VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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The Vulcan Historical Review is published annually by the Chi Omicron Chapter (UAB) of Phi Alpha Theta National History Honor Society. The journal is completely student-edited by undergraduate and graduate students at the University of Alabama at Birmingham.

Cover photograph by Katrina Murrell.
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All students at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, including recent alumni, are encouraged to submit research articles, book and film reviews, oral histories, historical fictions, or other works of historical interest to be considered for publication. Submissions by any currently-enrolled history undergraduate or graduate student from other institutions are also welcome.

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LETTER FROM THE EDITORS - PLACEHOLDER FROM LAST YEAR

The editorial staff is thrilled to present the 28th edition of the *Vulcan Historical Review*. Last year's edition was the most interdisciplinary to date and focused on "shining light into dark places." This year, the VHR authors present a cornucopia of diverse historical writings spanning many time periods and regions. Our cover art by Katrina Murrell encapsulates this theme by representing the diverse histories as being entwined together through the strings of history that connect us all as humans. This edition seeks to continue the VHR tradition of enlightening readers and exposing them to new ways of thinking and new ways of understanding the various human stories that connect us all under a shared and multifaceted human experience.

The publication begins with our Glenn Feldman award winning paper by Brody Birdwell. This paper addresses the ongoing battle throughout our nation's history for civil rights through the seismic effects of the Colfax Massacre during the Reconstruction Era. Birdwell's work is a captivating analysis of one event's implications on the battle for civil rights and how a deeply traumatizing history created a spirit in the Black American community to "endure in the face of adversity." Next, Brendyn Matthews' work on the Dionysian and Orphic influence on Christianity reveal how the strings of history can rhyme and interplay with one another to directly influence religious and cultural thought. The next publication by Dylan Fisher analyzes Viking society to place the often forgotten or overlooked history of women at the forefront and question what we thought we knew by questioning contemporary notions of gender and highlighting just how rich the diversity of the human experience can be. The next two pieces by Luke Goodwin and Theo Smith bring attention to a series of murders in the latter half of 20th century Boston. These papers masterfully critique the way in which our societal structures and journalistic ethics failed and how society can improve in regards to the intersectional issues regarding race and gender. Following these works is Anthony Venezia's analysis of law in Nazi Germany that is a fascinating discussion of legal thought and western philosophy and their interplay with contradictions inherent in the Nazi regime. Next, Kamau Bamidele offers an incisive survey of the history of the legal concept of Human Rights through several historical events. This paper serves as a mirror to discuss the contradictions of international law and the hegemonic usurpation of the broad legal category of Human Rights to further the interests of geopolitical actors. Next, Mark Ledlow's work brings forth the often overlooked history of Native American societies to reveal a complex and interconnected region through trade and cultural diffusion. Following Ledlow's work Jacob Kennedy's paper which also addresses Native American history through the lens of the indigenous woman and the experience of forced assimilation to colonizing forces. Next, Lilly Jobe's paper analyzes the origin of Christian thought and its interactions with pagan cultures in medieval Britain through the medico-religious lens in a compelling work that analyzes cultural syncretism. Henry Smith's comparative work on two books discusses the Contra War in Nicaragua and offers a powerful critique on the United States' foreign policy in an event devastating to every human experience in Nicaragua of the time. Next, Christian Stockdill tracks the development of a unique national identity for the people of Taiwan born out of societal trauma and complex intergenerational forces. Haley Wells' paper brings us home to Ensley, Alabama to discuss the history of a hospital integral to the history of Black Americans in our community that offers an important warning to avoiding the racism and segregation of the past and ensuring it does not continue into the future. We end with Stephen Knight's paper that offers a fascinating philosophical analysis of free will and the complexities and paradoxes within the Christian faith.

The 28th edition was possible thanks to the encouragement and work of a few pivotal figures. First, we would like to thank Dr. Andrew Baer, our faculty advisor, for his crucial leadership and acumen throughout the publishing process. Next, we would like to thank History Department Chair Dr. Jonathan Wiesen, and Administrative Associates Jerrie McCurry and Robin Albarano for their reliable assistance and advice at every step of the process. We are also thankful to our diligent graphic designer, Tierra Andrews, whose work every year ensures a beautiful and inspiring final product. Thanks, as well, are extended to the Executive Editor of the 27th edition, Haley Wells, for her dedication and availability at all steps of the process to ensure the Executive Editor of this edition completed the project to the best of his ability. We would also like to thank every editor, author, artist, and collaborator of the 28th Edition for their hard work and to the professors of UAB's History and English departments who helped identify authors and championed for their powerful works to be included. The work of everyone above ensured that the 28th Edition brought forth works that highlight the complexity and importance of the variety of human experiences that connect us all. Finally, we thank our readers and supporters for the opportunity to continue publishing UAB's Omicron Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society official historical publication for the 28th year.

THE COLFAX MASSACRE: A BATTLE FOR AFRICAN AMERICAN POLITICAL FREEDOM

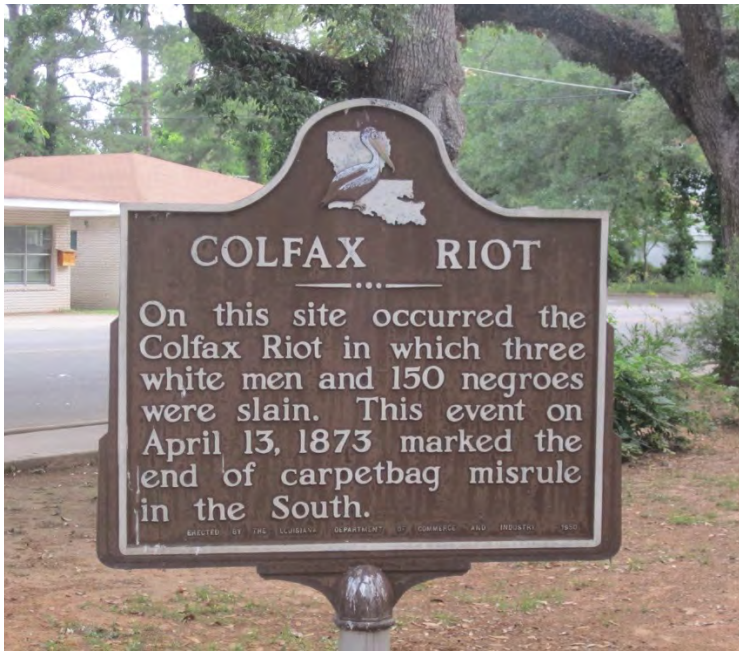
Brody Birdwell
Winner of the Glenn Feldman Memorial Writing Award

On Easter Sunday, April 13th, 1873, a white mob murdered over one hundred Black men in Colfax, Louisiana, defining the status quo for African Americans in a post-Reconstruction American society. This violent battle known as the Colfax Massacre is largely ignored in the greater scholarship of American Reconstruction history. The few times scholars discuss the massacre, its importance is dramatically understated. Historians such as Eric Foner appropriately characterize the Massacre as one of American history's most gruesome instances of racial violence.[1] Before Foner and other historians gave proper attention to this event, scholars viewed Colfax as nothing more than a race riot that cemented the end of the so-called carpetbag misrule in the South. This misconception is evident in the infamous “Colfax Riot" site marker that was erected in 1950 at the Grant Parish Courthouse where the bloody massacre took place. The contents of the site marker aimed to preserve a white Southern historical myth regarding the events at Colfax.[2] Despite prejudiced Southern accounts, the Colfax Massacre represents more than a violent end to the promise of Reconstruction, gravely marking a new future for African Americans across the United States. Radical Reconstruction[1] worked to integrate Black people into American society, while also guaranteeing civil protections from discrimination and violence. Opposition from Southern Democrats and white domestic terrorists eventually destroyed the social revolution that Reconstruction was meant to be. Analyzing the Colfax Massacre is necessary to understand how African Americans resisted oppression throughout and after Reconstruction. The African American militia at Colfax fought to secure the voting rights and sexual reputations of Black men across the Grant Parish of Louisiana (200 miles Northwest of New Orleans).

> **“The Colfax Massacre ensured that violence, discrimination, and erasure of Black history would govern African American life going forward, as the United States transitioned from Reconstruction into the Jim Crow era.”**

As a result of the massacre, the African American way of life dramatically changed with the death of Reconstruction. The events at Colfax set a precedent for depriving African Americans of their civil rights. The Colfax Massacre ensured that violence, discrimination, and erasure of Black history would govern African American life going forward, as the United States transitioned from Reconstruction into the Jim Crow era.

The Reconstruction era of the United States was plagued by numerous contentious elections that resulted in violence and chaos. Elections in Louisiana were wholly corrupt and displayed the many inequalities Southern white rule created. In a special message to the United States Senate, President Ulysses S. Grant addressed the Colfax Massacre and the voting crisis in Louisiana. Grant stated, “To say the murder of a negro or white republican is not considered a crime in Louisiana would probably be unjust to a great part of the



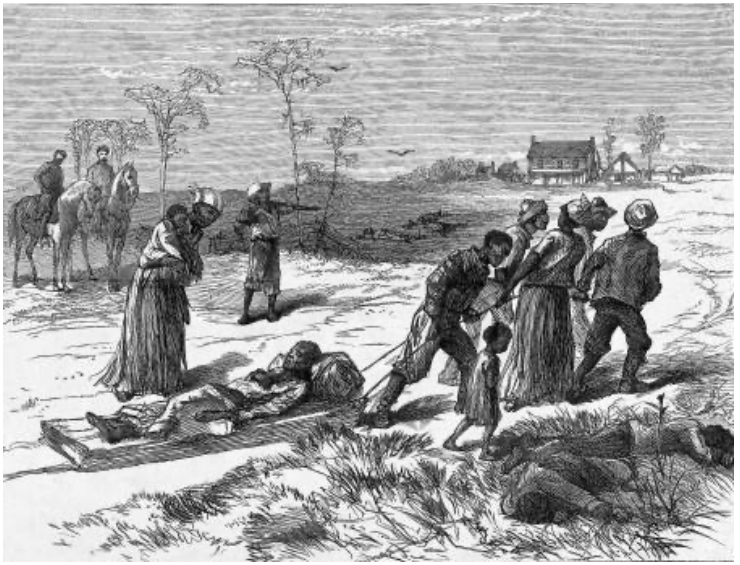
The "Colfax Riot" site marker erected in 1950, removed in 2021. Wikimedia Commons.

people, but it is true that a great number of such murders have been committed and no one has been punished therefore as to them the spirit of hatred and violence is stronger than law."[3] President Grant understood the nature of political conflicts in Louisiana. Hatred and violence defined the state following its reintegration into the United States after the Civil War, and it was exacerbated during elections. The election of 1872 was a battleground to determine the legitimacy of the Louisianian government and Black male voters. This election was held for many positions of government in Louisiana, but most important to voters was the gubernatorial race between Democratic candidate John McEnery and Republican candidate William P. Kellogg. President Grant's accounts demonstrate that even before the election, white individuals in charge of voting organizations denied many Black men voter registration or blocked them from voting at all.[3] As the results of the chaotic election surfaced, all sides contested them. Due to the considerable voter fraud, it is still unclear who won the election.[4] Many Reconstruction historians argue that the Republicans narrowly claimed a legitimate victory. This election sparked the emergence of separate legislative bodies in Louisiana, as Democrats and Republicans rallied behind their respective agendas. In the first few months of 1873, a fierce political battle unfolded as both parties aggressively pursued control at every level of government. Kellogg assumed the mantle of Governor with a commitment to certify Republican candidates who had won their respective electoral seats. Throughout this period in Louisiana history, any electoral candidate that won their office was required to be certified by the governor, adding to the importance of which party controlled the governor's office. Two of these Republican spots were for positions of sheriff and judge in the Grant Parish of Colfax. In reaction to Kellogg's initiative to place Colfax under Republican rule, many white Democrats in the area began constructing a violent and surmountable opposition.[5]

With the goal of securing Republican control of Colfax and being fearful of white supremacist rule, a group of Black Colfaxians formed a militia group and occupied the Parish's courthouse, preventing Democrats from obtaining political control of the city. These Black men were regular citizens, and many were veterans of the Union Army. This group's willingness to defend their civil rights highlights the temporary successes of Reconstruction. Against the odds of racism and corruption, these men still took on the challenge of defending their liberty and potential freedoms. As the Black militia occupied the courthouse, the Democratic nominee for sheriff, Christopher Nash, conspired with his fellow white Democrats to take the courthouse back. Nash led a para-military assault on the courthouse, which lasted for thirteen days.[6] Nash's forces were driven by more than the goal to secure white rule in Colfax. False claims of Black men threatening white women in the area with sexual violence also fueled the

> **The physical atrocities at Colfax were over. Yet, the terror persisted for those who witnessed the violence.**

impending cruelety.[5] Under the justification of defending white women, the white mob rationalized their attacks, despite the excessive violence and bloodshed. The Black militia held strong in the courthouse until it was set on fire, and they were forced to flee. Ultimately, they raised a white flag and surrendered to the white mob. After surrendering, the Black militia clamored to escape the burning courthouse and the mob continued to shoot at them, killing roughly twenty men as their bodies burned.[7] Despite the surrender of Black militia forces, the excessive carnage of the mob persisted. Nash originally intended for the violence to stop and hold the Black militia members as prisoners. As a former prisoner of war during the Civil War, Nash held a twisted sense of morality when it came to the battlefield.[8] Nash was a Confederate veteran who likely experienced some forms of brutality at the hands of the Union Army. His mindset highlights the hypocrisy many white Southerners unknowingly held in the face of racial conflict.[9] Nash's definition of brutality and violence only stretched as far as his political and social goals. Nash left the scene to attend to the rest of his forces, and William Cruikshank, a local doctor and associate of Nash, took command of the prisoners. Roughly fifty members of the African American militia remained. Under the guise of transferring the remaining militia to a prison, Cruikshank and his men took the Black prisoners into the surrounding woods and executed them. The physical atrocities at Colfax were over. Yet, the terror persisted for those who witnessed the violence. Many of these witnesses were Black women who were in relationships with or had connections to members of the massacred Black militia.[8]



Karl Giese and Magnus Hirschfeld in 1934. Wikimedia Commons.

Journalists and federal forces arrived days after the massacre to find a gruesome site of bodies and unimaginable horrors. The white mob had fled, utilizing a secret network of Southern whites to escape the area. Most would never face any kind of punishment.[5] In his account of the aftermath one journalist wrote, "We came upon bodies every few steps, but the sight of this fellow, who was burned, added to the horrible smell of burning flesh – the remains of those who were shot in the Court-House which was still on fire – sickened most of us and caused a general cry of 'Let us go back.'"[7] The confrontation at Colfax was unprecedented. Violence as a response to contested elections was common throughout Reconstruction, but the confrontation at Colfax highlighted African American willingness to exercise Black power and fight for their political beliefs.[1] The courage of the Black men at Colfax foreshadows the willingness of African Americans

to resist injustice throughout the twentieth century. This massacre resulted in the deaths of as many as 100-150 African Americans, cementing white supremacy in the state of Louisiana.

To examine how the Colfax Massacre ushered in a white supremacist status quo for African Americans, it is necessary to unpack the Black Reconstruction experience. On a surface-level examination, it seems the challenges African Americans faced before and after the Colfax Massacre were the same. Racial violence and disenfranchisement have been an ever-present theme in African American history. Yet, the way these challenges were perceived and addressed by Americans, especially those in the South, gradually changed as Reconstruction ended and Jim Crow became a reality.[10] The death of Reconstruction heavily slowed down any effort to fully integrate African Americans into white society. Black people in the South would not gain opportunities for integration until decades later. Before the end of Reconstruction, there was hope for the direction many American communities would take, regarding the status of African Americans. Prominent cities, such as New Orleans, only 200 miles South of Colfax, had an integrated police force with evidence to show that African American men were just as effective in enforcing the law as any white man.[11] Beyond progressive employment opportunities, the enfranchisement of Black men in the United States radically changed the political landscape in the North and South. Now, African Americans had a political voice and could elect officials that represented their views as citizens. Numerous Black men also successfully ran for and won political offices, many running on Republican platforms.[1] The gradual advancement of African American civil rights throughout Reconstruction gave force to new social and political opportunities. Black police forces were possible because Black men had the right to exercise their political beliefs and elect officials who supported their social ambitions. Integrated police forces demonstrated Republican's hopeful vision for American society. White Democrats generally contested Reconstruction elections, however, hoping to limit the rights of the Black citizen and regress to the so-called Antebellum era.[2]

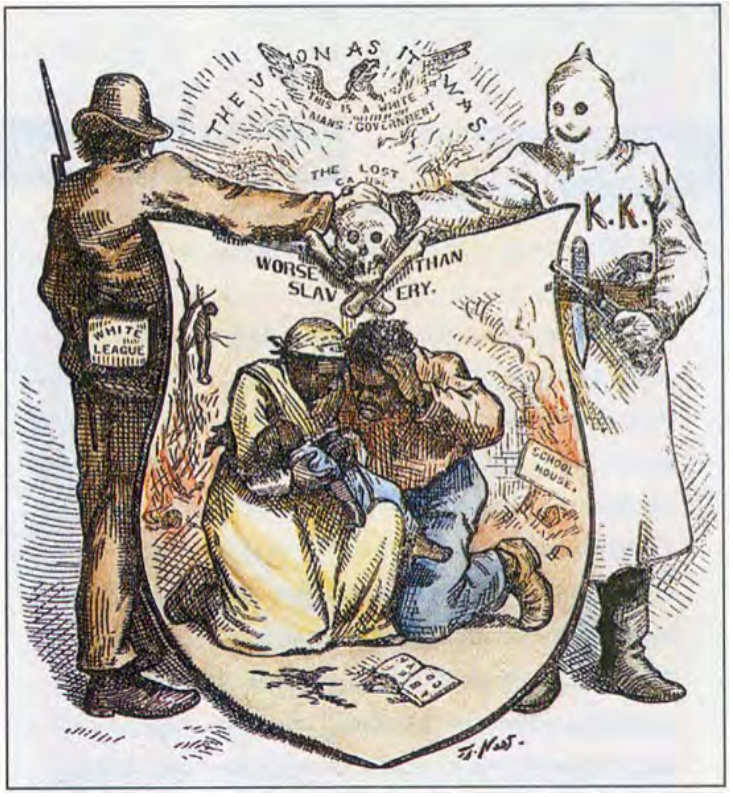
Violent opposition to Republican rule in the South foreshadowed the death of Reconstruction and its failure to make African Americans full citizens. The demonization of African Americans also contributed to Southern white individuals' unwillingness to accept the new role of Black individuals in American society. Events such as the Colfax Massacre were generally explained away by villainizing the Black victims. White Southerners instigated rumors that portrayed African Americans as a threat to white society. The murderers at Colfax specifically claimed that the African American militia threatened to kill all the white men and steal the women for themselves. These claims were unfounded and fabricated to justify the actions of the mob, although some could have genuinely believed these dangerous ideas.[9] Rampant hatred and bigotry made the full acceptance of African Americans into Southern society virtually impossible. The Colfax Massacre challenged many aspects of Reconstruction's so-called successes displaying how cultural prejudice and endemic hatred stifled progress. The opportunities for African Americans in the South would slowly fade between 1873 and 1877.[10] Colfax set a trend for how white Southerners could respond to Black militant action. Voting rights and the sexual reputations of Black men were motivating factors in the massacre and consequently defined a cycle of alienation that Black people would experience in the twentieth century. Republican rule would lose its legitimacy in the South as whites mobilized to replicate violent opposition like the Colfax Massacre. The trials of the few white men arrested for their actions at Colfax also dangerously limit the Federal Government's role in protecting African Americans'

rights. The Colfax Massacre marked a transitional phase of Reconstruction where the advancement of African Americans would slowly become less of a priority as white Supremacy fully took hold of the South.[8]

The white mob secured Democratic control of Colfax. Local authorities did not pursue or press any charges against the murderers. Most of them got away, never facing any kind of legal repercussions for their actions. Christopher Nash was a prime example. Nash's status as a white former sheriff protected him from receiving any kind of blame. Under President Grant's orders, it took federal intervention to capture other members of the mob. Ultimately, only nine men were charged under the Enforcement Acts of 1870 and 1871. Federal prosecutors argued that the white mob conspired to deprive Colfax's Black citizens of civil rights.[8] Putting these men in prison proved impossible, as most of the cases were dismissed or turned to higher courts. Finally, the landmark Supreme Court case, United States v. Cruikshank laid the framework for the future of African American civil rights in the remaining years of Reconstruction. The Court's decision marked an integral change in the protections African Americans would receive from white supremacy and discrimination. When it arrived at the Supreme Court, the case was not concerned with proving the truth of Cruikshank's murderous actions. Prosecutors instead argued about the legitimacy of the Enforcement Acts and if they could be used to discipline violent white mobs like the one seen at Colfax. The Enforcement Acts were designed to protect the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Federal Government mostly used these Acts to destroy the first Ku Klux Klan, which sought to destroy African American freedom during the first half of Reconstruction.[12] Prosecutors in the case of United States v. Cruikshank hoped that the Supreme Court would recognize the actions of Cruikshank and others as imitations of the social and domestic terrorism perpetrated by white supremacist groups. The court ruled in favor of Cruikshank on the basis that the Equal Protection Clause did not apply to individuals, only state governments. Therefore, in the eyes of the Supreme Court, the Federal government had no right to intervene.[8] The murder of over one hundred Black men culminated in one of the most devastating Supreme Court cases for African American civil rights. Even worse, the Federal government's power to protect the civil rights of African Americans was severely limited by the ruling.

Brutal political violence would continue to persist in the South. Following the Colfax Massacre, President Grant and Northern Republicans began viewing the South as a lost cause. The events at Colfax made white aggression against African American political freedom a prevalent theme in the remaining years of Reconstruction. This white aggression was very different from the violence the Ku Klux Klan committed years earlier. The first Ku Klux Klan was highly disorganized and largely worked in secret. The Colfax Massacre gave Southern white Democrats an avenue to resist Republican leadership openly and violently. This change was most evident on September 4th, 1875, in Clinton, Mississippi, where radical political violence against African Americans and Republicans created hysteria everywhere. A Republican political rally recognizing the party's candidate erupted in gunfire, with the initial casualties including five African Americans and three white men. In the ensuing days, approximately fifty more African Americans were murdered by a white mob.[13] Election fraud, violence, and the Federal government's ignorance gave Southern Democrats the power to violently take any position in state and local governments. President Grant ignored these conflicts due to pressure from most Northern Republicans, who were concerned with maintaining power in their respective States. Many Northern Republicans felt they did all they could and were worried about sparking another civil war. The white mobs

that terrorized many parts of the South during the late 1870s donned no hooded cloaks. No one disguised their identities because there was no need for it. White aggression fully encompassed the identity of the American South.[13] The Ku Klux Klan would resurface in the early twentieth century, no longer relying on secretive operations to instill fear and hatred in Black communities. Their late Reconstruction successors, the White Leaguers, would wage political battles to maintain white supremacy in the South. Inspired by the Massacre at Colfax, White Leaguers infected the countryside of many Southern states, enacting and enforcing the goals of Southern Democrat rule. These goals included limiting the rights and citizenship of African Americans and would be realized by most Southern state governments in the elections of 1876 and the tragic end of Reconstruction in 1877.[12] Across the United States, Republicans and Democrats would battle for many positions of government. The 1876 gubernatorial election in Louisiana would prove to be another contentious event, with both sides claiming victory. The Republican candidate, Stephen Packard, claimed victory and occupied the state house, much like Kellogg years earlier. The Democratic opponent, Francis Nicholls, was determined to assume the position for himself and took seditious measures to realize his goals. To secure his political victory in 1876, President Rutherford B. Hayes promised to end Congressional Reconstruction and stop the Federal occupation of the South. Following the initial results of the election, in April of 1877, Hayes ordered Federal troops to remain at their barracks and to not interfere with any political affairs of the Louisiana government, forcing the State to settle its gubernatorial dispute. Nicholls took his chance, recruiting 3,000 White Leaguers to storm the statehouse and violently take over the government of Louisiana. His plans were successful, and Louisiana fell under illegitimate Democrat rule. Many Southern states where a Republican majority posed a threat



1874 political cartoon by Thomas Nast, eerily depicting the African American way of life as Reconstruction fails to curb white domestic terrorism.Wikimedia Commons.

to white Southerners experienced similar takeovers.[13] The Federal government's power to intervene was compromised and paralyzed, making the South dangerous territory for Republicans and African Americans alike.

The Colfax Massacre's ramifications on Southern politics are dramatically understated in the analogs of Reconstruction history. Many of the horrible conventions that defined the African American experience in the Jim Crow South stemmed from the gruesome event. The Cruikshank ruling in 1876 contributed to the rise in white para-military groups that violently took over many Southern governments. These governments would subsequently install laws that compromised the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments,

which were meant to protect African Americans from discrimination of all kinds.[8] Violence against African Americans came into the open and became a distinct part of many Southern societies. Areas like Colfax would be defined by white Democratic rule that worked to demonize African Americans, rather than advance their place in society. With the Federal government's power to intervene in such affairs limited, many parts of the American South became dangerous places for African Americans.[5]

Another factor to discuss regarding the Colfax Massacre's effect on the African American experience is its memorialization in Reconstruction History. Portrayals of the Antebellum era, the Civil War, and Reconstruction have constantly changed throughout American history. This paper is heavily based on contemporary understandings of the Reconstruction era. The Colfax Massacre paved the way for revisionist histories about Reconstruction. Eric Foner was one of the most prominent historians to recontextualize the roles African Americans, Southern whites, Democrats, and Republicans had during the Civil War and Reconstruction.[1] Before the publication of his work, historians followed the scholarly efforts of William Dunning, who negatively portrayed Republicans, African Americans, and the goals of Reconstruction. The Dunning school of thought dominated the first half of the twentieth century, erasing or inaccurately portraying most aspects of African American history. The events at Colfax are largely buried in many of these writings, or when they are discussed, they are used to show why Black emancipation was bad for the United States. In one of his most prominent Reconstruction works from 1907, Dunning addressed the Colfax Massacre and stated, "Such was the situation which… displayed to the people of the North the reductio ad absurdum [reduction to absurdity] of reconstruction through negro suffrage and a regime of carpet-baggers."[14] Even Dunning, from a twisted viewpoint, could see the negative ramifications of an event like Colfax. Yet, he argued that events like Colfax proved that the premise of Reconstruction and Black suffrage was absurd. His erasure of the full events does not provide proper context. He also makes no mention of the crimes committed by the white mob. They are not even portrayed as a mob, only a group of white men who died at "the Colfax riot," which was the term historians (including Dunning) used to describe the Colfax Massacre prior to the 1990s. Dunning and many other scholars refer to the events at Colfax as a riot, thus twisting the narrative of the story.

Another historian who follows the "Dunning School" of thought is Ella Lonn. Lonn's misguided view of history is largely a product of its time, given that she was active from the 1920s to 1950s when white supremacist revisionist history reigned supreme in the United States. In her monograph *Reconstruction in Louisiana After 1868*, Lonn details the Colfax Massacre and shares one of the most regressive takes on the event, as she attempts to excuse and justify the actions of the white mob. The motivation she assigns to the mob matches the excuses they came up with for themselves when facing Federal charges. When addressing the motivations of the Black militia, in contrast, Lonn writes, "And their political leaders, to maintain their ascendancy, were constantly instilling in their minds suspicion of a desire, on the part of the whites, to enslave them… the whites only knew too well how brutal infuriated negroes become."[15] Lonn's take on the actions of the white mob and the Black militia demonizes African Americans and paints the white murderers as heroes. The values of white supremacy that instigated the Colfax Massacre have rooted themselves in historical academia in the early twentieth century.

Not all historical records of Reconstruction looked

> **“The unjustified violence against African Americans that persisted throughout the Jim Crow era can be traced back to the Colfax Massacre. The events at Colfax foreshadowed and set the stage for the racial tensions African Americans would have to endure throughout the twentieth century.”**

like this during this period. Many historians purposely chose to portray the massacre in ways sympathetic to the white mob so they could instill their sense of white supremacy, in academia and public memory, by erasing and misrepresenting African American history. In 1938, the Louisiana State Museum located in New Orleans released a book about Reconstruction. This publication reiterates the views of many white Southerners, who looked down on African American political freedom. The book’s dedication reads as follows: “This booklet is dedicated to the patriotic Louisianians who in the aftermath of the War Between The States so soundly, valiantly, and heroically gave their all to maintain White Supremacy as a cardinal principle of a wise, stable, and practical government.”[16] This book fully demonstrates the Colfax Massacre’s contributions to the death of Reconstruction and the significant changes in the African American status quo. The Massacre ended with white supremacy taking over many parts of the South. Louisiana, in particular, faced waves and waves of violence perpetrated by White Leaguers and eventually the rise of the second Ku Klux Klan.[13] Additionally, The Colfax Massacre inadvertently led to a rise in white supremacist rule in the American South, thus contributing to the dominance of white supremacist revisionist perspectives reflecting the Civil War and Reconstruction. The Colfax Massacre should be recognized for the Black men who bravely fought for their political rights. It should also be recognized for its devastating impacts on African Americans and Southern society. The events at Colfax and the way they are portrayed in American history display the destructive impacts white supremacy has on society.

In the late 1980s and 1990s, historians began to look at this era of American history with much more nuance. In 1994, the *Seminole Tribune*, the official newspaper for the Seminole Tribe of Florida, documented instances of racial violence against African Americans following World War I. The unjustified violence against African Americans that persisted throughout the Jim Crow era can be traced back to the Colfax Massacre. The events at Colfax foreshadowed and set the stage for the racial tensions African Americans would have to endure throughout the twentieth century. The *Seminole Tribune* article shares many stories that involve racist sheriffs guided by white supremacy, white aggression in the face of false sexual rumors, and best of all, African Americans fighting to end white supremacy in the South.[17] The lesson that can be taken from Colfax is to endure in the face of adversity. The men of the Black militia lost their lives, but they died with their freedom. In 1873, a white mob murdered over one hundred Black men, thereby defining an era of white supremacy in the South. In 1950, the state of Louisiana erected the infamous Colfax site marker at the battle site to commemorate the three white men who died in the course of the Massacre. These men were honored

for fighting honorably for white supremacy. The story of the Colfax Massacre is fresh in the eyes of many historians, and new strides are being made to properly portray this horrific event. On May 15, 2021, the State of Louisiana removed the monument and deemed it inaccurate to the history of Louisiana. Many citizens may claim that this removal is an eradication of their Southern history. However, the removal of this marker marks a new era of American history. White supremacy will no longer control the narrative of the Colfax Massacre. Continual historical revisions of the Reconstruction era are needed to recontextualize inequalities in America. In this new revisionist history, the Colfax Massacre tragically frames the end of Reconstruction and sets up many barriers to political freedom African Americans would face in the twentieth century.

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CHRISTIAN SYNCRETISM: DIONYSIAN AND ORPHIC INFLUENCES ON CHRISTIANITY

Brendyn Matthews

Time is always moving forward; as time progresses, so do our understandings of the world, and so do we as a species. However, what could be understood as progress doesn't have to be overwhelmingly positive, just a step forward towards something else. In some of tmy other writings, I cover how the Germanic peoples continued the legacy of Rome by decentralizing it into smaller successor states that we see now as the burgeoning feudal kingdoms of medieval fame. This continuing legacy of Rome wouldn't just be seen here in the political sphere but also in the cultural sphere, more specifically with the continued practice of Christianity.

Christianity doesn't just continue the legacy of Rome from it being the state religion before its decentralization but also from the influences it took from the pagan beliefs before the rise of this religion. These inspirations come from state religions or the typical pantheons we associated with Rome, as well as the mystery cults that have come from as far back as the Bronze Age. I will seek out some of the influences on the Christian faith, primarily from the Orpheus cult. While many of these cults use an Orphic understanding of the gods, the world, and rituals, my primary focus will be on that of the Dionysian cults, as I think they have the largest connection to Christianity, even though the others do too. I will be looking at the beliefs and practices of these cults, the cults' historical relevance in the Roman world around the imperial age and late antiquity, and then comparing the two religions in their beliefs, practices, philosophy, and literature.

The Practices of the Orphic Cult

Before diving into their practices, we must first understand that the practices of this cult are still largely shrouded in mystery. A large understanding of the beliefs comes from the Derveni Papyrus, which are fragmented pieces understanding Orphic funeral rites and some philosophical underpinnings of the religion like theogony (origin of the Gods), cosmology, and other core beliefs as well as other sources this papyrus had pulled from and other Orphic texts. These fragments of this papyrus are still disputed today regarding the meaning and the intent behind them, but I will be using a mix of understanding from two scholars to warrant as many perspectives as possible, those of Gabor Betegh and Richard Janko. The lack of orthodoxy makes a full understanding of this cult nearly impossible; however, through secondary sources and translations of the few primary sources, we have a pretty general understanding of the cult, its beliefs, and its rites.

With this out of the way, we need to understand the origins of two key figures in this cult, Dionysus and Orpheus. Dionysus is the head god of this cult and one of the oldest gods in human history. Two tablets unearthed at Pylos in Messina that have been dated back to the 12th/13th century BCE showcase the earliest signs of Dionysian worship, with four more tablets unearthed in 1989-90 fully backing up this understanding of how early his worship was discovered here as well. This was done by translating the Linear B script along these tablets, specifically on item KH Gq 5.[1] The meaning of the name Dionysus is still unclear, with one scholar believing it could mean "Young Zeus"[2] with the more common interpretation being "Son of Zeus,"[3] which will be relevant when discussing the theogony of Dionysus.

The origin of Dionysus varies between the different beliefs of Greeks and Romans, but for this instance, we will be

looking at the Orphic belief. The origins of Dionysus start with him being born as the son of Zeus and Persephone. His birth caused great anger to Hera, Queen of the Gods and wife of Zeus, and thus, she devised a plan for his demise. She planned with the Titans to have the boy god murdered by luring him away from the home of Zeus. The plan is successful, but not for lack of trying on the side of Dionysus as he would change into many animal forms before being ripped to shreds by the Titans in the form of a bull. Athena would recover and reshape the heart of Dionysus and return it to Zeus before giving the heart to a Thracian princess known as Selene (one of Zeus' many mortal lovers) for her to birth Dionysus anew. Unfortunately, she was unable to birth Dionysus due to Zeus coming to her in his true form, burning her away, and receiving the unborn child and putting him into his thigh. Upon his birth, he was taken into the care of the Mother of the Gods, and when the time was right, he would be taught the ways of the mysteries. Dionysus would be known as the "Thrice-Born," and he, along with Persephone, would initiate mortals into these mysteries and deliver them from their suffering, bringing the compassion of Zeus to mortals. Thus, Zeus, through his son, would deliver freedom from endless passion and suffering to mortals.[4] This version of the myth of Dionysus comes from Otto Kern's translations from the Orphic fragments he found in 1863. Here, in these fragments, you will see Dionysus referred to by another name, Zagreus; this is a name used before he was devoured by the Titans. However, according to some scholars, this name wasn't used by the Orphics themselves, and they always referred to him as Dionysus,[5] which is why I only referred to him by that name as well.

Orpheus himself is a poet hero who is believed to have gone to the Underworld and returned in search of his lost lover. He's believed to have been the originator of the Dionysian mysteries, mostly through reforming his origin and the origin of the other gods to fit this idea of deliverance from rebirth through these mysteries. These Orphic revisions and rites have been dated to at least the 5th century BCE with the discovery of the aforementioned Derveni Papyrus, with these rites being attested to by intellectuals at this time like Heraclitus, Plato, and others from this time.[6] Some pieces of Orphic literature like this papyrus and others give us an insight into the rites and religious beliefs of this cult.

Along with the understanding of the rebirth of Dionysus, there comes an understanding of the nature of humanity from his initial death. When the Titans killed Dionysus, Zeus became angered and murdered them all, reducing them to ash. From this ash, the physical form of humanity was born, and their soul was a divine spark from Dionysus himself, thus making him "Thrice Born" as he was born again in the existence of humanity. These titanic bodies were seen as stains upon our existence, and the only way to be liberated of them was to engage in these mysteries and rites of purification. Some of these rites included abstinence from food that originated from the flesh (vegetarian diet), and avoidance of contact from death and birth (potential abstinence from the act of sex and war), amongst others. Successful completion of these rites would result in a re-enactment of the original death of Dionysus. Little is known about this re-enactment, but it appears that during this, a victim would be killed, and their flesh was to be consumed by initiates, and this act is still up for debate on whether it happened or not as well.[7] The implication from Murphy is that the victim was human; this is what makes this unsure, but other sources have this object of sacrifice being a bull (the form Dionysus was in when ripped apart by the Titans), and the initiates consuming its raw flesh (the flesh of a god).[8] Instructions for the dead were given based on the gold tablets that instructed the dead on what to do when arriving at the Underworld. They were to come across a crossroads where

a spring met a white cypress tree; they were instructed not to go near it but instead to the Lake of Memory. He is instructed to tell the Guardian of the Underworld of his initiate status, saying to them (from one of the tablets found in Petrolia): "I am a son of Earth and starry sky. I am parched with thirst and am dying, but quickly grant me cold water from the Lake of Memory to drink."[9] He then is supposed to continue on the route of expressing his pureness and casting away his titanic flesh, showing that he is one of the divine. Which Persephone is meant to answer this call, recognize his pureness, and grant him Godhood,[10] to which he spends all of eternity in the Underworld, united with Orpheus and others. The Orphics would believe that the uninitiated would be doomed to reincarnate for the rest of eternity, constantly suffering.[11]

Another crucial element in this central mythology is the idea of a singular cosmic god. This idea comes from Dr. Betegh's interpretation of the Derveni Papyrus and the author's intent in writing the poem. According to Betegh, it appears the author's intent in this papyrus is to establish a more philosophical understanding of the cosmos and the "gods," mostly appealing to Platonism but other philosophers, including some of the Presocratics. This comes from the idea of a singular god, and this singular god in this papyrus is air/Mind. Derveni's author's claim here that the plurality of names existent in the poem does not conclude the plurality of multiple beings. The plurality is reduced to unity, even though there are different names to refer to the cosmic Mind/air; these names are meant to explain different functions, aspects, or activities of the one being. Zeus is the name of the god itself, and all the actions performed by this Zeus or god when in reference to sex and mating are done to itself. Zeus becomes one and absolute by swallowing everything that came before it in the form of the Orphic Egg, which, by the explanation of Betegh, was also Zeus himself, just by different names like his father Cronos and grandfather Okeanos. Zeus is the absolute principle of air/mind, as the author suggests here that air/mind is the supreme cosmic function, contrary to other pre-Socratic ideas of fire or water being the ultimate governing force, as seen with Heraclitus and others. Air as the ruling principle is given the mythological name of Zeus as he is the supreme ruler of the gods in other creation myths, so thus air is called Zeus because they both fit the idea of governance and supreme authority.[12] This all becomes rather confusing when looking at other Orphic texts and understanding the supreme being as Dionysus in this belief system. However, it should be noted that Zeus names Dionysus as his successor before his death at the hands of the Titans, and the presence of the child god is lacking in this papyrus, which raises questions on the nature of his existence. Is he also an aspect similar to other gods and goddesses like Aphrodite and Apollo? Is he an emanation of Zeus, similar to an Aeon of Gnostic belief? Or is the name Dionysus just another name for Zeus and continuing the line of succession of the singular ruler? These questions are hard to answer with what's provided, but I will attribute my own understanding when discussing this belief's relation to Christianity.

Links to Christianity

By understanding the cult and its beliefs, we can fully start to conceptualize the links between Orphism, Dionysus, and Christianity. The first thing to note is the early linkage between Dionysus and the Jewish God Yahweh. Yahweh isn't exclusively followed by the Jewish people; in fact, this same divinity is followed by those of the Christian faith, just by a different name. There was widespread belief in Rome and the Mediterranean that Dionysus and Yahweh were the same deities; there are multiple accounts for this belief, so there could be outright confusion or an actual syncretism between the two as a form of understanding of the Jewish god

through Hellenistic means. We have the account of Plutarch either confusing or conflicting the cry “Iao Sabaoth” (a Greek reference to Yahweh) with the Bacchic cry “Euoe Saboe,” meant to invoke Sabazius, another name for Dionysus.[13] Coins from 55 BCE reference a further linkage between the two, depicting a kneeling king of sorts with the name “Bacchus Judaeus,” as well as in 139 BCE with a Roman praetor expelling Jews for their attempt to “infect the Roman customs with the cult of Jupiter Sabazius.”[14] Jewish monotheism and this brand of polytheism were in constant contact, with even some Jews recognizing Yahweh and Dionysus as the same god as well.[15] This is further complicated by Jesus’ claim to be the son of God and God himself. The historical Jesus would’ve been aware of these historical connections between his claimed father and Dionysus, which leads to explanations on how he depicts himself according to his closest followers (his act of turning water into wine in John, his depiction as a drunkard in Luke, and the claim of being the true Vine in John as well[16]). Dionysus is well known to be associated with wine and drink, with an account from a novel written sometime between the first and second century CE that showcased Dionysus turning a drink that only an oxen can drink (presumably water) into wine, similar to Jesus himself.[17] The depiction of Jesus in the Gospel of John is noted by some to be largely influenced by the Dionysian cult, and it is shown in Jesus’ actions in this Gospel and him calling himself the true Vine. This is due to the large popularity of Dionysus as a god in the Greco-Roman world and his connection to Yahweh as well. This popularity in relation to Dionysus was an attempt to convert those away from the cult and showcase Jesus as the true god of their veneration, similar to Dionysus but also better.

Other accounts from the Bible implore a greater literary connection between Dionysus and Jesus, mostly in the depiction of Jesus’ trial, as seen in Acts, compared to the trial of Dionysus, as seen in the Bacchae. The similarities between the two are almost uncanny; the one in Acts is directly inspired by the Bacchae. Both Jesus and Dionysus are on trial for their claims of being divine and being put on trial for these claims. John Dole analyzes large thematic parallels between the stories, as well as detailed and verbal parallels as well. These broad themes include the disruptive presence of a “new” God, the trial of the “new” god and followers, bondage of a “new” God and followers, miraculous escapes from prison of the followers, direct warning of the “new” god to their persecutors, kingly persecutors, “fighting against god” by their persecutors for their denial, divine destruction of the impious kingly persecutors, and many other larger themes that crossover.[18] More detailed thematic parallels come with detailing the events of Saul’s conversion on the way to Damascus and Dionysus’ epiphany after escaping prison. We have the motifs of light and lightning serving the parallel purpose of revealing the divine nature of both Jesus and Dionysus, with Jesus revealing himself in the light[19] (Acts 9:3 and 22:6) and Zeus doing the same with lightning strikes when Dionysus calls to him.[20] Other common elements from this section include an invisible divine voice, god revealing himself, seeing god, and other key features. This should be of note when taking the Derveni Papyrus into consideration when speaking on the Bacchae. As Zeus reveals his divine nature, is also, by extension, Dionysus doing the same thing as they can be understood as one divine whole, similar to Jesus revealing himself as God in Acts as well. So, it's not just Dionysus revealing his links to the Divine to showcase his divinity; it is a showcase of divinity, too, through himself as Zeus.

There are two key direct literary references I want to cover from Acts that link directly to the Bacchae. In Acts 12:7 and 10, we have the angel waking Peter up, and "the chains fell off Peter's wrist," and we have the iron gates to the city: “This

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opened for them on its own accord." This directly parallels the Bacchists release from prison from a linguistic and thematic perspective, as in the Bacchae it writes: “all by themselves the chains were undone from their feet, and the bolts loosed the door without mortal hands” (447-8). While different in exact language, the chains upon the Bacchists and followers of Christ were all undone themselves, showcasing the shared theme of miraculous prison escapes and followers of the “new” god’s being imprisoned. A direct rip from the Bacchae comes from Act 26:14, where Jesus states: “And when we were all fallen to the earth, I heard a voice speaking unto me, and saying in the Hebrew tongue, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? It is hard for thee to kick against the pricks.” where in the Bacchae Dionysus directly states: “I would sacrifice him rather than become angry and kick against the pricks, a mortal against a god” (794-5). Both Jesus and Dionysus use this phrase in the same context, talking to their prosecutors as a means of telling them that their resistance to them as god is futile. These parallels between Acts and the Bacchae have been recognized, even by Christians like Origen, around 249 CE.[21]

The literary connections spread throughout the New Testament to Dionysus are nearly impossible to deny, as we even have some Christians post-resurrection who recognize this fact. Jesus’ relation to wine is a clear call to Dionysus and his connection to wine. Jesus and the writers of the gospels knew of these pagan tales of Dionysus, his popularity in the region in which these stories of Jesus take place, and, of course, the conflation of Yahweh and Dionysus. The bulk of Jesus’ gospels took place in modern-day Lebanon, or the larger region known as Asia Minor. In this region, a large number of Bacchic inscriptions were found dating around the 2nd-3rd century CE and were the place of heavy Dionysian worship. These inscriptions largely cover the same ideas we've covered before, detailing his death at the hands of the Titans and the rites one has to perform to enter one of Dionysus’ temples. However, one of importance is a Rhodian inscription that adds to the myth of Dionysus and its connection to Christianity. This inscription adds a journey into Hades after Dionysus' death to the Titans, a component that hasn't been seen before in any detail of the story.[22] This hints at a greater connection to Christianity, and maybe even Christian influence on this specific cult, as it incorporates a mirror to Jesus' descent into Hell after his death on the cross, establishing the pattern of symbolic death, journey through Hell, and resurrection seen with Jesus onto Dionysus. This region was clearly ripe with Dionysian worship, which made the region ripe with potential converts to the Christian faith. Thus, the allusion to wine present for Jesus and his attribute to himself as the “true Vine” makes a ton of sense as he was trying to appeal to these worshippers of Dionysus and some Jews who conflated him with Yahweh with similar attributes to him but establishing him as a better to the Greek God as well. He’s like Dionysus but better and more truly divine, which led to some converts from the cult to the faith, as detailed by Dole.[23] In some cases, as we see with this Rhodian cult, it was a conflation of the two as the same entity but by a different name for those who didn’t want to turn away from the cult.

The Gospel of John has the most allusions to Jesus and

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wine and has thus been the Gospel largely attributed to this allusion to Dionysus as well. The Gospel also details a strong understanding of Pre-Socratic and Platonic philosophy in referring to Jesus as the concept of the Logos, in a similar manner to Philo. Philo, a Hellenized Jewish philosopher, took the concept of logos as understood by Heraclitus and other Greek philosophers and applied it to more of a divine sense. Logos to Heraclitus was a universal law that unites the cosmos; the word he taught in the theories of his work is connected to the greater logos of the cosmos. Anaxagoras, another Pre-Socratic, would build on this idea of the logos in his own way by fully defining the idea of Nous or the Mind. Anaxagoras applied this structuring principle of the cosmos to Nous instead of Logos. Plato would then expand on both of these principles in his Timaeus, where he prescribed Nous as the maker of the being known as the Demiurge in his cosmology, one who would bring rational order into the world.[24] This rational order is strikingly similar to the idea of Logos as understood by Heraclitus, as that is how he defined it himself. So, in a Platonic cosmological sense, Nous created the Logos as a living being known as the Demiurge. This idea would be expanded upon through Philo, who attributes Logos in a similar fashion to Heraclitus but also attributes it to the Platonic understanding of imperfect matter and perfect immaterial form. Logos is a form of bridging this gap together, an intermediary being and the highest of them (He also names it the Demiurge like Plato). Philo believed that Logos was "the first-born of God." Logos also acted on behalf of god in the material world as well as being a gap that pulled them together.[25] With this in mind and the author of John noting that introducing a new god is heresy at this point in history, he works his way around this by attributing Jesus to the idea of logos as presented here, something the Greeks and Romans would be familiar with. With Jesus being called the Logos in the first parts of John, does he fulfill this role as mentioned? Exactly as described, Jesus is the first and only one born from god and serves god through his acts in the gospels on the material world. He acts as the literal word of god, preaching to the people of the Earth about god and his compassion for his creation and allowing them to seek paths of salvation of the original sin through this compassion and his and his father's forgiveness. Jesus is god as man, which serves as a direct link to this understanding of the logos as derived by Greek philosophers. With all this being said, does Dionysus fit the role of Logos as well?

I mentioned above that the Derveni Papyrus lacks any mention of Dionysus in its poem of the cosmos and attributed some questions on how he could fit into it himself. Here, I seek to answer those questions and relate Dionysus to the logos of the Orphic cosmology. The Derveni Papyrus includes several nods to Pre-Socratic philosophers, most notably Anaxagoras. Both the author of the papyrus and Anaxagoras attribute Mind or Nous as the absolute principle of the cosmos; the only difference here is that Anaxagoras never gave his concept of the Mind any form of divine or godly attributes. Although it is believed that he believed it to be some kind of godly figure, he never worshiped or gave any

veneration to the Mind as a worshiped deity. The author of the papyrus takes these philosophical understandings of God as Nous and makes him an object of worship and veneration, to take these principles and apply them religiously in the form of the Orphic/Bacchic cults.[26] Where does Dionysus as Logos come into play? It's when you piece his origins and mythology from other Orphic inscriptions and apply it to the papyrus. Zeus consumes the Orphic Egg and becomes absolute, and he becomes Mind itself. After this consumption would come the first birth of Dionysus; with our understanding of Zeus/Mind being "plurality as unity" for the other god's existence, Zeus would essentially give birth to himself as he had done before with his other children before the consumption. Upon his first death would be the creation of man from the ashes of the Titans (Titans would have to exist within the Absolute of Zeus but not a part of the divine, similar to us Humans in our flesh forms) and aspects of the Logos as understood by Plato and his successor Philo would start to manifest in the form of the human soul being made from Dionysus himself. The human soul is made of the divine, which is the beginning of the linking gap between the perfect immaterial of the Absolute and the imperfect material world. Dionysus' third birth in the form of the "new" god sparks an interesting diversion from the norm. Zeus is actively impregnating another being that is a part of him but separate from him in the form of a non-divine. The product is god acting through a vessel, not of the unity that comes from the unity in the form of new Dionysus. The literal-born son of the Absolute of Zeus, contrary to the other gods, is just a pure aspect of Zeus. Dionysus serves as an aspect of the Absolute but has his own separate being taking the form of god, similar to Jesus being God as man in this way. Dionysus now acts as the Logos in the way Philo would come to understand it, as Dionysus is acting as the divine link acting for the Mind/Zeus in the material, through the act mentioned above of spreading Zeus'

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compassion to mortals and helping them seek out salvation from their mortal bodies. We see in this way, even hundreds of years before Philo, Dionysus assumes the role of Logos as he had philosophized later, which acts in similar ways to Jesus acting as Logos as mentioned above.

Other connections beyond the literary and philosophical exist as well, through the rites and practices of each religion mirroring each other. Each faith revolves around the salvation of the follower through Dionysus and Jesus. When it comes to the Dionysian cults, salvation occurs through the replication of his death and, upon the death, being recognized as divine and purified from the "original sin" of titanic mortal bodies. With Christianity, salvation is also given after birth upon seeking forgiveness from sin through Jesus before

entering the Kingdom of Heaven, being delivered from the act of original sin committed by Adam and Eve, with their acts defying god and his authority and this salvation seeking to accept his grace and authority. Both also have similar practices of communion. In Christianity, we see a symbolic eating of Jesus' flesh through bread and a symbolic drinking of his blood as wine. It is an important way of understanding and acknowledging Jesus' sacrificial death on the cross as forgiveness for our sins. The Orphic/Dionysian method of communion is the sacrifice of the victim mentioned earlier as a bull. Dionysian worshippers would replicate his death by killing this bull, eating it, and making it out as the god itself as thanksgiving for his sacrifice, similar to how Jesus describes the act of communion as well.

There are a ton of intentional allusions to Dionysus, Orpheus, and their religion throughout Christianity. There are tons of artistic representations of their connection that I could not fit into this paper, like Dionysus riding a donkey on his way into Olympus, which is similar to Jesus riding a donkey into Jerusalem both in the message and artistic depictions of the way they ride Donkey as well. In a lot of art of the two figures, they look extremely similar, especially when Dionysus is portrayed with a beard. You have Christian thinkers after the decentralization of Rome and into the medieval age, like Augustine, give credit to Orpheus and his religion for revealing some truths about God the Father:[27] "Again, I say, the Christian Church, which consists more of Gentiles than of Jews, can owe nothing to Hebrew witnesses. If, as is said, any prophecies of Christ are to be found in the Sibyl, or in Hermes, called Trismegistus, or Orpheus, or any heathen poet, they might aid the faith of those who, like us, are converts from heathenism to Christianity." The inspirations are spread throughout and are nigh impossible to deny, as Christianity used the high popularity of Dionysus and his conflation with the Jewish god to establish Jesus as a similar figure to the wine god but also a better version of him to the Gospel and gain followers.

Conclusion

Everything comes from something, and this couldn't be clearer than with the Christian faith. The religion had to adapt and overcome certain obstacles to get to the status it holds today, persisting and holding on by taking influence from the world around itself at the time of its conception to help appeal more to a grander Greco-Roman audience. Not only this, but also to help it understand itself, and what better way to do this than to articulate itself through popular philosophy and religion at the time in the form of the Orphic/Dionysian cults. Using and synchronizing Dionysian practices, beliefs, and philosophy helped the Christian faith to establish itself as its own religion, dominating and proving its superiority over these cults through this adaptation, spreading to the people of the Roman Empire in due time, and becoming the dominant force of authority after its decentralization across the medieval world.

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WOMEN WARRIORS AND TRADERS: AUTONOMY, POWER, AND GENDER DYNAMICS IN VIKING SOCIETIES

Dylan Fisher

What we know about Viking societies challenges many contemporary assumptions about women in the Middle Ages. The caricature of Vikings in popular media is heavily shaped by the idea that the people were "savages" and "heathens", when in fact evidence shows that at least some Viking groups were progressive in their stance on women, such as the powers and rights they held. Women were an integral part of Viking societies, and the rights of Viking women surpassed the rights available to most other women at this period. Archeological evidence such as burial sites suggests that Viking warrior tradition did not exclude women from their ranks and these women were honored for their position.[1] Vikings did pillage and plunder, and women were right there with the men to fight. It can be hard to understand why women were allowed such power and status in a commonly patriarchal time in history. However, the archaeological evidence of female warrior burials and the characterization of women in sagas suggest that at least some women were able to hold respect and power in Viking society because of their ability to obtain warrior positions or higher economic status through trade and land management.

Evidence about the lives of women in Viking societies can be learned through burial practices and the items they were buried with. A momentous piece of archeological evidence was discovered in a grave in Birka, Sweden which gives great insight to Viking customs. The deceased warrior was buried with a sword, ax, arrows, two horses, gaming pieces, and a bottle knife— items that may suggest that the deceased is male. Santa Jansone speaks about why archeologists assume the body in this burial to be male, stating: "During archaeological excavations, the gender of the dead is usually identified by examining the grave goods and human remains.

> **"Women were an integral part of Viking societies, and the rights of Viking women surpassed the rights available to most other women at this period."**

If a skeleton is found with weapons and horse equipment, it is usually identified as male".[2] Jansone alludes to the fact that it is not an uncommon idea, even in the current age, to believe that women are unable to be warriors. It is very commonly assumed that women in medieval societies were never warriors; however, evidence from Viking societies opposes this idea. Upon further anthropological analysis through DNA testing, it was found that the buried warrior, assumed to be a man, was, in fact, a woman. Jansone raises many questions about this burial stating the significance and symbolic nature of the weapons. Jansone also states, "We do not know if these women fought in combat, or if these weapons were just some kind of ritual offerings".[3] It is true that this woman could have been buried with the weapons in a symbolic way but that does not fully deny the idea that she was a warrior.

The female in the grave at Birka sparked discussion within the scholarly community. On the surface, Jansone's point that the weapons could be symbolic is compelling. However, further research shows that most of the other graves found in this area of Sweden are not so well decorated for a warrior. The archeological team found that "Of the more than 1100

excavated burials on Birka, only 75 contain one or more offensive weapons… Bj.581 (the female warrior grave) is one of only two burials from the entire island with a full complement of weapons and has been grouped among the 20 richest graves on the site".[4] It is hard to believe that the weapons in this burial are only symbolic, since only 75 out of 1,100 contain weapons. The clothing in the burial suggests that the woman was a commander of cavalry especially since the position of the grave is near other warriors with weapons.

Hervor's Death Painting by Peter Nicolai Arbo (1831-1892)

The article goes on to say, "The person in Bj.581 was buried in a grave full of functional weapons and war-gear (and little else), in close proximity to other burials with weapons, next to a building saturated with weapons, outside the gate of a fortress".[5] With all this archeological data it becomes more and more clear that this burial contains a female who was most likely a warrior in profession. There is nothing to suggest symbolic reference in this warrior burial and the present-day scholars who argue that she was not a warrior may have opinions rooted in previous misogynistic ideas of the Middle Ages and the place of women in society.

Another of Jansone's counterpoints is the argument

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that even though the warriors were female, they took on a traditional male role while at war. However, attributing the garb of warriors and their weapons to males is solely based on outdated notions of gender. Price states, "She (the woman in the grave) adjusts and nuances our interpretations and challenges our stereotypes. She adds still further dimensions to our understanding of the Viking Age as a time of critical cultural transformation and social encounter".[6] Gender theory is a modern idea, and the associations of warriors with masculinity and domesticity with femininity are rooted in most societies throughout history. It must not be assumed that this female warrior was obtaining male qualities and relinquishing themselves of the feminine. Jansone's idea of crossdressing reflects an outdated idea of gender that the female body is unable to produce warrior qualities without altering itself to be masculine. Simply put, modern ideas about gender cannot be expected to have been the same across all cultures and periods, and it would be insulting to conclude that women never occupied the same positions as men without being seen as men.

Gender studies itself are not linear and can be a difficult concept to grasp, and contemporary ideas towards gender affect views of history much more than they should. The common contemporary idea that warriors must be men has affected views of Viking history. In Viking societies, the concept of the warrior was not merely an individual, but rather a cultural ethos deeply intertwined with their beliefs and values. It is negligent to assume that only women who assume male qualities could be given high or warrior status in Viking society. "Womanly" household duties are still an integral part of any functioning society, and this labor was recognized by Vikings. Even if the women were not warriors, they could still be valued in the Viking society. This can be seen from a written excerpt on the travels of Ibrahim inb Yacoub al-Tartushi who speaks about a Viking settlement, Hedeby, and the law that women were allowed to divorce their husbands. An outside view from Yacoub al-Tartushi's travels shows that women had autonomy in Viking society and were able to hold rights that were not so common in other parts of Europe. Yacoub al-Tartushi even states the men of this settlement wear eye makeup defying contemporary stereotypes of masculinity in society. Despite the commonly held opinion that Vikings were brute warriors, with no concern for social equality, their societies were much more equal compared to most European ones at the time. Even if these women were not warriors, and therefore the most valued group in society, the average woman found meaning and importance through their daily activities. The right of divorce alone indicates a greater understanding of equity.

Aside from fighting, trade played a crucial role in Viking society, particularly across northern Europe. Archaeological excavations of female burials between the eighth and twelfth century in Sweden have revealed many items that are indicative of women taking part in trading.[8] Goods such as scales and brooches are found in female graves. The scales are an important grave artifact and Mierswa states, "The presence of scales in graves suggests that the women who were buried there had been active in trade and the economy during their lifetimes".[9] The evidence is certainly clear that the numerous graves of women found with scales show their attribution to trading culture during their lives.

Economic contribution in trade allowed for Viking women to not only gain respect in their society, but increased rights, autonomy, and financial freedoms, which are represented in the ceremonial burials showcasing wealth. They were able to climb, and fall, the social hierarchy of their own accord while exerting influence within their communities. Since women were allowed to participate in these societies by managing land and engaging in trade, the circle of exchange was partially leveled between the two genders. Thus, women's active involvement in economic activities served as a means for them to gain recognition and influence, reshaping structures in the process and contemporary societal norms.

Women were also an integral part of Norse saga literature and were often shown as warriors and respected people. The powerful role of the female in these sagas shows a cultural attitude that did not deny women power. Women such as Freydis Eiríksdóttir and Gudrid Thorbjarnardóttir from The Vinland Sagas act with their own agency and are not defined by the male society. In much literature women are used as figures of attraction which can lead to the demise of man or are represented as angelic and holy individuals who are untouchable. Leszek Gardela speaks about the sagas saying, "Old Norse sagas and other textual sources, dating from the thirteenth century onwards, contain a wide range of descriptions of women wielding weapons or engaging in battles" but "none of the so-called Sagas of Icelanders portray warrior women".[10] Gardela is stating that only the Greenland sagas after the thirteenth century present women

"Valkyrie" is a painting by Norwegian artist Peter Nicolai Arbo (1831–1892 CE). It depicts a Valkyrie, female warriors from Norse mythology.

as warriors and attributes this idea to “medieval fantasy rather than authentic depictions of past events”.[11] The Saga of The Greenlanders which is published around the fourteenth century introduces an interesting and powerful female character, Freydis. In the saga Freydis is an intelligent woman, violating an agreement she made with two male brothers Helgi and Finnbogi. In this agreement, the two brothers and Freydis would travel to Vinland with 30 able-bodied men on their ships. Freydis brought 5 extra men on her ship in hopes to overpower the brothers. After some time in Vinland, a rift had grown between the two people groups. Freydis manipulates her men into believing that she, while speaking to the brothers and attempting to broker peace, was struck and manhandled.[12] To this, her men executed the brothers and their men leaving only the women that none would kill. Freydis yells for a battle axe and slays the women.

While it is possible the character of Freydis is as fantastical as Gardela suggests, archeological evidence states that at least some of the story is truthful. Therefore, based on the other graves of warrior women it can be stated that Freydis, even if fictional, is a literary ideal of female power in Viking society and is at the very least, a deeply held cultural practice in some Viking societies. Literary characters are often based on real people or are personifications of ideas of certain groups of people. If Freydis' character is based on a real woman, it lends truth to the idea that women exercised more autonomy and agency in Viking society, than one would expect. She demonstrates a level of economic stability and political influence that contradicts the current perception.

Freydis is represented as a villain in this story and her actions are deceitful. Nicholas Whaley speaks about Freydis in the sagas writing “It is also important to remember that women were not so regularly well-regarded in medieval society, so the potential for her tale becoming corrupted or embellished is certainly there”.[13] It is possible since there was a discrepancy from when the events happened between the tenth and eleventh century to when the story was finally written down in the fourteenth century, Viking societies’ practices could have changed. Again, the contemporary ideas of gender are infiltrating Whaley’s research here. Based on the other evidence, there is reason to believe that Viking women were able to achieve higher levels of power and status than originally thought. The Vikings converted to Christianity in the tenth century and this specific saga ranges from the tenth to eleventh century. By the time the events were written the Vikings were officially converted to Christianity. Assuming the contact with other parts of Europe and the changes Christendom had on the Viking societies, Whaley is completely correct that the character of Freydis could have

> **The accomplishments of Viking women should be paid homage and respected for maintaining a diversity that not many other societies were promoting.**

been changed to align closer to those same Christian ideals. The portrayal of Freydis as a villain in this saga could be due to a changing and fluid society as Whaley states, but it is crucial to acknowledge her autonomy and her ability to do such evil actions. She wields a very significant power by being able to control a group of 30 men who listen to her orders and led them on an expedition to Vinland. It is imperative to not dismiss Freydis as merely a villain, but a woman in Viking society with the ability to assert herself and employ her own agency as seen in her saga.

Contemporary notions of gender often impose limitations on our understanding of historical societies, obscuring the rich diversity of human experiences across time and culture. Misconstruing Viking society by assuming they held similar gender rules as current Western societies is one such example of our internal blinders. Most Viking women were able to obtain power and status that allowed them to hold traditionally male roles such as warriors, traders, and land managers. In some cases, they even had the agency to divorce their husbands.[7] The archeological evidence of female burials also denies these contemporary implications that have intruded on history showcasing celebrated memorials of powerful women figures. This reevaluation of female Vikings is vital because it proves that not all societies are homogenous in their beliefs and values. Understanding and recognizing the extent of power that women held in these societies challenges the well-established stereotypes that have made up the historical canon. The accomplishments of Viking women should be paid homage and respected for maintaining a diversity that not many other societies were promoting. Women were an integral part of Viking societies and triumphed over the patriarchal history of Europe.

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CRIME AND JOURNALISM: REPORTING ON ROXBURY

Luke M. Goodwin

Media outlets in Boston failed to consider their communities' best interests in the ways that they reported on the Roxbury murders. In January of 1979, police discovered the first two victims, Chris Ricketts and Andrea Foye, in what was reported to be a series of murders in the south side of Boston.[i] They would come to be joined by ten more victims before the end of the year, each murdered under unrelated circumstances but in rapid succession. The twelve women were killed at a time when the Roxbury neighborhood of Boston faced significant racial tension. The 1974 Boston busing crisis still weighed on the minds of students, journalists, and activists, with *The Boston Globe* writing articles years later about the prejudice and violence in neighborhoods like Roxbury.[ii] Professor of Journalism Michael Schudson argued that journalists should take bold stances in their works rather than uphold a façade of objectivity.[iii] Black feminist activists such as those in the Combahee River Collective agreed with this sentiment, believing that Chris Ricketts and Andrea Foye, as well as the rest of the victims of the 1979 murders, "died because they were women just as surely as they died because they were Black," and newspapers did not reflect this.[iv] The Boston Globe, with a few noteworthy exceptions, reported on the murders without framing them in a larger context of race or gender, and largely failed to use its platform in either of the ways suggested by activists and journalism academics. The *Globe* and other Boston media outlets reported on the twelve murders as well as the arrests and convictions of their accused murderers but ultimately fell short of their responsibilities as professional news sources to the people of Boston. Although crime journalism has the capacity to produce positive results, it tends to harm the communities it alleges to help.

> **"Media outlets in Boston failed to consider their communities' best interests in the ways that they reported on the Roxbury murders."**

A City of Strife

In the 1970s, Boston, Massachusetts suffered from significant racial tension and violence. The U.S. Supreme Court declared racial segregation in public schools unconstitutional in 1954 with the *Brown v. Board of Education* ruling.[v] Many activists and local officials across the country pushed for integration following this decision. In 1974, federal district court judge W. Arthur Garrity Jr. ordered the desegregation of schools in Boston, achieved in part by bussing children out of their neighborhoods to attend other schools.[vi] This decision sparked backlash from both the black and white communities within Boston. Conservatives such as J. Harvie Wilkinson III, editor for *The Norfolk Virginia-Pilot* later nominated to the Court of Appeals for the 4th Circuit by Ronald Reagan, framed the bussing crisis as creating deeper economic inequality and claimed that the decision violated South Boston's "right to be left alone."[vii] Hoover Institution contributor and author Matthew Richer called the event "a federal judge's experiment in social engineering" which "unraveled neighborhoods and frustrated black achievements," blaming *Brown v. Board of Education* for being too vague in how desegregation would take place.[viii] In 1975,

hundreds of women marched in protest of the forced bussing program.[ix] Over a decade later, *The Boston Globe* recalled the bussing as the cause of turmoil which got in the way of the movement for "racial harmony."[x] The Garrity Decision was not unanimously opposed, however. NAACP leader Roy Wilkins spoke out against President Gerald Ford's condemnation of the events in Boston, claiming that statements against the bussing itself was dangerous and risked the lives of black children.[xi] Instead of criticizing forced bussing, Wilkins called on Ford to condemn the violence committed by anti-bussing protesters, such as the 1974 assault and "near lynching" committed against the parent of a student involved in the program.[xii] Wilkins then urged Boston Mayor Kevin White to send federal troops to protect students from anti-integration protesters, believing that their opposition to bussing had evolved into an intent to kill.[xiii] More recently, Professor of History Matthew Delmont and Professor of Political Science Jeanne Theoharis contradicted the dominant narrative of the bussing crisis. They called out media outlets such as *The Boston Globe* and argued that the opposition to bussing was actually opposition to desegregation altogether.[xiv] According to Delmont and Theoharis, since Boston was used in Boston to maintain segregation, it was therefore a necessary component of desegregation after years of demands from minority communities.[xv]

Escalating racial tension in Boston throughout the 1970s was not limited to the bussing crisis. Those living through the 1979 murders undoubtedly recalled the multiple series of murders from earlier in the decade, many of which were interpreted as racially motivated. Beginning in 1972, Boston saw a series of students and hitchhikers murdered.[xvi] Depending on journalistic emphases, these murders were referred to as either the Co-Ed Murders or the Hitchhike Murders. *The Harvard Crimson* student newspaper highlighted the fact that all of the victims were white, college-aged women.[xvii] In 1973, a white Dorchester woman was burned alive in what Roy Wilkins condemned as an act of "reverse racism."[xviii] *The Boston Globe* called 1973 the "Year of Murders," breaking previous records with a total death count of 135, up from 104.[xix] At the end of the decade, a series of murders came to outshine these, connected exclusively by coincidental timing and proximity within Boston.

On January 29, 1979, police discovered that two girls, Christine Ricketts and Andrea Foye, had been murdered and their bodies left outside of a shoe factory in the Roxbury neighborhood of Boston.[xx] The number of murdered women grew to twelve over the course of the year.[xxi] Contrary to the claims of the media, there was no series of murders in Roxbury. Media outlets fabricated a correlation between the murders despite each having little to nothing in common. Women had been killed in Roxbury prior to 1979 who were never considered to be associated with this series of murders by the media.[xxii] The 1978 killing of Karen Blumenthal, a sex-worker in the adult-entertainment district of Boston called the Combat Zone, was never connected to the other murders.[xxiii] In the midst of the murders, police and *The Boston Globe* confidently denied that the February 1979 abduction of 17-year old Ducy Julian in the Mattapan neighborhood was in any way related to the murders, calling the suggestion "all hearsay," and "definitely not linked to the others," despite doing nothing to justify the connection between the murders of Andrea Foye and Chris Ricketts, Caren Prater, and Yvette Stinson.[xxiv] Each murder was committed by a different perpetrator, so any manufactured link served only to sensationalize the violence.[xxv] District Attorney Newman Flanagan stated that, at the time of the fourth death, he did not believe the murders were connected.[xxvi] When Alfred F. Cimmino Jr. and Daniel Connolly were murdered less than a week after the creation of a special headquarters tasked with investigating the killings in Roxbury, the *Globe* made no

attempts to include them among the other Roxbury Murders.[xxvii]

In spite of a complete lack of direct or circumstantial evidence, the police still refused to "[rule] anything out" which might connect the nine arbitrarily selected women's deaths.[xxviii] There was no justifiable reason to assume a connection existed between the twelve victims of the Roxbury Murders but not Blumenthal, Julian, Cimmino, or Connolly. Despite this, *The Boston Globe* continued to report on the murders as a series. In an article where Sergeant Detective Stephen Murphy stated that the murders were "not the work of one individual," the headline still insisted on calling Bobbie Graham's death the twelfth murder since January, overlooking the myriad of equally unrelated murders.[xxix] Media outlets can create crime waves and the fears surrounding them regardless of actual increases in crimes committed, as happened in Roxbury.[xxx]

The Guidelines and Shortcomings of Journalism

Ethical principles exist for responsible newspapers to ensure that they do not cause harm in their reporting. Today there exist several codes which newsmakers follow, such as the Society of Professional Journalists' Code of Ethics, which aims to promote honesty, accuracy, accountability, fairness, and transparency.[xxxi] These ethical codes have roots in journalistic norms extending much further than 1979. Among the most influential were the ideas derived from the discourse of the 1947 Commission on the Freedom of the Press, better known as the Hutchins Commission. Henry Luce, the publisher of *Time and Life*, collaborated with University of Chicago President Robert Hutchins to create a commission which would study the proper roles of media and freedom of expression in a world of increasing interconnection.[xxxii] The Commission determined that, because the public relied heavily on mass media to inform its opinions on governance, centralized and profit-driven media corporations posed a threat to American democratic society.[xxxiii] The Commission presented this not as advocacy for censorship, but as a complement to free speech, claiming that overreach from private powers caused greater harm to free expression than government regulation.[xxxiv] Hutchins and the rest of the Commission recognized that an unchecked media corporation risked sacrificing its morals if it believed that it could make more profits by engaging in manipulative, populist broadcasting. *The Boston Globe* had its own ideas on what good journalism should look like.

Although crime reporting has its benefits, the coverage of the murders in Roxbury demonstrates its limitations. While journalists can perform important roles in uncovering truth, their companies are ultimately businesses with strong incentives to turn a profit. Professor Emeritus of Political Science Russel F. Farnen admits this, writing that the purpose of mass media "is (in addition to making a profit) to inform and educate citizens in the ways of democracy."[xxxv] Schudson echoes Farnen's sentiment of journalists contributing to a democratic society, arguing that they are forced to fulfill the role of moral authorities.[xxxvi] Steven Chermak, Associate Professor of Criminal Justice, argues that sensational crime news is popular because it's "convenient to discover and it helps sell newspapers," a far cry from the virtues espoused by Schudson and Farnen. [xxxvii] Professor Emerita of History Joy Wiltenburg wrote "it may be tempting to ascribe the emotional features of sensationalism… to commercialism pure and simple, to the need to increase sales by arousing maximum interest. Such explanations may have some validity, but they are not adequate." [xxxviii] Sensational news stories have existed for centuries without any expectations of monetary gain. Steven Chermak presents five traditional explanations for the prevalence of crime news: 1) it is informative, 2) it deters crime, 3) it entertains, 4) it reflects the nature of criminal justice, and 5) it fills a gap in the news making process.

> **Despite these consequences, the public does not actually become better informed by engaging with crime journalism.**

[xxxix] These arguments each have their own strengths and weaknesses.

First, a general assignment reporter from the *Midwest Tribune* defended the informational value of crime news by writing, "an informed citizenry is an armed citizenry and it can protect itself a hell of a lot better if it knows when it is in danger," explaining why outlets gravitate towards more dramatic, violent crimes instead of mundane topics such as probation or jury deliberations.[xl] This information comes at a cost. News productions thrive on the creation of fear and victims.[xli] The coverage of the Roxbury Murders exemplifies this, especially in how locals reacted to The Boston Globe. Community activist Marlene Stephens stated "Women are scared… What women wouldn't be afraid?"[xlii] Women began taking self-defense courses and carrying whistles in case they were attacked. One went out and bought the "biggest, meanest dog" she could find to protect her.[xliii] The step-mother of Caren Prater, one of the victims, told the *Globe* "I'm terrified" and "You're scared to go out anywhere."[xliv] The media's promotion of fear-inducing stories creates a circular "paradox" where people stay home and spend even more time consuming fear-inducing news.[xlv] This "avoidance behavior" harms the public's normal routines while also diminishing trust in local authorities like the police.[xlvi] Despite these consequences, the public does not actually become better informed by engaging with crime journalism.

When surveyed, both "heavy" and "light" viewers of crime news reports could not accurately recall the incidence of crimes nor the likelihood that they themselves might become victims, with both types of respondents overestimating the amount of crime and danger present.[xlvii] Newspapers cannot claim ignorance to this fear-inducing misreading of their articles. *The Boston Globe* predicted this exact response in 1973, attempting to temper worries by telling readers that "a city's crime rate does not relate strongly, if at all to the chances of an ordinary citizen's being murdered," because most murders are committed by friends and family members, not strangers.[xlviii] Crime news reporting invents fear and leads panicked communities to overestimate the danger around them.

Chermak's second point claims that crime journalism reduces crime. This can be true in specific cases. Sociologist Steven Stack found that homicides decreased slightly when executions were publicized.[xlix] Stack's study did not examine the effect of reporting on when a crime is discovered, only when executions are reported, so this point does not necessarily justify the media's approach to the Roxbury murders as far as possibly decreasing crime. Furthermore, Stack found that far more influential than publicized execution were the unemployment rate and youthfulness of a population.[l] Deviations in the unemployment rate had six times the effect on the homicide rate compared to whether an execution was covered that month, while the number of young people in a population had twenty-one times more influence.[li]

One relevant benefit of crime journalism is that it links the public with authorities, which can help accelerate investigations. In May 1979, investigators in Boston credited information provided by the public for the arrests of three men in relation to some of the nine murders which had taken place by that time.[lii] It would be shortsighted, however, to ignore the false dichotomy of Chermak's second claim as a defense for crime journalism. There are other ways to reduce

crime than the publication of crime news, which might be far more effective. In the midst of the 1979 murders, one Boston judge suggested addressing deeper issues, such as unemployment, housing, and schooling.[liii] Police Captain Warren Blair added to these points by stating, "Unless social conditions are improved, there will be no drastic reduction of crime here."[liv] Crime journalism alone cannot significantly reduce crime rates.

Chermak's third explanation of crime news is that it entertains readers. True crime describes any nonfiction media describing or retelling real crimes, therefore news articles reporting on murders are subject to the defenses and critiques of the genre.[lv] There are many healthier ways to be entertained than by voyeuristic intrigues into the tragedies of innocent girls' deaths. American author Jack Miles wrote that "civic responsibility dictates… that media be on guard against worsening the impact of crime on its actual victims and enhancing the likelihood of further crime."[lvi] Professor of American Literature Harold Schechter defended the true crime genre as a medium to "provide law-abiding citizens with primal, sadistic thrills," although even he had to admit that the less competent attempts at true crime did not "rise above the quasi-pornographic level."[lvii] Crime news has the ability to make people laugh, cry, reflect, or rejoice, but unlike fictional crime stories, there is a real chance that the friends and family of real murder victims will be retraumatized in the name of this sadistic entertainment.[lviii] Had the family of Caren Prater read the article written by Lonnie Isabel and Timothy Dwyer in February 1979, they would have read about how she was "stabbed and battered to death, and her body was apparently dragged out of a car."[lix] The article spared none of the gruesome details when simply stating that she had been murdered would have sufficed to report that a killing took place. The families of the victims are rarely consulted on how they feel about their loved ones' death being turned into true crime.[lx] Avoiding this risk would not be difficult. Jack Miles noted that when psychiatric reports alter the names of those involved, so "if the authors of 'true crime' wanted to spare the victims or collateral victims of violent crime… rather than building… the audience for their books, it would certainly be possible for them to change names as well."[lxi] When Dennis Porter was arrested for the murders of Chris Ricketts and Andrea Foye, *The Boston Globe* published their full names and home addresses at the beginning of the story.[lxii] Omitting these would not jeopardize journalistic integrity or informational value, yet the *Globe* chose to share sensitive information to the potential detriment of their families.

The fourth traditional explanation of crime news's prevalence is that it reflects the nature of criminal justice. Chermak writes that the nature of the criminal justice system allows the same story to be covered multiple times at various stages in the case.[xliii] The Boston Globe's coverage of the first two murders in Roxbury reflect this. In January 1979, two days after the discovery of the murders of Christine Ricketts and Andrea Foye, *The Boston Globe* reported on their deaths alongside that of Gwendolyn Yvette Stinson.[xliv] Their names were mentioned repeatedly with each new murder tacked onto the media-created series of Roxbury murders, but the next notable article related to their case came with the arrest of their accused murderer, Dennis Porter. In April, *The Boston Globe* ran the story of the "Slaying suspect arrested," telling the story of the confrontation between the accused and the Boston police.[lxv] To bring an end to the saga, the newspaper published the details of Porter's conviction a year later, and how Judge Francis P. O'Connor gave him two life sentences.[lxvi] It is easy to recognize the implicit value of crime news to media outlets because a single case can be utilized repeatedly with every new development. The repeated exploitation of cases by the news emphasizes the importance of ethically justifying each instance of reporting.

Finally, Stephen Chermak explains that crime news fills a large gap in the news making process that "must be filled" daily due to their popularity.[lxvii] Justifying the prevalence of crime news based on popularity comes extremely close to admitting that these stories are produced primarily to sell papers. The only reason that gaps in the production of news must be filled is because newspapers created those gaps to begin with. Papers could be made shorter, or more attention could be given to topics like sports or business, or even advertising. When Gwendolyn Stinson's body was discovered, *The Boston Globe* buried the story thirteen pages deep, surrounded by sports and advertisements.[lxviii] Crime stories do not appear among classified ads, they compete for space with major corporations and local businesses alike, further supporting the idea that they are selected to make money and because they are easy to write. Filling space on the pages with crime stories only solves a problem that newspapers created for themselves. Media outlets make the choice to print crime stories, taking on the responsibilities of ethical reporting with the knowledge that such stories can cause fear within their communities.

Outrage and Other Approaches

Local communities voiced discontent with how police and the mainstream media approached the murders of the twelve Roxbury women. In February 1979, the Sisters of Ebony Life activist organization and its supporters marched to City Hall to demand more protection and less apathy from the police when it came to the deaths of black women.[lxix] They claimed to be marching in the name of the four women who had been murdered at that point as well as that of a girl whose murder nearly eight years prior had not been solved.[lxx] In May, the Massachusetts Black Caucus held a press conference and announced that they hoped the police and the media, "while not trying to inject hysteria among the black women of the community, would warn citizens that a clear and present danger still exists," recognizing the fine line between sensational, fear-inducing reporting and factual, informative articles.[lxxi] Ironically, this same article preceded this quote by citing a statistic which would only encourage further hysteria, putting attention on the increase in crimes compared to the previous year, from twenty-one to thirty-four over a similar period of time.[lxxii] This invokes what Professor of Sociology Mary Holland Baker wrote about how the news manufactures crime waves.[lxxiii] The *Globe* did the exact same thing in 1973, using a difference of thirty-one murders over the course of a year to call the entire time span the "Year of the Murders."[lxxiv] By including numbers like these, writers for *The Boston Globe* made a deliberate effort to convince readers that they were in danger, spiking fears among the community. This level of dissatisfaction among Boston communities can be seen even earlier, following the death of Caren Prater. Also in May, around five-hundred people, mostly women, marched to protest the city's perceived inaction in the face of violent crimes that affected their community.[lxxv] These women represented Crisis, an organization created in response to the 1979 murders, as well as the black feminist Combahee River Collective organization.[lxxvi] Bill Owens, the first black state senator in Massachusetts, attributed the lack of developments in the case to a lack of black detectives.[lxxvii] Insufficient representation was a concern of the Sisters of Ebony Life demonstrators as well.[lxxviii] Owens also recognized the extent to which the minority community of Boston was being frightened and outraged, something which the members of the press and police were avoiding by instead shifting blame onto other involved parties.[lxxix] Owens directed his final critique at Police Commissioner Joseph Jordan for not being in Boston to take charge of the investigation.[lxxx] Community activists felt that news sources like *The Boston Globe* riled up fears over a wave of crimes, then left police and political leaders struggling to manage the panic.

Although *The Boston Globe* failed to respect its readership and the victims of the 1979 murders in several ways, crime journalism itself is not inherently a bad thing. Done ethically, media outlets have the capacity to be a force for good. For example, police might use the media to ask the public for help in solving unsolved crimes. In February 1979, the *Baystate Banner* informed its readers that the police were searching for leads related to a potentially identifying blanket from the scene of the murders of Chris Ricketts and Andrea Foye, as well as any information related to Gwendolyn Stinson or Caren Prater.[lxxxi] *The Boston Globe* printed an article letting the public know they could call or visit the Boston Police's special YMCA headquarters to share tips related to the case.[lxxxii] Another potential advantage some have argued for is that mass media can assist social justice advocacy. Michael Schudson wrote that journalists are often uncomfortable in confidently using their platforms to induce change, wary of the power they hold over their readers, but suggested that limited, decentralized, and professional stewardship may act as a tool against threats to democracy, human rights, and public safety.[lxxxiii] This is what Crisis, the Combahee River Collective, and the Massachusetts Black Caucus wanted to see; those who cared demanded the *Globe* to make some indication that it cared, and to use the power that it had to make a statement, to support social justice during a time of violent injustices. Staying silent on the greater societal implications of these women reaffirmed to the Combahee River Collective that "the police and media response [was] typically racist."[lxxxiv]

For all of the valid criticism *The Boston Globe* earned for itself, it did use its platform to honor the murder victims in limited ways. In a rare instance when the *Globe* solicited quotes from figures not associated with the police, government, or an outspoken activist movement, it interviewed the grandfather of Caren Prater to write more about who she was when she was alive.[lxxxv] He spoke about how she always took the time to go shopping with him.[lxxxvi] Most significantly, the *Globe* published an article in April 1979 called "Six Slain Women, and Those Who Loved Them," which took the time to humanize six of the victims, taking quotes from their family members.[lxxxvii] Chris Ricketts was a quiet high school student who loved to dance and planned to become a social worker; Andrea Foye was cheerful and cared deeply for her family; Gwendolyn Yvette Stinson had nine siblings and volunteered at a daycare, and her mother described her as slightly spoiled; Caren Prater worked in a bar, loved flowers, and enjoyed dancing to disco music; Daryal Hargett worked as a counselor and sang in various Baptist choirs, and Desiree Etheridge loved to paint butterflies.[lxxxviii] These articles did more to humanize the victims of the Roxbury murders than anything published by *Sojourner*, the Combahee River Collective, or the *Baystate Banner*. In a letter published through *The Boston Phoenix*, the father of Christine Ricketts wrote a defense of the efforts of the Boston police, entirely contradicting the Combahee River Collective's arguments and calling critics ignorant.[lxxxix] He challenged their claims that police were apathetic due to the race of the victims, and even believed "crime can be reduced only with the combined efforts of the police, the community and the government."[xc] Herein lies the greatest oversight in Schudson's argument: media such as the Combahee River Collective's "Eleven Black Women Why Did They Die?" is still true crime, and suffers the same effects as media which is written for entertainment or money. From the perspectives of those close to the victims, these efforts appeared equally advantageous, if not disrespectful, in how well-intentioned activists used their tragic deaths to further an agenda neither they nor their families necessarily agreed with. On one hand, not integrating any claims whatsoever into articles covering sensitive topics borders on irresponsibly naïve, and would

“Informing the public on crimes often fails to give them an accurate understanding of how prevalent crime truly is. It also tends to induce fear in readers who worry they may become the next victims.”

invoke outrage from the readership just as the reporting on the Roxbury murders did. On the other, making overt arguments with a real person's murder as ammunition risks overwriting who they truly were to push a narrative to which they or those who survived them might object to. Reporting on the 1979 murders walked a narrow line between ignoring obvious but politically controversial implications in a no-win attempt to not offend readers and expending murdered girls' memories to convince readers of a claim which, whether it was true or not, the victims could not consent to, and their families did not. Broadly, *The Boston Globe* erred towards the former, and its critics preferred the latter.

To conclude, Boston media outlets disserviced their readerships in their coverage of the 1979 Roxbury murders. At the end of a decade of violent, racially charged violence and discourse, newspapers selected twelve women's coincidentally timed deaths to manufacture a series of murders, creating sensational headlines. Modern ethical standards set for journalists dictate that the values of honesty, accuracy, accountability, fairness, and transparency must be upheld, but in the articles written about the twelve murdered women, *The Boston Globe* largely preferred to rely extensively on the perspectives of police and politicians and dodged accountability for the problems they worsened.[xci] This is a common trend for news outlets, as police and court statements comprise over half of the sources found in crime stories.[xcii] The *Globe* sacrificed accuracy the moment it continued referring to each murder as an addition to those which preceded them, even when police and the district attorney tried to communicate that they were treating the murders as unrelated, each committed by perpetrators acting independently.[xciii] The five traditional explanations for crime news are that it's informational, deters crime, entertains, resembles the criminal justice process, and fills a gap in the news making process. None of these explanations function as justifications. Informing the public on crimes often fails to give them an accurate understanding of how prevalent crime truly is. It also tends to induce fear in readers who worry they may become the next victims. Among the information often appears sensitive details which can retraumatize or threaten the privacy of the victims' families, such as explicit murder processes, full names, and home addresses. Any deterring effect of crime news only applies when criminals are caught and executed or otherwise severely punished, thus this benefit does not apply to the most common type of crime news: the discovery of a crime.[xciv] Unemployment and age hold far more influence on crime rates than how many stories are printed about criminal executions. If publishing crime news deterred crimes in any significant way, then the criminal justice system and communities alike would beg newspapers to run as many crime stories as possible to save lives. Crime news as entertainment desensitizes people to the seriousness of real murders and worsens the effects of crime on secondary victims. Using crime stories simply to fill space on a slow news day, or because the opportunity of updating and reusing old stories is appealingly easy and profitable, loses sight of the guidelines which ensure that crime news does not devolve into exploitative, carelessly damaging, money-driven media. Crime news can be more than what it was for Boston in 1979.

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THE ROXBURY MURDERS UNVEILING THE ROOTS OF PATRIARCHAL OPPRESSION

Theo Smith

On January 29, 1979, on the sidewalk outside of a Roxbury shoe factory in Boston, Massachusetts, two bodies were found wrapped in a blanket and duffle bag. Christine Ricketts, fifteen, and Andrea Foye, seventeen, had been strangled and dumped by Jamel Porter, twenty-three.[i] He was their "pimp," the term used at the time, meaning that he believed he owned their bodies as his own personal business.[ii] Christine, who went by Chris, and Andrea, who went by Angie, had been subjected to abuse and manipulation for months. Under his control they were robbed of their dignity and autonomy as people.[iv]

The perpetuation of patriarchal thinking and the accepted abuse of women acted as the catalyst that led to the murders of these two black girls.[v] Violence against women, racial minorities, and individuals based on their sexuality is intricately connected to the established social dominance of males. The role of the patriarchy in the Roxbury murders is clear in how Porter was able to sell and use these two girls for his own monetary and social gain.[vi] He demonstrated heightened disrespect for their lives and opinions before murdering them, believing that he was entitled to their bodies. What happened to these girls is a prime example of the perpetuation of the social acceptance of women's abuse through patriarchal thinking.

Discussing the role that patriarchy had in their deaths and exploring patriarchy as a subject will allow for a broader understanding of the context behind this abuse's systematic origins. The experiences of Christine and Andrea, ages fifteen and seventeen, can be shown to represent the abuse that women and girls have faced at the hands of men for centuries.[vii] Within the framework of patriarchy, women are seen as inferior to men, and as a result, they are treated as

"Violence against women, racial minorities, and individuals based on their sexuality is intricately connected to the established social dominance of males."

objects or commodities, relentlessly stripped of autonomy, and reduced to a weaker subset of human based only on anatomical differences between sexes.

Through the complex unfolding of history and widespread upholding of these values, men have been granted a sense of superiority unable to be accredited to their individual merit or efforts. This is addressed in Gerda Lerner's *The Creation of Patriarchy*, "[Patriarchy] seems to account for male dominance in such a way as to relieve contemporary men of all responsibility for it."[viii] The white male is often the least likely to face discrimination based on unchangeable aspects of his identity, while black females are disproportionately more vulnerable to this. The story of Chris and Andrea is not one of their own making, instead, the same patriarchal force that led to their demise is the means by which their stories are relayed as the remnants of their death were left to be deciphered by a male-dominated police force and legal system. Porter is believed to have used these girls as prostitutes for his own financial gain.[ix] To his peers, Porter's ability to sell them in this manner was deemed justified in his social circles due to the deeply ingrained gender-based hierarchy, allowing him to abuse them with social impunity.[x]

The Creation of Patriarchy discusses women's oppression in a historic lens and gives insight to many societal norms regarding male superiority. Lerner approaches feminism in a way that dismantles traditional thoughts or beliefs and provides a well-established foundation to build her arguments. The most known and widely accepted traditionalist reason for the systematic subordination of women is the “man-the-hunter” theory. “Man-the-hunter, superior in strength, ability, and the experience derived from using tools and weapons, "naturally" protects and defends the more vulnerable female, whose biological equipment destines her for motherhood and nurturance.”[xi] This theory focuses on physical and mental differences between men and women. Indicating that women are weak and fragile and their only uses consist of biological reproductive abilities puts a much higher value and sense of honor on the man since he is considered to be the main provider. “The man-the-hunter myth and its perpetuation are social-cultural creations which serve the interest of maintaining male supremacy and hegemony.”[xii]

Disproving this theory is straightforward and easy to justify. Concerning hunter-gatherer societies, large-game hunting is a secondary activity. The primary food source stemmed from gathering endeavors and small-game hunting. These tasks were typically carried out by women and children, indicating that everyone was considered a main provider. These societies serve as prime examples where complementary gender roles are prevalent and women often hold elevated social status, contradicting the assertions of the man-the-hunter perspective. Women played crucial and culturally pioneering roles in the formation of civilization. This was achieved through inventive contributions, such as the creation of basketry and pottery, and their expertise and advancements in horticulture.[xiii]

The patriarchal foundation present in subconscious thought led to the reinforcing of the widespread idea of male supremacy. Modern feminist anthropologists have raised concerns about earlier claims that assumed nearly universal male dominance in all documented societies. They challenge these assertions by arguing that such conclusions reflect the patriarchal biases embedded in the perspectives of ethnographers and researchers who studied those cultures. This critique highlights the dubious "scientific" rationale for patriarchy, which has been perpetuated through inaccurate and repetitive observations. Essentially, these scientists were claiming the existence of patriarchy in these early societies because the scientists themselves live in a culture that normalizes and encourages these values, prompting their subconscious to look for these values in the past when they were not truly present in the societies they were examining.[xiv] Other traditionalist defenses include justifying patriarchy by defining women in their maternal roles and restricting their access to economic and educational opportunities by asserting that such limitations served the overall well-being of species survival. The rationale behind this is deeming women unfit for higher education and various vocational pursuits because of their biological makeup and designated maternal responsibilities.[xv]

To understand how patriarchy could have formed as it exists today, one must first imagine the human race in a primitive sense. Sexual attributes are biological while gender is a social construct and cannot be known through one's sex. Embracing this mindset requires one to approach naturally formed gender systems as a product of the physical and biological differences between the male and female sex. The female primary and secondary sex characteristics designate women to a specific role as a provider, as the survival of an infant is dependent on the quality of maternal care.[xvi] This is an unchangeable aspect of human biology and has no inherent politics attached, meaning that just because she is

the main provider for an infant does not have to mean that it is an unwanted burden or a negative quality of biology. With the assistance of the men in the tribe, motherhood could be a beautiful and special part of life. Something treasured and cherished in a way to warrant an overwhelming instinctual protection.

Because of the helplessness of the human infant, being unable to grasp or hold onto the mother, it is likely that women developed textile skills and intimate knowledge of the land out of the need to substitute this lack of ability. Pregnancy and the nursing of a child would hinder a woman's ability to hunt, whether that be physical changes in her body or the cry of a hungry baby. This is the most likely explanation for why men were given the responsibility of long-distance travel and large-game hunting.[xvii]

This dynamic between mother, father, and child is how women were assigned the stationary stay-at-home figure and where men get the social role as the one who goes out and returns with essentials for the family. The woman's role as the “guardian of the domestic fire” and “inventor of clay and woven vessels” can be understood through the context of needing to stay and provide for children at home.[xviii] “Her skills must have been as manifold as those of man, and certainly as essential. Her knowledge was perhaps greater or at least equal to his.”[xix] The evolution of the human race could not have occurred without the development of food storage and long-term planning. “[Women] elicited from plants and trees and fruits the secrets of transforming their products into healing substances, into dyes and hemp and yarn and clothing.”[xx] Women have played a crucial role in the creation of humanity, and it has been silenced.

The formation of personal property and the thought of man owning his home, family, or wife was the first official step in the formation of the patriarchy. In *The Creation of Patriarchy*, there is a chapter named “The Women Slave” in which Lerner gives her explanation for how women came to exist under the thumb of men. The next development in the subordination of women is the trading of women/wives as resources. Lerner says that this commodification is called being “reified.” This exchange, consensual or non-consensually, “reinforces a sexual division of labor which institutes male dominance.”[xxi]

Historical evidence indicates that the practice of enslavement initially evolved and became highly refined with female prisoners of war.[xxii] Women and children were taken as captives and integrated into the households and society of their conquerors. Their perceived physical vulnerability and lack of threat, compared to male enemy warriors, likely contributed to their initial captivity. The strategy of "natal alienation" involved relocating them from their destroyed home places, leaving them without the possibility of rescue due to the loss of their male kin. If a woman were captured with her children, she would endure whatever conditions imposed by her captors to ensure the survival of her offspring. In instances where there were no children, the likelihood of pregnancy resulting from rape or sexual exploitation would lead captors to understand that women would endure enslavement in the hope of protecting their children and eventually improving their circumstances. Rape would also act as a further demonstration of dominance over the woman and her body. This could act as the foundation for sexual violence against women and an established male desire for control and power.[xxiii]

The patriarchy as a concept comes with a sense of self-elevation. In the context of race within the patriarchal lens within America, black women have historically been considered the lowest in the social hierarchy and are the most disrespected and dehumanized. Above them are white women and black men, who have one form of privilege either

being white or a man while still being subjected to systematic abuse from being a woman or black. At the top of this social ladder is the white man, who has the most capability to take advantage of this system by exerting ownership or authority over others. This combination of racism and misogyny has caused the wrongful treatment, horrific abuse, and social enslavement of black women for centuries.

> **Patriarchal capitalism and colonialism exhibit striking similarities in their structure, ideology, and methods of conquest and oppression. Both operate within the framework of white patriarchy characterized by violence and exploitation.**

Recently, a new word has been coined in 2010 to address this concept— misogynoir, “a hatred of, aversion to, or prejudice against Black women” rooted in racist ideology and sexism. Dr. Moya Bailey, the creator of this term, is a black woman who aimed to describe the specific type of oppression that black women experience. "The real root of misogynoir is how people perceive and treat black women and [must] understand them to be worthy of respect and care,” emphasizing that “changes have to happen at the structural level of our society, not just the individual behaviors.”[xxiv]

An example of this disregard for black women is seen in the actions of J. Marion Sims, ‘the father of gynecology.’ In the late 1840s, Anarcha, Betsey, Lucy, and several other unnamed enslaved black women endured a five-year period of painful exploratory surgeries devoid of anesthesia, pain relief, or consent. These women had vaginal fistulas resulting from childbirth and were not brought to Sims out of a concern for their health, but so their work as slaves would improve.[xxv] Multiple other unnamed white doctors watched these painful surgeries while the women were restrained to the operating table; Sims did not use anesthesia or even pain medication because he believed that black people could withstand higher amounts of pain, a myth that persists to this day.[xxvi] At the time, many other doctors' social acceptance of this treatment contributed to the re-enforced racism in the medical field, condemning these women to a lower state of existence. They were stripped of all autonomy and humanity, treated as chattel due to their sex and race.

“Colonizing black Female Bodies Within Patriarchal Capitalism: Feminist and Human Rights Perspectives" by Akeia A. F. Benard is a great resource that goes into detail about the subject of black feminism and patriarchal greed. Patriarchal capitalism and colonialism exhibit striking similarities in their structure, ideology, and methods of conquest and oppression. Both operate within the framework of white patriarchy characterized by violence and exploitation. These systems share a reliance on the 'ownership' of brown and black bodies, with the primary objective of making a profit.[xxvii] Both patriarchal capitalism and colonialism represent forms of structural violence that regularly transgress human rights.

Benard also explores the intersection of black women's sexuality and patriarchal thinking. black women are robbed of dignity and subjected to extreme sexual exploitation; this manifests itself across the realms of politics, popular culture, and media. However, it is often individualized and framed as a choice made by women-of-color to portray themselves in a hypersexualized manner. According to Benard, the societal

construct of the desirable white woman is intricately linked to the parallel construction of the woman-of-color as animalistic, morally lax, unclean, diseased, and impoverished. Both constructs indicate the colonization of women's bodies and sexuality while impacting white and black women in separate ways.[xxviii] This idea can be seen if someone claims that Porter's actions to sell them were justified because Christine and Andrea were making a choice to participate in sex work. An adult man selling two teenagers for sex is an incredibly abusive situation, but through the framework of misogynoir, such relationships are often excused, or even encouraged.

In the late 1970s, a pimp played a central role in the illegal and exploitative management of prostitutes. The responsibilities of a pimp encompassed a range of activities aimed at controlling and profiting from sex workers. This included the recruitment and control of individuals, often through manipulation and coercion, as well as providing a semblance of protection that came at a cost. Pimps managed the financial aspects of sex work, took a significant portion of earnings, and enforced a set of rules with the threat of punishment, including physical violence. Their duties extended to procuring clients, involving tasks like advertising, negotiating, and arranging meetings.[xxxiii] In “Reel or Reality? The Portrayal of Prostitution in Major Motion Pictures” states that the relationship between the pimp and his sex worker involves severe exploitation, abuse, and harm.[xxxiv] It was considered a powerful thing to be a pimp because both fiscal and social currency increased greatly based on the number of women he controlled and the specific clientele of the pimp.[xxxv]

Christine Ricketts and Andrea Foye deserve to be remembered for more than the headlines announcing their deaths. “Six slain women, and those who loved them,” a newspaper article from *the Boston Globe* published on April 1, 1979, shares the images of six young women who were murdered in Boston around this same time: Christine Ricketts,


Six slain women, and those who loved them
Boston Globe (1960-); Apr 1, 1979; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Boston Globe
pg. 1

RICKETTS FOYE STINSON PRATER HARGETT ETHERIDGE

Six slain women, and those who loved them

"Six Slain Women, and those Who Loved them." Boston *Globe* (1960-), Apr 01, 1979.

Andrea Foye, Yvette Stinson, Caren Prater, Daryal Hargett, and Desiree Etheridge. This period in 1979 where multiple women were killed is known as the Roxbury Murders. The article was written by black female reporters Gayle Pollard, Carmen Fields, and Viola Osgood to raise awareness about the lives of these girls, not their deaths. It included short interviews and comments about who they were and how they were loved by their families and community, making the front page of the newspaper upon its release.[xxxvi] It is one of the only articles that humanize these young women, giving them respect and love when the media failed to care.

This article is important not only for giving their voices back to them, but for being one of the only newspapers or media outlets that did so. Many other reports of the Roxbury murders and surrounding violent crimes lacked simple compassion for the victims and stated only cold facts about the details of the crimes, such as how they were killed or what physical state they were found in.[xxxvii] The men who committed these murders were given more attention and focus than their victims. This dismissal or sense of disregard can be explained by the victim's race, gender, and economic status. Most of these girls were black and from impoverished areas; some were involved with sex work and were expected

to be exposed to danger. Other reporters, outlets, and the public itself saw these murders as unimportant or even standard because of these connections.[xxxviii]

Much of Chris' and Angie's personalities are lost and there is little information available about them. The article says a few things about them to give insight to who they were as people. The reporters interviewed one of Chris's classmates, Lisa Brown, who stated that Chris was quiet and reserved, not one to chase boys or show off. [xxxix] Brown also says that while Chris was an avid reader, enjoyed dance class, and excelled in English, she was also somewhat of a troubled student. [xl] "She wanted to be a social worker who could help other people with their problems."[xli] Chris seemed to be a bright fifteen-year-old girl, intelligent in many ways with a kind heart. The little information we are given on Angie describes her as a cheerful person and a caretaker for her grandparents several years before her murder. Her pin-curled hair had been bleached to a dark orange color at the ends showing stylistic choice and a bit of her vibrant character.[xlii] They had a bright future ahead of them and should be remembered for their passions, not the abuse and violence they suffered.

Porter was likely drugging them to keep them manageable and reliant on him to increase both his and their perception of ownership and authority.[xliii] Patriarchy is reflected here by the male objectifying the female and using her intersocially with other men for his own gain, as discussed earlier through *The Creation of Patriarchy*. In the investigation documents there is an entry regarding Angie's grandfather's recent thoughts on her well-being at the time. "He noticed that Andrea was either very tired or was under some sort of medication or drugs as she was hardly able to stay on her feet. She kept swaying and leaning up against a wall in the home."[xliv] More evidence of Porter drugging them is in the Homicide Unit's report saying that there were no signs of a struggle on either of their bodies

> **"The patriarchy is not the natural state of existence between man and woman even though some might assume so. It is ingrained into children from an early age by watching and copying how the adults around them interact. Patriarchy is not representative of the way human culture is at its core. It is crucial for men who align with patriarchal values to be aware of the history of their morals and regularly question their own beliefs to actively strive towards the betterment of oneself and their community."**

and that they must have either been sleeping or drugged prior to the attack.[xlv] He was likely keeping them incapacitated so he could be in full control of them to appeal to his patriarchal client base—other men.

His inherent actions of abusing them are rooted in a perception of the world in which patriarchy is not only

supported, but celebrated. Widespread participation in the objectification of women resulted in the social acceptance of the abuse of women. This is where the idea of a masculinity-based competition among men originates. By taking another man's woman, one could rise in social status because it is considered an indicator of power to force someone else into submission. Porter controlling these girls, forcing them into submission, puts himself at a higher level both socially and financially. Stepping on others to achieve something you could not otherwise is at the heart of patriarchal thinking.

It is important to highlight how mistreatment of women is casually expected in many social groups and communities. This is because the abstract notion of patriarchy is held aloft by the mindset upheld and passed down through generations as a learned behavior. The patriarchy is not the natural state of existence between man and woman even though some might assume so. It is ingrained into children from an early age by watching and copying how the adults around them interact. Patriarchy is not representative of the way human culture is at its core. It is crucial for men who align with patriarchal values to be aware of the history of their morals and regularly question their own beliefs to actively strive towards the betterment of oneself and their community. Unlearning behaviors is the key to lessening the impact of patriarchy in global human societies.

The murders of Christine Ricketts and Andrea Foye in 1979 in Boston, MA, serve as an illustration of the deep-seated impact of patriarchal thinking on women's lives. Rooted in historical biases and perpetuated through societal structures, patriarchy manifests as a system that devalues and objectifies women, especially black women. The Roxbury Murders exemplify the intersectionality of race, gender, and economic status, revealing the insidious nature of misogyny and racism. The women involved in this case, both victims and those who sought justice, became casualties of a system that dehumanizes and exploits. Understanding the historical context and the role of patriarchy in shaping societal norms is crucial to dismantling the pervasive structures that perpetuate violence against women. By acknowledging the humanity and agency of individuals like Christine and Andrea, it is possible to work towards a future where gender-based violence is not only condemned but actively prevented through a collective rejection of patriarchal values.

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LAWLESS LEGALITY IN NAZI GERMANY

Anthony Venezia

Nazi Germany occupies a unique position in legal history as Hitler's rise to power exploited a complicated tension between law and politics. The world of law which constrains political authority is a result of political will, and this can become particularly problematic when the political confronts the legal. Hitler gained power in 1933 with grand plans for the future of the Third Reich which would ultimately reconfigure the German relationship between law and policy in extreme ways. The complex, exceptional nature of this situation has received much attention within academic scholarship for good reason, and it is the aim of this paper to describe the current understandings of German legal systems as they interacted with the radical force of Nazism. Significant portions of this scholarship exist as an attempt to answer whether Hitler's regime was lawful or unlawful. There exist two general historical narratives, one where Hitler strong-arms his way into power and exercises authority outside the existing legal system and another where Hitler gains power lawfully and uses political authority consistent with German legal systems. Of course, much of this scholarship has indicated that neither is entirely accurate and the answer depends on complicated understandings of what "law" is. Legal, legislative, and judicial systems in Nazi Germany were a complex entanglement of state action both within and without traditional processes. While complicated questions about the legitimacy of the Third Reich remain without clear answer, there are certain works that highlight key figures and ideological commitments which reveal much of what Nazis understood the law to be.

To understand the legality of Hitler's regime, one must study the conditions of Germany prior to the Third Reich. After suffering crippling defeat in World War I and the humiliation of the Treaty of Versailles, German borders were mutilated and the nation spiraled into economic depression. Throughout the 1920s the National Socialist German Workers' Party (NSDAP or Nazi Party) had gained political prominence through the promises of change and power offered energetically by Adolf Hitler. Much of the Nazi narrative during this period revolved around two central themes: identifying enemies and promising hope to friends of National Socialism. This message resonated with significant portions of a discontented German people, so much so that by the early 1930s the Nazis were poised to earn significant power in the Reichstag. In February of 1933, the Reichstag was set on fire and then-Chancellor Hitler would use this as an opportunity to promptly suspend civil liberties and increase criminal penalties prior to a series of elections, enabling further persecution of NSDAP opposition.[i] In early March the National Socialists would secure a major victory in Reichstag elections. They would immediately pass the Enabling Act which would vest the Reich Chancellor with the power to act without parliamentary approval for a period of four years. The door was open, Hitler was officially in.

Up to this point, the Weimar Constitution had yet to be directly violated. Even the suspension of civil liberties, while antagonistic to the spirit of ordered liberty, was consistent with the emergency provisions that permitted their dissolution. By the end of 1933, the Third Reich would be unrecognizable from the Weimar government and the Constitution would still be in force. Once vested with sufficient power to control the government, Hitler took to the task of shaping it in the National Socialist vision espoused more than a decade before his chancellorship. Before examining the tools of implementing a National Socialist legal

“Hitler and his National Socialist cohorts curated a very different vision of law and justice, one which rejected the Enlightenment and replaced it with German Common Law promotion of the common good.”

system, one must understand the ideological underpinnings of this system.

Legal and judicial structures are constructed with specific values in mind. The United States adopted a Roman Law system which codified pre-existing English Common Law principles. This was consistent with Enlightenment principles of justice such as fairness, due process, the protection of liberties, and equality under the law. The primary concern under this system is the individual; protecting the citizen is prioritized over expediency and power, and these values were informed by colonial conflicts with England. Hitler and his National Socialist cohorts curated a very different vision of law and justice, one which rejected the Enlightenment and replaced it with German Common Law promotion of the common good.

This dedication to the rejection of positive law established under the Weimar Constitution had its roots in Mein Kampf but was also directly referenced in the 25 Point NSDAP Platform released in 1920. Here, at points 18 and 19, the Nazis reveal both ends and means for the new legal system they would intend to create. They “demand[ed] the ruthless prosecution of those whose activities are injurious to the common interest” and in the following point declared rejection of “materialistic” Roman Law. Importantly, this coded language found “Roman Law was synonymous with individualism, rationalism[,] and capitalism and, over time, was replaced by the phrase ‘Roman-Jewish-Byzantine Law.’”[ii] This position is consistent with much of Nazi ideology in other political respects, as all institutions exist for the promotion of the Volk and their interests. This “ends justifying means” strategy places Aryan interests in self-preservation as the highest aim of all systems, and rejects anything which might constrain the pursuit of that end. Thus, as the Nazi Party continued to spew rhetoric surrounding threats to German people posed by Jews and communists they simultaneously created the conditions which would justify the greatest abuse of power. Highly regarded German jurist Carl Schmitt was a fierce proponent of this legal revolution, writing “the fiction of the normative commitment of the judge to a statute, for essential fields of practical legal activity, is theoretically and practically untenable.”

Roman Law’s dedication to enumerated powers and clearly proscribed activities was an obstacle towards arbitrarily wielding the sword of justice. Legal codes which delineate government boundaries are naturally opposed to unrestrained state activity meant to pursue the common good. To create this new legal system meant exploiting the weaknesses of the Weimar Constitution and filling judicial posts with individuals who shared this vision. Perhaps no man played his judicial role better for the Nazi Party than Roland Freisler, whose most prominent position was that of President of the Volksgerichtof (VGH or People’s Court) to which he ascended in 1942. Freisler’s antagonism towards Enlightenment conceptions of law were extreme even by the standards previously outlined. Freisler, as early as 1935, denounced judicial reliance on statutes and written law, asserting that the limitations of legislators made statutes insufficient for protecting the Volk.[iii] His argument was simple: legislatures

> **The sense of fear and desperation fueled by Nazi rhetoric was more than a mere device to connect with the German people, it was a purposeful legal tactic to maintain the legality of the Nazi regime.**

are composed of individuals with limited foresight who could not possibly be expected to conceive of every instance which ought to be regulated by law.

In his view, it was the role of judges to do justice not only in situations where the law did not go far enough, but also in situations where there were no statutes at all. Important to his ideals was the notion that judges "were to proceed not from statutes, but from the fundamental idea that criminals must be excluded from society."[iv] In perhaps his most extreme position, Freisler went so far as to reject entirely the concept of nulla poena sine lege (no punishment without law). In the United States, citizens are protected from this dangerous ideology explicitly in Article I Section 9 of the Constitution, which prohibits ex post facto laws. Germans had no such refuge from the whims of jurists such as Freisler. Much of this legal system would hinge on this simple question: to whom, or what, are judges subservient? Roman Law posits judges submit to statutes, so Hitler's conception of just jurisprudence must root itself in something else entirely.

To Hitler, Goebbels, Freisler, and Nazi jurists, judges submitted themselves to the Volk or the "preservation of society."[v] A broad mandate, but this is precisely the aim of Hitler and Nazi jurists and an excellent reflection of Nazi tenets. National Socialist jurisprudence could best be defined as where "ends justifying means" ideology meets an "us versus them" mentality. When combined with the inflammatory Nazi rhetoric that positioned Aryan Germans against the world, the ends become self-preservation and the means become whatever is deemed necessary. This is where the Weimar Constitution failed the Enlightenment ideals it was meant to protect, for exceptions to the rule of law in times of emergency become the law when the state is always vulnerable. The sense of fear and desperation fueled by Nazi rhetoric was more than a mere device to connect with the German people, it was a purposeful legal tactic to maintain the legality of the Nazi regime.

In his 1941 treatise The Dual State: A Contribution to the Theory of Dictatorship, Ernst Fraenkel explored the administration of law under Nazi rule. His contention is that under Hitler's regime the German government ceased to operate as one coherent body and instead split into two distinct wells of authority. The Nazis were able to utilize the undefined exceptions to traditional order to create an "unconstitutional and permanent dictatorship" in which National Socialists wielded "unlimited powers."[vi] What is important to note here as well is that German courts had long been exiled from reviewing questions of "expediency" and "martial law," which would mean political questions dependent on vague statements in the law were to be decided by those political actors with a vested interest in the answer.[vii] Fraenkel takes the position that Nazi ascension to and abuse of power was a coup, relaying three factors which determine the appropriateness of martial law. Fraenkel states that martial law is only justified if the rule of law is under immediate threat, it is announced with the intention of restoring the rule of law, and that it is rescinded once the rule of law is restored. He argues each point is not reflected in the National Socialist use of emergency powers, seeing as the

rule of law was not under threat until Hitler's regime made it so, the use of martial law by the Nazis was not a restoration but an abandonment of the Weimar Constitution, and that martial law remained in effect even as Nazis proclaimed Germany an "island of peace."[viii]

Fraenkel posits that the emergency upon which National Socialist law relied was one fabricated by National Socialist ideology. The threat of communists, Jews, and other disfavored groups was essentially a pretext for unshackling the government from constraints on power. One potential issue with this analysis is that it perhaps fails to grapple with the subjective nature of Weimar Constitution provisions which permit the suspension of civil liberties and the extended authority of the Chancellor. Who determines the nature of threats to the Reich? In what position were courts to challenge their decision? Perhaps the existence of emergency provisions should be criticized more than the entirely predictable abuse of those exceptions for political aims. The question of the "legal revolution" is complicated by whether the dissolution of the legal order can be considered legal when it is the legal system itself which sowed its downfall.

Whether a legal revolution or a coup, it is inarguable that the National Socialist seizure of power resulted in a state unrecognizable from the Weimar Republic which preceded it. This was "characterized by the fact that the state continues to exist while the legal order is inoperative."[ix] The legal system established by the Weimar Constitution was essentially dormant while the executive assumed legislative and judicial functions allegedly to maintain order. The Nazi tale is one where the nation is under attack and only by consolidating these powers and acting with extreme purpose and clarity can the state be saved. Fraenkel terms this unbridled executive discretion as the Prerogative State and the traditional (Weimar) legal order the Normative State. Thus, while the legal system was not abolished, it was no longer the system by which many traditionally legal matters were to be adjudicated.

While the Normative State was mostly inactive, particularly in those arenas dealing with politically relevant law, "some measure of normality and rule of law was necessary to maintain a functioning market economy."[x] While National Socialism could not afford to be entirely antagonistic to capitalist forces in Germany, German courts routinely upheld the sanctity of contracts, regulations ensuring fair competition in economic realms, and even protected the interests of labor.[xi] Of course, consistent with National Socialism, the equality extended to citizens of the Volk in these cases was mysteriously absent in cases involving Jews or left-wing citizens. In other words, the Normative State existed largely for pragmatic purposes of extending those traditional principles which the Nazi regime could not afford to sacrifice. The Supreme Administrative Court recognized rights to entrepreneurial liberty, going so far as to say "further restraints and regulations may be imposed only through a new law."[xii] While this may seem to conflict with Nazi interpretive methodologies by prioritizing the positive law, this position can fit within Nazi jurisprudence. If all law exists only to promote the interests of the Volk, and positive laws which protect entrepreneurial liberties do that, then the positive law may be permitted to prevail. It is unlikely that any German court would have found themselves so committed to statutes where they did not promote National Socialist ends.

Courts in the 1930s fell in line with the National Socialist legal vision quite readily, abandoning statutes or engaging in extremely creative interpretation when the ends purportedly furthered the common good. There were many judges and legal theorists in agreement with the ideological commitments behind National Socialist law, but there were

others who played their part out of fear. While tampering with the judiciary was technically illegal, "instances of intimidation and threats against witnesses, prosecutors, and even judges were common."[xiii] The courts would aid executive discretion through limiting their own powers of judicial review in circumstances related to the Prerogative State. The Prussian Supreme Court would establish a theory whereby not only could acts of the Gestapo evade judicial review entirely, but the decisions of ordinary police acting on both specific and general orders of the Gestapo were not reviewable by administrative courts either.[xiv] That principle was also extended to civil suits for damages against the Gestapo, which essentially meant that the Gestapo could act with impunity as an appendage of the Prerogative State. This completed the trajectory of dictatorship in Germany. First, the executive assumed legislative powers by permitting the executive to issue laws without the consent of the Reichstag. Then, the courts refused to review them, providing the executive with the discretion to create, interpret, and implement laws without the checks and balances the Weimar Republic had instituted. Courts also generally refused to grapple with cases which were deemed to be political, which is not an entirely uncommon feature of many legal systems. However, in those other legal systems there tends to be an operative normative system for recognizing legal limits on state power, which is not the case when all legal restrictions on the state have been abolished. As Fraenkel described, "The slightest legal control over its authoritarian decisions is viewed by the National-Socialist Prerogative State as a greater evil than the perpetuation of injustice."[xv]

These anti-positive law sentiments fueled the legal system under the Third Reich, but they did not originate there. National Socialists recognized the importance of rooting their philosophy in history, something which might give their actions the appearance of precedent. In the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, mainly in Westphalia, there were extrajudicial bands of individuals who operated outside of traditional legal institutions and engaged in violence against those they deemed criminals.[xvi] These were known as Feme courts, and these secret tribunals involved lay judges exacting "justice." During the Weimar years, right wing killings committed by paramilitary groups were termed "Feme murders" and were generally referred to with "express or tacit approval of that transplanted antique procedure."[xvii] "Feme-justice" was highly similar to Nazi law in that both necessarily rejected the supremacy of positive law, preferring more flexible means of achieving justice. This anti-formalism would support Hitler's agenda, for he would not have to dismantle the legal system or radically alter laws, only "get the judges to interpret it in a manner that would further his agenda."[xviii]

Another important feature of Nazi law was the recognition of the special authority of the Fuhrer. Under typical

> **"This was a fairly consistent point for Nazi ideology when it came to law: the ends of the state came first, all else came second."**

Enlightenment-informed systems of governance, political actors are of little significance other than through their mandate which stems from the people. The Fuhrer-Volk dynamic was in some ways more complicated in that it recognized this relationship as organic. It was understood that "the Fuhrer had a 'natural' authority as the 'incorporation' of the spirit and will of the Volk."[xix] At one point Carl Schmitt "wrote that law itself was defined in terms of 'the objective and the will of the Fuhrer.'"[xx] This was a fairly consistent point

for Nazi ideology when it came to law: the ends of the state came first, all else came second. Because the Fuhrer was racially connected to the people, there need be no external limitations on his ability to govern because he will act in accordance with the interests of the Volk, which is the only reason the state exists under National Socialist theory. In other words, "there were no individual rights against the State, only the duty to obey the dictates of the leader."[xxi]

The legality of the Nazi regime, both in its seizure and exercise of power, was questionable. The Weimar Republic provided for democracy, civil liberties, a parliament which would enact laws, and an independent judiciary. These institutions are critical to Western-style, Enlightenment-informed democratic governments and legal systems. What Nazi legal theorists correctly identified was that those institutions, combined with a commitment to positive law, were obstacles to arbitrary exercise of power by a state. Whereas Enlightenment thinkers saw these limitations on the state as a positive embrace of individual protections, National Socialist thinkers such as Schmitt and Freisler identified them as limitations against achieving the common good of the Volk. As much of this history has revealed, they were right so long as one accepts their hierarchy of values. Interestingly enough, the legality of the Nazi regime seems to rely on this point as well. If one accepts that a regime may legitimately shift from Roman Law to what could most charitably be described as German common law, then Hitler's judiciary was legal. One thing is clear, National Socialist conceptions of law were not an uncomplicated assertion of "might makes right," but rested on the backs of clever legal theorists embracing some precedent and ignoring others. There was a somewhat coherent philosophy at work which, despite rejecting much of the wisdom earned during the Enlightenment, was constructed as all other legal systems were by subordinating certain values to others. The difficulty in determining legality or illegality in these systems turns on what they are measured against and the reluctant concession of certain principles as is necessary to make sense of their underlying philosophies.

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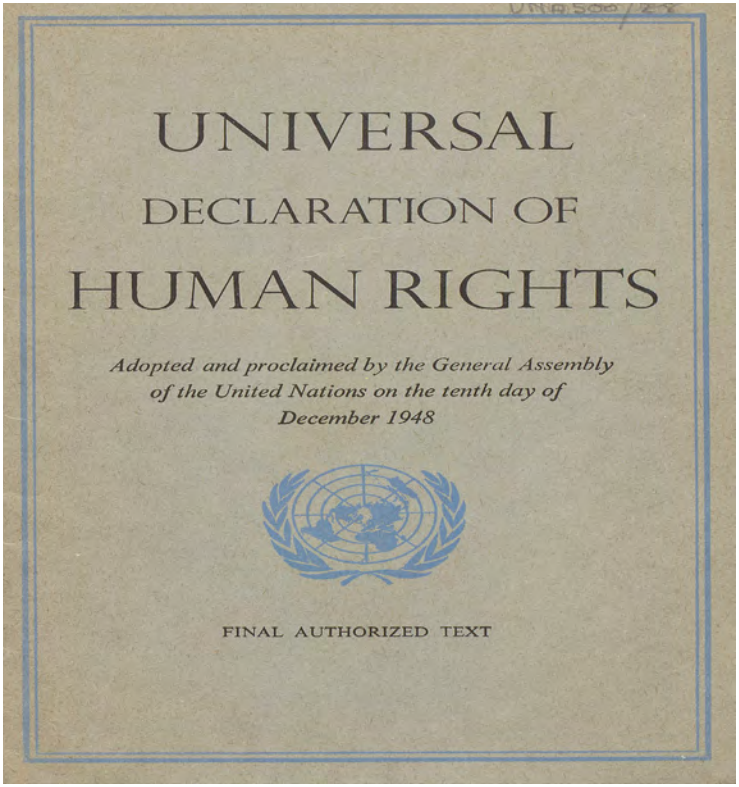
HUMAN RIGHTS AND MASS VIOLENCE

Kamau Bamidele

Human Rights has enjoyed renewed political currency in the 21st century after a contentious first 50 years of fragmented operation. Yet, this has hardly coincided with a contemporary enforcement of the rights originally articulated in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) from 1948. In fact, it is evident that near constant violations of human rights have occurred coincidentally with several notable mass violence events, often with substantial documentation. From the 1994 genocide in Rwanda, to the ongoing 75 year occupation of Palestine by the “Israel” entity and its recurrent stints of mass ethnic cleansing, to the Amerikan invasion of Iraq and the subsequent death of an estimated 6,000,000 Iraqis, mass violence has not waned or even been consistently denounced. Yet, human rights continue to feature as a prominent part of contemporary political and social justice discourse, and organizations formed with the intention of promoting this regime continue to proliferate. How, then, does an international program of human rights continue to derive validity despite obvious failures in fulfilling the mandates enumerated in the UDHR? What are the conditions undergirding the times where enforcing human rights did justify an intervention in different mass violence events, ostensibly to protect human rights? Most important of all, how was a “human rights regime” established without unanimous support from states? Answering these questions requires not only an overview of the “human rights" response to several instances of mass violence, but a historical look at how states responded to the proposition of human rights, both initially, and after the Cold War (which represented a qualitative shift in the balance of power between states). By conducting this analysis, we can uncover some of the more bare and mechanical functions supporting the operation of the human rights regime and expose the mechanisms supporting its continued relevance.

To begin, it is perhaps helpful to clarify the distinction between human rights, the rights of a sovereign state, and the sorts of individual rights afforded to citizens by their government (freedom of speech and of the press for example). The latter of these types of rights are typically conceived of as being universally applicable within societies from the beginning, though this is a retroactive association made in the aftermath of the ascendancy of the liberal Western democracies. The contemporary narrative of human rights being adopted as guiding principles in the 1948 UDHR is challenged by Samuel Moyn in The Last Utopia: Human Rights in History. As Moyn argues, “Far from being sources of appeal that transcended state and nation, the rights asserted in early modern political revolutions and championed thereafter were central to the construction of state and nation, and led nowhere beyond until very recently.”[i] This is exemplified well in the Amerikan revolution in which the rebellious settlers premised their claim to nationhood on the need to establish certain “inalienable” rights. Concepts like “liberty”, construed as being inextricable from property ownership and parliamentary representation, were presented as being guaranteed by the raising of the nation. The nation-state, then, empowered by long standing international law regarding the sovereignty of the state, would have the legitimate authority to enforce a list of rights. However, this fact of political supremacy within a certain territory, and the rejection of foreign authority within these political boundaries precluded the possibility of universalism. Thus, “--the search for rights through state and nation meant that it became hard to sustain the very universalism with which rights were sometimes invoked.”[ii]



Thomas Cizauskas, "Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948)", photograph, Flickr, December 11, 2016

Contrastingly, "human rights" as a distinct program were premised on their inviolability across national boundaries, implying limits on the aforementioned sovereignty of the state. Further, the enforcing of "human rights" was professed to require international participation and subordination of certain states' rights. Naturally, from the initial drafting of the UDHR, a tension between centuries old views on state sovereignty and the new vision of state deference to a program superordinate (and sometimes inimical) to its own interests was present. The historical response of various world powers to the proposition of human rights will be examined momentarily, so for now it will be stated that, from the beginning, human rights labored with issues of application. Despite the attractive idealism of human rights that has prevailed since the late 20th century, according to Tony Evans in US Hegemony and the Universal Project of Human Rights, the enforcement of a human rights regime "remains the central paradox of human rights."[iii]

Before we can understand the transition from one paradigm of international jurisprudence and politics to the other (if indeed there has been one), we must also understand what mechanisms were available to human rights in its presumed rise to primacy over states' rights as a regime. Naturally, one would look to the United Nations as the obvious international human rights body driving this transition, though its early role following the drafting of the UDHR was mainly discursive. What, then, was the power that eventually elevated human rights to its contemporary heights of legitimacy, and how did it overcome state sovereignty? Evans, arguing for the use of "regime theory" in this analysis, proposes that the process of regime formation (among other historical processes) has some applicability to the matter of human rights' ascent. As he argues, the development of the "human rights regime" has been viewed as evidence of the world's growing trend from an association of states negotiating the parameters of international law, to a world governed by the principles associated with human rights. However, the practical means of raising this regime required the integration of the political customs and norms of the participating states as a basis for forming international law, which effectively alienated several non-participants.[iv]

Ultimately, the constraints placed on various sovereign actors would lead to equivocation about which human rights ought to be recognized by international associations. Far from coming to an agreed-upon platform consistent with the domestic values of nations and the values advocated in the UDHR, however, states instead promoted a "normative order" based on formal understandings of what constituted violations of international law. In effect, this meant that

rather than treating instances as unique to specific contexts and adjudicating whether human rights were violated based on this context, states could simply define violations based on reference to international law and sidestep the matter of justice.[v] Such a feature being necessary for the implementation of human rights would create contradictions between individuals and nations, nations themselves, and the overall order of international sovereignty and the universal program of human rights. Thus, the overall human rights regime suffered from internal weakness fairly early on.

Another theory Evans advances on the matter of regime formation is that of the significance of hegemonic power in sustaining a regime. According to this theory, the role of the hegemon in setting agendas, forming international cooperative associations, and supporting institutions has an immense impact on the failure or success of that regime. Determining the role (or, potentially, non-importance) of hegemony in the application of human rights will be more appropriate after the historical overview of human rights responses. It is, however, important to note the capacities and pressures that would be available to and constrain a hegemon in this scenario. For example, in the post-WWII world, the preeminent power in the West was the United States, which advocated a world view premised on laissez-faire economics and the uninhibited right to pursue profit.[vi] This liberal perspective would come to inform the U.S.'s human rights approach as well. Yet, as the U.S. began to promote human rights ideals in the post-war, so too did nations exploited by Europe's colonial enterprise. With the U.N. being formed on the basis of equality between all, the number of these nations would, naturally, come to constitute a majority in the U.N general assembly. Basing their understanding of human rights on their own domestic conditions of being exploited and the ideals advocated to them by the socialist bloc, several nations began to promote rights that were contrary to those that had been embraced by the United States. Corporate and industrial influences in the U.S. and Southern states, anxious about how their sanctioning of violence against Afrikans/Black people in the U.S. would be judged, subsequently began to advocate a withdrawal from the human rights program, with Amerikan support being stalled until the late 70s.[vii] The conditions under which human rights become prominent in the U.S. also requires its own analysis, but what is evident here is the early role the U.S. had in setting the international human rights agenda. We should note, as well, what was perceived as challenging to this agenda in a way that would negate U.S. support for human rights.

By now, we should have a pretty decent understanding of the unique nature of human rights, and the tensions at work between national sovereignty and the human rights regime. Besides the United States' initial response, how did other states-- principally those who would go on to constitute the UN Security Council responsible for deciding when and how human rights are enforced-- initially react to human rights as a new international paradigm? The other preeminent power in the world at the end of WWII and a future Security Council member was Russia, which was still the Soviet Union at the

Trump White House Archive, "The United Nations General Assembly", photograph, Flickr, September 25, 2018.

time. According to Bertrand Pautenaude, contrary to the liberal ideas advocated by the U.S. which focused on the rights of the individual, the Soviet view of human rights was based on the collective rights of the people, where services like free healthcare, education, and employment were considered rights all individuals should have access to.[viii] Several states, including South Africa, Ukraine, Yugoslavia, and Poland, joined the Soviets in initially abstaining from the UDHR. What of China's early position on the subject of human rights? Donovan C. Chau discusses this briefly in Exploiting Africa: The Influence of Maoist China in Algeria, Ghana, and Tanzania. The newest member of the UNSC, China, was finally admitted after 1968 thanks to the efforts of the Algerian delegation in the U.N. General Assembly, and remains the only non-European permanent member.[ix] The ruling Chinese Communist Party, with its program of continuous socialist revolution to increase industrial productivity, interpreted human rights to refer to the rights of the state, which had been charged with protecting the rights of individuals. Further, as Rana Inboden and Titus Chen claim, China argued that, "Colonialism, imperialism, hegemonism and racism… were violations of human rights because they deliberately denied and even oppressed a nation's legitimate pursuit of statehood and economic autonomy."[x] Though China's perspectives on human rights would evolve (as would every nation), the sovereignty of the state and its right to not being interfered with would remain a core part of the nation's human rights arguments.

Britain and France, similarly to the United States, were quick to initially embrace human rights as an international ideal and contributed to the creation of instruments for enforcing human rights, including the European Covenant on Human Rights. However, an immediate contradiction faced by these two nations was their strong desire to protect their colonial interests. In Britain, for example, Dr. David Forsythe argues in

> **Across these five nations, a clear divide is reflected on what exactly constitutes human rights. More than creating issues of enforcement these divisions evidence the essentially contested category of rights that is human rights. The unavoidable fact, also, of the geopolitical alliances reflected in this split also confirm that human rights is largely interpreted through the lens of geopolitics rather than on the basis of actual violations.**

Human Rights and Comparative Foreign Policy that both the Labour and Conservative parties considered colonialism to be a mutually beneficial relationship between the British crown and her colonial subjects, and Britain made efforts to ensure the instruments of human rights (like the right to petition for example) could not be used meaningfully for the purposes of political agitation against the colonial enterprise.[xi] France on the other hand, according to the "Human Rights Library" of the University of Minnesota, abstained from signing several of the

treaties related to economic and civil rights at their drafting, though the nation had acceded to them by the 80s.[xii] Of the treaties France did sign, several were concerned with post-war reconstruction, and it can be implied that France's initial interest in human rights was related to postwar justice (as with the other Allies).

Across these five nations, a clear divide is reflected on what exactly constitutes human rights. More than creating issues of enforcement these divisions evidence the essentially contested category of rights that is human rights. The unavoidable fact, also, of the geopolitical alliances reflected in this split also confirm that human rights is largely interpreted through the lens of geopolitics rather than on the basis of actual violations. It is no wonder, then, that hesitancy to fully adopt the human rights program could be observed amongst all these states. These realities suggest a little about the initial reception of human rights, however, in order to discover the fundamental nature of human rights, we must also account for the evolution of human rights ideals in these nations, and how human rights were interpreted at the end of the 20th century. We will revisit this later.

Human Rights in Action

The next section of this essay will focus on the response of the human rights regime and its international organs to six instances of mass violence which were made known to the world and ostensibly constituted the violation of human rights enumerated in the charter and similar documents. Rather than assessing the validity of human rights based on appraisals of the relative "correct" or "incorrect" application of international law (as Evans warns us of doing), this section instead appraises the comparative responses of the U.N. and the Security Council to these different mass violence events. The six provided instances will be organized into

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two groups: one where the U.N. militarily intervened under the specific rubric of human rights (or related doctrines such as the "Responsibility to Protect"), and the other where they did not. In this way, we will avoid being bogged down by international legal theory that does not reveal much about human rights, and instead assess the consistency of human rights and its rhetorical invocation in the context of these events. Additionally, rather than placing these events

in a vacuum, decontextualized from their history, through historical analysis, the lead up to these instances of violence will be emphasized. By doing this, we can better understand human rights' relationship to other contemporary paradigms articulated around the time of these events, such as anti-colonialism and decolonization. With this brief overview out the way, let's begin our analysis with the three instances of non-intervention.

The Palestinian Genocide

Though there are several instances of mass violence that would meet the criteria for the analysis, one that is particularly relevant to the contemporary world and the world at the time of the drafting of the UDHR is Israel's occupation of Palestine and the genocide of the Palestinian people. The use of "genocide" here is particularly appropriate and intentional given the confirmation of intent to reduce the population of the Gaza strip by the executive leadership of the Israeli colony.[xiii] While this is not the medium to discuss politics, let us do away with any historical revision about Israel's occupation of Palestine. The current state of Israel was created in 1948 through the U.N.'s Resolution 181 which partitioned the historic state of Palestine into two entities: Israel and Palestine.[xiv] Contemporary history tends to interpret this move by the U.N. as a response to the holocaust and the European refugee crisis in the aftermath of the second world war. This is mythology, as the settling of Zionists in Palestine had been happening since the early 1880s, with the first attempt of the Zionists to establish a settlement ending in failure. Even at this early point, the Zionists led by Theodor Herzl did not make any pretense about historical claims to land. As Fayez Sayegh argues in Zionist Colonialism in Palestine, at the conclusion of the 1892 Basle conference, the Zionists organizers stated that, "The aim of Zionism [was] to create for the Jewish people a home in Palestine secured by public law."[xv] Notice, here, that there is no mention of a "Jewish state" or a Jewish "right to rule".

> **"Joe Cain Day is a day of indulgence, revelry, and good tidings towards all neighbors in the city of Mobile. It is a tribute to the spirit of Mardi Gras in Mobile, filtered through invented traditions centered around one local hero."**

By the turn of the century, repeated attempts by the Zionists to establish a settlement in Palestine had ended in failure and the miniscule Zionist movement had not even attracted a majority of the world's Jewish population to its ideals. Ultimately, it was Zionism's union with British imperial interests that would offer the Zionists an opportunity to acquire territory. For Britain, the prospect of establishing a military presence in the Middle East constituted their main investment in Palestine, in addition to depriving France of the opportunity to acquire the territory. Reciprocally, the Zionists desired to be supported by a "great power" who would maintain their new settlement, making the British empire (then at the peak of its powers) an attractive partner. Thus, in 1917 the Balfour Declaration established the British support of Zionist colonization as state policy. This was followed shortly after by the conferring of the Palestinian Mandate on Britain at the Paris Peace Conference, which effectively laid the foundations for the later Resolution 181 to establish the

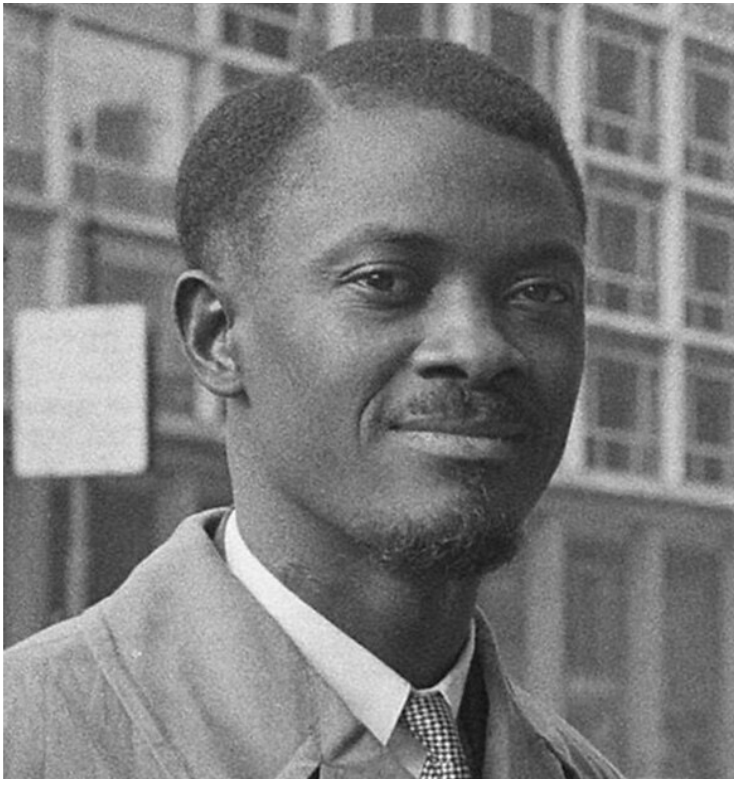
state of Israel.[xvi]

As the Zionists expanded their presence into Mandatory Palestine, the Palestinians, originally accommodating of a group they perceived to be religious immigrants, gradually began to more seriously resist the encroachment of the settlers. Armed hostilities broke out between the two groups in March 1920, followed by a decade of continued hostility and a nationwide strike in 1936.[xvii] Thus, following the passage of Resolution 181, this partition was immediately rejected by the Palestinians who subsequently invaded newborn "Israel" in an attempt to reclaim the land they had finally been evicted from after three decades of struggle. This began the 1948 war between Israel and Palestine, ended in an Israeli victory and the first "Nakba" (meaning "catastrophe" in Arabic), and was the prelude to 75 years of occupation and resistance by the Palestinian people and militant organizations. The launch of the Battle of Al-Aqsa Flood in October of 2023 by the Palestinian militia Hamas was a continuation of this history and a strike at this regime. The Israeli response since then has, at the time of this writing in March 2024, resulted in approximately 30,000 Palestinian deaths, according to the Palestinian health ministry.[xviii]

The ongoing Israeli bombing of the Palestinian people who remain captive in the Gaza Strip, as well as those who have evacuated, has violated several of the articles of the UDHR, including Resolution 194 which established a Palestinian right of return. Yet, as of March 2024, outside of continuous resolutions which have addressed the "Palestinian Question" and a convening of the International Court of Justice to review South Africa's charge against Israel as perpetuating genocidal conditions, there has been no substantive action taken by the United Nations or its affiliate organs to ameliorate conditions in Palestine and end the Zionist occupation. What makes this case fascinating, is that with Resolution 76/150's passing in 2021 (which built on the ideas of earlier resolutions) the U.N. has affirmed the right of the Palestinians to self-determination and the reinstatement of the borders established in the aftermath of the 1967 Arab-Israeli war. Besides the fact that this outcome would not constitute self-determination and is more akin to expanding the borders of the Gaza Strip, the central point here is that the United Nations and human rights as a whole has failed to intervene in this matter in any way that fundamentally disrupts Israeli sovereignty over the region. Why is this the case? The simple answer is to refer to the original contradictions between state sovereignty and the human rights regime, yet the U.N. has a history of intervening in the affairs of states (as we will see).

The Congo Crisis of 1960

Turning from the extreme example of genocide in Palestine, let us look at another historical incident, the Congo Crisis of 1960, which also captures the apparent aloofness of the United Nations. The history of this crisis is documented in many sources, but the historian Susan Williams provides an extremely thorough account in White Malice: The CIA and the Covert Re-colonization of Africa which builds on some of these earlier histories. In May 1960, Patrice Lumumba was democratically elected as the first prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, representing the Mouvement National Congolais (MNC) party. Lumumba's election, however, was contested by internal splits within the party, leading to the formation of the MNC-L under Lumumba's leadership, and the MNC-K, which coalesced around Albert Kalonji, the leader of the Kasai province.[xix] Lumumba, an attendee of the 1958 All-Africa People's Conference and a mentee to the Ghanaian pan-Africanist Kwame Nkrumah, sought to nationalize Belgian and Amerikan owned mines and other infrastructure in the Congo, and



Washington Area Spark, "Congolese Independence Leader: Patrice Lumumba", photograph, Flickr, January 26, 2020.

incorporate the Congo's resources into an economic and political cooperative to serve the material interests of the entire continent (as Nkrumah envisioned). These ambitions represented a threat to Belgian colonial interests, but also the combined interests of Amerikan corporate entities, intelligence agencies, and the State Department (which sought to monopolize the specific quality of uranium extracted from the Congo for use in the production of atomic weapons). This ultimately resulted in a Belgian occupation of the Congo following the election and CIA interference in the political, cultural, and social affairs of the Congolese in hopes of undermining Lumumba and installing more pliable leadership.[xx]

The crisis had begun. For the remaining months of 1960, the Congo was mired in internal conflict characterized by the political repression of Lumumba's supporters by the forces of the Belgian and Amerikan allied Colonel Joseph Mobutu, and a brief episode of fighting between UN soldiers stationed at the Ghanaian embassy and Mobutu's soldiers, who had come to arrest the Ghanaian ambassador to the Congo.[xxi] This all occurred simultaneously with direct Amerikan support of the political opposition to Lumumba despite rhetorically supporting Congolese self-determination and U.N. condemnations of Belgium's occupation. The aforementioned Albert Kalonji was a CIA asset who appealed to Amerika for assistance in overthrowing the popularly supported Lumumba, and the U.S. supplied other moderate politicians who could potentially oppose Lumumba with financial assistance. Meanwhile, Lumumba remained under house arrest throughout October 1960.[xxii]

Ultimately, Lumumba's aspirations would sink when a delegation led by the Amerikan supported Congolese president Joseph Kasavubu was seated by the United Nations, denying Lumumba the right to be recognized as the legitimate head of government. By this point, the forces of Mobutu sought to arrest Lumumba at his home, which was being guarded by U.N. peacekeepers. Deprived of any recourse to the U.N. or any similar human rights organs, Lumumba was forced to escape (or was possibly assisted by the U.N. peacekeepers guarding his home) from his house arrest and travel to nearby Stanleyville. He would not evade his pursuers for long, however, and was captured on December 2nd. The next month, Lumumba was assassinated by Mobutu's forces and Belgian officers.[xxiii] Subsequently, the Congo would be ruled by Kasavubu, who would be overthrown by Mobutu. Throughout his tenure as the head of government, Mobutu would rule tyrannically and reinstated the old Belgian practice of public executions, the first of which took place in 1966.[xxiv]

Throughout this entire episode, with the exception of the U.N. peacekeepers (who were all Afrikan soldiers) who were provided by the U.N. to protect Lumumba from arrest, the U.N. provided no tangible support to enforce the legitimate government of Lumumba. Even as Lumumba, Nkrumah, and several others continuously broached the topic of the Congo's occupation by Belgium before the U.N. General Assembly, intervention in the region by the U.N. and affiliated human rights organs did not come.[xxv] Notably, even at that time the U.N.'s inaction was criticized, with one of the most prominent critics being the U.N. head of operations in the Congo, Rajeshwar Dayal, who furiously advocated Belgian withdrawal and the recognition of Lumumba's administration; upon the accreditation of the Kasavubu delegation at the U.N. Dayal claimed that the western nations (led by the US and Belgium) had resisted the enforcement of constitutional practice in the Congo.[xxvi]

It is, however, debatable if U.N. policy in the Congo can best be described as either "incompetent" or "complicit". Indeed, despite rhetorical claims that the Congo was sovereign and Lumumba was the rightful leader, the U.N.'s recognition of Kasavubu effectively consented to the Congo's representation on the international stage by an illegitimate secessionist government. Excluding Lumumba and the two other men who were killed with him, the victims of Mobutu's repression, and the casualties sustained by a few U.N. forces, the scale of violence in this scenario does not begin to approach that of Palestine, yet the seemingly unambiguous matter of state sovereignty (which the UN Charter requires all members to respect) did not compel a decisive U.N. or human rights action in the Congo, either. Further, Joseph Mobutu was permitted to reign after this hostile takeover until his death in 1997, despite repeated violations of human rights in the Congo (renamed Zaire at the time) that have been documented by Amnesty International.[xxvii] Though we have one more example of non-intervention to analyze, the failure of human rights to manifest a response to the two scenarios we have discussed cannot be dismissed given the gross violations of human rights that took place and the global awareness of it.

The Rwandan Genocide

For our last scenario, let us turn to what may be the most scandalous example of U.N. inaction in recent memory, the tragedy of the Rwandan Genocide. Though the mass murder of a few hundred thousand Tusti by Hutu volunteers is generally considered to be motivated by long-running ethnic cleavages, as with the prior examples, this conflict was fertilized in the soil of colonialism. It may be helpful here, also, to make a clear distinction between ethnicity, race, and nationality, as these terms are often confused and collapsed into the same category in popular discourse. According to the anthropologist Thomas Hylland Eriksen in his most important work Ethnicity and Nationalism Anthropological Perspectives: Third Edition, "Ethnicity is an aspect of social relationship between persons who consider themselves as essentially distinctive from members of other groups of whom they are aware and with whom they enter into relationships."[xxvii] Thus, ethnicity is formed only through the interaction between groups who are aware of "others" outside their group and perceive themselves as separate. This is similar to but distinct from "nationality" which presumes a common membership within the polity and geographic bounds of a nation-state, and race/racism, which reifies phenotypical characteristics and imagines them as biological.

In the case of Rwanda, in the book Killing Neighbors: Webs of Violence in Rwanda, Lee Ann Fujii (another anthropologist) argues that ethnicity, and more specifically, the theses of "ethnic fear" or "ethnic hatred" lack sufficient evidence to prove they were causes for the eventual genocide. The

identifying labels of Tutsi and Hutu were both originally used to distinguish between the alleged members of the royal Nyiginya dynasty and the poor cultivators who worked the land. Germany, the first European colonial power to claim Rwanda as territory, would be forced by the Treaty of Versailles to forfeit Rwanda to Belgium. It was with the arrival of the Belgians that these identifying labels would come to take on ethnic meanings, as the Belgians, impressed by the mythology surrounding the name of "Tutsi", would train the Tutsi elite to administer the Rwandan colony in Belgium's stead.[xxix] Throughout this early colonial period, the Tutsi retained great privileges and (with Belgian support) instituted exploitative practices against the Hutu land cultivators. Following World War II, however, and the mounting pressure exerted on the United Nations by anti-colonial movements worldwide, the U.N. began to pressure Belgium to prepare Rwanda for independence, which laid the groundwork for political struggle between the traditional Tutsi elite, and the rising Hutu counter-elite. Though initially unsuccessful and unsupported by the masses of poor Hutu, the Hutu counter-elite gradually gained support with the swelling of anti-monarchist sentiment amongst the Rwandan population, and subsequently this group became Belgium's new administrative elite.[xxx] This continuing political struggle would ultimately culminate in the formation of political parties along apparently ethnic lines, and set the stage for what Fujii calls "state-sponsored ethnicity" to take hold.

Though violence as a form of political intimidation between Hutu and Tutsi would continue to be the norm, the 1990 invasion of Rwanda by the rebel Rwandan Patriotic Front under the leadership of Paul Kagame would begin a downward spiral of mass violence, which culminated in the April 1994 assassination of Juvenal Habyarimana after his signing of the Arusha Peace Accords. Subsequently the Hutu leadership in the country carried out mass executions of Tutsi, as well as the Hutu leadership that had been politically moderate.[xxxi] What followed was the genocide of Tutsi in Rwanda and the RPF killing of Rwandan civilians and combatants alike. According to Human Rights Watch, an estimated half a million Rwandans were killed between April 1994 and July 1994 when the RPF claimed leadership over the country.[xxxii] As in Palestine, and as in the Congo, the U.N. and other human rights bodies failed to mobilize an effective response to mass violence in this case. The single U.N. operation in Rwanda during the course of this genocide was the controversial "Operation Turquoise", which has been criticized as an attempt by the French to maintain the genocidal Hutu regime that it preferred as the leadership in Rwanda. According to Hazel Cameron, the passage of Resolution 929 elicited cynical views on France's humanitarianism from both its domestic population and other members of the Security Council.[xxxii] Besides France, the United States was also criticized for its inaction. As E.J. Szandzik argues, particularly conspicuous aspects of the Amerikan refusal to lead a U.N. mission in Rwanda were Bill Clinton's awareness of the genocide early on in its development, the Clinton administration's support of "assertive multilateralism" (which advocated for U.N. enforcement of its charter and peacekeeping) up until 1993, and the fact that the U.S. had just led a "failed" U.N. intervention in Somalia in 1992, which was subsequently used by Clinton as his primary excuse for U.S. inaction.[xxxiv]

With these three scenarios covered, we now have a sample of the U.N. and human rights' non-response to instances of mass violence in the 20th century. What patterns are present? In the first place, the theory of hegemonic rule being a requirement to operationalize the human rights regime seems to bear fruit. In the Rwandan example, the United States

was looked to as nation with the capability of leading a U.N. intervention that could and should have stopped the genocide, and France was criticized for adopting this role as a means of satisfying its own national interests. Further, without the direction of a hegemon, the United Nations was apparently powerless to overcome the opposition of Belgium, the U.S., and subversive elements in the Congo to the Lumumba administration, and contemporarily has failed to enforce an Israeli capitulation to the UDHR or subsequent resolutions. A second trend of note is that, excluding the French intervention in Rwanda, the prospect of U.N. intervention was not even framed as a human rights imperative, but was instead cast as a matter of the U.N. needing to settle matters of sovereignty. At the same time, however, the U.N. did not consistently uphold sovereignty. This is particularly curious in the case of Palestine, which was (I reiterate) partitioned by a U.N. resolution in the same year that the UDHR was ratified by several member nations at the U.N. This suggests that, in the context of the Cold War, human rights was sidelined by the U.N. and many of its early proponents. In Rwanda, France's invocation of humanitarian ideas and Bill Clinton's needing to defend the U.S. from not upholding these ideas suggest that human rights had regained some legitimacy by that point.

Now, having unpacked these trends, we can move into the comparative examples of the U.N. intervening to enforce the human rights regime. In these scenarios, it will become clear that the distinction made in this essay between intervention and non-intervention is not arbitrary but is instead based on the decisiveness of the U.N. and the intervention's impact on the political, economic, and social fabric of the nations it took place. It is debatable with some of these examples whether human rights were actually enforced as defined. Additionally, the historical leadup to these instances of mass violence will be featured once more, though will constitute a smaller section of the analysis because the fact of intervention is a part of the official history, and speculation about why it did not take place in history is not required.

2011 NATO Intervention in Libya

Let us begin our analysis with a very recent example of U.N. action under the rubric of human rights, the 2011 Intervention in Libya. To understand what unfolded in Libya and the role of a non-humanitarian body like NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) in it, we must refer to Resolution 1973 (passed in 2011) and the "Responsibility to Protect" principle. The Security Council drafted Resolution 1973 as a response to the "failure" of the Libyan authorities to ensure the protection of Libyan civilians during the First Libyan War, as the forces of Muammar Gaddafi battled rebellious groups operating in the countryside. In this document, the U.N. resolved to: protect the population of Libya, establish a no-fly zone for the purpose of doing this, freeze the assets of several Libyan officials, and create a panel of experts to help facilitate achieving these goals.[xxxv]

The ability of the U.N. to commission NATO as an intervention force is derived from the 2005 World Summit Outcome document, where the U.N. resolved that member states had a "--Responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity."[xxxvi] This responsibility extended to member states regarding their own populations as well as those of other states. Additionally, in order to establish a means of fulfilling this responsibility in the event of uncooperative states, the U.N. was authorized to seek cooperation with "--regional organizations as appropriate."[xxxvii] In effect, the U.N. had embraced a mandate where all members were compelled by official U.N. policy to support the enforcement of human rights, and that bodies or organizations that were unaffiliated

US Africa Command, "AFRICOM Operation Odyssey Dawn", photograph, Flickr, March 20, 2011.

with (and thus unaccountable to) the human rights regime could be deputized in its service. Thus, the U.N.-NATO intervention in Libya was a direct intervention of the human rights regime allied with a non-humanitarian military power.

Now, let us look closer at the human rights abuses that provoked the establishment of the no-fly zone, and how this resulted in a NATO bombing campaign, the assassination of Gaddafi, and the subsequent immediate withdrawal of the U.N. mission. In Resolution 1970-- the first resolution in which Libya is accused of human rights abuses-- the "repression of peaceful demonstrators" is cited as an example of systematized human rights abuses.[xxxviii] However, direct confirmation of this repression was not made available prior to the intervention. In fact, as Matthew Green claims in an article evaluating the "humanitarianism" of this intervention, when the Pentagon was questioned by the media about evidence of Gaddafi's planes firing on protesters, U.S. Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and the Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff were forced to admit that they had not seen any. Despite this apparent lack of evidence of abuse (and an obvious justification for intervention), however, western media continued to hyperbolically construe this intervention as a humanitarian one.[xxxix] Ultimately, NATO's bombing campaign would target areas of Libya indiscriminately, and the NATO-allied rebels assaulted non-combatants on the presumption of their loyalty to Gaddafi. In at least one instance-- the bombing of Gaddafi's hometown of Sirte-- these attacks seemed to be more supportive of ending Gaddafi's regime and installing the rebels as heads of government than fulfilling a human rights mandate.

It is to be noted that two NATO countries, the U.S. and France, had national interests in Libya and stake in regime change. In 2002 the Africa Oil Policy Initiative group of the Canadian owned African Oil Corp. convinced the U.S. Congress of the relationship between U.S. national security and Libyan oil with an explanatory report. This laid the foundation for the expansion of the Amerikan military on the Afrikan continent in the early 2000s and eventually culminated with George W. Bush's creation of U.S. Africa Command (AFRICOM), which Gaddafi attacked as imperialistic.[xl] France, on the other hand, might have been threatened by Gaddafi's plan to make the Libyan dinar the standard currency for other francophone Afrikan nations, who had long been made to use the French recognized Central African Franc. The full implications of these interests may become clear in the context of similar interventions, but it suffices here to say that humanitarian interests were adjoined to the interests of imperialism.

1994 US-UN Occupation of Haiti

There are two different episodes of intervention in Haiti under the rubric of human rights, one that is contemporary and one from 1994. We will focus on the latter because of more abundant historical material. The historical context for this intervention shares some similarity with the Congo

example of non-intervention discussed earlier, and the political incentives for the parties involved in this intervention were discussed in an article titled "The UN Humanitarian Intervention in Haiti and the Development of a Human Rights Enforcement Regime" by Henry F. Carey. The 1991 overthrow of the democratically elected Haitian president Jean Bertrand Aristide by right wing forces led to the passage of U.N. Resolution 940 in 1994, which condemned the usurping regime and noted the "--further deterioration of the humanitarian situation in Haiti…".[xli] Interestingly, however, unlike in the Congo, this condemnation was followed by the intervention of a U.N. force that was led by the U.S. (the year after it had apparently abandoned multilateralism). The leadership role of the U.S in this affair. was, both, motivated by establishing democracy in Haiti (according to Bill Clinton) and was the obligation of the U.S. due to the Organization of American States' Santiago Resolution. The OAS, however, did not empower intervention by member states. Thus, the humanitarian aspects of the intervention designated by the U.N. were emphasized by the U.S. as well.[xlii] The U.S. led this U.N. mission for six months before withdrawing.

Again, let us look closer at the human rights abuses that the U.N. and U.S. claimed justified intervention in Haiti. In Resolution 940, systematic violations by the illegal regime are cited as a cause of the humanitarian crisis, though these violations are not defined.[xliii] Though it has been demonstrated elsewhere that abuses did, in fact, occur under the regime of Raoul Cedras, the scale of these abuses seem to pale in comparison to the documented abuses taking place in scenarios where the human rights regime did not intervene--besides the ones we have already discussed.[xliv]

We are thus confronted once more with the question of what other interests lie beneath the humanitarian claims. As Carey notes, Amerikan hegemonic rule over the western hemisphere

> **"Notably, the U.N. was slow in mobilizing in a human rights response to the events in the Ivory Coast, despite evidence of mass murder of the political opponents of Guei. In fact, the first military power to intervene in the conflict was France, which held a military base in the country. It was, however, this fact that caused the French to appeal to the Security Council for assistance, as they desired "international cover" for their intervention and did not want to appear as though they were maintaining a neocolonial interest."**

(and particularly Latin America and the Caribbean) had been a feature of the geopolitics in the region prior to this intervention. Though the goal was, purportedly, to establish democracy on the island, a few decades earlier the U.S. regularly imposed its own national interests over the region, and was cited for doing so by the exiled Aristide. Further, the U.S. had backed the notorious dictator Francois "Papa Doc" Duvalier decades earlier. The personal interest of Bill Clinton

in supporting the invasion is also worthy of note, as his falling approval rate at this point in 1994 (possibly as a result of the administration's inaction in Rwanda) provided an impetus for his enthusiastic support of the U.N. mission.[xlv]

French-UN Intervention in Cote d' Ivoire (Ivory Coast)

In our final example of mass violence and the U.N. and human rights response, we will analyze the U.N. mission in the Ivory Coast during the Ivorian Civil War, which is yet another case where violence emanated from contested claims of authority. As Adreas Mehler explains in "From 'Protecting Civilians' to 'For the Sake of Democracy' (and Back Again): Justifying Intervention in Côte d'Ivoire," following the death of the first president of the Ivory Coast in 1993, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, the electoral processes of the country failed to produce a successor. General Robert Guei staged a coup in 1999 and was himself nearly overthrown in 2002 by a military rebellion.[xlvi] Notably, the U.N. was slow in mobilizing in a human rights response to the events in the Ivory Coast, despite evidence of mass murder of the political opponents of Guei. In fact, the first military power to intervene in the conflict was France, which held a military base in the country. It was, however, this fact that caused the French to appeal to the Security Council for assistance, as they desired "international cover" for their intervention and did not want to appear as though they were maintaining a neocolonial interest. Ultimately, however, it was France and the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) who negotiated the ceasefire agreement that the U.N. established its mission to enforce. Subsequently, Resolution 1528 authorized a military component to be formed in order to assist ECOWAS and France in maintaining the peace. As fits the pattern, the violation of human rights was cited as a concern and justification for U.N. action.[xlvii]

Yet, the relative autonomy of the French from the U.N. mandate in the Ivory Coast, as well as the initial hesitancy of the U.N. to involve itself (and the fact that its presence was requested by the French) call into question the function of this intervention. Following an attack by the forces of Ivorian leader Kodou Laurent Gbagbo on the French base in the country, France laid waste to the Ivorian air force; according to the Ivorian government, France later opened fire on protesters from Abidjan.[xlviii] Despite continuous U.N. buildup of its military presence, the French remained a highly influential and autonomous party in this conflict. Further, the intervention did not prevent the return of hostilities in the country. Resolution 1528 had specifically called for the disarming of combatants by the U.N. intervention force, though no one was disarmed and the buildup of arms in the country continued.[xlix] Thus, as with the other examples provided in this part of the analysis, the conflict in the Ivory Coast was intervened in by the U.N. on the basis of a humanitarian need but the national interests of a sovereign state played an (arguably) more prominent role in mobilizing a response. As with the previous set of scenarios featuring non-intervention by the U.N. and the non-embrace of a human rights mandate, these three scenarios also share common trends.

What remains consistent throughout these examples of humanitarian intervention? Firstly, the relationship between the enforcement of the human rights regime and the hegemonic interests of a state became even more prominent in the case of intervention than it did in cases of non-intervention. While it is still evident that the interests of a state could successfully stall U.N. action (as in the Congo or in Palestine), it has always been understood that these tensions were present between sovereign states and a human rights regime that required their subordination for the successful enforcement of human rights. What these three scenarios of intervention show, specifically, is that military intervention in the affairs of a sovereign state by

> **The development of human rights instruments like the U.N. and the Security Council allowed for the bureaucratization of human rights ideas, permitting the marginalization of competitive views on human rights emerging from the Soviet bloc, China, and anti-colonial movements dispersed throughout the world.**

the human rights regime required alliances with hegemons (or instruments of hegemony such as NATO). Additionally, rather than being simple "regional alliances" with local powers who, reciprocally, sought out alliances with human rights strategically (as is provided for by the Responsibility to Protect Doctrine), it was the leadership of a global power supported by the U.N. that made these interventions happen.

Secondly, the realization of the "humanitarian interests" invoked as a reason for intervention became secondary, if not altogether unimportant, to the interests of the partnering hegemon. As we saw, the 2011 U.N.-NATO intervention arguably did not fulfill its mandate in Libya, but was more functional in regime change. Similarly, the Amerikan occupation of Haiti in 1994, while seemingly about promoting the U.N. humanitarian mission and establishing democracy during this intervention, did not oversee completion of this mission. Additionally, Amerikan interests in Haiti have not usually coincided with this democratic mandate when Amerika has acted as the hegemonic power in the western hemisphere. Then there's France, who's activity in the Ivory Coast directly contradicted the U.N. mandate. Finally, perhaps the most significant trend is the recency of all these interventions. This was not done purposefully for this analysis, but to reiterate, their inclusion was based on the intervention being justified under the specific rubric of human rights. When looking back through the U.N.'s history of interventions, there are not any resolutions proposed before the late 80s and early 90s that justified an intervention with a human rights mandate. Indeed, U.N. interventions in general were few and far between, excepting action in Korea (against the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) and a few other sites. Critically, there are a conspicuous lack of interventions outside of the continents of Afrika and Asia, as well.

Post-Analysis

So, what does this all mean, and how is it related to the central inquiry of human rights' continuing legitimacy despite inconsistent "success" against the human rights violations typical in mass violence events? In the first place, following this analysis, it is only reasonable to concede that the modern human rights regime and its enforcement is qualitatively different from what was conceptualized in 1948 with the drafting of the UDHR. While this early human rights was completely ineffectual and tentatively embraced by most of the original members of the U.N., the new regime is capable of mobilizing human rights interventions for the protection of designated human rights, and the "normative pressure" that originally compelled obedience to the regime is now backed by genuine military threat (as well as economic sanction and other penalties). The central shift in global geopolitics that was the catalyst for the establishment of the modern

regime was the end of the Cold War, and the emergence of a unipolar world where Amerikan hegemony (and the hegemony of the west generally) was uncontested. This is evidenced by the prevailing association of human rights with western ideas that were originally included in the UDHR (such as the right to democracy), the conspicuous rise in the volume of interventions after the weakening and collapse of the Soviet Union in the early 90s, and the contemporary anxiety felt by the human rights regime with the return of multipolarity.

These claims are confirmed when looking at the policy opinions of individuals affiliated with this hegemonic enterprise. For example, U.N. policy creator and U.S. State department advisor Dr. Seth D. Kaplan wrote an article in 2021 titled "The New Geopolitics of Human Rights." In this article, Kaplan argues that amid the growing distribution of economic might and military capacity among world powers besides the U.S. (citing Russia and China specifically), the platforming of human rights and the universalization of human rights ideals through the adoption of "modest" views everyone can ostensibly commit to offers a site for struggle against the "authoritarian powerhouse"[l] The most interesting aspects of Kaplan's article are his insistence that human rights helped to "win" the Cold War by providing an arena for dissidents in the Soviet bloc to attack the government, as well as his belief that the 1975 Helsinki Accords provided the Soviet Union an opportunity to adapt human rights to its own hegemonic program, though this was turned to Western advantage.[li] Additionally, rather than suggesting an expansion of human rights principles to incorporate disparate views on human rights, Kaplan argues that rights outside of the "core" human rights ideas "--[should] still matter, but they [should] receive less priority and countries [should] be given more flexibility on how they [enforce] them,".[lii] The contradictions between human rights and multipolarity is also admitted by Kaplan, who claims that "while the existing Western outlook and approach could be sustained in a unipolar world-- which existed in the immediate aftermath of the Cold War-- it is unsustainable in today's multi-polar world…".[liii]

Thus, we arrive at a clear answer for our central inquiry. The human rights regime continues to derive legitimacy in international relations and geopolitics because of the support extended to it by the United States and western imperialism on the eve of the Cold War's end. Further, the U.S. adapted human rights to its own hegemonic aspirations. The development of human rights instruments like the U.N. and the Security Council allowed for the bureaucratization of human rights ideas, permitting the marginalization of competitive views on human rights emerging from the Soviet bloc, China, and anti-colonial movements dispersed throughout the world. Samuel Moyn concurred with this when he claimed human rights suffered "death at birth", that the post-war organization of the U.N. on the basis of human rights provided for the Allies' extension of empire, and that human rights were adopted by the West to "crusade" against the Soviet Union.[liv] Continuing, in the present day, human rights are seen by their original proponents as a useful hegemonic response to an increasingly multi-polar world.

The implications of this for international law are, obviously, manifold. To reiterate an earlier point, human rights interventions predominate in Afrika and Asia, but there has yet to be a single U.N. authorized occupation of the United States, or any major European power. Coincidentally, categorization of the U.S. as a genocidal entity-- due to the extermination of the majority of the historic indigenous population, as well as the brutality of slavery and the subsequent terror of lynching and police violence-- has never been regarded as a serious or urgent matter by the U.N. and affiliated human rights bodies. In fact, as is reported in Alexander Hinton's It Can Happen Here; White Power and the Rising Threat of Genocide, Raphael

Lemkin, the coiner of the term "genocide", promptly called the Black drafters of the 1951 petition, "We Charge Genocide: The Crime of Government Against the Negro People", "Soviet dissidents", who only vocalized these complaints to distract from "Soviet atrocities."[lv] It is, thus, unreasonable to presume that the U.S. (or any affiliated western power) will ever be held to account or in any way subordinated by these mechanisms as they are currently employed, given its extensive controls and influence at the U.N. and on the Security Council.

Concluding, human rights was and is a hegemonic response to post-war threats to the Euro-Amerikan imperial and colonial enterprise. Capitalizing on the idealism of human rights and the ability to discursively reproduce what human rights are, the West has sought to employ popular support for the vague category of human rights in its efforts to undermine its geopolitical rivals and threats to its interests. Rather than expanding the ways in which mass violence can be combated, human rights has instead justified and excused mass violence when that violence can be construed as being performed in service of satisfying the human rights rubric. Perhaps, if divorced from the hegemonic interests of the west, human rights could aspire to an ideal that is truly universal. Yet, this is a tall task in the modern era of competing nation-states, nationalism, and the contradictions of capitalist-imperialism. Further, it is questionable if there will ever be a consensus understanding of the "human" that would support universal enforcement of human rights. This, however, should not be interpreted as a cynical take on the progress of humanity as a whole against mass violence. It should not be taken for granted that human rights emerged in a historical moment where the interests of empire collided with genuine freedom struggles across the world. Ultimately, through human rights, empire responded with new instruments to protect itself, and installed mechanisms to prevent continued struggle. That being said, these instruments and mechanisms could not stall the reemergence of contemporary freedom movements in the very places it sought to suppress them, and the struggle continues, still.

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A GLOBALIZING MARKET: THE EXPANSION OF MISSISSIPPIAN TRADE

D. Mark Ledlow

The Columbian world gave birth to many new trade routes that interconnected the world in a way that had never been observed before. From the Americas to Europe and into Asia, trade became vast and expansive as it spanned across multiple continents. These trade networks are the foundation of the modern concept of Globalization—which is best described as the economic and political policies adopted to expand a government's or a company's influence in a worldwide market.[i] Globalization can be seen in the trade routes that connect the world as it also seeks to explain the interconnection of regions with various religions and cultures. Globalism was once thought to be a contemporary topic and was often equated to "Americanization"—an American-centric view of international relationships—; however, in recent years, the concept expanded to cover any area in which a group of people reaches out toward a global audience through trade, cultural exchange, and/or religious spread.[ii] Historians often debate what globalism looked like in the Middle Ages.

For example, Immanuel Wallerstein's idea of "world-systems" is radically different from Frank and Gill's "world systems." Wallerstein's "world-systems" put forth that a globalized world is built on the back of a capitalist drive to acquire more resources (capital) that started around CE 1500.[iii] On the other hand, Frank and Gill's "world system" focuses more on the pre-established trade relations and/or economic systems in the context of a larger world and moves the date of pre-modern globalization to account for non-European powers.[iv] Both systems have their benefits; however, when determining the effects of trade in a pre-Columbian world, one must assess the trade routes that covered vast distances that both goods and cultures traveled in the Middle Ages. Another historian, David Northrup divides world history into two eras

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to better explain the ideas of globalism in premodern history: one of divergence and one of convergence. With the age of convergence beginning around CE 1000, many nations and empires acted as forces of convergence as they connected different peoples across large distances alongside other forces like trade that spread culture and religion across the world.[v]

When thinking about globalism through trade in the Afro-Eurasian sphere, one can extend this concept back into the pre-Columbian world, and ideas of a growing and dynamic relationship between regions like that of trade are one of the key features of contextualizing a pre-modern concept of

globalism which grew into the modern concept of globalism of a post-Columbian world.[vi] As the term Columbian implies, this era of history was after Columbus voyaged to the Americas; however, this voyage did not denote a massive change in trade routes as trade followed – as it always did – by entering into new emerging markets. Trade is not a static force that is only changed due to an impactful event like Columbus's voyages; rather, it is a constantly evolving force that constantly seeks new goods and ideas to move. A push towards globalization existed long before the Columbian Exchange which can be seen across the Afro-Eurasian sphere.

For evidence of long-reaching growing trade, an Arab ship has been discovered off the coast of Belitung in Indonesia loaded with 70,000 Chinese ceramic wares dating to the ninth century.[vii] This ship is evidence of a growing and expansive trade network that existed within the Afro-Eurasian sphere, and it also fits with the idea that Globalization is the reach of different people groups through trade, and cultural exchange to reach a global audience. This Arab ship is just one example of many that can be used to justify the growth of globalism in the Afro-Eurasian sphere and cannot be used as representative of the whole globe. In the Americas, several groups, most notably the people of the Mississippian Culture, are seen pushing toward a global market that expanded throughout North American and towards Central America via the trade of various goods. As the Middle Ages of the Americas progressed, the Mississippian Culture had its own level of far-reaching trade routes for a variety of materials which propagated a culture exchange like in the idea of the "Age of Convergence" through the North American continent and pushed towards a global market similar to the people of Afro-Eurasia.

Before one can acknowledge the far-reaching trade and cultural propagation of the Mississippian culture, it is important to acknowledge the complexity of North American life in the Middle Ages. The city of Cahokia is a great example of the complexity of North America during this period as archeologists often dispute the nature of Cahokia.[viii] Cahokia was estimated to be populated by about 40,000 people and held three large neighborhoods.[ix] Across the area around Cahokia, evidence of changes in practices, spaces, and agriculture existed, and despite this evidence, the economic structures and cultural development of Cahokia remain debated.[x] One expert on Cahokia, Timothy R. Pauketat, argued that the city had a centralized political structure as the elites funded the economy through the patronage of culture.[xi] On the other hand, another expert, Susan M. Alt, argued that "third spaces" developed Cahokia's cultural forms into the Mississippian culture and economic development was separate from culture.[xii] Despite these disagreements, it can be stated that the Mississippian culture was both complex and grand as the European settlers of the Americas could not fathom the existence of such peoples in the region. The Europeans tried to explain that the mound cities were built by a lost race of people traveling to the Americas and besieged by the natives.[xiii] The idea of a primitive people in the Americas is deeply flawed, for culture and economies thrived throughout the North American continent which gave way to trade relations as both goods and cultures traveled across the continent.[xiv]

Trade occurred throughout American spheres to varying degrees. For example, in the Alaska and Yukon regions, a thriving copper trade existed as the traditional territories of the Ahtna, Tutchone, Dena'ina Upper Tanana, and Chugach contained copper sources that were traded to other tribes. These people did not engage in trade as far-reaching as the Arabic people as previously mentioned; however, the Inuit Peoples of this region were not alone in the act of trade as other groups across the Americas also participated in trade

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relations. Unlike the Inuit tribes, the Mississippian culture group grew large and expansive trade networks as the people of the Mississippian culture interacted with its neighbors.[xv] Only recently, the ideas that the Mississippian cultures participated in trade with those around them have been explored by modern academia.[xvi] Within Cahokia's Grossmann site, objects like quartz crystals and pigment stones—which are thought to hold a magico-ritual significance— were discovered in concentrated areas which provided evidence for a short-range trade network. These objects were sourced from both the Ouachita Mountains in northern Arkansas and uplands beyond the northern American Bottom and are often found within concentrated areas.[xvii] These items are indicative of trade routes, despite their short range, within the Mississippian cultural sphere.

Furthermore, archeologists provided evidence of further-reaching trade in North America by the number of specific grave goods within sites like Cahokia in Illinois which consisted of an abundance of copper objects and marine shells, as well as other non-local objects.[xviii] Over 20,000 shell beads appeared in Cahokia's mound 72, and more shells have been found in other sites such as Moundville in Alabama, Spiro in Oklahoma, and Etowah in Georgia. When considering trade, the origins of these shells made the overabundance of shells in Mississippian culture significant as the shells came from the Gulf Coast of Florida and were commonly found across the Mississippian culture group.[xix] These shells provide evidence for a multi-mound trade group over just shells; however, shells went beyond an item trade for a grave good as specifically marine shells also symbolized wealth within the Mississippian culture group.[xx] Marine shells also symbolized the Native American reverence for water as water could both sustain life and take it.[xxi] The people use shells primarily for ornamental purposes, which is seen in the development of early industries in both Moundville and Cahokia.[xxii] Although the purpose of shells in Native American society is not fully understood, it is known that these shells came from trade, for these same shells came far from their origins to rest in areas like that of Cahokia.

Shells are not the only evidence of trade in North America as copper was commonly traded. As mentioned previously, the Inuit tribes of Alaska and Yukon traded in copper and the Ahtna dominated the trade of copper due to their control over most of the copper extraction sites. The other tribes like the Dena'ina and Chugach often sought to gain copper through trade with the Ahtna, and the value of copper was so prized that the Chugach raided the Ahtna over it.[xxiii] The Inuit tribes primarily wanted copper to manufacture tools like sewing needles, knives, jewelry, etc. to help in daily tasks like hunting or show an individual's wealth within both the tribe and to those around the tribe.[xxiv] In such a secluded area, trade flourished due to copper; furthermore, the trade and manufacture of copper existed far beyond the Inuit tribes as the Mississippians also traded in copper.

Throughout Mississippian culture, copper was used to make small tools like awls and fishhooks and differing items of

cultural significance like spirals and copper-covered Long-Nosed God masks.[xxv,xxvi] For example, the Edward Plate depicts an eagle, and the original craft person made the plate from copper, specifically copper sourced from the Lake Superior Region. Later, Don Edwards discovered this plate outside of Ottawa and Marseilles, Illinois along the Illinois River in the north half of the state, which is not far from the source of the Edward Plate's copper; however, it showed the cultural uses and that it traveled away from the Lake Superior region.[xxvii] Copper Axes showed a larger expanse in which copper traded across the North American continent. Moundville, Spiro, Etowah, and more sites contained copper axes made from that were found in high-status burials.[xxviii] The sources to make these copper items were not prominent in the Southeast, though a close site of copper existed in the Appalachian mountain range, but the most prominent source in the Mississippian culture sphere existed in the Great Lakes region, especially in the case of Moundville.[xxix] Furthermore, this long-range trade can be seen before the Mississippian trade networks as a pre-existing network during the Hopewell Interaction Sphere—about 100 BC to AD 400.[xxx] With the history and abundance of copper in North America, copper played a major role in trade relations. From the Alaska/Yukon region to the Mississippian culture sphere, copper was highly valued and often desired.

The abundance of non-local objects like copper and shells in Mississippian sites provided evidence that consistent trade did occur during the North American Middle Ages. Their trade spanned across their known world; however, trade expanded beyond the North American region as seen by pieces of obsidian being found in both Louisiana, Illinois, and Ohio.[xxxi] Most of the obsidian of the Native American world came from Central America, which traveled through the Texas Coastal region into and throughout the Mississippian culture region which could have either traveled to its final destination through a series of short-range trade connections or a dedicated long-range trader.[xxxii] Though the trade of obsidian was not as prominent as the copper or shell trade, it does show just how far the trade routes of the Mississippian world reached as it is now known to have stretched from the Great Lakes region to Central America. The evidence of obsidian around the Mississippian Culture group provided much-needed evidence of a growing trade network as the Native North Americans moved towards globalization before European contact and the Columbian exchange with the Americas.

Non-local items like copper, shells, and obsidian prove that trade occurred in the pre-Columbian Americas; however, it would be improper to assume that these were the only goods traded. Copper, shells, and obsidian are non-perishable items, and archeology does not account for any perishable items. Perishable items decayed into the soil, so they are often underrepresented in archaeological studies. However, evidence still does exist concerning the trade of perishables due to French observers of Native American tribes during the seventeenth century. These observers provided accounts that tribes of the Great Lakes region had a healthy trade network that consisted of foodstuffs and furs.[xxxiii] The fur trade also is noted to have occurred in the Eastern United States prior to sustained European contact, which some archeologists believe that the same fur trade stimulated the use of wampum—tubular beads made of shell—as a medium for trade.[xxxiv] Although furs are impossible to find in archeological sites, the existence of trade within the Mississippian culture group can be inferred from the evidence of this trade in later Native American groups across North America.

Furthermore, the idea of a perishable trade can also be found in the expanding adoption of maize in North America as archaeological evidence does suggest that the people

> **During the Middle Ages, the Afro-Eurasian sphere was not alone in the movement towards a globalized world through trade as the people of the Mississippian culture can also be observed pushing a globalized market in the trade of various materials which also spread their culture to more peoples.**

who live on several small Georgia coastal islands switched from foraging for food to utilizing maize after A.D. 1150 which is during the time of the Mississippian cultures.[xxxv] The movement of maize from its early beginnings in Mexico over 6000 years ago does point to a limited trade relation that did occur in the Middle Ages as Cahokian farmers introduced the crop around A.D. 900 and modern archeologists found maize cob and kernels in domestic buildings and pits.[xxxvi] Due to the healthy trade of perishable goods during the seventeenth century, and the growing adoption of Maize, it stands to reason that the perishable goods trade occurred alongside non-perishable trade.

Unlike all of the aforementioned traded goods like obsidian and copper, the trade of pottery does not stretch the range of which items were traded; however, the manufacture of pottery could have held fewer restrictions leading to the differences in pottery found at Mississippian sites like Cahokia.[xxxvii] Due to this supposed lack of regulation over pottery, trade, and migration the differences often showed the transfer of ideas as pottery provided insight into the cultural exchange that happened alongside trade relations, which can also indicate the distance traveled via migration or trade expansion despite their uncertain origins.[xxxviii] For example, about one-third of immigrants to the Cahokian up-lands can be traced to southeast Missouri via the style of pottery discovered in the area which points to the distance that pottery traveled.[xl] On the other hand, the Steed-Kisker site outside of Leavenworth, Kansas contained pottery in a style that indicates the Middle Mississippian area, but it is uncertain as to the precise origins of the pottery. Despite the uncertain origins, it does point to movement and a cultural exchange as either the individual pieces of pottery were traded, human migration occurred, and/or the processes in making the styles of pottery moved along via another means of transfer.

Whereas the trade range of pottery is not as expansive as other trade ranges of items like copper; rather, the pottery of North America points to the movement of people and their wares which is very common to see in a globalist thought. For example, the aforementioned Arab ship was not carrying cargo that was native to Arabia—where the ship originated from— or Indonesia—where the ship was discovered—; rather, the ship's cargo originated from China.[xli] Furthermore, the wares contained within the ship included some pieces where Chinese pottery utilized new motifs from the Abbasid empire.[xlii] This shipwreck provided evidence of cultural exchange through the expanding cultural exchange of Chinese art to Indonesia by Islamic merchants; similarly, the ideas of Globalism are seen throughout the scholarship of the Middle Ages from trade to art history.[xliii] Art historians often depict globalization as the expression of cultural identities and collaboration via cross-cultural contacts. For example, in the Darmstadt Casket, a set of four ivory plaques depict Byzantine iconography but was in an Arabic/Indian style of

artwork.[xliv] Art pieces like these ivory plaques and the Arabian ship provide evidence of a converging world during the Middle Ages in the Afro-Eurasian sphere; similarly, the pottery of the varying styles in Native American pottery also shows the interconnected nature of the Americas.

Based on the copper and shell trade alone, the Mississippian people are seen to have had a thriving trade network from the Great Lake to the Gulf Coast, and with the discovery of obsidian and the expansion of maize that trade can be pushed into Mexico. With these trade routes, an expansion of culture can also be seen as both copper and shells are known to have carried a level of cultural significance in the Mississippian world. Northrup's idea of an age of convergence can be observed in trade between the Mississippians and those surrounding them as the Mississippian culture originated in Cahokia in modern Illinois and spread to areas like Moundville in Alabama and Aztalan in Wisconsin as these people all adopted a similar culture.[xlv] Although there is no evidence that the Mississippians were united under one empire, they were united under one culture across vast distances like that of the Silk Road. Northrup noted that the trade routes of the Silk Roads contributed to this idea of convergence as they often united people across long distances which led to the growth of cultures across it.[xlvi] The theme of cultural expansion can be seen throughout the Middle Ages of North America as people traded across and interacted with each other. During the Middle Ages, the Afro-Eurasian sphere was not alone in the movement towards a globalized world through trade as the people of the Mississippian culture can also be observed pushing a globalized market in the trade of various materials which also spread their culture to more peoples.

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LOSS OF POWER: THE INDIGENOUS WOMEN'S EXPERIENCE TO COLONIZATION

Jacob Kennedy

On February 10, 1676, a group of the Wampanoag Confederacy attacked the settlement of Lancaster in the New England Colony. During this raid, they captured Mary Rowlandson and several other settlers during the bloody conflict referred to as the King Philip's War. The Wampanoag attack group was led by no man but by the female chief of the Pocasset Wampanoag Weetamoo. The Lancaster raid was one of many raids led by female leaders of Indigenous tribes, who led their tribes on raids, trade deals, and land claims. They helped to shape the lives of the colonists and indigenous tribes of America. Individuals like Weetamoo and Creek/Muscogee leader Mary Musgrove were crucial to the growth of their tribes in the face of an increasingly Europeanized North America. The experience of Native Women during pre-colonization was one of power; they had greater political and economic opportunities than their European or African counterparts, which allowed them to take part in significant decision-making for the goals of their respective tribes. However, due to European colonization and the "moderation" of indigenous people, either by forcible assimilation or by the need to survive, they would lose the power they once held and became as powerless as other women in the birth of America.

The American Revolution forced Indigenous women to go from being influential members of American society to an afterthought. Women like Mary Musgrove and Weetamoo are prime examples of powerful women who either lost their power or lives to this Europeanization of North America. Each woman shows a different image of the power of Indigenous women. Mary Musgrove showed political agency by negotiating the land claims for the Creek/Muscogee tribes between the British government in the colony of Georgia,

“The American Revolution forced Indigenous women to go from being influential members of American society to an afterthought.”

where she was discredited as the tribe moved into a path of Europeanization to save themselves from British colonization. Weetamoo, on the other hand, shows the image of military power and leadership by women over the indigenous tribes, where she led the Wampanoag confederation in the raid on settlements of the New England colony and captured Mary Rowlandson. Rowlandson, a white European woman, went on to write a biased interpretation of the power that was attributed to the Wampanoag women as she worked under Weetamoo as a servant. Weetamoo experienced the dangers of the European military complex when she was, sadly, killed near one of the later battles of King Phillip’s war. Weetamoo’s death was celebrated by the European colonists, which shows the pessimistic view of female indigenous leadership that became common. The negative response towards the power of Indigenous women and the Europeanization of American Indigenous Tribes forced women such as Weetamoo and Musgrove to lose all the power they once held as the American Revolution created a society unwelcoming to powerful women.

The historiography of Indigenous America has noted that the growth of American Society disrupted the values and culture of most, if not all, Indigenous tribes. American and European ideals destroyed the matriarchal society that these

groups functioned in. Historians such as Michele Gillespie, Kathryn Braund, Tiffany Potter, and Wai Chee Dimock note the importance of the leaders Weetamoo and Musgrove and the experience of the loss of power that was felt by the creation of American Society. However, the Indigenous historiography tends to offer a continuous narrative of destruction throughout all tribes as colonization forced indigenous cultures to forgo their past of women-based society in favor of that of patriarchal European ideals. This paper looks to offer an analysis of the experiences of indigenous Women of the Wampanoag and Muscogee tribes and this destruction of women-based power based on the historiography of Native Culture from colonization to the birth of America. The historians Gillespie, Braund, Potter, and Dimock offer the groundwork that further supports the investigation of the correlating experiences of Indigenous Women.

Historian Michele Gillespie in her article "The Sexual Politics of Race and Gender: Mary Musgrove and the Georgia Trustees," offers an in-depth analysis of the power of Musgrove during the deliberations between the Creek tribes and the British government, asserting that Musgrove was the “most respected arbiter of Anglo-Creek relations in the colony.” Her analysis goes through the entirety of the experience of Musgrove during the growth of the Colony of Georgia, noting her rise to power and the mistreatment she faced towards the end of her life as she began to be excluded from the roles she had once led.[i] The analysis provided by Gillespie gives one of the best images of the experience of the lost power that occurred for Indigenous Women, as Musgrove's mistreatment was an experience felt across America for indigenous women. The image of life provided by Gillespie provides crucial details and interpretations of the life experiences of creek and Muscogee women through the telling of the story of Musgrove.

In addition to Gillespie's analysis of Musgrove and Creek/Muscogee women, the historian Kathryn Braund’s article “Guardians of Tradition and Handmaidens to Change; Women's Roles in Creek Economic and Social Life during the Eighteenth Century" offers a broader historical analysis of the societal norms of creek women, with a focus on the economic and societal roles they held as leaders of the community. Braund provides a timeline of a loss of power and cultural roles that occurred at the turn of the 18th century that carried through the American revolution. In Braund's article, the analysis provided notes on the importance of Creek women and establishing the trade relations between the tribes and the European colonists and the importance they served as the matriarch of the society and its history. [ii] The analysis shows the adaptation of European ideals and systems of structures in the way of life for the Creek people and how it slowly corrupted the cultural norms of society and the conversion of Creek society to a form more resembling European townships. This corruption occurred as many creek women moved away from Creek social structure due to the importance of European Trade to the tribes. Hoping to adapt their societies to a European economy by doing this, they slowly adopted European culture that began to destroy their own culture.

Incidentally, the narratives provided by Creek/Muscogee historians relate to the histories provided by Wampanoag historians as they follow the view of female leadership being destroyed by European societal normality. For example, in the history provided by Tiffany Potter, "Writing Indigenous Femininity: Mary Rowlandson's Narrative of Captivity," she analyzed the narrative of Mary Rowlandson, who noted the societal differences of the European colonists of New England compared to that of the societal leadership of Weetamoo.[iii] Furthermore, Rowlandson's writings show the similarity of attempts to disrupt the cultural norms of

Indigenous life as colonists in both colonies made attempts to Europeanize these societies by discrediting their female leadership. This was done through publishing literature and propaganda that attacked leaders like Weetamoo and Musgrove as ways to skirt negotiations between female tribe leaders in favor of their male counterparts.

Finally, the last interpretation that helps grow the argument of this paper is the interpretation of Wampanoag culture provided by historian Wai Chee Dimock. Dymocks article "Early American Literature Networked Field: Mary Rowlandson, Louise Erdrich, Sherman Alexie," studied early American literature and noted that the interpretations of English writers shaped American society's historical and literary narratives.[iv] The narratives established by English writers created a propaganda machine against the society of the Wampanoag people that attacked their women-based leadership, discrediting leaders like that of Weetamoo and ignoring the relevance of female-based leadership in favor of European ideals of culture. The literature analyzed by Dimock shows one of the many means of the destruction of women-based culture by European colonists. It supports that European colonization forced indigenous women of power to lose their roles due to English colonists villainizing Indigenous culture and women-based power.

This paper establishes the loss of power felt by Indigenous women across the 17th and 18th centuries. Engaging the literature and history provided by historians of indigenous culture and history shows a clear image of the destruction of the cultural power of women due to European colonization. The loss of power is seen best in the female leaders Weetamoo and Mary Musgrove, who, at the hand of British colonists and colonies, lost their powers and lives because of growing Europeanized cultures and discontent among British leaders unwilling to negotiate land or peace treaties with them. Experiencing this loss of power shaped the future culture of their respective tribes and the mistreatment that they faced due to the growth of American culture after the success of the Revolutionaries in the American Revolution. These women's lives offer the best example of the loss of power that occurred due to the revolution and English distrust and propaganda throughout the colonization of the United States.

For example, the life of Weetamoo shows a history of female power that was corrupted and diminished by the narratives written by Mary Rowlandson. Rowlandson views Weetamoo through the lens of European culture, which in her accounts, disrupted the character and actions carried out by Weetamoo while Rowlandson was her servant. This is seen in her narratives in which Rowlandson speaks of Weetamoo mistreating a weakened Rowlandson in the movement of the tribe; she states, "I asked my Mistress to give me one spoonful of meal, but she would not give me a taste."[v] To Mary Rowlandson, this sort of mistreatment was uncultured and arrogant to her Christian values; however, when considering the situation and numbers, there was nothing Weetamoo could do as the force she was leading was a military force with low supplies that needed to be portioned among the swath of captured colonist and the military troops. The view of Weetamoo being strict, savage, and uncaring is a forced narrative placed upon the female leader as Rowlandson was unwilling to accredit power and sensibility to a matriarch such as Weetamoo. This narrative began to grow as more and more Europeans began to discredit the women leaders of the Wampanoag tribes.

According to Potter, Rowlandson’s narratives were bestsellers after their release as her narrative reinforced the ideals of European Culture and discredited the culture of Indigenous America. Rowlandson further discredits

> **Weetamoo was much more than what Rowlandson's narrative implies to European leaders; she was a formidable enemy that was not to be underestimated even if such power in the hands of a woman runs against the norms of coverture.**

Weetamoo's leadership as she attempts to push English superiority throughout her narrative, establishing a narrative of women-based leadership of Indigenous tribes as arrogant and unwomanly.[vi] Rowlandson was unable to adapt to the culture of the Wampanoag tribe, and due to her arrogance and belief in Christian European superiority, she instead attacked and discredited the power of her indigenous counterparts. As a result, Rowlandson's narratives pushed a narrative of pure savagery and backwardness of the Wampanoag who gave Weetamoo an overabundance of power in Rowlandson's eyes, as she pushes a narrative of master and mistress upon Weetamoo and Quinnapano.She pushes a narrative of her Master Quinnnapano being benevolent and friendly, even stating, "my master being gone, who seemed to me the best friend that I had of an Indian," while viewing the mistress Weetamoo as "A severe and proud dame she was, bestowing every day in dressing herself neat as much time as any of the gentry of the land."[vii] Rowlandson's difference of views to the respected leaders comes from the European patriarchal culture as the rules of society adhere to a strict system of Femme Coverture that placed women away from positions of leadership, Rowlandson, seeing Weetamoo leading military raids and ruling over economic functions of the tribe, began to discredit the indigenous culture and preached of Chrsitian superiority. Potter notes that Weetamoo, during King Phillip's war, was Narragansett's Queen and was viewed as a military power equal to that of her male counterpart and Brother in Law Metacom.[viii] Weetamoo was much more than what Rowlandson's narrative implies to European leaders; she was a formidable enemy that was not to be underestimated even if such power in the hands of a woman runs against the norms of coverture.

Additionally, Rowlandson attempts to push a narrative onto Weetamoo that was far from historical fact. According to Dimock in his article Rowlandson leaves out the power and status of Weetamoo and pushes a European image upon her, creating an image of Weetamoo being nit-picky, finicky, and chastised by her husband, Quinnapo.[ix] In creating a chastised image of Indigenous leadership, she discredited how important Weetamoo was towards the lives of the tribe. This is a common outcome of American literature and history. However, according to historian Lisa Brooks in her article "Turning the Looking Glass on King Phillip's War: Locating American Literature in Native Space," Weetamoo's role is often discredited or forgotten with no mention of the importance of her role in leading such raids as the Lancaster Raid or in her successful capture of Mary Rowlandson.[x] Colonists often followed the biases of their colonial ancestors by forgoing the histories and importance of women such as Weetamoo in favor of narratives that projected savagery on indigenous tribes and forced them to convert to traditional European values of patriarchal rule.

This push by Europeans to adapt Indigenous tribes to European values disrupted power structures that were placed strategically to allow for the best form of communication

between the Europeans and the Indigenous Tribes. According to Michelle Gillespie, early colonization relied on female leaders to bridge the language gap between the colonists and indigenous people. She states that Mary Musgrove was one such leader and that she was Georgia's colonial governor, James Oglethorpe's favorite translator and adjudicator between cultures.[xi] Musgrove and her husband were crucial to creating relations between the colonists and tribes, establishing the trade relations that allowed for the colony to survive its first few years of establishment and begin to flourish. The importance of Musgrove resulted in her being bequeathed a large amount of land from the Creek leaders Tomochichi and Malachi, who awarded this land to her in 1729 in an agreement between the tribes and the British crown.[xii] Musgrove looked to grow the strength of her tribe and to keep the power of the Creeks protected against the advancing growth of the British colony. However, when the colony finally consolidated its power and no longer relied on the bridging leadership of Mary Musgrove, they quickly turned toward beginning the tradition of patriarchy that was rooted in European society. According to Gillespie, Musgrove had gone from being Governor Oglethorpe's favorite negotiator to being viewed as an insolent child that did not know her place, robbed of the power she had once held.[xiii] The colony could finally flourish without indigenous help as they began to strip the relations established by Musgrove and began a process of pushing a change of culture upon the tribes. The colonial government began to backtrack on previous promises and remove land promises agreed upon between Musgrove and the colony's government. In their proceedings related to Mary Musgrove, it was ruled that the land bequeathed to Musgrove by the chiefs in 1730 had no legal binding in the view of the colonial government and that the land would be returned to British rule and lost to Musgrove.[xiv] They began to view her with the same narratives that had been set upon Weetamoo----

> **“The indigenous woman was forced to lose her culture and land to the Europeans, and this loss of power forever shaped the indigenous way of life as no longer were women the matrons of culture.”**

arrogant and childlike in that she was merely playing and that she wielded no power in the established relations between the Creek tribes and the British government.

This mistreatment and growth of patriarchal culture not only grew in Georgia's Government but within the tribe as well. According to Braund, the apparent trade relations and economic connections between the colonists and the Indigenous men and women pushed new societal roles upon the Creeks that disrupted the society's normality. In addition, due to the all-consuming need to keep economic relations alive, there was a loosening of matriarchal power and tradition that resulted from the tribes staying away from their lands for an extended period of time, forcing women to provide more maternal duties that were not usually carried out by one sole woman.[xv] This loosening of matriarchal roles resulted in women slowly losing their roles of tribe leaders and arbiters of trade between the groups.

After the revolution, the European Government sought to reform Creek society and mold the tribes into a direct image of European ideals. The supervisors of relations established by the Georgia government looked to push men into agriculture work and women into purely domestic roles,

not allowing them to take roles in the tribe's government or economy.[xvi] In having strict gender specialization, the colonial governments looked to civilize the savagery and ignorance of the indigenous tribes, and that meant moving away from their matriarchal society in favor of the European Coverture laws. In forcing this tradition, they looked to fully convert the societies into model Europeans and end the matriarchal society they were unable to comprehend fully. This push to Europeanize the tribes succeeded as Creek women like Musgrove lost all place in the negotiations between the Europeans and Muscogee people. This result also came from the missing cultures through interracial marriages and the adoption of farms and agriculture by the mixed-race offspring. The success of such economic gains caused the rest of the Muscogee and Creek tribes to assimilate and adapt their ideals towards a Europeanized way of life.[xvii] This assimilation of European culture destroyed the traditional way of life of the Georgia Creek and Muscogee tribes; they no longer relied on their matriarchal system of government and tribe life and, as such, lost a majority of the values they'd held before European colonization

The European Colonization of America destroyed the distinct cultures and societies of countless indigenous tribes across the growing nation. The reason for this came from these cultures giving a decisive role to the women as leaders that established the economies and cultural traditions of their tribes. The Europeans sought to disrupt this leadership and pushed narratives of ignorance and arrogance upon the mighty women of the Creek and Wampanoag tribes. Europeans pushed the tribes of America to adapt or die, pushing assimilation for the tribes and looking to destroy the power of women even if they were once the arbiters of relations and economic trade between the two groups. The indigenous woman was forced to lose her culture and land to the Europeans, and this loss of power forever shaped the indigenous way of life as no longer were women the matrons of culture. The culture and traditions of pre-colonization are lost; there is no way to return to the cultures of the past as the colonizers have pushed the culture of indigenous tribes to nearly disappear in today's society.

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CHRISTIAN INFLUENCES ON EARLY MEDIEVAL ENGLISH MEDICINE

Lilly Jobe

Prior to the reunification of the Western and Eastern Roman Empires in the year 324 CE, Emperor Constantine the Great of the Western Roman Empire issued the Edict of Toleration for Christianity in 313 CE. One year later, the British city of Eboracum, which was occupied by the Romans, received its first Bishop from the Roman Catholic Church.[i] Beginning in 410 CE, the Roman Empire began retreating from Britannia, which had been a Roman province since around 43 CE, when Emperor Honorius wrote to Britannia in 410 CE to decline imperial assistance against foreign invaders. Indeed, the struggle between Emperor Honorius and Alaric the Visigoth, in addition to the logistical difficulties of removing troops from the western edge of the known world, certainly influenced this decision.[ii] Modern historians generally agree that the foreign invaders described by the Romano-British were ethnically heterogeneous and composed of Angles, Saxon, Jutes, and Frisians from various coastal areas in the Baltic region.[iii] It is clear from historical evidence that foreign peoples known as the Saxons began arriving in Britannia soon after Emperor Honorius first refused assistance in 410 CE, and the venerable Bede records the arrival of Jutish peoples around 449 or 450 CE.[iv] Saint Patrick of Ireland is regarded as one of the first Christian missionaries in the region, following the removal of Rome in the early fifth century CE, but it is possible that pagans and Christians coexisted prior to his arrival.[v] For the 150th anniversary of the arrival of the early English people, the Venerable Bede writes that Bishop Augustine of Canterbury was sent by Pope Gregory the Great to Christianize King Ethelbert and the Kingdom of Kent in 597 CE.[vi] The resulting enmeshment between pagan and Christian ideologies at varying stages of syncretism is thus difficult to identify due to the lack of written records which survive to the twenty-first century, and the near-complete assimilation of these practices into Christian ideology. Despite the active spiritual offensive the Roman Catholic Church waged on paganism, which they viewed as idol worship, thus contributing to the lack of medical codices, it is possible to trace the continuity in the development and evolution of magical and medical practices through the use of oral charms. The charms performed most by commoners were intended as medicinal therapies, and their condemnation of female practitioners as wielders of magic demonstrates how Christianity wielded power in Britain. Although modern scholars have occasionally viewed these charms to be irrelevant in the face of modern medical practices, these charms may have produced a material result due to the manifestation of psychophysical symptoms. In conclusion, the development of Christian thought can be traced through oral charms by determining the degree of pagan influence within a text and analyzing religious criticism of indigenous practices.

“The charms performed most by commoners were intended as medicinal therapies, and their condemnation of female practitioners as wielders of magic demonstrates how Christianity wielded power in Britain.”

In a letter transcribed by Bede from Pope Gregory the Great, the pope encouraged King Aethlbert of Kent to "multiply the zeal of your uprightness in their conversion; suppress the worship of idols; overthrow the structures of the temples; edify the manners of your subjects by much cleanness of life, exhorting, terrifying, soothing, correcting, and giving examples of good works".[vii] This letter demonstrates how the dominant political and religious institutions engaged in an active spiritual offensive against the pagan beliefs of both indigenous Britons and the Old English. An additional letter dated a month later from Pope Gregory the Great instructed missionaries to place holy relics in the place of idols and for the pagan temples "to be changed from a cult of demons to the worship of the true God".[viii] Yet, despite being converted to Christianity, it is likely that many individuals continued pagan traditions, but they were reinterpreted as communities became more syncretic. Since the perception of magic is dependent upon other cultural elements, Christian ecclesiasts may have employed healing rituals traditionally viewed as pagan because the social boundaries of magic are typically fluid and individualistic.[ix] Similar notions of medicine and magic definitely existed in the pagan worldview, but this is unwritten due to the extinction of the Old English oral tradition. For Pope Gregory the Great, "'paganism' equaled the worship of idols."[x] Thus it can be reasonably assumed that Bede held the same perception because of his adoration of the pope. As the Venerable Bede is one of the earliest Old English writers, yet also a member of the clergy, his objectivity must be questioned. The transition, rather than destruction, of the Indigenous pagan sites indicates that pagan communities were not necessarily displaced by the actions of the missionaries.

Similar to other systems of medical knowledge during the Middle Ages, Old English medical codices contain a significant density of magical components; but it is unlikely that it was perceived negatively because societies become encultured into understanding some folk medicine as efficacious. Although early magic encompasses a wide variety of uses, oral charms "whose aim was to treat some disease" exemplify the strong ties between medicine and magic.[xi] Medical codices commonly contain ritual elements to their writings, but the physical and spiritual remedies were often grounded in intelligent observation by physicians. Cambridge academic M.L. Cameron, who primarily wrote in the mid twentieth century, asserts in his book Anglo-Saxon Medicine and Magic that many Old English treatments are still recommended today, but that Old-English practitioners also purposefully included magical elements for additional benefits.[xii] These observations make sense when one considers the well-established psychophysical phenomenon known as the placebo-effect. If a patient has high expectations that a treatment, or perhaps a charm, will cause an improvement in their symptoms, they are more likely to report improvement. The nocebo effect describes that a patient is more likely to report side effects if they believe a treatment will be harmful.[xiii] The patient who expects a charm but does not receive one may return to the physician for additional treatment, regardless of the efficacy. Old English physicians may have included ritual elements in their medical practice that are deemed irrelevant today but produced a material and social reality when performed. The overlap between magic and medicine during this period, then, highlights not only the religious syncretism at play during this period, but also the intersections between science and religion, indicating a belief that the practice of science and medicine could not exist without religion and ritual.

The Old English charm "Against A Stitch", requiring a poultice made of feverfew, red nettle, and plantain to be boiled in butter and then applied while a practitioner recites the charm over a patient, highlights the interplay between

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magic and medicine. The narration of the charm centers on the practitioner rather than the patient, illustrating the practitioner's role in actively driving out the forces causing the stitch, which are likened to a battle between the forces of good and evil:

> Shield yourself now: you can shake this attack.
> Out! little spear! if inside here!
> Under linden I stood, under lambent shield
> where those mighty women wielded power:
> and screaming spears they sent our way!
> Now I'll send them another one back—
> flying arrow forth against them![xiv]

Though it remains unclear what this charm is meant to treat, many scholars suspect that the cause of the stitch is a form of rheumatism due to its prevalence in pre-industrialized societies, and the effects it has on the immune system. Not only is the condition itself perceived as an attack, but the stitch is also personified as a weapon to illustrate the pain and seriousness of the condition. The patient must actively attempt to shield himself from evil while the practitioner fights to both remove the stitch and the one who caused it. This can contextualize not only early medieval British medical practice, but it can explain Christian aversion to pagan practices which had polytheistic overtones. It therefore demonstrates the tenuous and shifting social boundaries of both magic and pagan rituals held in an increasingly Christian society. The charm also indicts women several times as the evildoer, which is common among medical charms. This indictment reflects the Old English belief that the world is plentifully inhabited by spirits and witches who wish laypeople harm, a worldview that is not exclusively pagan given the syncretism between the two cultures.

The profound similarities between Old English pagan and Christian remedies in Britain may be because healing methods were gathered from throughout the western world; however, this does not indicate that religious observances were respected equally.[xv] Despite both cultural understandings of medicinal methods likely being rooted in rationality, Christianity and Paganism were actively at odds politically, religiously, and geographically. Aelfric's attempt to fear-monger against pagan medicinal practices appears in “The Lives of Old English Saint” to influence his peasants' daily interactions:

> The Christian must not ask the foul witch about his health, although she may be able to say something through the devil, because it will be harmful and everything that comes from him is poisonous and all his followers will perish in the end.[xvi]

Early English Christian society perceived magic as real and influential in the world, similar to other ancient notions of magic; however, where prior hesitance towards magic stemmed from the power of witches, Aelfric focuses on Christian ideals. He warns his audience about a witch's

work with the devil in order to preserve their immortal soul by avoiding magic altogether. Further, it is more likely that Aelfric's attempt to encourage his subjects to change their medical practice to a religiously accepted method may demonstrate the narrowing of socially accepted magical practice. Additionally, Aelfric's referral to pagan healing women as witches further supports the notion that the social definition of magic was fluid yet persistent, because he uses moral justifications against witchcraft rather than ethical ones.

In conclusion, the development of Christian thought can be traced through oral charms by determining the degree of pagan influence within a text and analyzing religious criticism of Indigenous practices. The most recognizably pagan healing rituals in the surviving primary texts are oral charms which typically followed a prescribed meter, but this is not always the case. The early medieval English— comprised of at least four distinct ethnic groups— arrived from the Germanic regions due to a complex variety of factors from climate change to internal struggle. Most contemporary writers, such as Bede, characterized this migration as an invasion because of religious and cultural differences, rather than historical accounts. Pope Gregory the Great initiated the conversion of the early medieval English by sending Augustine to transform indigenous pagan sites into Christian temples through the removal of idols. This transition did not necessarily displace communities or dispel pagan beliefs. Instead, it shifted the social boundaries of magic, which influenced the practice and methodological framework of medicine. Later Christian writings encourage patients to avoid Pagan medicinal traditions altogether, due to doctrinal concerns, rather than the efficacy of the remedy. Despite being a member of the clergy, the venerable Bede is credited with statements that appear to be magical but were likely not perceived in this manner. The "Against a Sudden Stitch" charm may have therapeutic qualities found in the ingredients, but its efficacy remains unexamined by modern Western medicine. Old English physicians possibly conducted oral charms on patients despite knowing its inefficacy to combat the placebo effect— which has remained the case until our modern day. The tapestry-like weaving of magical and medicinal practices from both pagan and Christian cultures produces a unique level of religious syncretism that demonstrates the rich complexity of early medieval lifeways, and demonstrates the continued need for an interdisciplinary, nuanced understanding of early medieval English history.

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COMPARING PERSPECTIVES ON THE CONTRA WAR IN NICARAGUA

Henry Smith

In the entire history of U.S.-Latin American relations, few events have had a more negative impact on the United States' image in the eyes of the Latin American people than the Contra War in Nicaragua and the United States' support for the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). In 1979, the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN) overthrew the U.S.-backed Somoza dynasty that had ruled Nicaragua since the 1930's. The Sandinistas' socialist leaning policies soon drew the hostility of the Reagan administration, which ordered the CIA to begin covertly organizing exiled members of the Nicaraguan National Guard, who had served as the enforcers of the Somoza regime for much of its history. The contras, as they came to be known, soon became infamous for their systemic use of murder, torture, rape, and kidnapping to terrorize the Nicaraguan people in order to wear down support for the Sandinistas. Teofilo Cabestrero's book, Blood of the Innocent: Victims of the Contras' War in Nicaragua, chronicles the author's interviews with survivors of the contras' brutality, offering eyewitness accounts of the war's impact on the people of Nicaragua. In contrast, Sam Dillon's Commandos: The CIA and Nicaragua's Contra Rebels, follows the story of a disillusioned Sandinista who would later side with the contras. The book also offers an investigative look at how and why the CIA and the U.S. State Department supported the contras efforts to overthrow a government that most people within Nicaragua considered to be fairly elected and legitimate. This book examines the methods by which the CIA funded, supplied, trained, and directed the contra soldiers as well as the political logic behind the Reagan Administration's decision to support them in the first place.

Teofilo Cabestrero was a priest and journalist who spent much of the Contra War making his way through northern

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Nicaragua, near the border of Honduras where most of the fighting took place (most of the contra bases and training camps were located in southern Honduras which was still governed by a U.S.-backed regime). Through his interviews with survivors and relatives of those killed, threatened, or tortured by the contras, readers can see both the psychological and emotional impact of violence on the families of the victims, as well as the social impact of terrorism on the entire community. One of the main themes throughout the book is that the contras' cruelty towards the people was deliberate and part of a larger strategy of intimidation. The book details the contras' frequent targeting of community leaders and church figures like priests and nuns who, in an overwhelmingly Catholic nation, played integral roles in the social fabric of the isolated rural communities where the contras focused their operations. Civic leaders from various organizations were targeted as well. When the Sandinistas came to power, only about half of the Nicaraguan population was literate. In order to raise literacy rates, the Sandinistas introduced a massive literacy program where

A squad of young recruits in the Nicaraguan Democratic Force (FDN). Many appear to be underaged. Wikimedia Commons.

teachers, priests, nuns, and other volunteers would go into rural communities where the literacy rate was lowest in order to teach people to read and write. Many of the literacy coordinators in the northern regions of Nicaragua quickly became targets of the contra death squads in an effort to frighten people away from participating in the program.[i]

The central focus of Blood of the Innocents is on the experience of non-combatants in war, particularly poor, rural-farmers who were routinely victimized by the contras. The book offers a vivid portrait of the human cost of one of America's most infamous "Dirty Wars." The themes of collective trauma and fear are constant as survivors find different ways of coping with the loss of their homes and loved ones as well as the persistent dread that the contras might return to attack them again. Impressively, many survivors express defiance and resolve to continue building their communities in spite of the threat of violence. As poor peasant farmers, most lack the means to simply move themselves and their families in order to start a new life elsewhere in Nicaragua.

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Despite the relatively small size of their forces, the contras posed a major logistical and organizational challenge for the CIA, to say nothing of the ideological divides within their ranks. Sam Dillon was a journalist who spent years covering the war in Nicaragua as well as the Iran-contra scandal. His book Commandos covers the experiences of Luis Fley, a disaffected Sandinista who would be among the first to join the contras before abandoning them as well. According to this narrative, the contras were initially a movement of frustrated patriots who had taken part in the Sandinistas' campaign to overthrow Somoza, only to see the Sandinistas completely dominate the political process and institute their own agenda once they came to power. It was only when the CIA took

over that the contras' ranks were filled with former national guardsmen and other Somoza loyalists who were willing to use protracted violence to terrorize the people of Nicaragua and sap their support for the Sandinistas.

According to Dillon, resentment towards the Sandinistas began to rise in Nicaragua's rural communities as the new regime began to intrude more and more into the daily lives of Nicaragua's farmers. To consolidate their power, the Sandinistas nationalized the coffee industry and began organizing haciendas into collective farms. Many farmers who had been supportive of the revolution chafed at the Agrarian Reform Ministry's attempts to control them and dictate which crops they would plant. As the Sandinistas tightened their grip on Nicaragua's agricultural production, resistance became increasingly overt and, eventually, violent. Ironically, the first guerrillas to rise up against the Sandinistas were men who had fought alongside them against Somoza and his guardsmen. Many saw the new government's increasingly heavy-handed tactics towards the rural farmers, the people they had initially been trying to help by overthrowing Somoza, and felt that the revolution had lost its purpose. This would lead many of them to flee to the Northern mountains or over the border into Honduras to begin organizing an opposition to the Sandinista regime.[ii]

Like Cabestrero's Blood of the Innocents, Dillon's Commandos is written from a primarily journalistic perspective. While Cabestrero toured the countryside of Nicaragua to gather various stories and weave them into a tapestry of collective experiences, Dillon's book is primarily based on the experience of one man, Luis Fley, who saw the war in Nicaragua from both sides: fighting for the Sandinistas to overthrow Somoza, and later joining the contras to depose the revolution he had helped bring to power. While Fley's story and experience is unique (as is that of every other person involved in the conflict), his reactions towards various events give us a general idea of how other people in Nicaragua of the same social background might have felt at the time. Although Fley's perspective forms the dominant narrative of the book, Dillon goes to great lengths to give background on other key characters who emerge throughout the story and provide some insight on their motivations and ambitions.

According to Dillon, Fley, and presumably many of the other Nicaraguan farmers that the contras recruited into their ranks, they were initially unaware of the FDN's connections to the CIA and Argentine military intelligence. Most were simply frustrated with the Sandinistas and felt the only way their grievances would be heard would be if they took up arms.

While many of them still resented the national guards who had served as Somoza's personal thugs, they were impressed by their discipline as well as the arms and equipment they had procured (though most of it had been supplied by the Americans or Argentines).[iii]

The abject poverty and poor discipline of the contra soldiers provides some context to one of the main themes of Cabestrero's book: that attacks on campesino leaders, clergy, and officials associated with the Sandinistas were deliberate and systemic. Given the early lack of quality equipment and general inexperience of most of the contras recruits, it was likely deemed by contra commanders and their backers in the CIA that testing them in direct action against the Nicaraguan army would likely result in higher casualties with minimal impact on the Sandinista government. Compared to the contras, the Nicaraguan military was far better trained and equipped, affording them numerous tactical advantages in direct combat. Another factor contributing to the contras' tactical disadvantage was numbers. Dillon describes the early attempts by the contra leaders to recruit new soldiers

Michael Johns (left), a former speechwriter for the White House and foreign policy analyst for the Heritage Foundation, with an underaged contra recruit. Wikimedia Commons.

for their rag-tag army; the ex-national guardsmen who formed the officer corps of the contras made arrangements with a small group of peasant rebels: in return for arms, clothes, and other equipment, the small band of rebels would return to the villages of Northern Nicaragua to gather more recruits for the growing insurgency. The plan worked spectacularly; hundreds of disaffected peasants joined within a few months. They were rewarded with weapons and equipment paid for by the CIA as well as military training provided by Argentine intelligence officers.[iv] However, even at the height of the conflict, the contras never numbered more than fifteen-thousand, still far outnumbered by the Nicaraguan army. Thus, violence against civilians, small-scale ambushes, and various forms of sabotage would remain their preferred tactics throughout most of the war.

Dillon's central thesis argues that the contras and the war in Nicaragua were only a small, albeit significant, part of a larger campaign to push back communist revolutionaries (according to the Reagan administration's interpretation) across Central America. Unbeknownst to Luis Fley, the small contra band he had joined in Honduras was only one of the paramilitary forces the CIA was arming. The agency was also supplying indigenous groups in Nicaragua and Costa Rica as well as a small force of commandos in El Salvador. The CIA, with the support of a Honduran colonel who the agency had covertly arranged to become head of the Honduran army, began sending dozens of trainers, intelligence operatives, interpreters, along with other personnel to expand their intelligence network and to begin laying the infrastructure that would support the contras as well as the Reagan administration's broader covert war against communism in Central America. The American embassy in Tegucigalpa, Honduras became their de facto headquarters, where CIA officers would plan and direct the contras' incursions into Nicaragua, as well as other aspects of the covert war.[v]

Here is where Dillon and Cabestrero's books differ the most. While both follow individual stories and perspectives as part of a broader narrative, Dillon's book places the entire conflict between the Sandinistas and the contras into a larger context. Blood of the Innocents focuses on individual stories of brutality and survival for their own sakes. Commandos reminds the reader that Luis Fley, the peasant guerrillas, the ex-national guards, along with the other contra groups are the manifestation of a broader pattern of policies emanating from the Reagan White House and carried out by the CIA and the State Department. To be fair, this isn't a criticism of Cabestrero. His primary goal is to shed light on the human suffering of those caught in the struggle, not to write a critique of the CIA. It's also worth noting that Cabestrero doesn't ignore the United States' involvement in the war. In the introduction to his book, he contrasts the testimony of

> **The stories presented in these two books are merely a handful among thousands of stories of deprivation, brutality, disillusionment, and betrayal in connection to the Contra War. Still, they help make the war in Nicaragua personal in a way that broader examinations of the conflict and its political causes usually do not. Beneath the narratives of Cold War politics, revolution, and imperialism are the lives of ordinary human beings who bear the brunt of the impact from decisions made in Washington, Tegucigalpa, or Managua.**

campesino survivors, detailing torture, executions and other human rights abuses, with President Reagan's repeated praise for the contras, comparing them with America's founding fathers, Lafayette, and Simon Bolivar.[vi] Dillon's book is an investigation into the CIA and the contras, whereas Cabestrero's is an emotional plea for action on behalf of the people of Nicaragua.

Young contra soldiers resting while on the march. Much if not all of their equipment was provided by the CIA. Wikimedia Commons.

Whatever the differences between the two books, the main point of emphasis is how U.S. foreign policy, conflict and (to a lesser extent) the policies of the Sandinistas, impacted the lives of ordinary Nicaraguans of nearly all ideological backgrounds. From the brutalized campesinos interviewed by Cabestrero, to Luis Fley and the other small-businessmen and disillusioned farmers profiled by Dillon, who chose to take up arms against the revolution many had initially supported, both books provide insight on their motivations and experiences as well as the complex social and economic factors which drove their decisions. The war in Nicaragua would last roughly eight years and claim the lives of nearly thirty-thousand Nicaraguans, most of whom were noncombatants. The stories presented in these two books are merely a handful among thousands of stories of deprivation, brutality, disillusionment, and betrayal in connection to the Contra War. Still, they help make the war in Nicaragua personal in a way that broader examinations of the conflict and its political causes usually do not. Beneath the narratives of Cold War politics, revolution, and

imperialism are the lives of ordinary human beings who bear the brunt of the impact from decisions made in Washington, Tegucigalpa, or Managua. While neither book ignores the larger picture of U.S. Reagan-era politics or conflict unfolding throughout Latin America, they remind us that these individual stories are also important for broadening our understanding of the relations between the U.S. and Nicaragua.

ENDNOTES

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TAIWAN WENTI: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TAIWANESE NATIONAL IDENTITY

Christian Stockdill

In contemporary geopolitics Taiwan is seen as a potential flashpoint for war contingent on the People's Republic of China's (PRC) desire to unify the province that broke away from mainland control after the defeat of the Kuomintang (KMT) in 1949. Throughout the seventy-four years in which this tense relationship has developed, Taiwan has distinguished itself not only in the economic sphere, but also in terms of a unique national identity that it has forged for itself separate from PRC notions of ethnic and nationalist ideology. Taiwan's complex history was forged through centuries of migratory patterns, colonization, and repressive rule that has resulted in an island with a deeply traumatized social memory. Over time Taiwanese society has developed into a unique cultural identity that separates it not just from PRC notions of 'Chineseness,' but also from most countries throughout the history of the world. The complexity of this identity is observable through several key periods of Taiwan's history that has resulted in a rich mixture of people who in the present day confront their shared histories of repression from foreign countries and within their own society under the specter of maintaining cross-strait relations. The contemporary situation in Taiwan's society results from a history affected by the sociological notion that identity is formed and solidified on the basis of common social experience particularly from political and economic factors.[i] Taiwan's complex history stemming from a legacy of European and Japanese colonization reveals a multitude of influences prior to its most important formative years under KMT rule that alone provide enough opposition to PRC conceptions of ethnic identity and a presumed country-allegiance tied to ethnicity. The KMT's rule of Taiwan after their migration in 1949 maintained a repressive and police-state character that

> **"Taiwan's complex history was forged through centuries of migratory patterns, colonization, and repressive rule that has resulted in an island with a deeply traumatized social memory."**

repressed non-Han, or only 'semi-Han' people, until 1987. This repressive rule of Taiwan profoundly affected the process of memory and identity formation throughout Taiwan's society. Taiwan's age of democracy from 1987 to the present day is characterized by a complex and ongoing discussion between four generations that conduct a continuous society-wide debate on the future of Taiwan. These four generations have several nuanced opinions and perspectives created through different and tumultuous circumstances, but nonetheless, they believe in a Taiwan that can dictate its own future in stark opposition to its history of other countries dictating it for them.

The island of Taiwan prior to the 1600's was effectively a northern nexus of the Austronesian diaspora that persisted for roughly 6,500 years.[ii] These aboriginal people formed a distinct culture that exists to this day and is affected throughout Taiwan's colonial and migratory history. These people were originally categorized as *Yuanzhumin* by Han settlers and were categorized further into smaller groups by later Japanese colonization. Despite occupying one out

of three of the major ethnic groups in Taiwan, they in the present day only consist of 2.3% of the population of Taiwan. *Yuanzhumin* will be largely ignored or at worst segregated against throughout the time span of this survey but will be reassessed as their position in contemporary politics has reemerged in a democratized and more ethnic-conscientious Taiwan.

Taiwan's major ethnic groups are the Han who began migration from China across the Taiwan Strait around the same time that the Dutch and Spanish settlers colonized small portions of the island. From 1624 to 1661, Dutch colonization influenced the economics of the island and evidence also suggests that class relations were present before notions of ethnic or national identity had developed. Han merchants warned the Dutch about an uprising of Han farmers and laborers, showing class rather than ethnic solidarity.[iii] Despite evidence directly suggesting notions of class relations, it is likely that in the face of increasing European presence in Asia the Han of Taiwan began to identify closer to the Han of the mainland in response to this external threat. The Han that migrated to Taiwan throughout this time consisted of two groups: Hokklo who settled primarily from the Fujian province of China and the Hakka who settled from several regions including the Guangdong and Jiangxi provinces. From this period until the Japanese colonization of 1895 Taiwan developed largely in the same manner as China. Classic characteristics of China's landscape and ideology such as rice paddy fields and Confucian philosophy characterize this time period in Taiwan. Furthermore, intensive cultural assimilation was propagated as likely half of all Han settlers had mixed Aboriginal and Han ancestry from extensive intermarriage. This time period of Taiwan's history can be summarized as a migratory period. The island experienced an influx of Austronesian people for thousands of years and from Han peoples for hundreds of years, with the Europeans on the periphery. The island primarily emulated Ming and, to a lesser degree, Qing societal foundations and philosophy that was passed to other diverse groups through intermarriage and cultural assimilation. Scholars such as Wu Cho Liu suggested that the Han of Taiwan more closely resembled the societal characteristics of Ming China rather than the later Qing.[iv] By understanding this distinct history, we may begin to conceptualize how diverse Taiwan is through genealogy and migration. This period persisted until 1895 when Japanese colonization shifted the character of Taiwan's history to an institutionalized and industrialized (rather than sporadic European) colonization and repression that did not leave the island until 1987.

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The characteristics of Japanese colonization resemble European practice in Africa as the Japanese Empire sought to emulate the West in several key ways, a notable example including Japan's importation of Darwinian notions of racial superiority. The Treaty of Shimonoseki of 1895 resolved Japan's conflict with China over Korea where the Japanese won decisively, gaining Korea, other territories, and, most notably, Taiwan. To the Japanese the island was a backwater, but Taiwan would serve as a vital point in their maturing aspirations to hold dominion over the Southern Pacific. As such the island needed to be modernized and shifted towards an extractive notion of efficient farm lands to serve the rapidly expanding Japanese Empire. Japan's behavior in attaining this is varied, and the economic benefits from

their endeavors also mixed. Most Japanese who came to the island were businessmen and most failed.[v] Despite this the island benefited from several projects fostering developments in infrastructure, more efficient farming, and aid projects designed to increase Japanese settlement of the island to promote an ethnic balance away from the dominant Han culture. The Japanese regarded the sociological makeup of the island as concerning with regards to the majority population consisting of Han peoples and their potential cross-strait allegiance. The Japanese leaned into this, however, and imported Qing notions of ethnic classification. These notions were also imported and applied to the less Han-influenced aboriginals who now existed for the first time under a sociological categorization and framework. This categorization ignored their occupation of a geographical and sociological periphery but was still denigrative and dismissive of their unique cultural identity. In a similarly dismissive fashion, Japanese land reform and development in Taiwan was ignored until the 1920's when conditions on the home islands regarding discontented Japanese farmers made it necessary to exert further economic control on Taiwan.[vi] This status quo remained until 1936 when Japan's use of Taiwan shifted to a martial focus in preparation for the imminent Second Sino-Japanese war in 1937.

The primary influence of Japan on Taiwan for fifty years of colonial rule was its economic development of the island which facilitated several trends later in Taiwan's history. While the Japanese ruled, however, several instances of Taiwanese identity formation and collective action were observable. The first being the proclamation of a national state separate from Japan and China. In response to Japan's assumption of control of Taiwan, several Han groups formed the Republic of Formosa that officially lasted 151 days - with guerrilla action occurring for a total of seven years. This rebellious action constitutes the first expression of a national identity for Taiwanese people. This action also reaffirmed several notions of ethnic conflict the Japanese possessed and perpetuated throughout their rule. This rebellion confirmed to the Japanese that the Han people of Taiwan harbor national rebellious tendencies stemming from their "belonging to the lineage of Han people."[vii] The primary objective of the Japanese became to sever this cultural link and immigration between the strait was suspended for the entirety of Japanese rule. This was maintained also because of the fear within the Japanese mindset of Taiwanese nationalist groups seeking to aid China's rise to status as a world power and to reclaim Taiwan. Japanese superstition would be further confirmed with the development of the Movement for the Establishment of a Taiwanese Parliament (1921-1934). The movement sought increased representation within the Imperial government with the ability to conduct a representative assembly within Taiwan to have a say in matters of governance on the island. The movement sought increased political rights under a more democratized framework and was spearheaded by Taiwanese intellectuals and activists. Taiwan's inclination to self-rule is exemplified by the earlier Republic of Formosa and their desire for democracy is also exemplified by this movement for a Taiwanese Parliament. This movement would serve as a foundational moment in Taiwanese political history later suppressed by KMT rule, but remained influential on Taiwan as it democratized in 1987.

At the end of World War Two Japanese control of Taiwan was revoked, and following the rapid defeat of Nationalist China in the 1949 civil war, the KMT fled across the strait to establish one party rule of the island. The mass migration of "Mainlanders," or *Waishengren*, as they came to be known in Taiwan, was a deeply destabilizing event that left both emigres and native Taiwanese deeply traumatized. *Waishengren* came across the Taiwan Strait numbering roughly one million. Most of these people were ordinary people who sought to maintain

> **The dual relationship of *Waishengren* as refugees while also being the ones in power in Taiwan created a complex and confusing dynamic that influences how first generation *Waishengren* are viewed.**

a livelihood under the societal structure of the KMT, or they were members of the military or collaborators destined to die at the hands of Mao's party. The characteristics of KMT rule were heralded by the "February 28 Incident" two years prior where between 18,000 and 28,000 civilians were killed by violent KMT repression. These protestors sought to end political discrimination, corruption, and institute economic reform. This event is crucial in it led to the development of the Taiwan Independence Movement that seeks neither cooperation with China nor the maintaining of the status quo, but total independence that is still influential today.

Waishengren assumed control and instituted a form of segregation where they maintained power in most political offices and through most economic positions. This segregation also stems from Japanese colonization where, in the eyes of the KMT, questions regarding the native Taiwanese in regards to their "Japanization" rendered them half Japanese due to fifty years of colonization resulting in cultural and linguistic changes. The legitimacy of this assertion may be seen in the words of later Taiwanese president Lee Teng-hui, the first "native born" Taiwanese president of a democratic Taiwan who asserts that in the first twenty years of his life he was effectively Japanese only to later - through the social production of identity - identify as Taiwanese.[viii] Furthermore, some scholars attest that this cross-strait migration may be more akin to migration to a foreign country rather than an internal migration. This assertion characterizes Taiwan even further from Chinese culture lending credence to the perspective that Taiwan is uniquely divorced from Chinese nationality and a unique nation in its own right. The native Taiwanese (*bengsheng ren*) responded in kind to this segregation by dissociating *Waishengren* from social spheres and often attempting to forbid *Waishengren* from their businesses. This resulted in what Dominic Yang, assistant professor of history at the University of Missouri, describes as "A great exodus that produced two massive social dislocations, or "social traumas" - one experienced by the mainland exiles and the other by the native Taiwanese residing in the island's major cities."[ix] This event created a unique perspective among the first generation of *Waishengren* that differentiates them from the third and fourth generations with the second generation being much more like-minded than the first.

To convert the humiliating defeat of the KMT at the hands of the PRC to something more positive, as well as in response to these deeply destabilizing societal events, Chiang Kai-shek instituted the state sponsored ideology of "restorative nationalist ideology." This ideology or propaganda campaign sought to limit public discussion of the war and to reinforce the notion of "One China Policy " that served as the KMT's fundamental political ideology with regard to cross strait relations until 1987 (as did the PRC). This ideology also repressed the social function of memory by stifling public discourse and stopping the formation of a natural national identity. What resulted from this was a form of colonization once again imposed on the Taiwanese people similar to Japanese rule, where they were once again relegated to static ethnic categories with no ability to perform the social function

of identity formation. The dual relationship of *Waishengren* as refugees while also being the ones in power in Taiwan created a complex and confusing dynamic that influences how first generation *Waishengren* are viewed. Those still alive by the time of Taiwan's democratization in 1987 and to today feel they are unjustly stigmatized as colonizers - while to bengshengren they justifiably feel *Waishengren* fulfilled the role of colonizers.[x] This resulted in a tense political period where one-party domineering rule set out to once again manufacture different societal notions that performed the function of differentiating the island from China. This is exemplified by *Waishengren*'s experience throughout the decades of KMT repression in relation to their desire to return. In the 1950's the prospect of returning KMT rule to mainland China was omnipresent and hopes were high. As the decades progressed and members of the first generation died, this desire was dampened, and ultimately quashed when the significantly smaller generation and their children (second generation *Waishengren*) were allowed to return to the mainland. What they found upon this homecoming was not their home, but a society completely changed under CCP rule. To many *Waishengren*, their identity was tied to China, but upon return the China they once knew was long gone, further disassociating the national identity ties of the first generation to China.

The 1980's saw the dissolution of the "restorative nationalist ideology" under leadership of Chiang Kai-shek's son, Chiang Ching-kuo, who did not contest the formation of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) and allowed several other democratic reforms to take place. The democratization of Taiwan opened society and gave the people of all generations the ability to discuss their shared history. From this several fascinating trends have developed including *Bentuhua* and the related concept of de-Sinicization, international shift to "One China, Two Regions, Two Political Entities," and increasing desire among all Taiwanese to democratize in response to Chinese militarism. *Bentuhua* is a controversial cultural movement ushered in by Lee Teng-hui to "Taiwanize" national identity, form a civic nationality, and better include *Yuanzhumin* in political participation and representation. However, the movement is seen by some, particularly the first- and second-generation Mainlanders, as de-Sinicization. An important distinction with this *Waishengren* viewpoint is that it is not the renunciation of Chinese history but a rejection of their history and presence on the island.[xi] While still linked to China through generational memory, Mainlanders' identity has been shaped through shared experience to produce a Taiwanese identity, but processes present in *Bentuhua* such as changing street names, strikes these *Waishengren* as a renunciation of their contributions - not a desire to reunite with China.

The shift to "One China, Two Regions, Two Political Entities" is also a pivotal development partially in response to Chinese militarism. Chinese threats to remove "remnants of the nationalist bandits" on Taiwan have fluctuated throughout the decades depending on leaders in power and political circumstances. Notable times include the Taiwan Strait crisis in 1954, and Chinese threats surrounding the Tangwai movement in the 1970s and 1980s.[xii] The change in stance to recognize two separate countries is a declarative political statement of the Taiwanese government that Taiwan is independent and reflects a growth of nationalist sentiment that can be traced throughout the 1990s. Modern survey data suggests that Taiwanese increasingly support an independent and more democratic Taiwan, but specifics regarding Chinese influence, when surveyed, suggest a counter development than most sociologists have observed.

In her article *Taiwan's Rising Rationalism: Generations, Politics, and 'Taiwanese Nationalism*, Shelley Rigger, a

professor of East Asian Politics at Davidson College, seeks to deconstruct the notion that Taiwanese nationalism is tied to a desire to break from China. Rigger argues that - particularly among the fourth generation Taiwanese - China is increasingly seen as an economic opportunity while maintaining Taiwanese identity is a given for members of this generation.[xiii] The fourth generation came to maturity during a time when policies of democracy and *Bentuhua* were long established, and the specter of China is a distant memory. Rigger suggests that the wording of surveys have been overly-simplistic, and by tactfully incorporating questions regarding Chinese aggression, many respondents are open to engaging with China for economic opportunity against the trend of older *Waishengren* who view the relationship with China in zero-sum terms. Rigger's conclusion suggests that the only thing influencing future generations of Taiwanese engaging with China is China restraining itself from military threats. With sufficient or substantive threats, Taiwanese nationalism now has a defensive, but assertive character. This suggests that a Taiwanese identity is firmly established and confident enough to engage with adversaries and promote their international position. Rigger's meta-analysis of years of surveys suggest that Chinese hostile action will only strengthen Taiwanese resolve in their national character. With developments such as the 2022 Russo-Ukrainian war solidifying Ukrainian national resolve against a former friendly nation, China has quite possibly lost to the winds of time their ability to deconstruct an independent Taiwanese identity and only risks accelerating its growth if CCP leadership decides in favor of forceful unification of the two countries.

Taiwanese national identity developed from a unique history of migration, colonization, and displacement that began to reveal itself starting in 1895 with the Republic of Formosa. In just under a century, the island developed a complex national character through intense social trauma of diverse groups learning to live with one another. Against CCP notions of Han ethnicity and their historical right to Taiwan, Taiwan's diverse generations since the KMT migration of 1949 have created a bastion of democracy on the doorstep of Communist China. These generations vary greatly in perspective but have coalesced under one Taiwanese identity. This identity has matured to challenge China directly, but as the younger generations show, the identity has become embedded deep within Taiwanese culture. As the future unfolds it will be up to political leaders on both sides of the strait, but primarily on China's restraint in regards to militarism that will determine if the two countries, while culturally similar, can cooperate and coexist peacefully.

"Against CCP notions of Han ethnicity and their historical right to Taiwan, Taiwan's diverse generations since the KMT migration of 1949 have created a bastion of democracy on the doorstep of Communist China. These generations vary greatly in perspective but have coalesced under one Taiwanese identity."

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"WHEN WILL THEY REOPEN OUR HOSPITAL?" THE RISE AND FALL OF HOLY FAMILY HOSPITAL

Haley Wells

In 1989, Medical Park West, a modest hospital in Ensley, Alabama (just outside of Birmingham) closed its doors. Though doctors and patients alike advocated for it to stay open, steady financial decline, a diminishing patient body, and increasingly outdated facilities and equipment had driven the hospital to the brink of collapse. Yet, the hospital had not always been underfunded, understaffed, and inadequately equipped. Though it started as a ramshackle collection of shacks manned by Catholic nuns, by 1954, it had been revamped with thousands of dollars from local donations and generous federal funding. When the new and improved hospital, then known as Holy Family Hospital, opened, it was lauded as "a spark—a flame—a beacon light."[1] In reporting on the 1954 dedication of the new and improved hospital, *The Birmingham News* called it "an example to the rest of the south," while an article published in the *Journal of the National Medical Association* quoted the Black Birmingham newspaper *The Birmingham Mirror*, stating, "The formal opening of the new hospital marks a milestone in true community living and in the steady growth of proper medical care for the Negro Citizens of Alabama."[2] Countless news sources predicted incredible growth for the hospital, stating that additional wings and dozens more beds would be added in the years following 1954. Though the hospital was not as prominent or well-funded as other local hospitals, such as the hospitals within the burgeoning University of Alabama Medical Center (later the University of Alabama at Birmingham), it was, nonetheless, well-supported, well-staffed, and desperately needed within Birmingham's Black community. So, why did a hospital that was so greatly needed and universally supported close only thirty-five years after opening? What needs drove the creation of the hospital, and what changing circumstances contributed to the hospital's end?

Before the creation of Holy Family Hospital, Black doctors in Birmingham had no place to practice medicine, and the Black community needed far more hospital beds than were available to them within Birmingham's segregated hospitals. Before 1964, Black physicians were barred from practicing at any of the hospitals in Birmingham, where membership in the all-white Jefferson County Medical Society was a prerequisite for county hospital membership. They could practice medicine within their private practices (if they could afford one), but if a patient needed hospitalization, they could not treat them. In the words of a Black Birmingham doctor, James Montgomery, "The black doctor treated patients in his office and he followed him up to the hospital door, but he couldn't go in."[3] Additionally, Black individuals often received inadequate healthcare, as these "separate but equal" county hospitals provided far fewer beds for Black individuals than they did for white individuals. Holy Family Hospital was created to address these disparities by providing a place for local Black doctors to practice and for Black individuals to receive care. Following widespread hospital desegregation in the 1960s, however, the hospital was forced to compete with other hospitals in the area, which were better funded, better equipped, and supported by significantly larger client bases. This competition drove the hospital to financial collapse until it closed only thirty-five years after opening. Yet, despite being a relatively brief part of Birmingham history, the story of the hospital's rise and fall represents the successes of Birmingham's civil rights movement—from improving Black health and the quality of Black life to combatting Black nihilism—as well as the way systemic racism and white indifference ultimately undercut those civil rights gains.

Holy Family Hospital circa 1954. Birmingham, Ala., Public Library Archives.

Scholarship on Birmingham and on race in healthcare more broadly has largely neglected the story of Holy Family Hospital, and no source has ever covered the hospital's history from beginning to end. Relatively few scholars have written on Black hospitals or the Black hospital movement, even at the national level, and even fewer have taken an interest in a small local hospital like Holy Family Hospital.[4] Scholars of the Black hospital movement have written on the few Black hospitals that came before Holy Family Hospital, including the Southside Clinic, the Slossfield Center, and Children's Home Hospital; however, these scholars do not discuss Holy Family Hospital or explore its relation to the earlier Black health initiatives in Birmingham.[5] Scholars of Birmingham history, including Glenn Eskew, Diane McWhorter, Andrew Manis, Tennant McWilliams, and T.K. Thorne have mentioned the hospital in passing but have neglected the larger history of the hospital's rise and fall.[6] Only one scholar, Christopher MacGregor Scribner, has written a detailed history of Holy Family Hospital's creation. In his book *Renewing Birmingham: Federal Funding and the Promise of Change 1929-1979*, Scribner argues that federal funding in Birmingham was central to facilitating social change, namely integration.[7] This central thesis informs Scribner's narrative about the hospital. He focuses on how federal funding through the Hill-Burton program "provided a solution" to the need for a Black hospital in Birmingham, suggesting that the hospital project gained little traction before federal money was involved. While he does note the role notable Black individuals played in facilitating the creation of the hospital, his work skews towards over-crediting white leadership in Birmingham and federal contributions for their role in the hospital project. Importantly, Scribner acknowledges the tensions surrounding the construction of the hospital, as Birmingham residents argued about whether the hospital was a victory for the Black community or a capitulation that would further solidify segregation. Scribner's interpretation of Holy Family Hospital is deeply nuanced, reading the hospital's creation as neither a clear victory nor total defeat for integrationist efforts. However, Scribner's narrative overlooks several facets of the hospital's history, which this project seeks to fill. He presents a thoughtful discussion of the hospital's creation—a narrative I largely concur with and will build upon in this paper—but he does not discuss the hospital's thirty-five years of operation or the forces that led to its collapse. The creation of the hospital is hugely important; it represented the culmination of years of civil rights advocacy, highlighted both the successes and shortcomings of white support for Black establishments, and demonstrated the power of federal money to both change and reassert the status quo. However, the history of hospital operations and the hospital's end are equally important. In particular, the hospital's decline demonstrates how the fight for racial equality is far from over—just as it was far from over when integration occurred in the 1960s—and must be continually fought for to prevent further decline.

Several Black hospital initiatives occurred in Birmingham before the Holy Family Hospital project; however, no Black hospital was enough to fully meet the needs of the Black community, and each lasted only a short time. After

each hospital closed down, Black doctors and patients were once again left without a space to call their own. In the 1930s, Black doctors had no hospital to practice in. They were forced to treat their patients in the patient's homes, which presented unsanitary working conditions; at their private practices, if they had one; or they had to send their seriously ill and injured patients to be treated by white doctors within the "Negro" sections of the segregated county hospitals. Care within these segregated hospitals was also substandard; Dr. Hamton Brewer, a Black doctor who started practicing in Birmingham in 1938, remembered how the one county hospital that accepted Black patients treated them in the basement.[8] His statement illuminates how inadequate the quality of care in segregated hospitals was—but it was still preferable to no hospital care. Oftentimes, Black patients who could afford it, chose white physicians over Black physicians, because "they […] had access to hospitals," even if the hospital care was inferior.[9] Thus, the doctor-patient relationship suffered, as the Black doctor's ability to adequately treat their patients was severely limited. Hospital segregation suppressed Black professional development and exacerbated racial health disparities.[10] The first Black hospital in Birmingham was called Children's Home Hospital, but it was far from sufficient to meet the health needs of the Black community. In an oral history conducted later in his life, Tom Boulware, a white obstetrician recalled, "Children's Home Hospital was a frame house close to Legion Field. The facilities were primitive; even the windows were not all screened. It was a so-called hospital in name, but not in reality."[11] The situation was so dire that only a handful of Black doctors remained in Birmingham to practice between 1930 and 1954.[12]

In the 1920s, Pierce Moten, a Black Meharry-educated doctor, tried to rectify this situation. Moten facilitated the creation of a 32-bed Black general hospital, which opened in 1920. However, the hospital closed soon after opening.[13] Moten then worked to create a hospital to provide maternal care to Black women after he watched a Black woman give birth on the street because there was no space for her in the overcrowded "Negro" section of the county hospital.[14] He reached out to influential individuals, Black and white, and they set up an emergency station for expectant Black mothers. Then, when the demands on this emergency station exceeded their capacity, they expanded into the Southside Clinic. By 1937, the Southside Clinic offered a multitude of maternal and neonatal services; Edwin R. Embree, a member of the Rosenwald Foundation (a philanthropic organization that donated millions of dollars to African-American institutions), was so impressed by the clinic that he convinced the Rosenwald Fund to help establish the Slossfield Center, another Black maternal health center.[15] Funding from the American Cast Iron Pipe Company, the Children's Bureau, and the Federal Works Progress Administration also helped fund the creation of the Slossfield Center, demonstrating both private and public support for Black healthcare initiatives—as long as they stayed within the carefully delineated lines of a segregated society.[16]

The Slossfield Center was initially focused on maternal health needs, but it soon expanded to provide full hospital services and a variety of training and professional opportunities for Black doctors and medical students.[17] The work the Center did was invaluable; Dr. Boulware, who became the senior obstetric consultant at the Center noted, "We proved beyond any shadow of doubt that we could cut the stillbirth rate in half, the maternal death rate to zero."[18] The Center demonstrated that adequate healthcare could significantly diminish the rampant health crisis in the Black community that segregation and other racial disparities in healthcare had caused. The Center also helped the Black medical profession survive in Birmingham, as it offered a four-week residency program and

biannual postgraduate seminars where Black professionals could receive much-needed training and experience.[19] However, in 1948, the Children's Bureau reduced funding for the Center, and local groups also cut their support until the Slossfield Center was forced to close.[20] While the Center's end did not shock the Black community, who understood how tenuous their gains were, it placed them in a dire position. In an open letter to *the Birmingham News*, one man wrote, "Is it possible to close the door of this maternity service in the face of a possible waiting list of 2000 indigent and part-pay women who need and desire so much of the sympathetic service of their own kith and kin?"[21] Black individuals in Birmingham—and especially Black women—desperately needed the services the Slossfield Center had provided. The crisis caused by the Slossfield Center closing and these health needs provided the impetus for the Holy Family Hospital movement.

The Holy Family Hospital project, which began in 1948 when the Catholic Sisters of Charity announced their plan to turn their tiny clinic into a sixty-bed hospital, initially received only limited support. In 1943, the Sisters, who came from Nazareth, Kentucky, had moved to Birmingham and created a twelve-bed infirmary in Ensley by joining three shacks together. Around the same time the Slossfield Center closed, Tinsley Harrison, the acting dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center, denied several requests to create a new Black hospital or Black hospital wing within the medical center's Jefferson-Hillman Hospital.[22] In light of this situation, Black doctors pushed the Sisters to expand, as this clinic represented the remaining viable option for creating a Black hospital in Birmingham. Dr. Brewer remembered, "Well we urged them […] Dr. Harris gave a thousand dollars and I gave a thousand dollars to stimulate a hospital, and then they put on a drive in Birmingham."[23] In Renewing Birmingham, Christopher Scribner credits the Sisters with taking the initiative to build a Black hospital, but Dr. Brewer's statement demonstrates that, as with virtually all civil rights initiatives, Black individuals were at the forefront of fighting for change. After receiving the initial push from local Black doctors, the Sisters started a fundraising campaign, hoping to raise $450,000 for the project.[24] At first, their mission seemed destined for quick success; a variety of local organizations, including the Young Men's Business Club (which had advocated for a Black hospital at Jefferson-Hillman) and the Mineral District Medical Society (the Black counterpart to the Jefferson County Medical Society), supported the creation of a new Black hospital. Yet, the stream of funds soon slowed. By 1950, the project was still $150,000 short of its final goal.

Financial support for the hospital project grew exponentially after white Southerners worried that the federal government might get involved in their racial politics. Scribner tracks an increase in racial tensions during 1949, noting how middle-class Black families attempted to move into Smithfield (a white-dominated neighborhood), how white supremacists retaliated by bombing their homes, and how Arthur Shores challenged Birmingham's racist zoning laws in a court case that he won in 1950. What Scribner does not mention is how leaders in Birmingham, including the Young Men's Business Club of Birmingham, the Council of Jewish Women, and Charles Zukoski (a prominent Birmingham banker) continued to push for a Black hospital wing within Jefferson-Hillman Hospital, even after the Holy Family Hospital project started. This hospital wing, they argued, would supplement the Sisters of Charity's hospital project. In other words, even as the fundraising project for a separate Black hospital continued (albeit slowly), progressive leaders pushed for an additional integrated hospital, arguing that the health needs of Birmingham's Black community were dire enough for both.[25] This advocacy threatened to undermine segregation

within Birmingham's medical field. Furthermore, Harry Truman had recently been elected, and white southerners feared that his administration which, "had included appeals to blacks in northern cities," planned to increase scrutiny into how the South handled its racial issues.[26] In light of these increased tensions, many white individuals in Birmingham worried that federal intervention would change the racial status quo. Meanwhile, John Newsome, the congressional representative for Birmingham, considered how federal support for the hospital project could be used to solidify segregation in Birmingham and assuage white anxieties in the process. Scribner writes, "Federal aid, according to Newsome, could serve multiple purposes: it could reduce the need for local contributions, which had been hard to come by; it could remedy uneven medical care for blacks; and by providing better facilities it would 'answer to those clamoring for civil rights legislation'."[27] The possibility of federal funding galvanized both racial progressives and conservative white leaders into action; they diverted attention from calls for a Black hospital wing within Jefferson-Hillman and worked to accelerate fundraising for the hospital project.

After learning that federal funds from the Hill-Burton program would cover one-third of the hospital costs, but only after the remaining two-thirds of the money were raised, local businessmen Donald Comer and Louis Pizitz stepped in to help direct funding efforts.[28] Donald Comer was the chairman of Avondale Mills, a profitable textile mill located in Avondale, and Louis Pizitz was the owner of a downtown department store and a powerhouse in the local Jewish community.[29] Their collaboration spanned religious divides, a point that Newsome emphasized. One *Birmingham Post* article quoted Newsome stating that the fundraising drive must be "all inclusive. It must include colored people, Protestants, Catholics, and Jews because it is a community project."[30] Perhaps Newsome hoped that a diverse drive would ward off federal scrutiny by demonstrating that a segregated city was capable of coming together for an ostensibly common cause. Regardless of why Newsome advocated for the inclusivity of the drive, the widespread support it ultimately received demonstrates how citizens of Birmingham were far more willing to support a project that worked within the city's segregated structure than they were to support efforts to dismantle that structure. Comer and Pizitz rose to the occasion, publishing open letters about the hospital's importance and organizing a huge fundraising drive to raise the money as quickly as possible.

To build support for the project and encourage donations, Comer proposed several reasons why the hospital was important, arguments which reveal the complexities of white support for Black projects. First, he argued that the poor health of Black individuals threatened the health of the white community as well. In an open letter he and Pizitz published in *the Birmingham News*, he wrote, "Not only the Negro who works in the confines of our homes or public places as cook, nurse, or waitress, but all who ride the buses, walk the streets, or work in plants and shops are in constant contact with the white citizens of Jefferson County. What threatens their health, also threatens ours."[31] Thus, Comer and Pizitz framed efforts to improve Black health as something that was equally beneficial—perhaps even more beneficial—for the white residents of Birmingham. Second, Comer and Pizitz argued that the hospital project would "be […] an answer to in part to the sponsors of legislation in Washington who seek so ardently to intervene in the affairs of our state."[32] These statements defined the benefits of the hospital project for white Birmingham residents: to safeguard their own health and to avoid federal intervention while upholding segregation. Many news sources promoted the idea that the hospital

would prevent integration; for example, one headline stated, "A hospital for Negroes is the answer to those clamoring for civil rights legislation, members of the Young Men's Business Club were told yesterday."[33] This same article quoted Newsome, stating, "Segregation laws would be observed" at the new hospital.[34] Tinsley Harrison made a similar claim in a letter to Brewer Dixon (a member of the Board of Trustees at the University of Alabama) stating that a separate Black hospital "would not, of course, satisfy the national Negro group, which is all out to abolish segregation. However, it would meet the problem fairly […] and would protect us from adverse decisions by the Supreme Court of the United States."[35] These sources show that many white individuals supported the hospital project because they hoped it would end calls for hospital integration (and widespread integration) in Birmingham. Newsome claimed that people should support the project because it was a "community need," but Comer and Pizitz's approach, alongside this rhetoric, clearly demonstrates that most white Birmingham residents did not care about the project until they believed it would serve their interests.[36]

The most egregious example of this conditional support came from the Jefferson County Medical Society (JCMS). In a 1950 *Birmingham Post* article, the president of the JCMS endorsed the hospital project, repeating that Black doctors had nowhere to practice and stating, "If a hospital for Negroes were in operation […] that patient could retain his or her own physicians while in the hospital."[37] Yet, the JCMS was one of the main reasons why Black doctors could not practice in county hospitals; a doctor was not eligible for staff membership at any of the county hospitals unless they were a member of the JCMS, and the JCMS denied membership to Black doctors. In fact, until 1953, the JCMS constitution explicitly stated that "All white legal, reputable, and ethical physicians of the county shall be eligible for membership in this society."[38] Thus, the president of the JCMS drew attention to the plight of Black doctors and endorsed a Black hospital, even as it was entirely within his power to change this situation on a much grander scale by changing the by-laws of the JCMS to allow Black doctors. The support of the JCMS demonstrates most clearly why prominent white individuals supported the hospital project: because the hospital project provided a (limited) solution to Black demands while allowing them to maintain the segregationist status quo.

To be clear, not every white individual who supported the hospital project did so with self-serving motives. For example, Roy Kracke, the first dean of the University of Alabama Medical Center, endorsed the project, saying, "I am not concerned as to the problem of who builds the hospital or how it is done or under whose auspices it will be operated […] We need this hospital, and we need it badly."[39] For years, Kracke had pushed for integration at the Medical Center and even integrated the Hillman nursing program in 1947 until members of the University of Alabama Board of Trustees forced him to remove the Black students from the program.[40] Even as he held onto the idea of creating a Black hospital or a Black wing within the Medical Center, he realized that "the only immediate solution was a black hospital located elsewhere" and thus endorsed the hospital project.[41] Kracke represented a minority of white individuals who supported the Black hospital not because it upheld segregation or benefited the white community, but because they understood the dire health needs of the Black community and saw the hospital as a way to meet those immediate needs. Their support for the hospital project did not negate their support for long-term progress goals. Charles Zukoski, a prominent banker and civil rights advocate, displayed a similar mindset, supporting the hospital project even as he continued to advocate for the establishment of a Black hospital within the Medical

> **For the majority of white Birmingham, support of the hospital allowed the segregationists to bask in self-congratulatory passiveness, perpetuating the status quo under the guise of ostensibly helping the Black community.**

Center.[42] Yet, for the majority of white Birmingham, support of the hospital allowed the segregationists to bask in self-congratulatory passiveness, perpetuating the status quo under the guise of ostensibly helping the Black community.

Some Black individuals, who understood what they were losing even as they gained something their community desperately needed, criticized the hospital project. Emory O. Jackson, editor of the Black newspaper The Birmingham World, was particularly outspoken. Jackson criticized the NAACP, the Mineral District Medical Society, and other Black organizations that supported the project, claiming that they were capitulating to "Southern tradition." In one letter, he stated that, "It would seem that the 'all-Negro' angle of the Holy Family Hospital is a deliberate effort to set an unfortunate pattern in Alabama."[43] Scribner contends that Black support for the hospital project did not mean that organizations like the Mineral District Medical Society abandoned their goals for total hospital integration. He writes, "They wanted open access to all local hospitals [...][and they] did not abandon their interest in the medical center."[44] What Scribner neglects to mention, however, is how most Black individuals had no real choice in the matter. They desperately needed a hospital for their doctors to practice in and for their community members to receive care, and they could not afford to wait for years while they advocated for hospital integration. While Jackson placed the onus on members of his community to fix the racial issues in Birmingham, he ignored how his community first needed to survive—literally and professionally. Pierce Moten, who was president of the Mineral District Medical Society at the time, demonstrated the desperation of the Black community in a letter he wrote to *the Birmingham News*: "As is well known, no Negro physician may treat his patient in any of the existing approved hospitals. This state of affairs not only robs the Negro physician of an opportunity to improve his skill, but it necessitates the transferring of a critically ill patient to the care of a total stranger."[45] What Moten did not add—but what members of the Black community would have understood—was how these total strangers were often novice white doctors who used the bodies of their Black patients as training exercises to gain medical experience.[46] As part of the tiny Black Birmingham middle class, Emory O. Jackson was privileged enough to afford adequate medical care. He could choose to withhold support for a Black hospital because he did not need a Black hospital. Most of Birmingham's Black community, on the other hand, did need a Black hospital, and they could not afford to wait for adequate medical care until hospital integration occurred. Thus, the need for a Black hospital—even if it "upheld" segregation—far outweighed any considerations about what the Black community was "giving up" in supporting the hospital project.

By December 1950, the necessary funds for the hospital project had been raised; new ground for the hospital was broken in 1952, and in 1954, after two years of construction, the hospital opened.[47] From the outset, the hospital provided an invaluable service to both Black patients and Black doctors. In her book on the Black hospital movement, Vanessa Gamble argues that: "the hospitals were once crucial for the survival of African Americans, professionally and personally," and

Holy Family Hospital beautifully demonstrates this point.[48] Dr. James Montgomery, a Black cardiologist who practiced at Holy Family Hospital for years, summed up its importance in an interview, stating, "Had there been no Holy Family Hospital, no matter what I wanted to do, I could not have come back to Birmingham […] You have to have a hospital to take care of sick patients. And […] Holy Family gave me that opportunity, and I'm very grateful for that."[49] Holy Family Hospital made it possible for talented individuals like Montgomery—who later became the first Black member of the JCMS, a professor of medicine at UAB, the president of the Alabama State Medical Association, and a diplomate for the American Board of Internal Medicine—to live and practice in Birmingham, which, by extension, gave them the opportunity to fight for change there.[50] Had Montgomery been forced to practice elsewhere, he would never have had the opportunity to facilitate incredible change within Birmingham's medical field. The hospitals provided a space for many other talented Black doctors to practice. Pierce Moten worked there, as did Robert Stewart, the first non-white doctor in America to become board-certified by the American Board of Obstetrics and Gynecology.[51] Once widespread hospital integration occurred, many of these doctors were able to gain staff membership at county hospitals, which was due, in part, at least, to the experience and expertise they had gained working at Holy Family Hospital. Even after widespread hospital integration, many Black doctors continued to get an invaluable start at Holy Family Hospital. In 1983, *The Consortium*, a local publication on Black individuals in medicine, listed thirty-two local Black doctors, twenty-three of whom had staff affiliation at Holy Family Hospital.[52] Thus, even after hospital integration, many doctors continued to find belonging at the hospital, as either a place where their careers took off or as a place that would always be their own.

The hospital was equally important to patients in the Black community. For years, the hospital provided quality care to many members of the Black community; during its time in operation, *the Birmingham Mirror* frequently noted individuals who received treatment at the hospital and celebrated their successful recuperation at the hands of the hospital's capable staff.[53] While many of the hospital's patients were ordinary individuals, the hospital also served several notable members of the Black community.[54] In 1963, after the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church Bombing, the hospital treated fifteen-year-old Bernardine Matthews for shock, while the more gravely injured victims went to the trauma center at University Hospital.[55] The hospital also treated Fred Shuttlesworth multiple times. On May 7, 1963, Shuttlesworth was injured while marching with demonstrators in the Children's Crusade. Shuttlesworth's biographer, Andrew Manis, writes that a fire hose: "[Hit] him in the back of the shoulder and ribs, the powerful stream bruised a rib and rolled him several feet towards the church, slamming him against the brick wall and continuously pounding him until he lost his breath and almost his consciousness."[56] After sustaining these injuries, Shuttlesworth was taken to Holy Family Hospital, where, Manis writes, "Dr. James T. Montgomery treated Shuttlesworth's ribs and tried to calm him down with a sedative."[57] After being treated for his injuries, Shuttlesworth left the hospital, but returned a few days later, suffering from "complete physical and mental exhaustion."[58] Again, Montgomery treated him while he was hospitalized.[59]

Shuttlesworth's hospitalization during a period of extreme racial tension threatened the security of everyone in the hospital and even the hospital itself. Montgomery later recalled how Shuttlesworth's stay at Holy Family Hospital caused alarm amongst the hospital staff, stating how one nurse "was afraid for the hospital." He continued, "This was during the time when they bombed the A.G. Gaston Motel. They bombed A.D. King's home. They bombed Fred Shuttlesworth's home and church many times."[60] Thus, this

nurse worried that the hospital would be bombed as well, simply because Fred Shuttlesworth was staying there. The fraught nature of treating Shuttlesworth's injuries shows how providing healthcare for Black individuals—especially those actively involved in the civil rights movement—was never an apolitical undertaking. American racism continually promoted the idea that Black individuals were undeserving of equal access—or any access—to adequate healthcare through the segregation of hospitals and medical schools and widespread discrimination in the medical community. This racist status quo ensured that simply treating injured Black individuals was read as a threat to the racist status quo. Thus, doctors and hospitals that treated Black individuals could become a target for white retaliatory violence.[61] In this way, the hospital supported the goals of the civil rights movement, risking violent white retaliation to provide care for Birmingham's civil rights leaders, thereby enabling them to keep fighting for progress.

Though the hospital provided an invaluable service to the Black community, its operation did not come without struggles. In his oral history, Montgomery recalled how "We didn't have a lot of patients," when he joined the hospital in 1957.[62] Montgomery explained how Holy Family Hospital struggled to attract patients (outside of the obstetrics unit) because Black people did not want Black doctors to do surgery on them or treat their other illnesses. He stated, "Once you got really sick, indoctrination on the part of the white majority had been so good that they had told us that if you're black, you get back, black is unable, black is unequal, white is positive, it's strong, it's educated. And that thing was deep in all of our minds."[63] Montgomery's quote demonstrates how Black individuals were constantly made to feel inferior and inherently unqualified. As a result, they frequently avoided seeking the services of a Black doctor, "[refusing] to believe

> **"As part of the Civil Rights Movement, the hospital's contributions were ideological, as well as physical and professional."**

that any black doctor—no matter how well educated, well trained, or talented—could ever be quite as good as a white physician."[64] This mindset greatly harmed Black doctors and Black institutions like Holy Family Hospital. The hospital had been created to address health disparities within the Black community, but the hospital staff found that their hands were tied if potential patients would not come to them. Yet, Holy Family Hospital persevered and ultimately won the trust and respect of its patients. Montgomery remembered:

> We began to get people that would come into the hospital, Holy Family, in those days when they realized that it was the one institution that was clean, that was representative of what a hospital ought to be, and they would not be herded in like animals. And that was a good positive thing for us. After I began, and other people began, to get people to realize that I'm qualified, I've been trained, I can take care of people like you.[65]

Montgomery's statement reveals the incredible importance of Holy Family Hospital. Not only did the hospital provide a space for Black doctors to practice, but it also worked tirelessly to build trust within the Black community. Black individuals had previously mistrusted hospitals, remembering how they were often treated as animals or test subjects in segregated, white-dominated hospitals; however, Holy Family Hospital helped them understand that within a Black-controlled hospital,

Holy Family Hospital doctors pose in front of the hospital. UAB Archives, University of Alabama at Birmingham.

they could receive compassionate care. The trust that Holy Family Hospital was able to build was as important as the care they offered: it made Black individuals more willing to seek hospital care when they were sick or injured, rather than refusing care until they were terminally ill. Thus, the hospital represents an overlooked part of Birmingham's civil rights history, as it provided compassionate care to Black individuals and treated them with dignity, even as they were dehumanized and attacked in almost every other area of their lives. Though the hospital did uphold a segregationist model of healthcare, it also represented progress for the Black community, as it provided healing, while most institutions harmed the Black community. The care Black doctors within the hospital provided also combatted internalized anti-Blackness, making Black patients more willing to accept the care of Black doctors and to trust in their expertise. As part of the Civil Rights Movement, the hospital's contributions were ideological, as well as physical and professional.

In July 1964, the Civil Rights Act was passed, and by the end of 1965, virtually all county hospitals had integrated, a shift which helped the Black physicians of Holy Family Hospital but harmed the hospital itself. Following integration, many of the Black doctors who worked at Holy Family Hospital obtained staff membership at other county hospitals, though many also continued practicing at Holy Family Hospital, at least for a time.[66] Once Black physicians had a variety of hospitals open to them, many—especially doctors just graduating from medical school—preferred to practice at hospitals that were better funded and better-equipped than Holy Family Hospital. While hospital integration ostensibly benefitted Black doctors, it was also a double-edged sword. In an interview conducted with the *Birmingham Post-Herald* in 1979, Robert Stewart noted how he never quit practicing at Holy Family Hospital or applied for staff membership at any of the county hospitals except Carraway. He explained, "I couldn't go into University [Hospital] and retain my self-respect. I'd have to do things their way and we don't always do things the same way and at the same time."[67] Stewart suggests that, as Black doctors gained staff privileges in county hospitals, they lost their autonomy and authority as doctors—authority that they possessed at Holy Family Hospital. Dr. Montgomery spoke to the importance of the hospital as a Black-controlled space in an interview he did with *The Consortium*, stating:

> I learned something when I was a resident in St. Louis […] There was the St. Louis Jewish Hospital. I noticed that the Jews never left their institution which they had some control over […] This is when I learned my lesson about [not] leaving an institution where one has something to say about what goes on. You can best protect your patients' interests if you help make policy.[68]

At Holy Family Hospital, Black physicians were in control. The hospital was not just a space they could call their own;

it was also a space where they had the power to treat their patients as they saw fit, a space that empowered them to shape professional developments within the field of Black healthcare. In the county hospitals, however, Black physicians lost their policy-making power and became just another doctor out of many—often an unwelcome addition in institutions that had only grudgingly integrated. Yet, the allure of these county hospitals continued to draw Black physicians away from Holy Family Hospital, and it ultimately harmed the hospital.

The hospital also struggled to attract enough patients to stay afloat. One of the main factors that forced widespread hospital integration was Medicare and Medicaid. Matthew McNulty, an administrator at the Medical Center, clearly summarized the importance of Medicare in a 1966 letter responding to complaints about the integration of the Medical Center:

> As of July 1, 1966, the Medicare Act goes into effect. Some 18.5 million Americans, aged 65 and older, will be entitled to hospital (inpatient and outpatient) care which will be underwritten by the federal government through the Social Security Administration. In order for these elderly citizens to have their hospital expenses paid, the hospital rendering the services must be in compliance with the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[69]

Thus, to be eligible for Medicare—something indigent patients desperately needed, especially in a low-income area like Ensley—a hospital had to demonstrate that it was fully integrated. This was something Holy Family Hospital struggled to do. A *Birmingham Post-Herald* article published in 1966 stated, "Holy Family Hospital has been told that it must make a greater effort to get white patients, or it will not be able to participate in Medicare [...] Holy Family since its inception has been desegregated. However, less than ten patients per year are white and that includes priests and sisters."[70] The hospital was instructed to advertise its availability to white patients if it wished to "admit Medicare patients and be paid for them." The hospital did so, placing advertisements in the local papers that announced, "It is the policy of the Holy Family Hospital to admit and to treat all patients without regard to race, color, or national origin in accordance with Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964."[71] Year after year, the hospital continued to place advertisements in the paper, emphasizing its integrated status, but this did little to attract enough white patients.[72] Though Holy Family Hospital was integrated—and had never been segregated—it still had the appearance of a purely Black (and, by extension, poor) hospital, which harmed it financially. Just like Black physicians preferred to practice at the "mainstream" county hospitals, white patients preferred to go to those hospitals as well. As other county hospitals continued to receive generous federal grants for expansion, Holy Family Hospital struggled to qualify for even Medicare funding. Federal funding for Holy Family Hospital had been seen as necessary before integration, when that funding could be used to solidify segregation. However, after integration, federal funding was no longer seen as a necessity because Black-centered institutions were no longer seen as necessary. In her article on the long civil rights movement, Jacqueline Dowd Hall writes that integration did not "imply assimilation into static white-defined institutions […] True integration was and is an expansive and radical goal, not an ending or abolition of something that once was—the legal separation of bodies by race—but a process of transforming institutions and building an equitable, democratic, multiracial, and multiethnic society."[73] Yet, in practice, integration became assimilation into white-defined and dominated institutions, such as county hospitals, while predominantly Black institutions, such as Holy Family Hospital, were neglected and pushed into the periphery.

Throughout the late 1960s, Holy Family Hospital fell deeper and deeper into debt until by 1970, hospital ownership

was transferred to a non-profit corporation composed of a group of local hospital administrators. In 1968 and 1969, the hospital did receive some funding to help it improve its facilities and stay afloat; however, the funds allocated were about half of what the hospital needed and were less than fifty percent of the funding other local hospitals received.[74] By April 1970, the Sisters of Charity announced their plans to quit operating the hospital because they could no longer afford it. In the wake of their announcement, several local groups worked to keep the hospital open, arguing that the hospital was still very important to impoverished individuals in the area. Black individuals in Birmingham still suffered from high levels of tuberculosis, pneumonia, cerebral hemorrhages, and diabetes. These health issues were caused by decades of segregated and inadequate healthcare, as well as Black individuals' ongoing inability to afford adequate care. One news source even noted how many poor Black individuals received healthcare only after "they are in the acute or long-term chronic categories [of illness]."[75] Thus, many Black individuals suffered just as they had before hospital integration; because their economic status had not changed along with integration, better healthcare was an option only in theory—but never a financial reality. Holy Family Hospital, then, represented one of the last spaces where impoverished individuals in Birmingham could receive adequate and affordable care. In June 1970, the nuns sold the hospital to a nonprofit corporation of six Jefferson County hospital administrators, hoping that these administrators would be able to keep the hospital open in perpetuity.[76] Under this new leadership, the hospital was renamed Community Hospital, a title that reflected the hospital's communal health goals.

The transfer of ownership brought many changes, both good and bad. Unfortunately, it was not a seamless transition. A brochure on the hospital's history written sometime in the 1970s notes that the transfer of ownership "was not an easy change. It caused the institution to lose good employees because of their unawareness that in Community Hospital, Inc. there too remained a job for them."[77] Yet, despite these bumps in the road, the hospital continued to grow. The convent that had been attached to the hospital (for the Sisters of Charity) was renovated into another hospital building, and Community Hospital hired more doctors. By 1976, the hospital retained twenty physicians and had grown to eighty-three beds.[78] Though the hospital was smaller than many other hospitals in the area, it maintained an occupancy rate of approximately seventy percent.[79] In 1971, the hospital added a night clinic, which served individuals who could not receive care during the day, and it continued to provide a variety of fully-accredited services, including various surgeries and a plethora of gynecological procedures.[80] In this manner, it continued to serve the disadvantaged individuals who needed medical care the most.

> **"The care doctors like Moyo provided demonstrates that the 'best care' is not just about being treated in the best facilities but is also—and perhaps more importantly—about being treated by doctors who care the most."**

Despite the many services the hospital offered, in the 1970s and 1980s it continued to struggle financially. In the mid-1970s, the financial strain on the hospital was particularly acute. Dr. Edwin Moyo, a physician at Community Hospital remembered, "When I first came here [in 1975] […] Community

had a horrible reputation. People who went there thought they were being sent there to die."[81] Yet, passionate doctors like Moyo dedicated themselves to making the hospital the best it could be, and, despite ongoing financial struggles, they managed to provide invaluable medical care to many of Ensley's poorest residents. The care doctors like Moyo provided demonstrates that the "best care" is not just about being treated in the best facilities but is also—and perhaps more importantly—about being treated by doctors who care the most. Though the hospital's reputation was not the best, its mortality rate was equal to and, in some instances, lower than more prominent hospitals in the area, including Carraway Methodist Medical Center, Cooper Green Hospital, and Lloyd Noland Hospital. [82]

In 1986, the hospital's financial struggles were so bad that Bob Sanders, the chairman of the Board of Trustees at Community Hospital, decided to lease the hospital to Erlanger Health Services, Inc. (EHS), a management group from Chattanooga that leased the operating rights to hospitals in predominantly Black communities.[83] After taking over management of the hospital, Erlanger changed the hospital's name to Medical Park West. Then, only a short time later, Erlanger went bankrupt. Sanders and the other members of the Board of Trustees tried to buy the hospital back, but Erlanger refused. In August 1987, Medical Park West closed. The hospital's end was a blow to many in the community. Reflecting on the end of the hospital, Moyo stated, "I hope the hospital reopens. It is needed in this part of Birmingham. Most of my patients cannot afford to go to other hospitals."[84] Moyo's statement highlighted the ongoing community need for the hospital—a need that other better-funded and better-equipped hospitals in the area had consistently failed to meet. Furthermore, Moyo spoke to the significance the hospital had, beyond simply providing care: "There is so much black history here. Community Hospital is a landmark."[85] Moyo's statement shows how the hospital had grown from an institution that ensured the physical and professional survival of the Black community to a symbol of Black achievement, Black excellence, and Black pride. When the hospital closed its doors, many felt as if the community at large had turned its back on everything the hospital represented and how far the Black community in Birmingham had come. In 1988, Carraway Methodist Medical Center gained ownership of the hospital and attempted to reopen it. However, only twenty-two beds (of the hospital's available eighty-three) opened for use, and the hospital "essentially became an extension of Carraway."[86] Shortly after, the hospital closed permanently.

In 1990, a New Orleans-based group called Medical Heritage Inc. bought the hospital with the goal of revitalizing "failing inner-city hospitals."[87] The secretary of the company, Don West, claimed: "We have cut out a market niche for ourselves and no one else wants to handle Medicare and Medicaid patients."[88] West's statement neatly encapsulates why the hospital failed. When the hospital first closed, many people questioned why it had happened. Was Erlanger at fault? Was the Board of Trustees to blame? While it is tempting to blame Erlanger or point to other instances of financial mismanagement, the hospital was hanging by a thread long before Erlanger took over. What truly ended the hospital was a lack of community support, fueled by white indifference, which had been growing since widespread hospital integration in the 1960s. Moyo himself identified a lack of community support as one of the main reasons the hospital closed, stating "they [local physicians] were too concerned about the location of Community. You know, the area of town?"[89] Moyo's statement demonstrates how de facto hospital segregation continued even as de jure hospital integration spread; local white physicians did not want to work at or support Community

Hospital because it was located in an impoverished, predominantly Black area of the city, and they wished to separate themselves from that. Local physicians, such as the former president of the JCMS, had been more than willing to support the hospital when it upheld segregation—and when it was a place to shoehorn Black doctors to keep them out of white hospitals—but when it no longer served that purpose, they no longer saw it as necessary. Birmingham Public Library Director George Stewart summed up a similar point of view when, in 1988, he stated that the hospital closed because "that situation [hospital segregation] no longer exists."[90] Stewart's claim demonstrated the foundation of white indifference about Community Hospital; the white community believed that every goal of the civil rights movement had been achieved by 1965, and so they no longer saw a need for separate Black institutions.[91]

In 2023, Patriot Front, a white supremacist group, vandalized the outside of Holy Family Hospital. Their racist graffiti, which read "One nation against invasion," speaks to the dangers of complacency, of believing that the Civil Rights Movement became obsolete in 1965, and illuminates what we must work towards in the future. In her dissertation on the civil rights movement, Adrienne Elyse Chudzinski writes, "In order to align with these dominant, acceptable narratives of the national past, the struggle for civil rights needed to become a virtuous story, free of deep reflections on the United States' enduring social problems."[92] Chudzinski continues, stating the dominant narrative about the civil rights movement, "[emphasizes] moments that concluded in redemptive triumph."[93] Attitudes about Holy Family Hospital exemplify this dominant narrative; people—locally and nationally—decided that the civil rights movement had been "won" after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, and no further work needed to be done to advance and protect civil rights or human rights in the United States. The growing mythology of the civil rights movement further exacerbated this belief, as it grew into a narrative that encouraged complacency and the belief that, now that the movement was "won," the gains of the movement could never be undone. Consequently, support for Black institutions like Holy Family Hospital dwindled as communities refused to acknowledge or address the ongoing racial disparities that the movement had failed to resolve.

Yet, as the overtly racist graffiti of Patriot Front demonstrates, racism is still very prevalent in our country. When we are complacent, we allow that racism to thrive. Furthermore, the current state of Black health in the United States clearly demonstrates how far we are from the goals of the civil rights movement and, specifically, the goals of Holy Family Hospital. Racial health disparities are still incredibly common in America; a 2017 report by the National Academies of Science, Engineering, and Medicine noted that "the magnitude of the African American-white disparity in acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS) diagnoses and mortality has actually grown substantially over time."[94] Furthermore, "African Americans were 30 percent more likely than whites to die prematurely from heart disease in 2010, and African American men are twice as likely as whites to die prematurely from stroke."[95] Maternal health in America demonstrates similarly troubling racial disparities; in 2021, the maternal mortality rate for Black women was 2.6 times the maternal mortality rate for White women.[96] In Alabama specifically, the rate of cervical cancer mortality for Black Alabamians was almost twice the mortality rate for their white counterparts.[97] In the 1960s and into the present, white individuals believed and continue to believe that hospital integration had solved the Black health crisis; however, these statistics demonstrate that the Black health crisis is far from over. Holy Family Hospital did not close because it had become obsolete.

Though the hospital still served a crucial community need, it closed because people grew indifferent to Black health struggles, deciding that because Black individuals had won full citizenship *on paper only*, no further activism or advocacy was needed. To be clear, keeping the hospital open would not have provided a panacea for the Black health problem; the racial health disparities Black individuals faced and continue to face were far too severe for one small hospital alone to address. Yet, the white indifference and passivity that drove the hospital to the brink of bankruptcy starkly demonstrates how we can only combat racial health disparities on a large scale when all of us—but especially the communities in power—truly care about Black health. The history of Holy Family Hospital, then, is critical—not only to prevent further regression into the overt racism and segregation of the past, but also to demonstrate how much the long civil rights movement has yet to accomplish and to show how much work remains to be done.

ENDNOTES

1. "A Spark—A Flame—A Beacon Light: The Holy Family Hospital, Ensley, Alabama," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55, no. 1 (1963): 86-88.

2. Lane Carter, "Faiths, Races Meet, Dedicate New Holy Family Hospital," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), January 11, 1954; *The Birmingham Mirror* in "A Spark—A Flame—A Beacon Light," *Journal of the National Medical Association*, 87.

3. James Montgomery, UAB Archives, interview by Virginia Fisher, *UAB Archives Record Group 1.45*, August 26, 1987.

4. See Edward Beardsley, *A History of Neglect: Health Care for Blacks and Mill Workers in the Twentieth Century South* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Vanessa Gamble, *Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement 1920-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Mitchell F. Rice and Woodrow Jones Jr., *Public Policy and the Black Hospital: From Slavery to Segregation to Integration* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1994); Thomas J. Ward Jr., *Black Physicians In the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2003); Vanessa Gamble, *The Black Community Hospital* (New York: Garland Publishing Company, 1969); Richard D. deShazo, editor, *The Racial Divide in American Medicine: Black Physicians and the Struggle for Justice in Healthcare* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2018).

5. See Edward Beardsley, *A History of Neglect*; Jenny M. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives: African American Midwifery in the Twentieth Century South* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 2018); Vanessa Gamble, *Making a Place for Ourselves: The Black Hospital Movement 1920-1945* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995); Mitchell Rice and Woodrow Jones, Public Policy and the Black Hospital: From Slavery to Segregation to Integration (New York: Bloomsbury Academic, 1994).

6. See T.K. Thorne, *Behind the Magic Curtain: Secrets, Spies, and the Unsung White Allies of Birmingham's Civil Rights Days* (Montgomery: New South Books 2021), 174; Tennant McWilliams, *New Lights in the Valley: The Emergence of UAB* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2007), 62,67, 151, 159; Andrew Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2001), 379, 388; Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama, The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster), 413, 430, 652; Glenn Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 283, 296.

7. Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 2.

8. Hampton Brewer, "Reflections of the Past," interview by William Bryant, M.D., *The Consortium: A Concise History of Blacks in Medicine* (Birmingham: Neride Incorporated, 1983).

9. "A Hospital by and for Blacks: A Chapter in the Medical History of Birmingham, Alabama, 1930-1954," *UAB Archives*, Record Group MC53, 5.

10. Beardsley, *A History of Neglect*, 79.

11. Tom Boulware, UAB Archives, interview by Virginia Fisher, *UAB Archives Record Group MC45*, June 30, 1987.

12. "A Hospital by and for Blacks: A Chapter in the Medical History of Birmingham, Alabama, 1930-1954," *UAB Archives*, 5-6.

13. Moten claims a lawsuit with the Knights of Pythias ended the hospital, while other sources claim it closed due to a lack of adequate funding. Pierce Moten, "A Sketch of My Life and Work," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55, no. 4, 1961, 433; "A Hospital by and for Blacks: A Chapter in the Medical History of Birmingham, Alabama, 1930-1954," *UAB Archives*, 7; Beardsley, *A History of Neglect*, 82.

14. Moten, "A Sketch of My Life and Work, 433.

15. Moten, "A Sketch of My Life and Work," 433; Beardsley, *A History of Neglect*, 82.

16. "Negro Health Week," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), April 4, 1946.

17. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives*, 105; Martin Kaufman, Stuart Galishoff, Todd L. Savitt, editors, *Dictionary of American Medical Biography Volume II, M-Z* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1984), 541-42.

18. Tom Boulware, UAB Archives Oral History.

19. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives*, 106-107.

20. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives*, 108.

21. Walter L. Brown, "Closing Slossfield," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), June 13, 1948.

22. Tinsley Harrison refused to create a Black wing at Jefferson-Hillman because he claimed there was not enough space and because creating this wing would detract from the educational goals of the hospital as a teaching institution first and foremost. He also claimed that the hospital was limited by county requirements that stipulated all doctors had to be members of the Jefferson County Medical Society to practice at county hospitals and admitted that most of the Jefferson-Hillman staff would likely leave if they were placed under the command of a Black doctor. For more information on the Jefferson-Hillman Hospital debate see Charles Zukoski to Tinsley

Harrison, October 11, 1950, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tinsley Harrison to Charles Zukoski, October 19, 1950, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tinsley Harrison to L.D. Green, October 20, 1950, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Charles Zukoski to Tinsley Harrison, October 23, 1950, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Mrs. Emil Hess to Tinsley Harrison, April 3, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tinsley Harrison to Dr. John Gallalee, April 6, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tinsley Harrison to Mrs. Emil Hess, April 6, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tinsley Harrison to Brewer Dixon, May 7, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Brewer Dixon to Tinsley Harrison, May 17, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*; Tennant McWilliams, *New Lights in the Valley*, 89-91.

23. Hampton Brewer, "Reflections of the Past," *The Consortium*.

24. Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 43-44

25. Resolution from The Young Men's Business Club of Birmingham, April 17, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*.

26. Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 44.

27. Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 44. For more on the role of Hill-Burton funding in segregated hospital projects see P. Preston Reynolds, "Hospitals and Civil Rights, 1945-1963: The Case of Simkins v. Moses H. Cone Memorial Hospital," *Annals of Internal Medicine* 126, 1997, 898-906; Karen Kruse Thomas, "The Hill-Burton Act and Civil Rights: Expanding Hospital Care for Black Southerners 1939-1960," *The Journal of Southern History* 72, no. 4, 2006, pp. 823-870.

28. The Hill-Burton Act, which passed in 1946, was spearheaded by Alabama senator Lister Hill. The act provided funding to build hospitals and healthcare centers, especially in rural areas. The law codified the idea of "separate but equal" in hospitals. In reality, the segregated facilities that were built with Hill-Burton funds were often far from equal. The Hill-Burton Act also provided funding for a handful of Black hospital projects, which fit neatly into the "separate but equal" framework, but federal funding for these projects was far less common.

29. For more on Donald Comer, see Michael A. Breedlove, "Donald Comer: New Southerner, New Dealer" (dissertation, The American University, 1990); For more on Louis Pizitz, see Thorne, *Behind the Magic Curtain,* 105.

30. "Comer and Pizitz to Lead Campaign." *Birmingham Post* (Birmingham, AL), November 30, 1949.

31. Pizitz and Comer, "Campaign to Raise $150,000 to Build Hospital for Negroes," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), January 31, 1950.

32. Donald Comer and Louis Pizitz, "All Are Asked to Help Negro Hospital Drive," January 31, 1950, Record Group MC53, *UAB Archives*.

33. "Donations for Negro Hospital are Urged," *Birmingham Age-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 20, 1949.

34. Ibid.

35. Tinsley Harrison to Brewer Dixon, May 7, 1951, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*.

36. "Comer and Pizitz to Lead Campaign," *Birmingham Post* (Birmingham, AL), November 30, 1949.

37. "Medical Group Boosts Negro Hospital Cause," The *Birmingham Post* (Birmingham, AL), February 8, 1950.

38. *Constitution of the Jefferson County Medical Society* (Birmingham, 1939), 2, emphasis added; *Constitution of the Jefferson County Medical Society* (Birmingham, 1953), 1-2.

39. "Two Leaders in Health Endorse Negro Hospital," unknown newspaper, *UAB Archives*.

40. McWilliams, *New Lights in the Valley*, 63-65.

41. McWilliams, *New Lights in the Valley*, 67.

42. Charles Zukoski to Tinsley Harrison, October 11, 1950, Harrison Dean Medical Records, *UAB Archives*.

43. Emory O. Jackson quoted in Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 46. For more on Emory O. Jackson, see Christopher Brian Davis, "Emory O. Jackson: A Traditionalist in the Early Civil Rights Fight in Birmingham, Alabama" (master's thesis, University of Alabama at Birmingham, 2006); Kimberly Mangun, *Editor Emory O. Jackson, the Birmingham World, and the Fight for Civil Rights in Alabama* (New York: Peter Lang, 2019).

44. Scribner, *Renewing Birmingham*, 47.

45. Pierce S. Moten, "Hospital for Negroes," *The Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), June 25, 1948.

46. Luke, *Delivered by Midwives*, 103. See also Harriet Washington, *Medical Apartheid: The Dark History of Medical Experimentation on Black Americans From Colonial Times to Present* (New York: Doubleday Publishing Group, 2006). This book covers in detail the long history of medical experimentation and medical abuses against Black bodies from slavery to the present day.

47. "Work is Begun on City's First Negro Hospital," *The Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 28, 1952; "Donald Comer Writes," *The Avondale Sun* (Avondale, AL), January 25, 1954.

48. Gamble, *Making a Place for Ourselves*, 195-96.

49. James Montgomery, *Birmingham Civil Rights Institute Oral History Collection*, interview by Dr. Horace Huntley, September 22, 1995.

50. "Alabama State Medical Association," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55, no. 5, 1963, 458; "New Diplomates and College Fellows," *Journal of the National Medical Association* 55, no. 6, 1963, 574; University of Alabama, *Medical College of Alabama Bulletin Catalog Issue* 11, no. 8, 1964, 8; *Jefferson County Medical Society Bulletin*, August 1963, *UAB Archives*.

51. Boulware, Virginia Fisher Oral History; "Services are Set for Dr. Stewart," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 24, 1985.

52. "Internal Medicine," *The Consortium: A Concise History of Blacks in Medicine* (Birmingham: Neride Incorporated, 1983).

53. "Mr. Samuel J. Hall Confine to Hospital," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), December 2, 1961; "Get-Well Wishes," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), February 9, 1963; "Get Well to Mr. Williamson," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), December 17, 1960; "What's Happening," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), July 21, 1962; Eunice, Price, "Moody Temple CME Church," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), February 17, 1962.

54. In 1960, the publisher of *the Birmingham Mirror* spent two weeks recuperating at the hospital, and in December 1961, Reverend J.S. Phifer, vice president of Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) was treated at the hospital. In 1963, "Tall Paul," one of Birmingham's leading D.J.'s, was treated there. "Get-Well Wishes," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), February 9, 1963; "Get Well to Mr. Williamson," *Birmingham Mirror* (Birmingham, AL), December 17, 1960; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 127-128; N.A. Jones and J.E. LeCrand to Bull Conner, Birmingham Police Department Inter-Office Communication, December 20, 1961, *Birmingham Public Library Digital Collections*.

55. Lillian Foscue, "Tragic Aftermath of Church Bombing is Seen at Hospital," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 16, 1963.

56. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 378.

57. James Montgomery, Manis Oral History.

58. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 389.

59. R.A. Watkins to Jamie Moore, Birmingham Police Department Inter-Office Communication, May 15, 1963, *Birmingham Public Library Digital Collections*.

60. James Montgomery, Manis Oral History.

61. A white police officer held Dr. Montgomery at gunpoint while he treated Arthur Shores' wife, after the Shores home was bombed by white supremacists. Another time, an anonymous white supremacist called his house and told him to stop treating civil rights activists and involving himself in civil rights activism, or his home would be bombed. When Shuttlesworth stayed at Holy Family Hospital (and following the bombing of the A.G. Gaston Motel), McWhorter describes how Shuttlesworth's nurse locked the doors on her floor and sent guards into the stairwells, convinced that the hospital would be the next target of retaliatory white violence. James Montgomery, Virginia Fisher Oral History; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 430.

62. James Montgomery, Virginia Fisher Oral History.

63. James Montgomery, Virginia Fisher Oral History.

64. Thomas J. Ward Jr., *Black Physicians in the Jim Crow South* (Fayetteville: The University of Arkansas Press, 2003), 124,

65. James Montgomery, Virginia Fisher Oral History.

66. James Montgomery, *BCRI Oral History*.

67. Harold Jackson, "Hospital Doors Hard to Unlock Black M.D.'s Find," *The Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), April 25, 1979.

68. James Montgomery, "Integration of Birmingham Hospital Staffs and Medical Organizations," *The Consortium: A Concise History of Blacks in Medicine* (Birmingham: Neride Incorporated, 1983).

69. Matthew McNulty to Hugh Maddox, May 26, 1966, *UAB Archives,* Record Group MC53.

70. Leonard Chamblee, "Hospital Needs White Patients," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), April 25, 1966.

71. Ibid; "Statement of Policy," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), February 24, 1969.

72. "Statement of Policy," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), February 24, 1969; "Statement of Policy," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 11, 1970; "Statement of Policy," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), September 15, 1970.

73. Jacqueline Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *The Journal of American History* 91, no. 4, 2005, pp. 1233-1263.

74. In 1968, the Alabama State Board of Health allocated $178,800 of Hill-Burton funds to the hospital, though the hospital needed $298,000. Other hospitals in the area—including Jefferson County's Mercy Hospital and University of Alabama Medical Center's radiation therapy department—received more than $500,000 in Hill-Burton funds. "Hospital Gets Funds," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), November 22, 1968; "City Hospital to Get Grant," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), March 22, 1969.

75. Leonard Chamblee, "Groups Work to Keep Hospital Open," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), April 21, 1970.

76. "Hospital Ownership Transferred," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), June 29, 1970; Lynn Edge, "Corporation May Become Holy Family Hospital Owned," *Birmingham News* (Birmingham, AL), June 24, 1970.

77. "Community Hospital," date unknown, record group MC53, folder 4.43, *UAB Archives*.

78. Ibid; "Registered Nurses," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), January 19, 1971.

79. Ibid.

80. Ibid; Draft for Community Hospital brochure, circa 1970, record group MC53, folder 4.43, *UAB Archives*.

81. Joyce A. Norman, "Who Killed Community Hospital?" *Alabama Health News* 1, no. 6, 1988, pp. 1, 16-19, *UAB Archives*.

82. John Brinkley, "State Fares Well in Hospital Death Rate Study," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), December 18, 1987. The mortality rates listed are compiled from 1986 data before Medical Park West (Community Hospital) closed.

83. Norman, "Who Killed Community Hospital?" 1.

84. Norman, "Who Killed Community Hospital?" 19.

85. Ibid.

86. Joan M. Mazzolini, "Ensley's Community Hospital Purchased," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), January 8, 1990.

87. Ibid.

88. Ibid.

89. Norman, "Who Killed Community Hospital?" 19.

90. Andrew Kilpatrick, "Walking and Working Led Him Through a Lifetime of Achievement," *Birmingham Post-Herald* (Birmingham, AL), November 15, 1988.

91. In 1983, Dr. Brewer predicted the end of the hospital, stating "I am sorry to say, I don't see a healthy future for it. You see, these hospitals are going to take over the practice and Black hospitals are going to be the first ones to die." He understood that as the healthcare system became an increasingly for-profit industry, Black institutions—which were always less profitable than other institutions which had been allowed and enabled to flourish—would be the first to close down. True to Brewer's prediction, Black hospitals across America closed in the wake of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and widespread integration. Many Black hospitals actually closed long before Holy Family Hospital did, crippled (just like Holy Family Hospital) by community indifference and a lack of financial or social support.

92. Adrienne Elyse Chudzinski, "Racial Violence in Birmingham Alabama and the Mythology of the Civil Rights Movement" (dissertation, Indiana University, 2017), 5.

93. Chudzinski, "Racial Violence in Birmingham," 8.

94. "The State of Health Disparities in the United States," in *Communities in Action: Pathways to Health Equity*, ed. James N. Weinstein et al. (Washington DC: The National Academies Press, 2017), 57-98.

95. Ibid.

96. Donna L. Hoyert PhD, "Maternal Mortality Rates in the United States, 2021," *National Center for Health Statistics*, 2023, https://dx.doi.org/10.15620/cdc:124678.

97. Ehsan Abdalla et al., "A Comparative Study of Health Disparities in Cervical Cancer Mortality Rates Through Time Between Black and Caucasian Women in Alabama and the U.S.," *International Journal of Nursing Studies* 6, no. 1, 2021, 6.

THE BIBLICAL BATTLE OF FREE WILL AND DESTINY: AN EXAMINATION OF THE AGENCY OF BIBLICAL ACTORS IN CHRISTIAN SCRIPTURES

Stephen Knight

While the belief in one true God has given the Abrahamic faiths a powerful position in the world since late antiquity, Orthodox Christianity has struggled with belief in an all-knowing, all-powerful, all-good, immutable, and perfect God. The writers of the Hebrew and Christian Bibles give Biblical actors a series of predictions and prophecies that all find their resolution within the canon. These prophecies sometimes reference immediate events. Other times, they have been interpreted as a reference to events that would not come to pass until many books and many generations later. These prophecies do, however, present a paradox in the Christian faith. If God has already viewed all of time as one painting spread across a canvas, then humans have no hope of altering the painting's course. The Christian Bible removes agency from human actors and brings into question the free will of the believer for the sake of God's plan. The Gnostic Christian texts may point to people who wanted a solution to this paradox. These texts challenge the Hebrew and Christian idea of a perfect God and seem to return the agency of some Biblical actors.

Gnosticism refers to a Christian belief system related to the Nag Hammadi library. This collection was uncovered in Upper Egypt and proved that Christian groups in the ancient world were far from uniform. The contents of the Nag Hammadi library are described by Bart Ehrman as fundamentally different from the monolithic standard of Christianity that had existed before the 20th century. These books were written by people seeking to escape a miserable and oppressive reality through gnosis: the alleged knowledge of the self that brings salvation. This included knowledge of what humanity has become, how it has fallen, and where redemption comes from. Unlike most Abrahamic faiths, the Gnostics did not

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praise the creator. Rather, they praised the divine emissary, Jesus, sent by the true God. They viewed Jesus, the creator, and the true God as three separate entities and blamed an ignorant creator for the cruel world and the imperfect human flesh in which they'd been imprisoned all while retaining their Christianity.[i]

Throughout the Christian Bible, believers are referred to as sheep. This trend begins as early as the Book of Genesis with one of the most extreme Biblical metaphors. God sends Abraham to sacrifice his only son, Isaac, who plays the role of the sheep in this early Biblical story. “Take your son, your one and only son Isaac whom you love…,” He says. The story continues with Abraham telling Isaac, “God will provide himself with a sheep.” When Abraham is prepared to slay his own son, the angel of the Lord halts the sacrifice. Abraham then finds a ram, caught by its horns in a thicket, and uses the ram to replace his son on the altar.[ii] The Christian Bible might reveal parallels between the story of Isaac and the death of Jesus Christ. Like Abraham, the New Testament depicts God

willingly leading His own son to execution to absolve the world of its sin.[iii] The writers of the New Testament may have intentionally written the death of Jesus Christ as a parallel to the story of Isaac: an example of the intertextuality of the Biblical canon. Looking at this scripture through this context casts Isaac in the role of the first in a long history of sheep. He was ignorant of his father's plan, but he followed willingly. He trusted his earthly father and his God, and he was spared by God for his blind faith and obedience. The 23rd Psalm repeats this concept. "Even were I to walk through a valley of deepest darkness I should fear no harm, for you are with me."[iv] The same idea appears in the 95th Psalm, where the writer says that the people of God are His sheep, and He is the shepherd that cares for them.[v] The Christian Bible uses this pastoral metaphor in a positive context, but a reader can infer from the shepherd metaphor that human beings are helplessly bound to follow God's plan.

The Gnostic Book of Thomas includes a parable that returns some agency to the sheep. Jesus says that the shepherd loves the sheep who strays more than the rest of the flock. [vi] This saying fits well into a Gnostic pattern where the Biblical actors are allowed to question God and Jesus for the sake of further enlightenment. The meaning of this parable might be to say that the stray sheep is the member of a congregation with free will, and that Jesus prefers the sheep who look beyond his teachings and seek enlightenment. Like Ehrman, the Layton-Brakke translation of the Gnostic texts describe this enlightenment as *Gnosis*: knowledge or the act of knowing.[vii] In a Gnostic text known as the Secret Book according to John, John is approached by a Pharisee who makes him question whether he was right to follow Jesus. Jesus appears when John begins to have doubts and promises to share the truth of the universe and the realms beyond humanity with John.[viii] In this text, the good Christian questions their faith and their beliefs and is rewarded with a greater understanding of higher things.

While Isaac's status was implied, John the Baptist directly refers to Jesus as "the Lamb of God!"[ix] His role as the Lamb and the fulfillment of the prophecies could be used to show a much more egregious lack of agency. According to the Book of Titus, God does not lie.[x] The Book of Numbers states that God neither lies nor changes his mind but fulfills all things that he proclaims.[xi] Therefore, to the believer, anything that God says must be true. In the Book of Isaiah, God promises to ensure that everything He has foretold will come to pass: "…I have spoken, and I shall bring it to pass."[xii] These words are attributed to an unknown author who was active during the Babylonian captivity. They are meant to be a testament to the faith of the writer, a promise to the Jews, and a rebuking of the Babylonian Gods Marduk and Nebo that were mentioned earlier in the passage.[xiii] The author implies that, even if events were not to play out as they were foretold, God would move the physical world like a chess player moving pieces on a board to make his predictions come true. This emphasis on prophecy and the immutability of God continues from the Old Testament into the New Testament.[xiv] The Gospel of Matthew says that Jesus came to complete the prophecies of the Old Testament. This calls into question the agency and free will of each Biblical actor with any influence on the life of Jesus Christ.

In his *Confessions*, Augustine can be seen wrestling with the idea of time and God's relationship with time. He expresses a belief that the past and the future are simply parts of the present, and premeditated action makes the future a part of the present. Augustine says that the future must already exist because God can share information regarding the future. Augustine then claims that the past and the future are immeasurable and therefore have no being. He even goes as far as saying that the present does not exist because it does

not extend and is therefore immeasurable.[xv] In this passage, Augustine concludes that men simply cannot understand God or the way that God exists. This philosophical crisis shows the futility of man in trying to understand God as He had been understood by early Christian authors. A prayer ascribed to Moses says that in God's sight, "…a thousand years are as the passing of one day or as a watch in the night."[xvi] This can mean that God exists outside of time or experiences time differently than humans. It could explain how God can share His knowledge of the future with human beings and avoid implications of predestination, but it does not reconcile God's penchant to directly influence Biblical actors.

Gnostic teachings address these issues by altering the nature of God. Gnostics wrote that the highest and most perfect being is the invisible spirit. It is so perfect that no other spirit has been able to reach or name it.[xvii] The Secret Book according to John describes the divide between the human world and this invisible spirit, but the Jesus presented in this book is unable to describe the spirit itself besides saying how perfect and unimaginable it is. A separate being is meant to represent the Christian God. The name most consistently used when referring to this entity is Ialtabaoth. Wisdom, described as a sentient and eternal being, conceives and gives birth to Ialtabaoth. She realizes that her child is unfit for the eternal realm, and so she casts it out. Wisdom then shrouds Ialtabaoth in clouds for its own protection so that only the mother of all living can see it, and Ialtabaoth steals some of Wisdom's power to create new realms and establish kings over the seven heavens and the abyss. Blinded by its borrowed power and a sort of madness, Ialtabaoth does not recognize the realm it came from or those that existed before. It believes itself to be the one and only god, and it declares itself as such. The Secret Book according to John says that Ialtabaoth is also named Saklas and Samael. Of those names, Brakke-Layton points out that Saklas is an Aramaic name often used to refer to Satan in Judaism.[xviii]

This story implies that the God and Satan of the Christian Bible might be two parts of the same being in Gnostic beliefs. According to the Book of Isaiah, a great being was once cast down from heaven into the abyss for its pride.[xix] The Oxford Study Bible says that this being had the name Helal, son of Shahar in the translated texts that compose the Christian Bible.[xx] The Gospel of Luke references Satan falling from heaven in the same manner as Helal, suggesting that they might be the same being[xxi]. Since the Christian Bible denies the existence of other gods, it is unlikely that Helal could be anyone besides Satan or some other fallen angel. The Revelation of John describes a similar event in which Satan is named as the angel cast down from heaven. This reference occurs in a vision where Satan stands before a woman giving birth, but the nature of the vision implies that Satan was cast out of heaven and attempted to lead the world astray. He is referred to in this passage as both Satan and the serpent.[xxii] The Secret Book according to John also describes Ialtabaoth as serpentine.[xxiii] This means that both Satan and Ialtabaoth are proud, serpentine spirits that have fallen or been cast out of an eternal realm. Wisdom shrouded Ialtabaoth in clouds so that he could only be seen by the mother of the living, which is a similar title to the name Adam gave to Eve after she spoke with the serpent, "…the mother of all living beings."[xxiv] The conclusion that can be drawn from these parallels is that Gnostic scriptures depict the actions and life of Ialtabaoth as Satan and God viewed through a different lens. Gnostics may have been arranging their own scriptures so that they would still be familiar to other Christian readers, or they might have accepted these scriptures because they seemed to logically fix what Gnostics perceived as flaws in other Christian scriptures without demanding a complete renouncement of the Christian faith.

The Christian Bible sets the stage for Judas to betray Jesus before the actual betrayal happens. Judas seeks out priests in the Book of Matthew to discuss payment for the act he is about to commit before the Last Supper takes place, and Jesus says that it would have been better for Judas to have never been born. In the same chapter, Jesus says that all the disciples will lose their faith upon Judas's betrayal. Peter claims that nothing could ever shake his faith, but Jesus prophesies correctly that even Peter will deny him thrice before the rooster crows at the morning sun. When Peter realizes what he has done, the Christian Bible says that he succumbs to his emotions and begins to cry. Jesus references the infallibility of God's Word by claiming that He could call upon legions of angels to protect Himself, but doing so would interrupt the fulfilling of the scriptures. He says that everything that has happened was for the purpose of fulfilling the scriptures, asserting that it could not be stopped.[xxv]

There are three instances in that chapter alone where the predictions of God are depicted as inescapable truth. A reader can argue that the acts of Judas and the priests could have been fulfilled by anyone, since Jesus never names the time of His death, nor the parties involved until Judas has already approached the priests. However, Judas has no hope of altering his course even after being warned that he would regret being born. In the Book of Exodus, before God sends the plagues to torment the people of Egypt, He willingly hardens Pharaoh's heart. God wants to display His power over nature, and so He influences Pharaoh to reject Moses's request for freedom.[xxvi] In Pharaoh's case, God openly denies a Biblical actor their own agency for the sake of His own grand design. God may have similarly hardened Judas's heart and denied him the chance to change. In the story of Peter denying Christ, Jesus names Peter and sets a time frame within which Peter will deny his affiliation to Jesus and the church. Peter, having already professed that he will never deny Christ, is powerless to stop what Jesus has predicted. Peter recognizes his failure immediately when the rooster crows, announcing the rising sun. He has no hope of protecting his faith or holding his tongue, lest he make a liar of Jesus Christ and blemish the perfect Lamb of God.

The Gnostic scriptures alter the story of Judas. Jesus isolates Judas from the other disciples and says that a new disciple will be chosen so that they will still be twelve in number, after Judas has been separated from them.[xxvii] Judas reports a vision where he is stoned by the other disciples and sees a building so great in size that his eyes cannot see all of it. When Judas describes this building to Jesus, he asks to be taken inside. Jesus explains that this building was not meant for human beings or mortal offspring and that Judas will be separated from the rest of humanity to become a ruler of the holy races, even though all other races will curse Judas in his holy form. Jesus calls down a host of angels to guide Judas through creation, beginning with the time when nothing existed besides the unnamed and invisible spirit. Jesus describes the creation of Ialtabaoth and Saklas. He also describes Ialtabaoth under the name of Nebro and separates the idea of Nebro from Saklas. The reason for Judas' separation of Ialtabaoth from Saklas is unclear, but it could be a Gnostic interpretation of the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. After all of this, Judas is returned to earth and approached by the scribes. They offer him money in exchange for his betrayal, in contrast to the Biblical narrative of Judas seeking out the priests in hopes of receiving payment for Jesus's capture.[xxviii] Judas's decision to betray Jesus is cast in a new light by these Gnostic texts. He was separated from the other disciples before the act of betrayal, and Jesus brought him to the place where the scribes could find him. The Gnostic text also changes the description of the payment Judas received from the scribes. The Gospel of Judas obscures the amount that he was paid, while the Gospel

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of Matthew clearly states that Judas was weighed thirty pieces of silver for his act.[xxix] The writers may have obscured the amount to make it seem less tempting. They may have wanted their readers to understand that Judas's betrayal was not motivated by money or material gain. Instead, Gnostics would have their followers believe that Judas was motivated by *Gnosis*.

The Gnostic texts that have been discovered, translated, and published depict a meritocratic rewards system. Of the texts mentioned, Judas and John both received *Gnosis* and special appointments because of some question they asked or because of a desire to know more. No higher power had conveniently vacated or prepared these positions for them ahead of time. This focus on earning a place or achieving individual *Gnosis* would have probably been weighed down by a belief that lives had been predetermined. The Gnostic belief in the great and perfect deity that made little effort to meddle in human affairs limited the conflict of destiny and free will in Gnostic faith. Ialtabaoth's existence in the Gnostic faith also solved the philosophical issue of believing in the jealous, violent, and paradoxically sinless God. The creation of humans, imperfect beings that they are, is even attributed to this imperfect spirit whose name is associated with Satan. This allows Gnostics to fully remove the act of creating sin or sinful beings from their perfect, invisible spirit. Their destinies have not been written by the all-powerful and unwavering Christian God. Instead, their bodies have simply been created by a blissfully ignorant child of Wisdom.

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xxix. *Matthew 26:14-16*, (Suggs, Sakenfeld, and Mueller), 1298

ABOUT THE AUTHORS, EDITORS, AND ARTISTS

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Haley Wells is a senior double majoring in History and English (concentration literature). She is also a graduate student, completing the final semester of her Master's in History through UAB's accelerated Bachelors-to-Master's program. Haley has published in the last three editions of the Vulcan and has served as a Vulcan editor for three years, including serving as executive editor in 2023. This will be her fourth year as an editor. Haley's areas of interest include Birmingham history, the history of the Civil Rights Movement, medieval history and literature, the history of race and racism, gender history, perceptions of disability in history and fiction, and crime fiction. Haley has presented her research at several Phi Alpha Theta regional conferences, where she earned awards for the best paper on her panels. She has also presented her research at the 2023 National Conference on Undergraduate Research, the 2023 Symposium for History Undergraduate Research at Mississippi State, the 2023 Hudson Strode Program in Renaissance Studies Conference at the University of Alabama, and the 2024 Southern Studies Conference. She is the recipient of several college awards, including the 2024 Outstanding History Graduate Student Award at UAB. After completing her Master's degree, she hopes to earn a PhD in literature and teach at a university. In her free time, she enjoys hiking, reading, and spending time with her family and three dogs.

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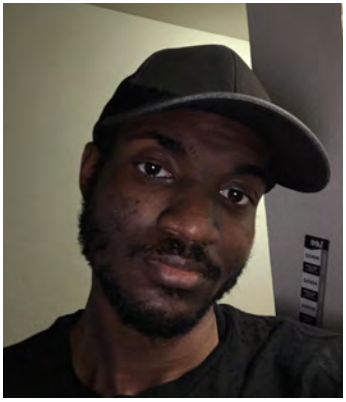

Kamau Bamidele (KB) is a Pan-Africanist, writer, and occasional spoken word performer from Selma, Alabama. Currently, he is a graduate student and teaching assistant in UAB's history department and is a two-time published author in the Vulcan Historical Review. His research areas are the history of colonialism/neo-colonialism and anti-colonial thought in the Afrikan diaspora, as well as the history of Black nationalism in the US. Outside of academics, KB does political education work in Birmingham and is an avid fan of the NBA and gaming.

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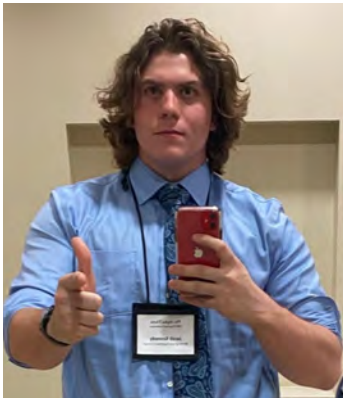
Veda Joshi is currently a 3rd year History major and Chemistry minor, and he is also enrolled in the Accelerated Bachelors/Masters Program for History. He hopes to attend medical school after acquiring both his bachelors and masters degrees. He has previously served as an editor in the 2023 edition of the Vulcan Historical Review. Veda is also a recipient of the Benjamin A. Gilman/Deutscher Austauschdienst Scholarship, which allowed him to study German history in Germany throughout the summer of 2023. His current historical research interests are the history of public health policy and epidemiology in German colonies during the 19th and 20th century and discussing its association with public health policy in other European colonial possessions. Outside of academia, he enjoys singing, tying balloon animals, and pestering his dog, Potato.



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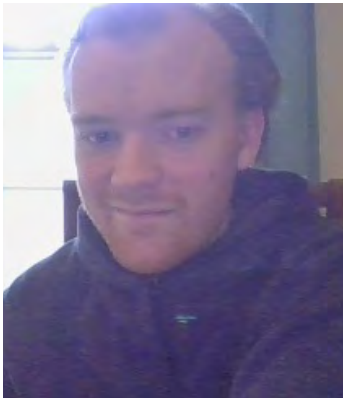

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Zachary Williamson is a graduate student majoring in history at the end of his first year in the Master's Program and a member of the Phi Alpha Theta honor society. He enjoys researching the various methods and technologies employed on the battlefield in military history. He is also researching how tactics adapted to utilize them as more technological breakthroughs altered how wars are being fought. His thesis dives into the Mediterranean Theatre during World War II and analyzes the British doctrine leading up to the invasion of Sicily with the goal being to show the importance of this lesser-known theatre of war. After obtaining his Master's degree, he aims to teach at the college level and work in museums. Zach has also been a part of various volunteer groups through different churches and is currently an intern at the Birmingham Museum of Flight.

Dylan Fisher graduated from the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) in 2023 with Magna Cum Laude Latin honors. He earned a Bachelor of Arts in English with minors in history and ancient, medieval, and renaissance studies. He is particularly interested in researching the Middle Ages, Late Antiquity, and Viking history. Dylan recently completed an internship at the UAB Student Affairs Marketing and Communications office. There, he wrote numerous engaging news articles for the UAB collective. He currently works in the field of digital marketing, with a specialization in Search Engine Optimization (SEO). In the future, Dylan hopes to continue researching his interests in history as an independent scholar. During his free time, Dylan likes to build with Legos and spend time with his two cats, Samson and Finley.

Stephen Knight is a senior undergraduate pursuing a bachelor's degree with a double major in History and Anthropology. Stephen grew up in Northeast Mississippi and graduated from Itawamba Community College before moving to Birmingham. While pursuing his degree, he has spent time working as a substitute teacher in Jefferson County Schools. He hopes to pursue both a graduate degree in Secondary Education and a PhD in Anthropology. His interest in history has led Stephen to a wide range of interests including the church in late antiquity, women's history, and Chinese culture and history.

Christian Stockdill received his undergraduate degree from the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) in 2022 and will complete his Masters of history in Summer 2024. Christian is the executive editor for the 2024 edition of UAB's historical journal The Vulcan Historical Review in which he also contributed as an author in an article surveying the development of Taiwanese political and social identity. Christian's research interests include political history with a focus on political movements and identity, primarily in the country of Germany. Christian's Master's thesis addresses the relationship between the United States and the Weimar Republic in the 1920's. This thesis analyzes the intersections of American mass consumerism and modernity on the debates within Weimar society concerning identity and cultural legitimacy. Once graduated Christian hopes to work in the fields of public history or publishing to gain real world experience with the eventual plans of pursuing a PhD. In his personal life Christian spends time with his cat and enjoys gaming, reading, long distance running and playing basketball.

Theo Smith is a 2023 graduate from the University of Alabama at Birmingham with a Bachelor's degree in History. Previously published in the Alabama Heritage Blog in 2022, his work focuses a historic lens on social justice movements and the cultural evolution of humanity over time. He enjoys studying the intricacies of the past and how previous values impact society today. Theo works at a local library and is passionate about maintaining public access to knowledge and helping others discover their own history. In his free time Theo enjoys creative arts, hiking, and spending time with his cats.

Brody Birdwell is a Birmingham native who graduated from the University of Alabama at Birmingham in 2023 with a Bachelor of Science in Secondary Social Studies Education. He currently works as a special education teacher at Minor Community School. During his time at UAB, Brody played the tuba, performing with the UAB Marching Blazers and Wind Symphony. His academic interests include African American history, Civil War history, Reconstruction history, LGBTQ+ history, and the Nadir of American Race Relations. Brody is passionate about bridging the gap between modern social issues and their roots in American history. Brody plans to pursue his masters in the fields of special education and history building a career around educating students with diverse backgrounds and learning needs.

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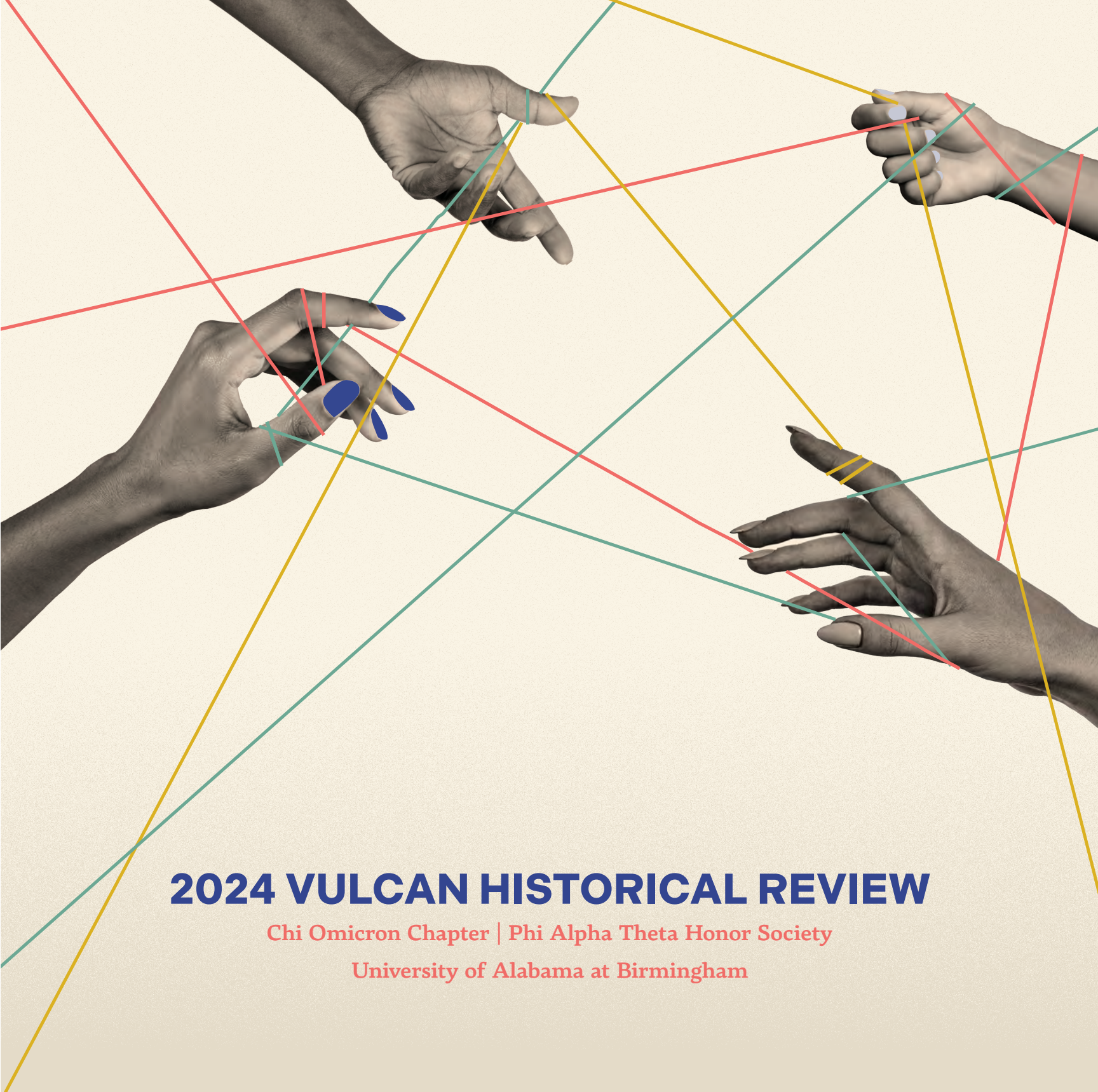
Mark Ledlow is a first-year graduate student of history at the University of Alabama at Birmingham [UAB] after graduating with a bachelor's in history education from the University of Mobile [UM]. At the UM, Mark was the student archivist of the school's archives and started the long overdue process cataloging and organizing the archives. He was also a founding officer of the Tabletop Gaming Club, a Residential assistant, and a teacher's assistant for one of UM's orientation classes. Mark is a member of Phi Alpha Theta at the UAB and a substitute teacher in the Jefferson County school system. His goal is to get a doctorate in US history with a focus in antebellum and church history to be a professor of history, and he plans to complete his master's at UAB before continuing his education at another institution.

Lilly Jobe was born in Florence, Alabama to her mother, Nicole Jobe, and maternal grandparents Leif and Barbara Jobe. She attended Muscle Shoals City Schools and received her high school diploma, with honors, in 2020. Recently, she received her Anthropology B.A With Highest Distinction and Honors In Anthropology, summa cum laude. The majority of her research focuses on Indigenous peoples in the pre-Columbian southeast, particularly those along the Tennessee River—one of the most diverse rivers on the North American continent. Her senior thesis focused on pre-Columbian rock art traditions along the Tennessee River in north Alabama, including rock carvings, paintings, and mud-glyphs. She is presently engaged with professional cultural resource management, and intends to attend graduate school within 2-3 years, though she is always considering new academic and professional pursuits as they materialize.Outside of her academic pursuits, Lilly remains heavily involved in the archaeological investigations of her community. She works closely with both Moundville Archaeological Park in Moundville, AL, as well as the Florence Arts and Museums, to provide communities with culturally enriching experiences that enable children to empathize with peoples from the past. To bring this knowledge to her community, she and other dedicated community members organize a Junior Archaeologists Camp at Pope's Taven in Florence, Alabama, a historic American Civil War Hospital In addition, she recently aided a doctoral student with his excavation of 20th century mining houses within Red Mountain Park, and facilitated a partial excavation of the Sloss Furnaces company tenements, both located in Birmingham AL.

Katrina Murrell graduated from The University of Alabama at Birmingham in Spring 2024 with a B.A. in Computer Science and a double minor in Studio Art and History, earning cum laude and High Distinguished Honors in University Honors. Throughout her undergraduate career, she worked as a digital preservation assistant and technology assistant in the UAB Libraries, completed a software engineering internship at Warner Bros. Discovery, and served on the executive board of Women in Tech at UAB as Outreach Director ('22-'23) and Artistic Director ('23-'24). She is especially interested in the intersections of art and design, technology, and entertainment. She intends to pursue personal creative projects in addition to a career as a UX/UI designer or software engineer.

Cover art by Katrina Murrell



2024 VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

Chi Omicron Chapter | Phi Alpha Theta Honor Society

University of Alabama at Birmingham