in the city of Albany en route to New York City, Lambert stayed at the Gregory. He compared his accommodations as equally stellar as any hotel in London.[1] He noted that the city of Albany had "rapidly increased in size, wealth, and population."[2] He commented on the importance of trade conducted in Albany as both "considerable, and … daily increasing."[3] The endless number of boats traveling along the Hudson River fueled the increase in trade and population.

Trade significantly transformed the American diet. Lambert applauded the variety of items available for breakfast, lunch, and diner. He described the traditional English breakfast simply as "meager repasts compared with those of America…."[4] In all, he observed that the American people "live, with respect to eating, in a much more luxurious manner than we (the British), particularly in the great towns and their neighborhoods."[5] Nevertheless, the "too great variety" of American foods, and portions, he believed, were conducive to poor health. He believed that "many of their diseases [were] engendered by gross diet, and the use of animal food at every meal."[6] In other words, the increasing trade and wealth in the United States would slowly produce an ill society.

Upon his arrival to New York City, Lambert thoroughly described the city's trade as complex and organized chaos. At the center of trade was a coffeehouse, rather the Tontine Coffeehouse. Lambert described the Tontine Coffeehouse as the engine for trade:

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1   John Lambert, *Travels Through Lower Canada, and the United States of North America, in the Years 106,1807, 1808*, Vol. 2 (London: Printed for Richard Phillips, 1810), 131.

2   Ibid.

3   Ibid.

4   Ibid., 132.

5   Ibid.

6   Ibid., 133.

Bales of cotton, wool, and merchandize; barrels of potash, rice, flour, and salt provisions; hogsheads of sugar, chests of tea, puncheons of rum, and pipes of wine; boxes, cases, packs and packages of all sizes and denominations, were strewed upon the wharfs (sic) and landing places, or upon the decks of the shipping. All was notice and bustle. The carters were driving in every direction; and the sailors and labourers (sic) upon the wharfs, and on board the vessels, were moving their ponderous burthens from place to place. The merchants and their clerks were busy engaged in their counting-houses (sic), or upon the piers. The Tontine coffee-house (sic) was filled with underwriters, brokers, merchants, traders, and politicians; selling, purchasing, trafficking, or insuring; some reading, others eagerly inquiring the news. The steps and balcony of the coffee-house crowded with people bidding, or listening to the several auctioneers, who had elevated themselves upon a hogshead of sugar, a puncheon of rum, or a bale of cotton; and with Stentorian voices were exclaiming: "*Once, twice.*" "*Once, twice.*" "*Another cent.*" "*Thank ye gentlemen,*" or were knocking down the goods which took up one one (sic) side of the street, to the best purchaser. The coffee-house slip, and the corners of Wall and Pearl – streets, were jammed up with carts, drays, and wheel-borrows: horses and men huddled promiscuously together, leaving little or no room for passengers to pass. Such was the appearance of this part of the town when I arrived. Every thing (sic) was in motion; all was life, bustle, and activity. The people were scampering in all directions to trade with each other, and to ship off their purchases from European, Asian, African and West Indian markets. Every thought, word, look, and action of the multitude seemed to be absorbed by commerce; the Welkin rang with its busy hum, and all were eager in the pursuit of its riches.[7]

In his travels to New York, John Lambert, in the early 1800s, witnessed the early symptoms of insatiable American love for food as part of the United States' largest sin: consumerism. However, the emerging capitalistic global networks of trade driving American consumerism found their holy site at coffee houses, especially in New York City. The combination of trade, coffee, and the coffeehouse sustained a primal blueprint of a trading system, and its participants, in American economic history. Yet, the coffeehouse's influence

7   Ibid., 156-7.

in the construction of modern capitalism in America slowly ushered in global capitalism.

Modern capitalist economies center on the relationship between suppliers and consumers of all goods and services, fueling consumerism. Toby Miller has defined consumerism as "The theory that a progressively greater consumption of goods is economically beneficial; Attachment to materialistic values or possessions."[8] Frank Trentmann has asserted that among theorists concerned with the contours of modernity and post-modernity, the one thing these two groups of thinkers can agree up is the "centrality of consumption to modern capitalism and contemporary culture." He noted that for social theorists such as "Werner Sombart, Emile Durkheim and Thorstein Veblen at the turn of the twentieth century, consumption was a decisive force behind modern capitalism, its dynamism and social structure."[9] Modern capitalism and consumerism, thus, emerged with the trade of coffee and the social structures of coffee culture.

A study conducted by the National Coffee Association in 2015 revealed that in modern America, the consumption of coffee is ever-increasing and makes up for 1.6% of the total U.S. gross domestic product.[10] The same study showed that consumers spent $74.2 billion on coffee, contributing $225.2 billion to the entire national economy and 1,694,740 jobs in the United States.[11] The relevance of the coffee industry 21st century is by no means a recent phenomenon. On the contrary, coffee arrived on the shores of the American colonies as early as 1607. Colonial Virginia first imported coffee, providing a unique and rich history throughout early colonial America. While playing a minor role early on, coffee found its place in the American economy following the American Revolution, cementing its relevance in developing the United States' emerging consumer culture. Coffeehouses began emerging, particularly in the Northeast, as Americans from all classes converged in central meeting places to socialize, discuss current events and ideas, or participate in commercial exchange.[12] The establishment of coffeehouses followed a pattern occurring in London, where coffeehouses began their operations the century before.[13] Coffeehouses served as a nexus of individuals,

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8   Toby Miller, "Cultural Citizenship: Cosmopolitanism, Consumerism and Television, in a Neoliberal Age," *Canadian Journal of Sociology Online* (July – August, 2007), 248.

9   Frank Trentmann, "Beyond Consumerism: New Historical Perspectives on Consumption," *Journal of Contemporary History* Vol. 39, No. 3 (2004), 373.

10 "National Coffee Association." NCA. Accessed November 15, 2020. https://www.ncausa.org/Industry-Resources/Economic-Impact.

11 Ibid.

12 Michael Olmert, "Coffeehouses, The Penny Universities," *Colonial Williamsburg Journal* Vol. 23, No. 1 (2001): 68-73.

13 Ibid.

philosophical and political discourse, productivity, and business exchange above the warm brim of a cup. Ideas were debated regularly among the patrons of coffeehouses as their words cut through the steam of their drink, evaporating the expectations of social interaction that existed in decades past while brewing a new age of information and commerce. This brief study details the collective history of coffee and coffee houses. It illustrates the contribution of London coffeehouses to the establishment of American ones. In the United States, over time, these houses became sites of modern capitalism and consumerism. The reproduction of the London coffeehouse in colonial America during the age of independence had a long-lasting legacy. Once Americans defeated colonial rule and its economic system of mercantilism, the Tontine Coffeehouse in New York City emerged as the most important site for what became the New York Stock Exchange—the largest and most important equities-based exchange globally—a commerce institution duplicated around the world.

A Brief History of Coffeehouses in Britain

In the late sixteenth century, the first establishment to serve coffee was founded in Smyrna (renamed Izmir, a city in Turkey), and it lined the streets near where merchants and traders performed business.[14] The people of Smyrna experienced "interest in comforts rather than just necessities; spread of consumer goods, and including luxury, fashion, and leisure time activities to the masses; and interactions among various consumer cultures."[15] An Englishman born in London, Daniel Edwards, witnessed the rise of coffeehouses. He was the son of a wealthy Levantine merchant who, as a young man, lived in Smyrna between the mid-1640s and 1651. As he became a successful merchant, he employed a young Greek boy named Pasqua Rosee, who eventually accompanied Edwards back to London once they left Smyrna. In London, a wealthy English businessman named Thomas Hodges employed the services of Edwards. This business relationship eventually turned into a family-business one when Edwards married Hodge's daughter. Edwards continued his family business, like many other traders, traveling between Smyrna and London. Eventually, he mastered the coffee business as he became accustomed to the drink's energetic stimulus; he finally decided to open a coffeehouse. Those who substituted alcohol for coffee felt better and more alert because of the high amounts of caffeine. Many began to drink coffee over those drinks that made them drunk.[16]

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14   Markman Ellis, *The Coffee-House: A Cultural History* (London: Orion Publishing Group, 2004), 34.

15   Ibid.

16   Ellis, *The Coffee-House*, 36.

The first British public coffeehouse opened in 1652, with the investment of Edwards and Hodge. The young Pasqua Rosee ran it. These proprietors monetized on the increasing urbanization and industrialization of the city by strategically placing London's first coffeehouse in the most commercial part of the city: Cornhill. Cornhill was the highest geographical point of London, contained the Royal Exchange. [17] The exchange served as a place for economic trading and stock purchasing, while the exchange streets enlisted merchants, farmers, traders, and even stock investors.[18] Following the Great London Fire of 1666, the Rosee-ran establishment dwindled, and two additional coffeehouses emerged at the end of the 17th century. Garraway's Coffeehouse and Lloyd's Coffeehouse transformed coffeehouse spaces into commercial centers. The coffeehouses became a nexus where people congregated to exchange ideas relative to science, politics, and philosophy while exchanging goods such as food, supplies, and insurance. These establishments became a place of valuable social and intellectual interaction. They provided a meeting place for individuals, which fueled a conversation with the strong coffee drink and socio-political pamphlets, books, and articles to read and debate. Coffeehouse patrons became more informed about current events than their predecessors in matters of social and political affairs. In turn, they had greater access to intellectual and commercial opportunities through frequently hosted auctions, broadside advertisements, and public debates and forums.[19] John Houghton, a member of the Royal Society and frequent patron of the Garraway's coffeehouse, advocated the emerging coffeehouse culture. In a speech delivered at the Royal Society, he declared, "Furthermore, Coffee has greatly increased the Trade of Tobacco and Pipes, Earthen dishes, Tin wares, News-Papers, Coals, Candles, Sugar, Tea, Chocolate and what not. Coffee-house makes all sorts of People sociable, they improve Arts, and Merchandize, and all other Knowledge and a worthy member of this Society (now departed) has thought that Coffee-houses have improved useful knowledge very much."[20] Houghton's patronage of coffeehouses allowed him to analyze these new meeting places' impact on economic opportunities, mainly trade.

17 John Stow, "Cornehill warde," in *A Survey of London. Reprinted From the Text of 1603*, ed. C L Kingsford (Oxford: Clarendon, 1908), 187-200. *British History Online*, accessed October 22, 2019, http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/survey-of-london-stow/1603/pp187-200.

18 William Jewell, *The Golden Cabinet of True Treasure* (London: John Crosley, 1612; Ann Arbor: Text Creation Partnership, 2011), chap. 8, p. 167, http://name.umdl.umich.edu/A04486.0001.001.

19 Ibid.

20 John Houghton, "A Discourse of Coffee, Read at a Meeting of the Royal Society, by Mr. John Houghton, F. R. S." *Philosophical Transactions (1683-1775)* Vol. 21 (1699): 311-17.

Sale auctions commonly took place in coffee houses. Patrons of these establishments came from different social classes seeking commercial opportunities of exchange. Such an auction included cargo ships, French wine, land plots, art, and rare books in their inventory.[21] The curious drink became the social glue that drew all degrees of person, whether tradesman, gentry, or farmer. The nature of the 17th century London coffeehouse was summed up in a poem by an unmentioned "Eye and Ear Witness," when they said the following, "Here you're not thrust into a box, As taverns do to catch the Fox, But as from the top of Paul's high steeple, The whole City's viewed, Even so all people, may here be seen."[22] In other words, the writer described the coffeehouse as a place where socioeconomic status became less defined and where all manners of people could socialize in the coffee establishments.

Garraway's coffeehouse was dedicated to auctioning off a variety of items. On the other hand, Lloyd's coffeehouse specialized in providing maritime insurance for the cargo ships, the type of ships often purchased at Garraway's. This sort of business specialization forged by coffeehouse activities displayed the relevance of the coffeehouse in daily economic affairs and the different opportunities available with low competition. A 1773 broadside advertised the sale of "about 590 Acres of Land, together with the Negroes…In the Parish of Saint George, In the Island of Tobago….at Garraway's Coffeehouse, Exchange Alley."[23] This broadside is a prime example of the economic exchange that occurred and the information that became readily available to any coffeehouse patron.

Trade between Britain and the American colonies increased throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Coffeehouses continued to serve as glue for exchange and primary places to advertise different opportunities, as seen in the broadside above. These coffeehouses also became the centerpiece of London's economy. For example, Lloyd's Coffeehouse became Lloyd's Register, specializing in all types of insurance, while another coffeehouse located in Exchange Alley, Jonathan's, became the future home of the London Stock Exchange. Coffee and commerce became directly intertwined, and this relationship spread to America, most notably in Boston and New York.

While the emergence of the American coffeehouse took place during the latter half of the 18th century—following the American Revolution—the import of coffee could have first arrived in the American colonies in 1607

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21 "18th Century Property Auction," Forum Auctions, Accessed November 15, 2020, https://www.forumauctions.co.uk/index.php?option=com_timed_auction.

22 William Ukers, Chapter X: The Coffee Houses of Old London -- All About Coffee, Accessed October 27, 2020, http://cluesheet.com/All-About-Coffee-X.htm.

23 "Transatlantic Slave Trade - Garraway's Coffee House in Exchange Alley, Cornhill," Layers of London, Accessed November 15, 2020, https://www.layersoflondon.org/map?record=6117.

concurrently with the establishment of the Virginia Colony at Jamestown under the authority of Captain John Smith.[24] According to William Ukers in his book, *All About Coffee*, Dutch may have brought coffee to New Amsterdam (present-day New York) as early as 1624; however, the first recorded reference to coffee in America was in 1668 in New York.[25] Because English merchants and soldiers often spent much time in ports in places like New York and Boston, they began to purchase coffee from coffeehouses in London and brought it along with them to American port cities.[26] The desire for coffee among these workers created a new market and demand for coffeehouses in New England. Notable Englishmen such as William Penn were known to purchase coffee in New York in 1683.[27] However, In the colonies, coffeehouses had not been established as public meeting places as it was the case in London. In the colonies, coffee and coffee consumption was primarily found in one's private home or taverns. One reason for the lack of popularity was perhaps that tea was the most common drink for colonists. Nevertheless, elite classes typically consumed coffee due to their access to the drink, which perpetuated a social stigma that coffee was indeed the drink of the elite.[28] Those who frequently traveled to Europe became accustomed to the beverage and the newfound public sphere of the coffeehouse. In all, Coffeehouses were not frequented by the masses in the Colonies in the late 17th and early 18th centuries. Coffee was for wealthy businessmen, scholars, and aristocrats.

Coffeehouses from Britain to the Colonies

One frequent visitor of coffeehouses, both domestic and abroad, was Benjamin Franklin. Franklin traveled the world and spent much time in France, where he became very acquainted with the coffeehouses of Paris. Franklin's travels were essentially part of his work as a diplomat for his embryonic nation.[29] Additionally, he visited coffeehouses in London and communicated with scholars among with he debated social and political ideas; he was the American link of the enlightened European thinkers. European philosophes such as Locke, Hobbes, and Voltaire could be found drinking the warm beverage while discussing philosophy in London and

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24   William H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: Good Press, 1922), 106.

25   Ibid.

26   Ibid.

27   Ibid.

28   Steven Barleen, "The Tavern: A Social History of Drinking and Conviviality" (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, May 2019), 9.

29   Benjamin Franklin, "Essay", in Leonard Woods Labaree, ed., *The Papers of Benjamin Franklin: January 1 through December 31, 1765* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1968), 135.

Paris coffeehouses.[30] These were European lettered men with whom Franklin developed close correspondence and friendships in the Republic of Letters.[31] Because of men like Franklin, coffee in America was seen as the drink of a learned man. In a 1765 letter, Franklin referred to himself, and other coffee drinkers like himself, as "Coffee-house students in History and Politics."[32] However, this social distinction gradually changed during the onset of the American Revolution. Tea consumption decreased partly due to new taxes on tea, ultimately resulting in the Boston Tea Party riot.

Due to the increased debt of the British government, Parliament began taxing goods in the American colonies, including tea. The culmination of new taxes without representation and restrictions placed on American imports led to a revolution of citizens, and thus the American Revolution began. Following the Boston Tea Party, 342 chests of tea were thrown from a British cargo ship into the Boston Harbor, drinking tea was condemned.[33] Britain quickly reversed the Tea Act; however, the minds of many colonists had been made already to no longer drink tea. Tea consumption was viewed negatively by American patriots.

Conversely, coffee consumption was seen as revolutionary and patriotic to those supporting the cause against the rule of Great Britain.[34] This is evident in men like Daniel Webster, the owner of the Green Dragon Tavern. Webster's business housed the Sons of Liberty members and helped its members plan the Boston Tea Party while serving them coffee and liquor. This establishment is remembered as "The secret meeting place of the Sons of Liberty, and in the words of Webster, the Headquarters of the Revolution."[35] In essence, this establishment serving coffee became synonymous with revolution and independence.

The American Coffeehouse and the Rise of Capitalism

In the aftermath of the American Revolution and independence from Great Britain, Americans increasingly consumed coffee. With the rise in consumption, coupled with the influence of coffeehouse enthusiasts like Franklin, the American coffeehouse began to evolve along the same socioeconomic patterns found in London coffeehouses a century prior. The

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30   Jessica Pearce Rotondi, "How Coffee Fueled Revolutions-and Changed History," History.com (A&E Television Networks, February 11, 2020).

31   Marc Fumaroli, *The Republic of Letters* (New Heaven: Yale University Press, 2018).

32   Franklin, "Essay", 135.

33   History.com Editors. "Boston Tea Party." History.com. A&E Television Networks, October 27, 2009. https://www.history.com/topics/american-revolution/boston-tea-party.

34   Rotondi, "How Coffee Fueled Revolutions-and Changed History".

35   Barleen, "The Tavern", 9.

Tontine coffeehouse, located in New York City, became the most notable coffee establishment in 1793. The Tontine was founded by stockbrokers who desired a central meeting place to communicate and discuss stock prices and trade. The Tontine coffeehouse derived its name from a type of investment plan devised in the 17th century, called Tontine, to raise capital from a group of investors. The coffeehouse business establishment was financed with the investment of 203 businessmen contributing $200 each.[36] The profits from the coffeehouse were paid out as dividends to the shareholders unless sold or transferred upon one's death.[37] Built at the corner of Water Street and Wall Street, the Tontine became the economic stronghold for New York merchants. In 1792, a year before the grand opening of the Tontine, a new group of businessmen signed the Buttonwood Agreement. This founding document created and organized securities trading in New York City. With the opening of the Tontine Coffeehouse, merchants made the Tontine home. Over time the New York coffeehouse accommodated tradespeople and securities trading; buying and selling stock became synonymous and nearly exclusive to New York City.

In *Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America*, Christina Hodge observed the phenomenon of the New York coffeehouse and the development of a new class of businessman of this period as vibrant and business-driven across social strata. She noted this was a period "in which people in the middle social strata became invested-demonstrably, transformatively, knowingly-in emergent genteel values…activated within particular social spaces, mediated this process."[38] Unlike the colonial coffeehouse before the revolution, which was frequented mainly by elites, the Tontine Coffeehouse saw a new emerging group of middle-class Americans invested in economic affairs brought to them through their coffeehouse patronage.[39] Not only did a new class of businessmen form, but two new markets seemingly carried each other simultaneously: coffee and stocks. Stockbrokers and stock trading provided the means for the coffeehouse to operate, while the coffeehouse served as a hub for the newfound commerce. Much like that of the London coffeehouse, the American coffeehouse so too became directly tied to commerce. By 1834, the Tontine Coffeehouse had increased its services beyond those of the

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36   Guide to the Records of the Tontine Coffee-House 1738-1879 (bulk 1791-1871), Accessed November 15, 2020, http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/nyhs/tontine/ bioghist.html.

37   Ibid.

38   Christina Hodge, *Consumerism and the Emergence of the Middle Class in Colonial America* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), xix.

39   Guide to the Records of the Tontine Coffee-House, Accessed November 15, 2020. http://dlib.nyu.edu/findingaids/html/nyhs/tontine/bioghist.html.

coffeehouse. It had become a hotel, newspaper publishing headquarters, and provided office spaces.[40]

Conclusion

Today, the New York Stock exchange credits the Buttonwood Agreement and the Tontine Coffeehouse as the early pillars of the largest stock exchange in the world.[41] The Tontine Coffeehouse eventually transitioned into a tavern, then the Tontine building, and finally, it was ultimately demolished in 1905. Nevertheless, coffee and the culture it birthed played a significant role as the headquarters (the Tontine) of early modern capitalism in America as it gave rise to a new type of commerce. At the beginning of the 2019 fiscal year, the coffee company Starbucks, ranked as the one hundred and twenty-first most profitable company in the United States of America, according to Fortune 500, amassing $24,719,500 in total revenue for the previous fiscal year.[42] Starbucks' profitability directly results from its product and the experience of the coffeehouse. Although a modern business success, Starbucks owes some of its prosperity to the early coffeehouses of London and New York that laid the building blocks for the modern need of consumption. From a young Greek boy selling coffee in Exchange Alley to coffeehouse auctions at Garraway's, coffeehouse insurance firms like Lloyd's, to coffeehouses that harbored Enlightenment-era ideals, to the foundation of the largest stock exchange in the world, coffeehouse consumerism has revolutionized modern capitalism. The post-Revolution coffeehouse on the corner of Water Street and Wall Street laid the foundation for the institution that publicly trades multibillion-dollar corporations like Starbucks. Such a progression is indeed the epitome of American capitalism.

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42 Ross Kohan, "Starbucks," *Fortune*, May 16, 2019, https://fortune.com/fortune500/2019/starbucks/.

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Teddy and Fighting Bob: Progressive Presidential Candidates of the Early Twentieth Century United States

Introduction

Theodore Roosevelt Jr. ran for president in the general election of 1912 under a new political party, nicknamed the Progressive "Bull Moose" Party.[1] A decade later, Robert La Follette ran for president in 1924 with his newly formed Progressive Party.[2] The presidential elections of 1912 and 1924 are essential in understanding how Roosevelt and La Follette were central to political progressivism in United States history. This political tradition, interpreted through the political careers of Roosevelt Jr. and La Follette, provides a window to the past to understand the personal interpretation of progressivism during the first part of the twentieth century and beyond. Despite their differences, political and personal, La Follette and Roosevelt agreed on plenty of issues. Both politicians shared the same side of the greater debate—but differed in the how, why, and when progressive political needed to be implemented in the United States political landscape.

While the two men had vastly different backgrounds that shaped their political perspectives and characters, their lives were woven into the fabric of American political progressivism and composed a gathering of progressive American voters' narratives. The appeals to the American voter lay within the bones of the 1912 and 1924 campaigns giving credence to the claim that progressivism was contingent on public will and popular sentiment and that progressivism could be as shifting the populace it aims to support. William Taft's 1909 presidency was plagued with controversies like the Ballinger Affair, in which a Taft appointee, against Roosevelt's domestic policies, turned the recently public lands into private holdings. The privatization of these lands

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1   Theodore Roosevelt and Theodore Roosevelt Association Collection, *Progressive Covenant with the People*. (New York: Thomas A. Edison, 1912. Audio. https://www.loc.gov/item/99391565/).

2   "The Official Statement of Senator Robert M. La Follette Announcing His Candidacy for President of the United States," (Cleveland, Ohio, July 4, 1924) University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign Library, last modified June 3, 2018, https://digital.library.illinois.edu/items/3cdc8f00-4813-0136-4f2e-0050569601ca-a.

shook the faith of conservationist Republicans in their new president.[3] The effect of that election was twofold; it was incendiary to the public; additionally, it worsened the relationship between Taft and Roosevelt.[4] The perceived betrayal by the Taft administration propelled support behind a challenging Roosevelt candidacy. The circumstances that surrounded 1912 and 1924 were the actions that provoked reactions from the American public, and as the time had called for, political progressivism rose to meet the challenge. Roosevelt and La Follette had their respective political ambitions, but they saw themselves first and foremost as politicians guided by their principles, which relied on the better judgment of an informed and politically forward public base.

The Roosevelt and La Follette presidential campaigns are historically significant because of their electoral outcomes. Although neither had succeeded at getting the presidency, both candidates obtained enough votes to be considered credible contenders and posed a serious challenge to the two-party system. This study focuses on these political campaigns, the candidates, and the political legacy of the progressives. It establishes a link between the personal dealings of these men and the making of an American-progressive identity. Their own political experiences guided La Follette and Roosevelt; their backgrounds helped bolster their chances of being elected to the presidency. However, their political maneuvers instilled flaws that proved fatal to their candidacies.

Progressives in 1912

Theodore Roosevelt Jr.'s characteristically strong personality comes through many historical records. His speeches captivated audiences, and he brought forward a public character befitting more of a modern politician than many of his predecessors—or even his colleagues. Presidential historian, Michael Riccards, has noted that "As no president in memory and probably none up to that time, Theodore Roosevelt became a 'personality'— a politician whose every action seemed newsworthy and exciting."[5] His philosophy might be best explained by his appreciation for the West African proverb, "Speak softly and carry a big stick—you will go far."[6] Roosevelt exemplified the proverb throughout his life, his political career, and his relationships. His

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3   Doris Kearns Goodwin, *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2013), 610.

4   Ibid.

5   Michael P. Riccards, *The Ferocious Engine of Democracy: A History of the American Presidency*, Vol. 2. Theodore Roosevelt through George Bush (Lanham, Md.: Madison Books, 1995), 5-6.

6   Edmund Morris, *The Rise of Theodore Roosevelt* (New York: Random House Publishing. Modern Library Edition, 2010), 754.

personality came through his charisma and sense of fashion. Based on the New York legislature's first impression of Roosevelt, John Walsh noted that "He carried a gold-headed cane in one hand, a silk hat in the other, and he walked in the bent-over fashion that was the style with the young men of the day. His trousers were as tight as a tailor could make them and had a bell-shaped bottom to cover his shoes."[7] Roosevelt's personality made him unforgettable and helped him forge political alliances and wage political war. His tactics earned him an alliance with Governor and Senator Hiram Johnson and caused rocky relationships with prominent politicians like President and Chief Justice William Taft. It also created a life-long bitter opponent out of Governor and Senator Robert La Follette. However, a distinction should be noted between a rivalry of deeply personal roots and an ideological likeness that places La Follette in the same line of progressive succession as Roosevelt.

Through his political career, Robert Marion La Follette Sr. was known as "Fighting Bob" because of his consistent advocacy of progressive policies (many of which, perhaps foremost on worker's rights and suffrage, were a product of his raising) and constant battling with party bosses. A reporter described la Follette as "popular at home, popular with his colleagues, and popular in the house…he is so good a fellow that even his enemies like him."[8] La Follette's political popularity was fueled by both his tenacity and his good nature. La Follette gained respect as a politician disinterested in power and with whom loyalty to a cause was paramount. In 1912, La Follette was critical of Theodore Roosevelt, who ran in his newly formed Progressive Party when Republican Party leaders handed the nomination to the incumbent President Taft.[9] He derided the third party run as a foolish split of the progressive voting bloc, who held their confidence in the Republicans and believed the course of action would lead to a Democratic victory. La Follette had hoped that pulling the progressives into his party would make them an unelectable force because they lacked the coalition-building they required while being led by the former president. La Follette also believed that Roosevelt was interested in political power and would not give progressive ideals electoral support if it would not win him the election. "He offered no reason for a third party, except his own overmastering craving for a third term," wrote La Follette.[10] In a seemingly contradictory fashion, La Follette ran on his own Progressive Party in 1924.

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7   Ibid., 144.

8   Nancy C. Unger, *Fighting Bob La Follette: The Righteous Reformer* (United States: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 85.

9   David Paul Thelen, *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit* (United States: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985), 93-96.

10 Robert M. La Follette and Mathew Rothschild, *La Follette's Autobiography: A Personal Narrative of Political Experiences* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1913), 670.

However, La Follette made building a coalition the focus of his campaign and ran against both a conservative Democrat and conservative Republican. While Roosevelt joined a field of candidates with relatively strong anti-trust positions, La Follette became the sole viable alternative to a duopolistic view of deregulation.

Theodore Roosevelt's and William Howard Taft's relationship began to decay after Roosevelt's exit from the White House. Newly elected President Taft departed from the strict expectations of former President Roosevelt, as Roosevelt more or less expected a Taft presidency to become a carbon copy of the Roosevelt policy. "The Trusts, The People, and The Square Deal" was an op-ed written by former President Theodore Roosevelt Jr. in *The Outlook*, a weekly socio-political magazine. The 1908 op-ed criticized President William Howard Taft's handling of a merger between the then known Steel Corporation and the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company.[11] Some have suggested that it was the handling of this merger by the administration a key reason for the eventual presidential run of Theodore Roosevelt against William Howard Taft. In the document, Roosevelt levied the argument that his administration's previous encounters with the Steel Corporation gave him the impression that they cooperated fairly with the government.[12] Thus, Taft's administrative actions regarding U.S. Steel Corporation carried criticism of his predecessor and became detrimental to Roosevelt's progressive credibility if Roosevelt had allowed it to happen without recourse. This was a significant motivation for Roosevelt to run for president, not simply because Taft had betrayed the confidence of the conservationists, disenchanted with the Ballinger Affair, but because he sought to protect his image and pride as a trustbuster and an authority on those issues.

During the 1912 Republican primary, President Taft was expected to see some challenges to his re-nomination campaign. Robert M. La Follette of Wisconsin, a sitting United States senator, challenged Taft as a progressive in the race. The progressive Republicans hoped for a Roosevelt run, but Roosevelt often dismissed the possibility of a third term. La Follette gained the support of many of these progressive Republicans, but he was not the ideal leader that the progressives desired. Roosevelt finally entered the race, but much too late in January of 1912. Reluctant La Follette backers from the progressive wing of the Republican Party began to jump ship to support Roosevelt. The following month, in February 1912, La Follette gave the speech killing his hopeful campaign. Roosevelt had just entered the race, and speculation was swirling that La Follette would end his campaign. La Follette's daughter was

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11   Theodore Roosevelt, *The Trusts, The People, and The Square Deal* in *The Outlook*, New
      York (November 18, 1911).

12   Ibid.

going into surgery to have a gland removed near her jugular. Before joining his daughter, he decided to give a speech as scheduled the day before to project confidence in his campaign. During the speech, he became nervous, often diverging from his original point, repeating himself accidentally, and rambling for about two hours. "La Follette reacted to rude listeners by aggressively compelling them to pay attention. He lost his temper, angrily shook a finger at disrespecting guests, and listeners walked out on him."[13] The speech took the steam out of his campaign. Newspapers, afterward, reported the event as a mental breakdown and that more supporters went to Roosevelt's camp.[14] He stayed in the race until the convention and decided not to unite the party's progressive wing against Taft. Roosevelt won seven more states than Taft, almost 400,000 more popular votes, and more than double the delegates before the convention. Nevertheless, the Republican Party's bosses allocated enough delegates on-site at the convention to hand the nomination to Taft instead.[15] With Taft as the handpicked nominee, Roosevelt focused his efforts to mount a third-party effort.

Theodore Roosevelt's budding campaign was propelled forward by endorsements from Republicans of William Howard Taft's home state, Ohio, most notably James R. Garfield, son of the former president James A. Garfield. Later, after the Republican convention, he formed the Progressive Party with other powerful political allies. This group included the likes of Gifford Pinchot, Senator Albert Beveridge, Jane Addams, and Senator Hiram Johnson after his vice-presidential nomination. Roosevelt was an established politician, and while some of his allies, like Henry Cabot Lodge, did not back his third party run, he also did not speak out against it, nor in favor of Taft. This coalition gave Roosevelt the necessary legitimacy to have a realistic shot at the presidency.

In the 1912 general election, the four major candidates were incumbent President William Howard Taft of the Republican Party, former President Theodore Roosevelt of the Progressive Party, Governor Woodrow Wilson of the Democratic Party, and Activist Eugene V. Debs of the Socialist party.[16] Woodrow Wilson had a total of 6,293,454 votes, Theodore Roosevelt had a total of 4,119,207 votes, William Taft had a total of 3,483,922 votes, and Eugene Debs had a total of 900,369 votes. Woodrow Wilson received 435 electoral votes, Theodore Roosevelt received 88 electoral votes, William Taft received eight

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13 Thelen, *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent*, 91.

14 Ibid.

15 Deborah Kalb, *Guide to U.S. Elections* (United States: SAGE Publications, 2015), 398-399.

16 Ibid., 543.

electoral votes, and Eugene Debs received no electoral votes.[17] The Progressive Party of 1912 remains the last third party to get more votes than a major party in a presidential election. Like the 1912 Republican primary, the general election saw Roosevelt receive significantly more popular votes than Taft.[18] No other candidate garnered over 5% of the popular vote.

Progressives in 1924

A decade later, in 1924, Calvin Coolidge, the conservative Republican incumbent president, sought a second term in office. Unlike Theodore Roosevelt's run in 1912 under the Progressive Party *after* his loss of the Republican nomination, Robert La Follette contemplated openly for a third-party run from the outset.[19] La Follette intended to coalesce the left-leaning factions splintered into various third parties, unions, political organizations, and other groups to challenge Calvin Coolidge and John Davis, his conservative Democratic opponent. Coolidge did not face serious competition from his progressive opponent, Hiram Johnson of California. He even won the state of California during the Republican primary. It appeared that the progressive Republicans had begun to put more stock into La Follette's campaign over Johnson's.

Robert La Follette's campaign, in 1924, built a strong base of support by consolidating the progressives, liberals, and other left-wing organizations. The Committee of 48, named after the then 48 states in the union, was a progressive political organization that hoped to form a new Progressive Party in response to conservatism gaining influence in both the Republican and Democratic Parties.[20] The Committee of 48 signatories included Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger of Ohio, Politician George Wilcox of Hawaii, and Amos Pinchot of New York. While mainly active around 1919-1920, it drummed up interest in a cause a couple of years later, in 1922, during the Conference for Progressive Political Action (CPPA). The CPPA comprised progressive groups. It sent representatives to open operations throughout the United States.[21] The first CPPA convention brought together different progressive units. This included the Socialist, Progressive, and Farmer-Labor parties as well as political groups and labor unions. In turn, the CPPA was influential in gaining steam for the Progressive Party Convention of 1924, as its numbers helped visualize

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17 Edgar Eugene Robinson, *The Presidential Vote, 1896-1932* (New York: Octagon Books, 1970).

18 Kalb, *Guide to U.S. Elections*, 398-399.

19 Thelen, *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit*, 181.

20 The Committee of Forty-Eight, The Committee of Forty-Eight: For a Conference of Americans Who Are Equally Opposed to Reaction and Violent Revolution: Its Purposes — And the Reasons for It (New York: The Committee of Forty-Eight, 1919).

21 Thelen, *Robert M. La Follette and the Insurgent Spirit*, 182.

the support that a potential candidate could generate. The Progressive Party, which moved to nominate Robert La Follette as its presidential pick, welcomed multiple voices from all forms of left-wing thinkers except for the communists. La Follette himself denounced the communists, and the Communist Party was one of the only notable third parties to nominate a candidate for president, which they did for the first time in 1924.[22] Eugene V. Debs, the Socialist candidate who ran in the presidential elections of 1900, 1904, 1908, 1912, and 1920, persuaded the Socialist Party to endorse La Follette's candidacy for president.[23] Like Roosevelt before, La Follette seemed more interested in using a 'party' structure as a pure means to grain the presidency rather than to commit to an enduring organization comprised of his progressive colleagues in both parties.[24]

The 1924 general election had three "major" candidates: incumbent President Calvin Coolidge of the Republican Party, Ambassador John W. Davis of the Democratic Party, and Senator Robert M. La Follette of the Progressive Party. Calvin Coolidge had a total of 15,723,789 votes, John Davis had a total of 8,386,242 votes, and Robert La Follette had a total of 4,831,706 votes. Calvin Coolidge received 382 electoral votes, John Davis received 136 electoral votes, and Robert La Follette received 13 electoral votes.[25] The Progressive Party of 1924 got 16.62% of the popular vote, one of only three times a third party has received over 10% of the popular vote in the last 100 years.

Roosevelt's Progressives in 1912 and La Follette's Progressives in 1924 channeled their popularity as a political strategy. The goal of Theodore Roosevelt and his allies was to overwhelm the election. The idea of open and direct primaries was becoming a more common occurrence by the early 1900s. As primaries became an effort to gain the public's confidence, party leaders developed barnstorming or traveling "from place to place to making brief stops (as in a political campaign or a promotional tour)" as their primary strategy.[26] Roosevelt believed that the idea of a direct primary gave him the competitive edge that would turn the tide of the Republican primary, taking power away from the Republican Party bosses, who had already settled on Taft as their nominee. On February 24, 1912, Theodore Roosevelt wrote a letter to William Glasscock titled "Seeking the Nomination."[27] In his letter,

22 Ibid. 182.

23 *New York Times*, "La Follette Gets Debs Endorsement" (July 17, 1924), 3.

24 Ibid. 183.

25 David Leip, *1924 Presidential General Election Results*. (Accessed October 27, 2020. https://uselectionatlas.org/RESULTS/national.php?year=1924).

26 Merriam-Webster (https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/barnstorm, Accessed August 25, 2021).

27 Louis Auchincloss and Theodore Roosevelt, *Letters and Speeches* (New York: Library of America, 2004), 655.

Roosevelt noted that "One of the chief principles for which [he had] stood, and for which [he] now stand, and which [he had] always endeavored and always shall endeavor to reduce to action, [was] the genuine rule of the people, and therefore [he hoped] that so far as possible the people may be given the chance through direct primaries, to express their preference as to who shall be the nominee of the Republican Presidential Convention."[28] Progressives meant to bring about widespread reform, and thus their election, and seating relied on the count of a popular vote—and an enfranchised population. The direct primary strategy was more popular with urban politicians than rural ones. "Republicans supporting a gubernatorial or congressional district primary represented counties that were more rural (75.3%) than were those opposed to the proposition (53.8%)."[29] Some politicians believed that those who stood to gain from their progressive policies were willing to vote on those policies through the primary system. Thus, progressive candidates like Roosevelt and La Follette sought direct primaries. Progressive policies benefited from direct election because progressives had bet on the idea that policies that put the collective as a high priority would receive the endorsement of the collective society. Robert La Follette had also championed the direct primary in Wisconsin, and his policies propelled him to impressive results in the popular vote for a third-party run in the 1924 election: "Robert M. La Follette popularized the direct primary."[30]

Before his run as the nominee of the Progressive Party of 1912, Theodore Roosevelt had a vast political career that spanned two decades. His first position was as a member of the New York State Assembly, and he nearly continuously held a political position until he became President of the United States, in 1901, after President William McKinley's assassination. Similarly, Robert La Follette had a long political career but was keen on being re-elected into the same political offices. Roosevelt, in contrast, held a political office short term as a strategy to ascend to President in just 20 years. A more fantastic picture comes to mind about what kind of politicians La Follette and Roosevelt were when considering Roosevelt's upward spiral and La Follette's slow yet steady climb. As an elected official, Roosevelt spent most of his time holding executive offices in his home state or federal government in Washington D.C., while La Follette spent most of his time in the federal government's legislative branch. In their political careers, both Roosevelt and La Follette were shaped by the offices they held or by the offices they held guided by their characters. La Follette's effort to build a strong coalition for a progressive electoral force to win the 1924 election was like how legislators work with their colleagues to

28 Ibid., 655.

29 John F. Reynolds, *The Demise of the American Convention System, 1880–1911* (United States: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 210.

30 Ibid., 230.

get a bill passed. Roosevelt shaped his political persona with the confidence and strength of a dynamic leader by giving speeches fashioned to what the people wanted to hear. This process mimics how a governor or a president might whip up support to get their legislative bodies to take up their campaign promises. Both progressive campaigns for the presidency embodied the political histories of each respective candidate. La Follette's strategy of coalition building and calculated planning is emblematic of the processes of a successful congressperson. Roosevelt's dynamic and charismatic leadership relied on his skillset, built and improved through countless dealings directly with the public through his various, numerous public offices. In that regard, La Follette's campaign strategy was rooted in his experience on the legislative branch, while Roosevelt's campaign strategy was built on a career in the executive.

Political Cartoons and Progressive Candidates

Figure 1: Karl Kae Knecht
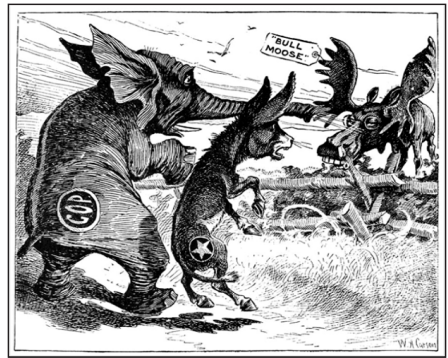"The More You Mix In, The Easier
To Satisfy Everyone."

Figure 2: W. A. Carson
"Bull Moose Campaign."

In the early twentieth century, political cartoons were one of the media's most dominant forms of election coverage. Theodore Roosevelt was often lampooned and lambasted by critics through political cartoons, such as in the cartoon depicted below, illustrated by Karl Knecht. In figure one, on the left, Roosevelt is depicted as a baker, exclaiming, "The more you mix in, the easier to satisfy everyone!"[31] The image portrayed him pouring a bottle of "Progressivism" into a big mixing bowl labeled "A Teddy Speech." Ingredients around him include "Radical Spice," "Any Old View," "Conservative Views," "Pure Democracy," and a mixture of "Initiative, Referendum, [and] Recall." Knecht depicted Roosevelt as a man who claimed to support everything

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31   Karl Kae Knecht, The More You Mix In, The Easier To Satisfy Everyone (Cartoon) in the *Evansville Courier* (Evansville, IN, 1912).

and therefore stood for nothing. If a voter in 1912 picked up a copy of the *Evansville Courier* to find this political cartoon, the voter might have taken away from this cartoon that they should not take Theodore Roosevelt's candidacy seriously. In the figure on the right (Fig. 2), W. A. Carson depicted Roosevelt embodying the bull moose mascot of the Progressive Party.[32] The image shows the Progressive bull moose scaring off the Republican elephant and the Democratic Donkey. Carson's cartoon exemplifies a fundamentally and different perspective than that of Knecht. In the second image, titled "Bull Moose Campaign," Carson insinuated that the Progressive Party is a serious, credible threat to the old two-party system ruled by the Democratic and Republican parties.

Robert La Follette did not escape political cartoons, still immensely popular by the 1924 presidential election. The political cartoonists typically caricatured La Follette by making him very short, playing on the senator's height of 5 feet and five inches (Fig. 3). The cartoonists gave him a stern appearance and made his hair stick upwards high. In the political cartoon on the left, La Follette holds a "strongest card." The cartoonist, John McCutcheon, insinuated that La Follette had cleaned up Wisconsin with reforms and that he could do it across the United States. Furthermore, La Follette looks into the readers' eyes with his "Exhibit A," which shows that La Follette's policies have been applied and have worked. This is exemplified by the depiction of the railroads as an octopus gripping onto the state. In turn, the state reaches out to "Good Laws." The pitcher and a cup of water in the image indicate that La Follette gave a speech and that he has plenty of evidence for his belief that he is qualified. The big pitcher told of a long speech duration.
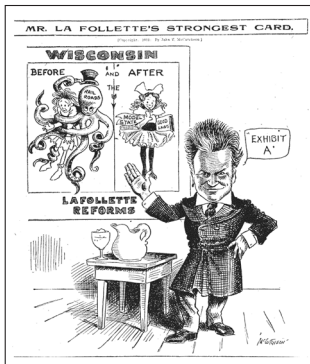

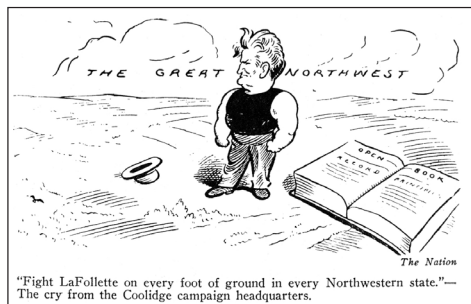Figure 3: John T. McCutcheon "Mr. La Follette's Strongest Card."

Figure 4: Art Young "Fight LaFollette on Every Foot of Ground--."

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32   W. A. Carson, *Bull Moose Campaign* (Cartoon, 1912).

In the second cartoon (Fig. 4), published by *The Nation*, La Follette appears standing in the plains of the "Great Northwest." The text reads, "'Fight LaFollette on every foot of ground in every Northwestern state'"—The cry from the Coolidge campaign headquarters."[33] The open-faced book shows his record and principles. The cartoon suggests three separate statements: 1) La Follette is an open book with a good record; 2) La Follette has a hold on the Northwestern states; 3) the Coolidge campaign stands more to lose from La Follette doing well than the Davis campaign doing well.

There was a grain of truth in the cartoons of Robert La Follette and Theodore Roosevelt, like often there is in any satirical work. For Roosevelt, in figure 2, the image shows a Progressive bull moose frightening the two major-party mascots. In figure 4, La Follette displays the position of the Coolidge campaign as worried about their prospects in the Northwest. A candidate was more likely to garner support from the ex-supporters of a candidate with ideological proximity. Both Roosevelt and La Follette broke from the Republican Party, so naturally, their opponents, Taft and Coolidge, were worried about their ability to win with a "split party" in the race. For Roosevelt (figure 1), the cartoon assailed him as eclectic and people-pleasing by making an ideologically and sometimes contradictory and mixed speech. For La Follette, figure 3 depicts him as someone with strong convictions and a proven record by showing him providing evidence of his record in a presentation or speech. Both Roosevelt and La Follette's political cartoons reflect their political positions. Roosevelt's record showed his true nature as a people pleaser politician, as Roosevelt grew steadily more progressive during the last term of his nearly eight years in office as president. After leaving office, he changed his political stances to support positions he did not act on as president.

When it mattered, and even when Roosevelt had the power to change the nation through policy, he continued to work through his political ideas. This process made Roosevelt appear as a contradictory or indecisive politician willing to tap into the population's desires to get back into the White House. Additionally, Roosevelt appeared as an evolving politician whose political positions changed as he expanded in the political arena while the circumstances shaped his positions in office. For La Follette, the opinions expressed in both cartoons depicted him as a man of evidence illustrated by his formidable record on the railroads and having an "open-book" of his political record laying out next to him. McCutcheon and *The Nation* expressed the opinion that La Follette's "Strongest Card" was his political experience by living up to his promises—and that his opponents should be worried about

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33 Art Young, "Fight LaFollette on Every Foot of Ground in Every Northwestern State" in *The Nation* (Cartoon, 1924).

a candidate of substance because who would know his political history more than those of his region of the United States?

In a letter to journalist and muckraker Lincoln Steffens regarding an article Steffens had written, Roosevelt responded, "you contend that Taft and I are good people of limited vision who fight against specific evils with no idea of fighting against the fundamental evil; whereas La Follette is engaged in a fight against the 'fundamental' evil."[34] In another letter, written in 1908, Roosevelt appeared to acknowledge a difference, politically speaking, between himself and Robert La Follette. James Chace described the difference between Roosevelt and La Follette succinctly when he argued, "Where La Follette wanted to smash monopolies into pieces, Roosevelt continued to believe that they were inevitable and wanted to regulate them more fully."[35] Roosevelt and La Follette drew on these political differences and refused to endorse one or the other in the 1912 election, which resulted in the split of the progressives in the 1912 Republican primary. Without La Follette releasing his delegates to go to Roosevelt at the Republican convention, Roosevelt certainly stood no chance at gaining the nomination. In the 1924 election, Hiram Johnson ran in the Republican primary against Calvin Coolidge. In 1912, Johnson could have lent considerable legitimacy to the newer Progressive Party and the La Follette campaign, having been Roosevelt's running mate. However, Johnson did not endorse La Follette's campaign.

Conclusion

The definition of political progressivism has evolved through centuries of American history. The meaning of progressivism meant different things to La Follette and Roosevelt. Progressivism certainly has different meanings if we apply the term to President Woodrow Wilson, a self-described progressive, or Eugene Debs, who ran on what could be considered a progressive platform; even President William Howard Taft, who also had been described as the progressive protégé of Roosevelt himself. With Robert La Follette and Theodore Roosevelt being the two most electorally popular progressives in American history, it is reasonable to conclude that their campaigns functioned as a referendum of public yearning—which then molded the word progressive. In reference to the 1912 general election, Nathan Miller has noted that frontrunners Woodrow Wilson and Theodore Roosevelt described women's suffrage and the abolition of child labor as "Rooseveltian proposals."[36]

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34   Louis Auchincloss and Theodore Roosevelt, *Letters and Speeches* (New York: Library of America, 2004), 581.

35   James Chace, 1912: *Wilson, Roosevelt, Taft and Debs -The Election that Changed the Country* (N.p.: Simon & Schuster, 2009), 103.

36   See essay titled "My Hat Is In The Ring" in Nathan Miller, *Theodore Roosevelt: a Life* (New York: Morrow, 1992), 529.

Roosevelt himself confirmed his suffragist position at the 1912 Progressive Convention, stating that the ballot was "as necessary for one class as to the other."[37] Some scholars have described Robert La Follette's wife, Belle, as a 'leading feminist" who helped to develop his political positions on feminists' issues and women's suffrage.[38] La Follette had written personally on the rights of women to a constituent stating that "a government of equal rights cannot justly deny women the right of suffrage. It will surely come."[39] La Follette also called for the end to child labor in his 1924 campaign for president. In all, both La Follette and Roosevelt agreed in solving very similar social issues of the times, this shared set of values coupled with social policy contributes to a more detailed portrait of the American progressive in the first half of the twentieth century.

The Progressive Party platforms of 1912 and 1924 illustrate how everyday people, trade organizations, and other socio-political groups supported progressive politicians and how these politicians manifested their support for these different groups. One such connection centers on the role of agricultural unions and organizations in the 1924 elections. As agricultural workers made up a large portion of the base of support for such events as the CPPA and the Progressive Party convention, it should be surprising that the platform that La Follette ran on, in 1924, catering to "The Farmers," by highlighting the "Distress of American Farmers."[40] Parallel strategies in support of railroad workers were included in La Follette's campaign. The campaign drafted in their literature a section titled "Railroads," which sought to fix the rates of travel and the "public ownership" of the railroads.[41] Supporters of the 1912 Progressive Party Platform included laborers and working-class people. Roosevelt's platform included ideas regarding time off for workers and 8-hour workdays.[42] The Ballinger Affair had not just precluded the run of Roosevelt; some have claimed it may have resulted in it. The Ballinger Affair enraged conservationists, and the 1912 Progressive Party stood to gain from that outrage. Roosevelt's Progressive Party platform included sections over

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37　Theodore Roosevelt, *Confession of Faith*. Speech delivered at the National Convention of the Progressive Party, Chicago, IL (August 6, 1912).

38　Mary Jo. Buhle, Paul Buhle, and Harvey J. Kaye, *The American Radical* (Abingdon, Oxon: Taylor and Francis, 2013), 160.

39　Robert La Follette, *Robert La Follette, Senator, to Anne Fitzhugh Miller, supporting women's right to vote* (April 9, 1908, https://www.loc.gov/item/rbcmiller001174/, Accessed August 25, 2021).

40　Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, *Minor/Third Party Platforms, Progressive Party Platform of 1924 Online* (The American Presidency Project https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/node/273290, Accessed August 25, 2021).

41　Ibid.

42　Ronald J. Pestritto and William J. Atto, *American Progressivism: A Reader* (Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2008), 274-287.

"Conservationism" and "Waterways" for example—perhaps a reference to the specifics of the affair as much as it is an important issue for the issue-oriented voter.[43]

Though neither candidate won the presidency, both candidates have been enshrined in American political history as candidates who saw massive results from the newly opened direct primaries. Theodore Roosevelt made his return to the Republican Party and endorsed their nominee in the 1920 election. However, the progressive organizations, unions, and parties that surrounded La Follette gave him the legacy of the progressive vision. La Follette died shortly after the 1924 election in 1925. Eugene Debs' endorsement of La Follette appeared to show a consolidated political Left political that Theodore Roosevelt never managed to unify. The strength of Roosevelt was that he was a great executive, but his weakness was his inability to be a legislator like La Follette, as he failed to unify a solid base of support. La Follette was able to unify the progressive and liberal movements because he had the experience of working with coalitions in the legislature. Roosevelt's ability to create the image of a strong leader gave him an electoral edge. Roosevelt's inability to consolidate support behind him and La Follette's inability to take the reins and capture a crowd is likely what led each to electoral defeat. Theodore Roosevelt and Robert La Follette were issues-based candidates. Though their impressive third-party results could be owed to their enigmatic characters, it is evident that support for their shared ideological vision held for over a decade during the Progressive Era. Political progressivism must be understood beyond the confinements of a rigid definition. It breathes and expands when it needs; when a collective hope for progress, it turns its eye to any forthcoming issue.

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43   Ibid.

Gabriella Salemi

Ideology and Intervention: The Case of Afghanistan's Opium Economy From the Cold War to the War on Terror

Propaganda help must be combined with practical assistance. I suggest that you place Afghan markings on your tanks and aircraft, and no one will be any the wiser. Your troops could advance from the direction of Kushka and from the direction of Kabul. In our view, no one will be any the wiser. They think these are Government troops.[1]

-Afghan Prime Minister Taraki in 1979.

I do not want to disappoint you, but it will not be possible to conceal this. Two hours later the whole world will know about this. Everyone will begin to shout that the Soviet Union's intervention in Afghanistan has begun.[2]

-Soviet Premier Kosygin.

Introduction

Like many global south countries during the Cold War, powerful political actors intervened in Afghanistan's affairs. Although the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (P.D.P.A.) welcomed the intervention of the Soviet Union in local politics, the mujahedeen rebel fighters retaliated against their occupation and P.D.P.A. rule. This political struggle drove Afghanistan to decades of civil war and the devastation of its infrastructure.[3] Therefore, to survive, the population of Afghanistan had to face the challenges of everyday life through any means possible.

Since the start of their civil war, Afghanistan created a thriving domestic and global economy with opium. In 2005, Afghanistan's opium amassed

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1   Alexei Kosygin & Nur Mohammad Taraki, "Telephone Transcript: Soviet Premier and Afghan Prime Minister, 1979," in *Worlds of History: A Comparative Reader*, vol. 2, 7th ed., ed. Kevin Reilly (Boston & New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2020), 929-931.

2   Ibid., 929.

3   M. Nazif Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution: Struggle, Triumph, Hope, and Uncertainty," in M. Nazif Shahrani, ed., *Modern Afghanistan: The Impact of 40 Years of War* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2009), 229-250.

52% of their G.D.P.[4] Even during the U.S. occupation of Afghanistan during the War on Terror and the Taliban ban on opium, opium was still a part of Afghan's daily lives.[5] During the Cold War and through the War on Terror, different global political actors have sought to change Afghanistan's political and ideological course. Afghanistan's opium economy serves as a testament that change is not possible; nothing changed during the U.S.S.R and or U.S. interventions. Afghanistan's social, political, and economic stagnation at the periphery of the conflict is partially due to national and international actors failing to consider Afghanistan's people. Although the people in Afghanistan lived through decades of political intervention, civil war, and terrorism, one aspect of life that remained stable was the cultivation and sale of opium. This study will address the confrontation of Cold War politics throughout the United States' War on Terror in Afghanistan using its globalized opium economy as a framework to analyze the changes and continuities of Afghan life over time. Over the years, scholars have looked at the Saur Revolution, the Cold War, the War on Terror, and the opium economy in Afghanistan through different methods. Scholars analyzed these historical variables using inquiry tools and concepts such as globalism, international relations, culture, sociology, and historiography. The main question these scholars seek to answer boils down to whether Afghanistan is a stable or unstable state.

The Saur Revolution and Dependency on Opium

The Saur Revolution ignited in the city of Kabul as a result of the 1978 coup d'état against Mohammed Daoud Khan, the first president of Afghanistan. The revolution found support from the Soviet-backed People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (P.D.P.A.). The actions of the P.D.P.A. forced the Soviet Union to support the new regime, which allowed the presence of Soviet forces in Afghanistan from 1979 until 1989. Scholar Nazif Shahrani, in his work "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution: Struggle, Triumph, Hope, and Uncertainty," viewed the Saur Revolution and Soviet Union occupation as the consequence of political instability which had left Afghanistan with decades of civil war, little infrastructure, and political isolation for its people.[6]

Throughout Afghanistan's decades of civil war, drastic changes have been rooted in the Saur Revolution era. By the beginning of the new century, the U.S. declared war on terrorism after the September 11, 2001 attack on U.S. soil, a war that once again centered on Afghanistan and its presumed

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4   Philip Shishkin & David Crawford, "Heavy Traffic: In Afghanistan, Heroin Trade
     Soars Despite U.S. Aid; A Threat to Fragile Democracy, The Drug Spreads Death On
     its Route to Europe; Just Three Euros for a Shot," *Wall Street Journal, Eastern Edition*
     (January 8, 2006): 1-7.

5   Ibid., 1.

6   Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 229.

unstable political system. In his work "U.S. Middle East Policies and their Consequences," Khalid Rahman viewed the war on terrorism as a U.S. strategy to exert superiority over the geopolitical sphere that, consequently, harmed Afghanistan in the long term.[7] While Sharini understood the role of the Saur Revolution differently, Jonathan Goodhand, in "Bandits, Borderlands and Opium Wars: Afghan State-building Viewed from the Margins," argued that the revolution contributed to Afghanistan's reliance on the opium trade to alleviate the struggling economy domestically and globally.[8] By analyzing Afghanistan from the Cold War to the War on Terror, scholars have found that during the war on terrorism, the opium economy expanded exponentially.[9]

Over time, scholars continued to disagree whether the opium economy has caused instability or stability in Afghanistan.[10] Hermann Kreutzmann, in his work "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market: Poppy Production and Trade," and Astri Shurke, in her essay "Reconstruction as Modernisation: The 'Post-Conflict' Project in Afghanistan," analyzed Afghanistan's politics and modernization projects in 2007. Using United Nations Drug and Crime (U.N.O.D.C.) data, Kreutzmann argued that modernization projects funded by the opium economy had caused political conflicts between local, central, and insurgent rulers across Afghanistan.[11] Later, scholars turned to the global market to explain the stability of the state of Afghanistan.

Scholars in 2009 analyzed the opium economy as the primary role in the construction of Afghanistan.[12] Similarly, they argued that globalization furthered the government's reliance on the opium economy. However, these scholars differ in how they view the actors of the opium economy. Justin Mankin outlined the power structures that facilitate the globalization of opium in his article "Gaming the System: How Afghan Opium Underpins Local Power." His perspective illustrated how local power plays a role in the opium trade throughout Afghanistan and how regional powers' role

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7   Khalid Rahman, "US Middle East Policies and their Consequences," *Policy Perspectives*, Vol. 7, No. 1 (January 2010): 33-60.

8   Jonathan Goodhand, "Bandits, Borderlands and Opium Wars: Afghan State-building Viewed from the Margins" (DIIS working paper 2009:26, Danish Institute for International Studies, Copenhagen, 2009), 6-27.

9   Ekaterina Stepanova, "Illicit Drugs and Insurgency in Afghanistan," *Perspectives on Terrorism*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (May 2012): 4-18.

10 Hermann Kreutzmann, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market: Poppy Production and Trade," *Iranian Studies*, Vol. 40, No. 5, (December 2007): 605-621; Astri Shurke, "Reconstruction as Modernisation: The 'Post-Conflict' Project in Afghanistan," Vol. 28, No. 7 (2007): 1291-1308.

11 Ibid., 605.

12 Justin Mankin, "Gaming the System: How Afghan Opium Underpins Local Power," *Journal of International Affairs*, Vol. 63, No. 1 (Fall/Winter 2009): 195-209; Goodhand, "Bandits, Borderlands and Opium Wars," 22.

has contributed to the stability of the state economically, socially, and politically.[13] However, Goodhand wrote that opium state-building from the centralized government utilized the periphery to grow and traffic opium in the global market.[14] Goodhand further noted that opium brought stability to Afghanistan by providing peace to Kabul, funding economic activities, and integrating the north and south into the Afghan economy.[15] These scholars used data from global markets and political events to assess the stability the opium economy brings to Afghanistan. However, not all scholars in 2009 used the same approach.

Health scholars A. Kamarulzaman and S.M. Saifuddeen argued in their essay "Islam and Harm Reduction" the necessity to use a cultural approach in understanding the opium economy throughout Afghanistan over time.[16] They posit that the opium economy made the Afghan people addicted to the drug and the economy addicted to its profits. Not only do they offer the perspective of substance abuse bringing violence among the people, but they demonstrate cultural instability since Islamic teaching prohibits the use of drugs. Opium, thus, presents a conundrum for Muslims who divide their opinion on whether to treat or punish the opium problem.[17] The authors conveyed the cultural perspective of the opium economy relying on health, drug, and crime data.

In 2010, Rahman shifted the discourse on Afghanistan politics to international relations.[18] He reasoned that the U.S. involvement in WWII and the rise of the Cold War set the United States as the most powerful country in the world. Because of the power status in the world theater, the U.S. could control the politics of the Middle East and its natural resources.[19] Naturally, the U.S. had a colonial-like control of smaller nations without needing to establish official settlements. Rahman used White House archives and primary sources from the Cold War and War on Terror to demonstrate the power the U.S. held globally; additionally, he noted that this power caused instability throughout Afghanistan.

M. Nazif Shahrani studied the region of Badakhshan during the Saur Revolution. He found that the opium economy, caused by the civil war, corrupted the Afghan central authority.[20] Although the opium economy funds Afghanistan, the state is unstable because of clashes between political actors

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13   Ibid., 195.

14   Goodhand, "Bandits, Borderlands and Opium Wars", 6.

15   Ibid., 22.

16   A. Kamarulzaman & S.M. Saifuddeen, "Islam and Harm Reduction," in *International Journal of Drug Policy* Vol. 21, No. 2 (2010): 115-118.

17   Ibid., 115-118.

18   Rahman, "US Middle East Policies", 33-60.

19   Ibid., 53.

20   Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 229-250.

such as the Soviets, the P.D.P.A., Burhanuddin Rabbani, and Hamid Karzai.[21] Consequently, the U.S. took Afghanistan's instability as an advantage to bolster their position in the Cold War and justify their occupation throughout the War on Terror. Although previous scholars have linked the Saur Revolution to the opium economy, Sharini's study differs considerably by reframing the events of the Saur Revolution from the advantage point of the Badakhshanis region.

Background Information

Afghanistan aligned itself with the Soviet Union because of communist ties.[22] Afghanistan experienced a prosperous relationship with the Soviet Union under the Afghan monarchy. From 1955 to 1979, "the U.S.S.R. provided the Afghans with an estimated $1.25 billion worth of military aid and $1.265 billion in economic assistance."[23] Afghanistan and the Soviet Union had a close relationship. This relationship mutually benefited politically both the Kabul and Moscow governments. However, their relationship took a turn when political parties became radicalized in Afghanistan.

In 1965, Nur Muhammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and Mir-Akbar Khaybar established the P.D.P.A.[24] Influenced by the Soviet Union's Bolshevik Revolution, members of the P.D.P.A. wanted Afghanistan to become a communist country to end the monarchy under Mohammed Daoud Khan.[25] In the years before the formation of the P.D.P.A., the Soviet Union invested heavily in the Afghan military by providing the Afghan army with Soviet weapons and extensive military training.[26] Because Afghanistan had some of the largest military resources and the P.D.P.A. infiltrated the military, the P.D.P.A. successfully assassinated Khan and established the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan (D.R.A.) on April 28, 1978.[27] Thus, the *coup d'état* became known as the Saur Revolution, and Taraki assumed power.

Although the Soviet Union and the P.D.P.A. were allies, the Soviet Union claimed no affiliation to the Saur Revolution.[28] The Soviet Union allied themselves with the P.D.P.A. cautiously because of the politics of the Cold War at a time where the U.S. and U.S.S.R. competed politically in the global south. The U.S. hoped for Afghan politics to unfold in their favor to reveal the

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21   Ibid., 233.

22   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 328.

23   Ibid., 328.

24   A.Z. Hilali, "The Soviet Penetration Into Afghanistan and the Marxist Coup," *Journal of Slavic and Military Studies* Vol. 18, No. 4 (2005): 673-716.

25   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 329.

26   Hilali, "The Soviet Penetration Into Afghanistan", 673-716.

27   Ibid., 696.

28   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 328.

weakness of the Soviet Union. [29] The Saur Revolution and the P.D.P.A. regime left the Soviets on edge because of Cold War politics. As a result, the Soviet Union occupied Afghanistan in 1979 to protect its political interests.

Because of the Saur Revolution, Afghanistan developed its opium economy.[30] Fighting from the revolution forced farmers to grow a different crop than their usual cereals because it destroyed irrigation systems and pastures.[31] Farmers chose opium because it provided the highest profits. Unlike cereals, opium did not have a short half-life, and it could be produced year-round.[32] Lastly, opium created a stable form of credit, so farmers kept growing opium even during the Saur Revolution.[33] Overall, farming opium during wartime greatly benefitted the farmers financially. However, the war continued to persist in Afghanistan as the Saur Revolution turned into a civil war.

The P.D.P.A. was losing control in Afghanistan by 1979.[34] Uprisings and mutinies against the P.D.P.A. in Herat and Jalalabad by mujahidin rebel fighters resulted in thousands of deaths until the regime suppressed them.[35] Reluctantly, on December 24, 1979, 75,000 troops were sent to the D.R.A. from the U.S.S.R., and, two days later, the K.G.B. killed P.D.P.A. President Hafizullah Amin and replaced him with Karmal.[36]

The Soviet Union had assumed that their military intervention would not last long because of their backed leadership of Karmal.[37] However, the Soviet Union stayed in Afghanistan until 1989 to fight off the mujahidin fighters that continued to resist the rule of the P.D.P.A. The mujahidin had the power to keep fighting the P.D.P.A. and the Soviet Union because of their international funding, particularly from the U.S. In the 1980s, "the mujahidin were receiving weapons which were Western in origin, such as the American Stinger antiaircraft (A.A.) missile. The provision of Stinger occurred after a prolonged debate in Washington between officials who wanted to keep the mujahidin fighting and those—such as the C.I.A. director, William Casey— who wanted the defeat of the Russians by the Afghan resistance."[38] These strategies were a direct result of Cold War politics in which both the Soviet

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29   Hilali, "The Soviet Penetration Into Afghanistan", 678.

30   Islamic Republic of Afghanistan, "National Drug Control Strategy," *United Nations Security Council* (February 2006): 1-47.

31   Afghanistan, "National Drug Control Strategy", 32.

32   Ibid.

33   Ibid.

34   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 330.

35   Ibid.

36   Azhar Javed Siddiqui & Khalid Manzoor Butt, "Afghanistan-Soviet Relations during the Cold War: A Threat for South Asian Peace," *A Research Journal of South Asian Studies* Vol. 29, No. 2 (December 2014): 617-631.

37   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 333.

38   Ibid., 335.

Union and the U.S. utilized government agencies to fight to take power in the global south.

The Soviet Union could not continue the fight with the mujahidin forever. President Mikhail Gorbachev lost faith in the Afghan cause as the Soviet Union lost 60 billion roubles. The war stood in the way of Perestroika, the restructuring of the economy, as he attempted to improve relationships with the west.[39] Therefore, in 1988, the U.S., U.S.S.R., Pakistan, and Afghanistan signed the Geneva Accords, and in February 1989, Soviet troops withdrew from Afghanistan.[40]

Among the mujahidin that fought in the Soviet-Afghan war was Osama Bin Laden. Bin Laden was a wealthy Saudi Arabian man who fought against P.D.P.A. and Soviet rule in Afghanistan. Trained by the C.I.A., Bin Laden became a powerful force in the anti-Soviet jihad.[41] Utilizing his wealth and resources from the U.S., Bin Laden recruited 30,000 fighters and established relationships with radical Taliban leader Mullah Mohammed Omar.[42] The relationship between Bin Laden and the U.S. soured when in the 1990s, the U.S., with the blessing of Saudi Arabia, sent soldiers to protect Saudi Arabia after liberating Kuwait from Afghanistan.[43] Bin Laden, angered that he could not be the one to defend Saudi Arabia, declared jihad against the U.S. and ordered Muslims and his Al-Qaeda organization to kill anyone from the U.S. in the name of God. As a result, attacks on U.S. soldiers persisted in Saudi Arabia. These attacks killed 19 and injured 400.[44] Then, in 1999 the U.S. demanded the Taliban hand over Bin Laden. However, the U.S. did not cooperate with the Taliban, so the Taliban declared Bin Laden not guilty of all crimes and set him free in Afghanistan.[45]

Under the Taliban, from 1992 to 1995, farmers continued to grow opium as they did during the Saur Revolution and Soviet occupation.[46] During Taliban rule, Afghan farmers grew around 2,400 tons of opium per year.[47] Farmers used the money to pay for their food and living expenses, while the Taliban used it to stock up on weapons and ammunition for soldiers.[48] In 2000-2001, the Taliban banned the cultivation of opium as a measure to

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39 Ibid.
40 Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 344; Siddiqui & Butt, "Afghanistan-Soviet Relations during the Cold War," 627.
41 Dilip Hiro, "The Cost of an Afghan Victory," *The Nation* Vol. 268, No. 2 (February 1999): 17-20.
42 Ibid., 18.
43 Ibid., 17.
44 Ibid., 18.
45 Ibid., 20.
46 Afghanistan, "National Drug Control Strategy", 33.
47 Ibid.
48 Ibid.

increase its price in a highly flooded market.[49] As the news of a terrorist attack on U.S. soil circulated globally, the Taliban was forced to confront its relationship with Al-Qaeda and Bin Laden—the group responsible for the attack.

On September 11, 2001, terrorists attacked the U.S. Members of Al-Qaeda, took over airplanes, and flew them into the Twin Towers in New York, killing around 3,000 people.[50] The W. Bush administration acted quickly and responded by bombing Afghanistan where the Taliban was hiding Al-Qaeda command.[51] The U.S. removed the Taliban from power by December 2001.[52] As a result of their removal, there was no governing authority in Afghanistan until 2002.[53] Therefore, there were no regulations on opium cultivation. This vacuum led to the skyrocketing production of opium.[54] Besides the lack of regulation, there were many incentives for the production of opium. First, the ban on opium cultivation brought farmers into debt.[55] Farmers were able to repay their debt because the ban significantly increased the price of opium.[56] Also, farmers were able to make considerably more profits than before the Saur Revolution. [57]

The goal of military occupation was to remove the Taliban. Even after successfully doing so, the U.S. remained occupied in Afghanistan to prevent the Taliban from gaining power again.[58] Although U.S. Navy Seals killed Bin Laden in 2011, the War on Terror continued. To this day, U.S. troops have been pulled from Afghanistan, merely adding to the state's chaos. What started as Cold War politics turned into a humanitarian crisis in which Afghanistan continues to live today.

P.D.P.A. and the U.S.S.R.

Political actors, local and global, have contributed to Afghanistan's instability and the lack of democracy. In a letter to U.N. Secretary-General Dr. Kurt Waldheim written on May 5, 1980, the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, Shah Mohammed Dost, begged the secretary to mobilize the U.N. to remove the economic blockade against

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49   Ibid., 32.

50   Tony Smith, "Afghanistan and the War on Terror," *Australian Institute of Policy and Science* Vol. 81, No. 3 (May-June 2009): 4-10.

51   Smith, "Afghanistan and the War on Terror", 4.

52   Afghanistan, "National Drug Control Strategy", 33.

53   Ibid.

54   Ibid.

55   Ibid.

56   Ibid.

57   Ibid.

58   Smith, "Afghanistan and the War on Terror", 4.

Afghanistan after the Saur Revolution. Dost wrote:

> In recent months the UNDP headquarter have frozen or
> closed down dozens of projects and programmes. The World
> Food Programme has arbitrarily suspended the rendering
> of food assistance, provided for by the agreed programme,
> under the artificial pretext, that there is an abundance of
> food in the country. Recently, the World Bank Headquarters
> announced its refusal to finance the projects, which had
> been implemented with its assistance in Afghanistan.[59]

These organizations placed economic sanctions on Afghanistan because of
their communist ideology and affiliation. Afghanistan adopted communism
in the aftermath of the Saur Revolution and aligned itself with the U.S.S.R.
In an attempt to revive democracy by condemning communism, the U.N.
and Cold War politics halted Afghan civilians from experiencing modern
infrastructure, access to more food, and an economic revival of the country.
Although the U.N. could assist the P.D.P.A., Secretary-General Waldheim
refused by stating that he could not because the executive heads had made the
decision already.[60] Without economic assistance to Afghanistan, its economy
was looking bleak until the opium trade kicked up. In 1980, Afghanistan
produced less than 1,000 metric tons of opium.[61]

The Role of the U.S. in Afghanistan

The U.S., through the C.I.A., funded the mujahideen during the civil
war in the 1980s to save democracy in Afghanistan.[62] In a public message to
Afghanistan on American's behalf, President Ronald Reagan issued a statement
during the Islamic New Year's day in 1983. Reagan said that "Yet while we
condemn what happened throughout Afghanistan, we are not without hope.
To watch the courageous Afghan freedom fighters battle modern arsenals with
simple hand-held weapons is an inspiration to those who love freedom. Their
courage teaches us a great lesson—that there are things in this world worth
defending.[63] President Reagan claimed that intervention instilled democracy

59   Correspondence from Shah Mohammed Dost to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, 5 May 1980,
     S-0904, Box 77, Folder 17, UN Archives, New York, New York, United States.
     [hereafter: Correspondence. UNANY].

60   Shah Mohammed Dost to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, 5 May 1980, S-0904, Box 77, Folder 17.
     Correspondence. UNANY.

61   UNODC, "Global Illicit Trends 2001: Afghanistan," *UNODC Research* (2001): 30-43.

62   Hughes, "The Soviet–Afghan War", 335.

63   Ronald Reagan, "Message on the Observance of Afghanistan Day," Ronald Reagan
     Presidential Library and Museum, National Archives, Published March 3, 1983, https://
     www.reaganlibrary.gov/archives/speech/message-observance-afghanistan-day.

in Afghanistan, yet the U.S. did not intervene in their economic blockade.[64] Furthermore, through the intervention of the U.S., the mujahedeen/ Reagan's freedom fighters supported by the U.S. led extremist groups such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban that wanted anything but freedom and democracy.[65] From this, it was clear that the U.S. was not helping the Afghan citizens gain freedoms, but the U.S. wanted the Soviet Union out of the world stage.

Although the U.S. sent military intervention in Afghanistan during the war on terror, they were not there to help Afghan civilians. In October 2001, a month after the 9/11 attacks, President George W. Bush wrote in his speech notecards, "In the face of today's new threat, the only way to pursue peace is to pursue those who threaten it. We did not ask for this mission, but we will always fulfill it—as Americans, we have always done our duty to God, history, and one another. The name of today's military operation is "Enduring Freedom." We defend our precious freedoms and the freedom of people everywhere to live and raise their children free from fear.[66] During the Cold War, the mujahedeen were the so-called providers of freedom to Afghanistan.[67] During the War on Terror, when the relationship between the U.S. and some mujahedeen groups fell apart, the U.S. had to operate in the country alone. W. Bush used ideological language such as freedom to live without fear in a democracy. Still, none of the U.S. actions fulfilled W. Bush's sentiment to create an Afghanistan where civilians could live without fear.[68]

Opium and Ideology

While political actors like the U.S.S.R., the U.S., and the U.N. intervened in Afghanistan's political and economic affairs, Afghanistan cultivated a thriving opium economy. As soon as the U.S.S.R. left Afghanistan in 1989, Afghanistan had produced over 1,200 tons of opium, amassing 35% of the world's opium.[69] Over time, Afghanistan continued its narco-economy to keep its status on the global market. Furthermore, the opium economy served to keep local rulers in power.

In the opium-producing region of Badakhshan, educated youth favored local rule for political reform and the end of extensive regimes in Afghanistan.[70] Regional power maintained control throughout the 1990s

64 Shah Mohammed Dost to Dr. Kurt Waldheim, 5 May 1980, S-0904, Box 77, Folder 17. Correspondence. UNANY.

65 Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 234.

66 George W. Bush, "Global War on Terror," George W. Bush Presidential Library and Museum, National Archives, Published October 2001, https://www. georgewbushlibrary.smu.edu/en/Topics/GWOT.

67 Reagan, "Message on the Observance of Afghanistan Day".

68 Bush, "Global War on Terror".

69 Kreutzmann, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market", 612.

70 Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 243.

because they controlled key resources such as ammunition and weapons, funded by opium, which gave local rule a standing over the centralized government.[71] Even when the Taliban had control throughout Afghanistan and opium production was down to a minimum of 1,000 hectares of poppy farms, local rule continued to operate regionally.[72]

At the local level, funding of opium drastically improved living conditions for Afghan civilians. This was because the drug trade globalized Afghanistan's markets, especially through border areas such as Tajikistan. Trade between Tajikistan and Afghanistan resulted in a boom in infrastructure. Therefore, the narco-economy allowed Afghanistan to create legitimate businesses and projects such as schools, restaurants, and cheaper imports for the people.[73] Not to mention, the farmers of Afghanistan were able to continue production of this export crop despite Afghanistan's droughts.[74] Afghan citizens could live a better life with a sustainable economy while supporting local political reformers to be elected to office.[75] From the opium economy, Afghanistan had what any country desired for its population: a better life, an increase in rural wages, greater class mobility, and a stable currency.[76]

Opium production in Afghanistan needed to be global to alleviate its population. This path was essential to Afghanistan because countries participating in international markets have a greater quality of life than those without this access. Although living conditions have gotten better, Afghanistan's people, as a whole, still are in crisis. A 2001 U.N. report concluded that the Afghan people experience decreased income and investments due to high food costs associated with yearly droughts.[77] Even if their wages had increased from the opium economy, the constant drought made it challenging to invest those funds into a greater quality of life.

Moreover, the U.N. reported that widespread famine and disease were linked to a lack of food resources.[78] Additionally, millions of Afghan people did not have access to safe drinking water before the 2001 report.[79] The Afghan people have suffered a poor quality of life since the Cold War through the War on Terror. Although the narco-economy has provided ample funds to the government

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71   Kreutzmann, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market", 612.

72   Justin Rowlatt, "How the US Military's Opium War in Afghanistan was Lost," April 25, 2019, https://www.bbc.com/news/world-us-canada-47861444.

73   Mankin, "Gaming the System", 204.

74   Shishkin & Crawford, "Heavy Traffic", 3.

75   Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 243.

76   Goodhand, "Bandits, Borderlands and Opium Wars", 22.

77   United Nations General Assembly, "Emergency International Assistance for Peace, Normalcy and Reconstruction of War-Stricken Afghanistan," *United Nations Archives* (New York), Dec. 7, 2001, 1-10.

78   United Nations, "Emergency", 1.

79   Ibid., 5.

and its people, suffering continues to be a trend in Afghanistan. Opium has the potential for greatness in Afghanistan. In the hands of actors and citizens who want to provide food assistance and access to healthcare, opium can provide the funds for it. The issue is that the funds are still in the hands of warlords but should be distributed to the people through the local rulers they choose.[80]

There is no doubt that unregulated opium could cause a public health crisis. In fact, Tajikistan, Afghanistan's neighbor, has faced the brunt of opium-related health issues. Since 2006, the Tajiks faced an increase in opium addicts by ten times from 1999. Even more, many of the opium addicts are as young as 14 years old.[81] Opium contributes to even more health issues if unregulated. There is a positive relationship between opium addiction and HIV/AIDS.[82] In Afghanistan and Tajikistan, unsafe intravenous injection practices such as sharing hypodermic, often dirty, needles have caused the spread of the HIV/AIDS epidemic. Public health crises have contributed to the instability of Afghanistan. Opium had to be regulated and put into the market for medicinal and not recreational purposes. In 2005, Turkey generated a revenue of $60 million in medicinal opium sales.[83] Like Afghanistan, Turkey started out producing opium for illicit sales.

The U.S. supported Turkey's "state-controlled license system" to create a legal opium economy in 1974.[84] Of course, Afghanistan and Turkey's governments differ immensely. Still, it does show that with negotiation, rather than war, the U.S. or any other mediator could negotiate a legally controlled medicinal opium economy with local rulers such as the Taliban today. With all that in mind, the opium economy can give Afghanistan a chance to heal from decades of violence and civil war. Vanda Felbab-Brown, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington D.C. who studied Afghanistan, furthered the case of Afghan opium to an extent. In her testimony based on her field studies in Afghanistan, Felbab-Brown noted that "Although the illicit drug economy exacerbates insecurity, strengthens corruption, produces macroeconomic distortions, and contributes to substance abuse disorder, it also provides a vital lifeline for many Afghans and enhances their human security."[85]

The opium economy in Afghanistan is not perfect and has its problems. It does cause substance abuse and rapidly changes the course of the entire

80 Kreutzman, "Afghanistan and the Opium World Market", 612.

81 Shishkin & Crawford, "Heavy Traffic", 4.

82 Kamarulzaman & Saifuddeen, "Islam and Harm Reduction", 115-118.

83 "Opium Trade: Successfully Transitioning from Illicit Production to a Legally Regulated Market," Transform: Drug Policy Foundation (Bristol, United Kingdom), Nov. 22, 2018.

84 Ibid.

85 Vanda Felbab-Brown, "Drugs, Security, and Counternarcotics Policies in Afghanistan," *Brookings* (Washington D.C.), Oct. 29, 2020.

economy from its creation. However, corruption from the opium economy was limited. Currpotion allowed local rule to assume power over the corrupt central government, which is what the people wanted.[86] However, Brown realized that the opium economy must remain intact. She said that "Eradication should remain suspended until peace has been achieved, the Afghan government has stable reach throughout the Afghan territory, and legal livelihoods are in place, not simply promised. Such conditions will not exist in Afghanistan for years to come."[87] If the U.S. or any other political actor were to eradicate the opium economy, it would plunge Afghanistan into more profound insecurity than their civil wars. The destruction of the opium economy could destroy Afghan's civilian human security and economic assets. Peace in Afghanistan has not been able to occur through foreign intervention shown from the intervention of the Soviet Union and the U.S. Even though all the fieldwork studies, the U.S. attempted to eradicate the opium economy.

The U.S. argued that the opium economy was harmful to democracy in Afghanistan. To combat the Taliban, the U.S. implemented Operation Iron Tempest in 2017 to target opium as the Taliban did use funds from it. Afghanistan produced 90% of the world's opium at the time.[88] In a U.S. Department of Defense video, the military used a B-52 bomber, an F-22 Raptor fighter, and an M142 rocket launcher. The U.S. killed eight civilians in this bombing which was one of the many from Operation Iron Tempest.[89] Although the opium economy did provide some funds to the Taliban, the opium economy gave local rulers the power to negotiate with them, negotiations the U.S. could not establish.[90] For example, in 2006, the local rulers of the Musa Qala in the Helmand region negotiated a ceasefire with the Taliban so opium could grow safely. The settlement allowed for peace in the area and safety for the farmers and other locals.[91] Although the U.S. intervened in Afghanistan's opium economy with the pretense to protect democracy from the Taliban, the U.S. ended up killing Afghan civilians while proving themselves unsuccessfully to rid the Taliban from the country.[92]

Operation Iron Tempest and other U.S. airstrike operations to target the opium economy violated the human rights of Afghan civilians.[93] Under Operation Iron Tempest, the number of civilians killed in airstrikes

86   Shahrani, "Badakhshanis Since the Saur Revolution", 243.
87   Brown, "Drugs, Security, and Counternarcotics".
88   UNODC, "Afghanistan Opium Survey 2017: Challenges to Sustainable Development, Peace and Security," *UNODC Research* (2018): 1-79.
89   Rowlatt, "How the US Military's Opium War in Afghanistan was Lost".
90   Hiro, "The Cost of an Afghan Victory", 20.
91   Mankin, "Gaming the System", 206.
92   Rowlatt, "How the US Military's Opium War in Afghanistan was Lost".
93   "Troops in Contact," *Human Rights Watch* (New York City), Sept. 8, 2008.

skyrocketed by 330%[94]; since 2005, 26,000 Afghan civilians have died from U.S. airstrikes.[95] A farmer in Afghanistan decried that "People hoped the U.S. would come and release them from the violence of the Taliban but all the U.S. does is attack us [...] The U.S. only blames the Taliban…."[96] The U.S. claimed to have intervened in Afghanistan to save the people from terror.[97] However, the military actions of the U.S. to rid drug operations have shown the opposite.

Conclusion

The Cold War and the War on Terror were ideological wars that unintentionally put Afghanistan at the center of a decades-long conflict. Its people endured decades of violence and instability throughout this period from political interventions that both sides felt were right and just because it had supported their ideology. Foreign intervention in the country sought to destroy the one thing which uplifted the Afghan people: the opium economy. However, it did not matter the massive amounts of money spent, and the lives of soldiers and civilians lost in these wars. The only thing that mattered to these foreign political actors was their ideology triumph; they did not care if their ideology was comparable with the reality of Afghanistan. The people in Afghanistan continue to live in this conflict every day; they live in fear due to multiple foreign interventions and insurgency. The opium economy has had its drawbacks historically; it was and continues to be one of the few ways the Afghans can survive and make a living through war and peace. After all, the opium economy did not cause political and economic instability—foreign intervention did. Although the people of Afghanistan lived through decades of violence, the opium economy uplifted their human security from the Cold War, the War on Terror, and now.

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94 "Civilians Killed in Air Strikes in Afghanistan Soars by More than 300%," *BBC News*, (London), Dec. 8, 2020.

95 Ibid.

96 "Troops in Contact", *Human Rights Watch*.

97 Bush, "Global War on Terror".

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