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VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

VOLUME 24



VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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Birmingham Public Library Archives, and our authors. 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

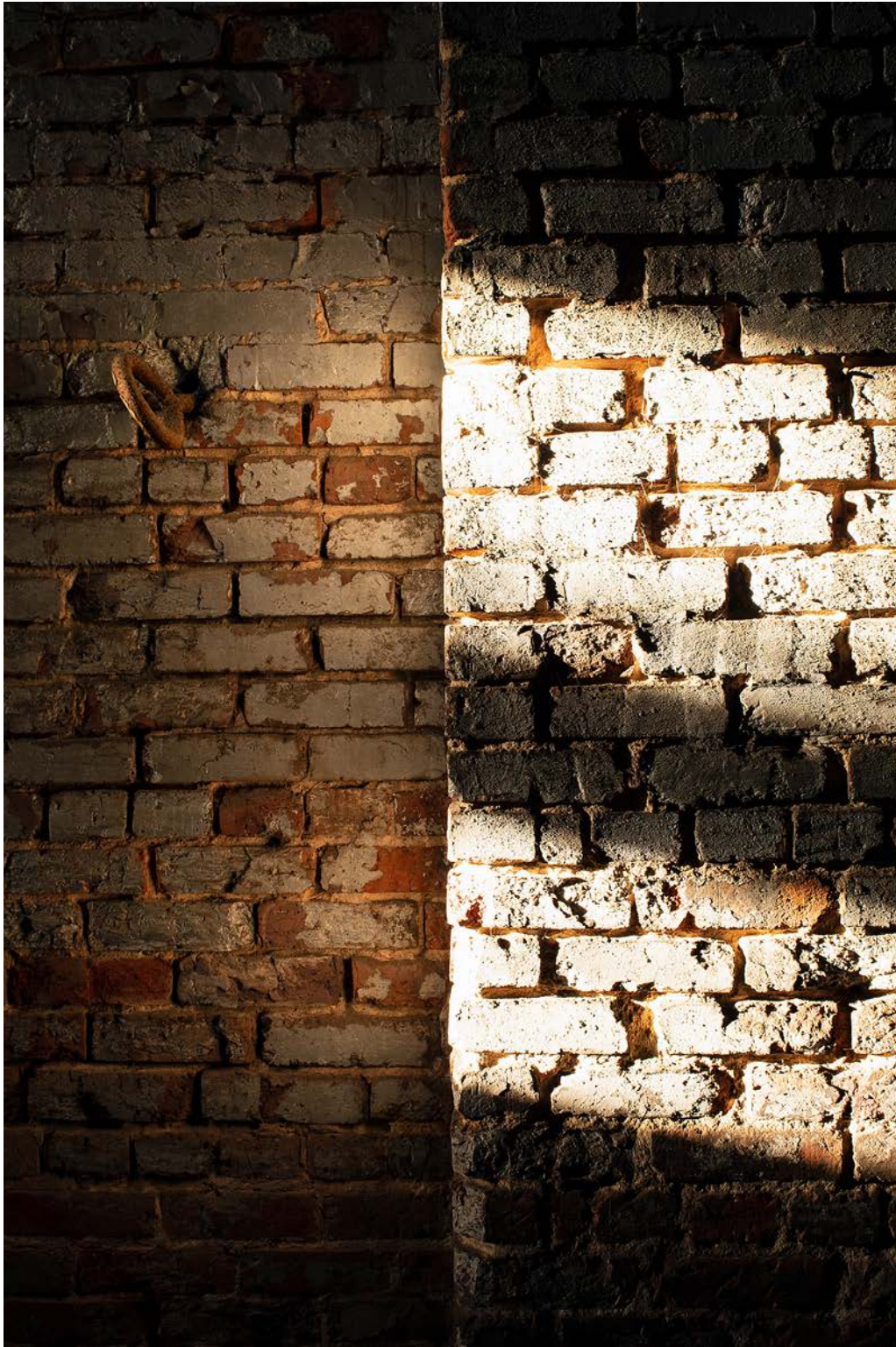
This year's editorial staff created the 24th edition of *The Vulcan Historical Review* during unprecedented times. The COVID-19 pandemic escalated overnight, and the world had no choice but to adjust to a new normal. Meanwhile, continued violence against African-Americans via a racially biased system, white supremacists, and certain members of the police force sparked a worldwide response demanding justice for Nathaniel Woods, Ahmaud Arbery, Breonna Taylor, George Floyd, and others. Through it all, we have seen people stand together while apart for our shared health and safety. We have also seen people of all ethnicities and backgrounds pull together to speak out against racism in a movement that embraces the passion and heart from the past with a new urgency for the future. The black and white cover of this edition captures the passing of time in the essence of a tree trunk's rings – time does not stop, but we can make the most of the time we have. There is an unprecedented opportunity right now to change the course of history for the better; and one way we can do that is by learning and understanding our past.

The material in this issue spans a range of historical and geographical topics, including the history of Alabama and Birmingham as well as an article on the formation of Japan's post-World War II government that won its author UAB's Dr. Glenn A. Feldman Memorial Student Writing Award. Another paper considers a controversial United States policy of shooting refugees during the Korean War. After a review of the film *Midway*, the topic shifts to women - midwives in nineteenth century Alabama and the impact of the Northern Irish Women's Movement of the late 1900s. This edition features several images courtesy of artists Caroline Myers and Rose Reyes; weaved among the

historical works they effortlessly create a narrative of their own. The original poetry contributed by authors Taylor Byas and Ashley Jones bring an alternate perspective to our historical discussion. Finally, the *Vulcan* concludes with a section that highlights the notorious Scottsboro case, civil rights and racism, and a historical essay on Black women's gendered terror. We are proud to bring you the 24th edition of *The Vulcan Historical Review* and hope it informs ongoing discussions vital to positive change.

The *Vulcan* editors are grateful for the amazing support of the faculty and staff of the UAB Department of History. Their dedication to students has led to the success of this year's edition as it has in the past. We would like to thank Dr. Andrew Baer, our faculty advisor, for his undiminished support and confidence in our abilities. We also appreciate the support of the History Chair, Dr. Jonathan Wiesen, and our department secretary, Melanie Daily. A special thanks goes to Prof. Douglas Baulos of the Department of Art and Art History for introducing UAB's finest art students to the *Vulcan*. We would also like to thank Tierra Andrews for contributing her design skills to one of the best editions to date.

Finally, publication of *The Vulcan Historical Review* would not be possible without our generous donors, the continued support of Dr. Robert Palazzo (Dean of the College of Arts and Sciences), and The Linney Family Endowment. We thank you and our readers for giving UAB undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity to contribute to the 24 years of historical scholarship that represents this department and the Chi Omicron Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society.



division

Rose Reyes

THE INCROYABLES ET MERVEILLEUSES AS SEPARATE ENTITIES

Allyson Payne

The execution of the ringleader of the Reign of Terror, the Incorruptible Maximilien Robespierre on the 27th of July in 1794—the ninth of Thermidor—brought about a chain of events including the revocation of the Law of 22 Prairial, which, summoned much celebration and conspiracy from the royalist population in Paris. Within this highly political time period, twin movements famous for their respectively garish clothing styles known as the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses* were born. When writing on the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*, historians consider the pair irrevocably linked. However, in order to rightly understand the two movements, it is crucial to their individual integrities to consider them separate entities rather than as a pair. When one examines each as a separate entity, one finds that though they share a genesis, they accomplished unique political agendas and distinct timelines.

To best understand the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses* movements respectively, one must first have a grasp on two subjects—the political climate at the time and the reigning importance of clothing styles in France.

After the execution of Louis XVI, the revolutionaries ruled with an iron fist, executing anyone and everyone suspected of “treason”—a word in that time synonymous with royal sympathies. These thousands of executions found justification with the Committee of Public Safety by way of the Law of 22 Prairial which states, among other distinctions, “the following are deemed enemies of the people: those who have instigated the reestablishment of monarchy, or have sought to disparage or dissolve the National Convention and the revolutionary and republican government of which is the center.”¹ This event was then followed by the chilling proclamation: “The penalty provided for all offenses under the jurisdiction of the Revolutionary Tribunal is death.”² Not only could anyone be executed but the law also gave the people the right to turn anyone in rather than have any sort of orderly process.³ This time period from 1791 to 1793, known as

““ The *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*, a group of men and women respectively who used fashion as a weapon, began as a part of the Thermidorian reaction. ””

the Great Terror, engulfed France in a wave of royalist blood.

At the center of this bloody movement was a man named Maximilien Robespierre who—once he executed two of his dearest friends and fellow revolutionaries Georges Danton and Camille Desmoulins in a bout of insecure conspiracy—found himself in the middle of a coup d’état and at the mercy of the guillotine’s blade. Not long after this, the Law of 22 Prairial was revoked, and the people of France, especially those in Paris the epicenter of the Revolution, took to the streets rejoicing, believing that the conspirators had executed Robespierre because they wanted to stem the flow of blood across the country.⁴ Though this was a misunderstanding as this was not the intention of the conspirators, the conspirators, including one Louis-Marie Stanislas Fréron and one Jean-Lambert Tallien, made the self-preserving decision to go along with the people’s enthusiasm—making the two men key leaders in the Parisian Thermidorian reaction. According to Morton, “If the people wanted to make heroes of them, so much the better. Terror they regarded as a means for keeping themselves in power. If they could remain in power without it, that would suit them equally well.”⁵ Out of this embrace of misunderstanding for personal gain on part of Tallien and Stanislas, the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*, a group of men and women respectively who used fashion as a weapon, began as a part of the Thermidorian reaction.

France found its beginnings as the fashion capital of the world with the reign of Louis XIV—affectionately known by the French as the Sun King. Dressed often as pictured



Figure 1. Rigaud, Hyacinthe. Portait of Louis XIV (1638-1715), King of France, 1701, Oil on Canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

in the painting done by Hyacinthe Rigaud titled *Portrait of Louis XIV (1638-1715), King of France* commissioned for his nephew Phillip V of Spain in his royal robes, blue silk drapes, and white and red shoes, it is no surprise historians view Louis XIV as the father of French fashion.⁶ At face value, the superfluous style of dressing during the Rococo period seems needless; however, luxurious clothing represented more than just frivolity to Louis XIV. In fact, the import of luxury goods made up a key component of France's economy during Louis XIV's reign as acknowledged by his minister Jean-Baptiste Colbert in his famous quote, "Fashion is to France what gold mines are to the Spaniards."⁷ Paradoxical as it seems, the frivolity of the French court at Versailles kept the economy thriving. In fact, the more frivolous the higher Louis XIV promoted a courtier or noble in his social circle at Versailles. Instead of constituting a "superfluous waste" luxury goods "served as

a crucial instrument in asserting one's social position in a highly hierarchical society."⁸ In short, extravagant clothing made of the most expensive materials meant status and power to those under King Louis XIV and held an essential part of life as well as in the economy during the seventeenth century.

This quest for the most luxurious of goods made the monarchy and those associated with it by title and by livres detested by the common people of France who spent their days in the fields working hard. These common people—or serfs—had no representation in government either as France still practiced serfdom at that time.⁹ To give example to such frivolity, one only has to look to Louis XV the king who reportedly spent 16,000 livres on silk per month during his reign.¹⁰

Thus, there is no wonder in that by the time Marie Antoinette, often referred to by the moniker Madame Deficit, was brought to the French court and embraced the luxurious lifestyle she caught the full brunt of the ire of the people. Brought from Austria to the court of Louis XV at a very young age, Antoinette's carriage stopped at the boundary separating Austria from France where French handmaidens "entirely undressed [Antoinette], in order that she might retain nothing belonging to a foreign court (an etiquette always observed on such an occasion.)"¹¹ Thus it follows that rather than just a sheer misunderstanding of finances and self-involvement, a far more likely explanation follows that as an outsider thrown into French court Antoinette felt the pressures to fit in to the extravagant court as she had been stripped—quite literally—of everything else. A description of Antoinette's morning ritual left by her première femme de chambre Mme. Campan states that a book of styles including samples of fabrics which included fabrics and design inspirations for "dresses, formal robes" and "informal dresses" to be presented to Antoinette "on her awakening." Antoinette also received a pin cushion with which she pinned in the book what she desired to wear that day—one formal robe, one dress, and one informal dress.¹² Needless to say, Antoinette shed her Austrian austerity and embraced French frivolity. This was all she could afford to do with the social clothing requirements of the court along with the pressing rumors circulated that

she and Louis XVI had not consummated their marriage. At the French Court, extravagance and frivolity represented status and presence, and there must have been pressure on Antoinette to indulge.

In the end, the proletariat had had enough and Antoinette's status could not save her nor her relative innocence, for with the immortal words uttered in Paris by both Revolutionaries Danton and Marat along with many others, "Je vote pour la mort du tyran," her husband, King Louis XVI faced the guillotine on 21 January 1793.¹³ Even in the end of her husband, Antoinette reached for clothing once more as she requested mourning clothing for herself and her children.¹⁴ She too followed Louis XVI in death on 16 October 1793, ironically in a simple shift dress, a decision made by the revolutionary leaders to strip her of her humanity and status. The importance of clothing carried on in the practices of the *Incroyables* and the *Merveilleuses*. First documented officially by their individual names in art by Horace Vernet in his 1814 engravings, the *Incroyables* and the *Merveilleuses* evoke the days of Louis XIV with their extravagant dress.¹⁵ As described by Alexandre Dumas in his chronicles,

This jeunesse dorée ... appeared with either long queues, - a fashion revived from the time of Louis XIII and called 'cadenette' (from the name of its inventor Cadenet, a scion of the house of Luynes), - or else with hair falling loose on the shoulders and beside the face in locks then called 'dog's-ears.' They revived the fashion of powder and used it plentifully. In the morning they wore very short surtout coats, with velvet breeches, black or green. When in full dress the surtout was replaced by a light-colored evening coat cut square in front and buttoned across the pit of the stomach, while the tails hung down behind to the calves of the legs. The muslin cravat was high, with enormous ends, and stiffly starched. The waistcoat was white, made of piqué or dimity, with broad lapels and rufflings; two watch-chains dangled on satin breeches that were either pearl-gray or apple-green; these breeches came to the middle of the calf of the leg, where they were buttoned with three buttons, from which hung a mass of ribbons. Silk stockings, striped crossways with yellow, red, or blue, and

pumps, - considered the more elegant the thinner, lower, and more flaring they were, - an opera hat under the arm, and a monstrous stick, or club, with a huge handle, completed the costume of an incroyable.¹⁶

When comparing Dumas's view of the *Incroyables* to that of Vernet, there is little deviation, though Vernet's work presents a more understated picture of what these men looked like. However, there is no doubt that the *Incroyables* encompassed a style of dressing wild for the time. Many of Vernet's engravings include a watch chain peeking out from the waist or pocket of the trousers.¹⁷ Vernet also captures the vivid colors Dumas describes as well as the ties said to be at the bottom of each pant leg.¹⁸ However, one looming difference remains between the two descriptions—the manner of the subject. When one reads Dumas's description, one gets the idea that the Incroyable is somewhat of a crazed person. In contrast, Vernet engraves his subject as a quite regal entity that seems somewhat incapable of the *Incroyables'* violence.¹⁹ Though difficult to compare the *Incroyables'* dress to other contemporary men's clothing styles as "costumary sobriety" seemed prudent during the years of the Reign of Terror, two engraved fashion plates in particular shed light onto what men of the time wore and how the *Incroyables* differed.²⁰ The first plate offers insight into revolutionary dress at the time. Though the plate of an officer, many aspects translate across all ranks—long pants, a color palette of navy, white, red, and black, and the tricolor.²¹ The second plate depicts the average male of the time with his "simple" yet sophisticated style—coat cut high just below the chest, simple shirt with colored collar, and shorter trousers with boots—with copper buttons the only fancy element involved.²² Obvious differences exist between the officer's uniform and the *Incroyables'*, but the differences between the *Incroyables* and the regular gentleman of the period have a subtler nature. Take for example shoe style: men with "democratic leanings" were more prone to wearing boots.²³ Though a boot is pictured in a few of Vernet's engravings, most *Incroyables* were prone to what can only be described as men's kitten heels, many times with spats.²⁴ The typical French man, as stated previously, dressed in a way that embodied style but



Figure 2. Horace Vernet, Gooden Hazlitt & Fox. Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incroyables Et Merveilleuses*: 25 Watercolours from the Collection of the Duchesse De Berry. London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1991.

simplicity, while those of the *Incroyable* inclination dressed more outlandishly with brighter colors, larger cravats, and bigger hats. An interesting similarity, however, comes in the hair category. Both the typical French man and the *Incroyable* embraced the shorter hair as opposed to a powdered wig—though, interestingly, Robespierre had sported one. This change in preference can be explained uniquely for each group: the typical French man cut his hair and got rid of the wig to symbolize their break from the ancien régime, while the *Incroyable* may have done so as an ode to those lost to the guillotine. Perhaps, more simply, the wigs itched or proved too hot. The *Merveilleuses*, often referred to as the counterparts to the *Incroyables*, merit a lengthy description from Dumas as well:

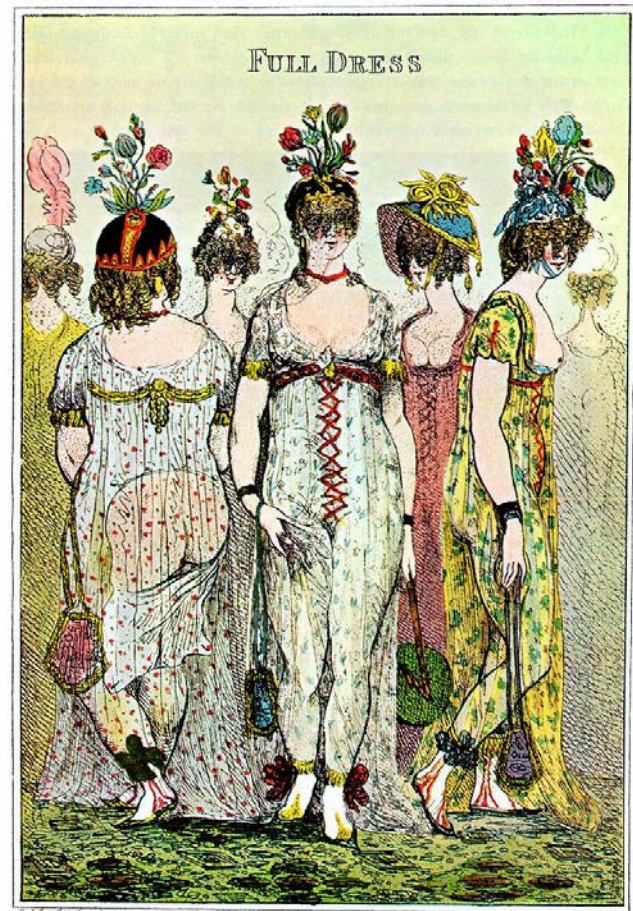
She borrowed her garments, not like the incoyable from modern fashions, but from the Greek and Corinthian draperies of the Phrynes and Aspasia. Tunic, mantle, peplum, all were cut to an antique pattern. The more a woman managed to make herself naked, the more elegant she was. The true meiveilleuse—or merveilleuse [marvelous] for that of course was the derivation of the word—went bare-armed and bare-legged. The tunic made like that of the Hunting Diana, was often slashed open at the side, with no other fastening than a cameo clasp holding together the slashed sides just above the knee. But that was nothing. The ladies made the excuse of summer heat to appear at balls and on the public promenades in filmy garments less concealing than the cloud that enveloped Venus when she led her son to Dido. Eneas did not recognize his mother until she came out of her cloud... But these ladies did not need to step out of their cloud to be seen; they were perfectly visible through it, and whoever took them for goddesses must have been at some pains to do so. This diaphanous airiness—Juvenal speaks of it—became altogether the fashion.²⁵

Unlike that of the *Incroyables*, the description of Dumas and the engravings of Vernet of the *Merveilleuses* have vast differences. According to Dumas, the *Merveilleuses* walked about in barely even a slip dress. Satirist George Cruikshank's widely publicized colored etchings of the *Merveilleuses*—which paint the women in completely see-through chemises—only serve to enforce this view of lurid anti-goddesses running around France.²⁶ Vernet's interpretation of the *Merveilleuses* engraves an exceedingly different picture: one of demure haute couture. While the neoclassical "empire" bust line presents itself, the women in Vernet's engravings are hardly naked.²⁷

Each finds herself covered from neck to ankle with fine materials, although with less skirts and bodices, the female form presents itself more fully to the average onlooker. With regards to the average women's dress of the day, women did continue to dress in a more fashionable way than previously thought by revolutionary scholars as evidenced by the new abundant circulation of fashion

plate magazines.²⁸ The difference comes in the fact that the fashions were no longer sequestered with the upper class. The revolution indeed made higher quality garments and patterns more readily available to the middle and lower classes. In fact, many women went to great lengths to get their hands on socially acceptable pieces. Only the revolutionary lower class continued to dress in more appropriate, simple work attire.²⁹

However, the political agendas of the two groups also function as a separating factor. No doubt surrounds the political agenda of the *Incroyables* based on their known enemy and political tactics. The *Incroyables* saw themselves as the direct response to the *sans-culottes*—the toughest revolutionaries. The term *sans-culotte* comes from the fact that they chose to not wear breeches but instead full-length trousers so as to distinguish themselves from the elite.³⁰ Historian Albert Soboul describes the *sans-culottes* as “outwardly recognizable by [their] dress, which served to distinguish him from the more elevated classes of society.”³¹ Soboul also states that a “social component” accompanied trousers and informal dress.³² By wearing the trousers, the *sans-culottes* made a political statement that they would not be forced into the old subordinate position by the outdated manners of ancien régime. They asserted with the trousers that they now had body politic autonomy. Both the *sans-culottes* and the *Incroyables* used the best political tactic of the time period: the newspaper. In revolutionary France, the publisher determined the skewed sentiments of each newspaper. Thus, newspapers are better understood as propaganda rather than objective news sources. Take the *National Gazette* for example. Though arguably the most widely read newspaper in all of France, it consisted of brief segments of news, and pages upon pages of word for word dialogues that took place in the national convention that day. This paper, though great for revolutionary purposes, held nearly nothing by way of news and information.³³ Such exists the case of the *sans-culottes* and the *Incroyables*. One of the *sans-culottes'* brightest and most leftist political figures, François-Nöel Babeuf, better known by the name Gracchus Babeuf, edited the movement's most notable newspaper—*Le Tribun du Peuple*. One of the most well-known issues of



Parisian Ladies in their WINTER DRESS for 1800

this newspaper came in 1795 and urged the populace to continue moving towards French national goals as “since the fatal Thermidorian reaction patricians and royalists have managed to lead the people towards the counter-goal, towards common unhappiness.”³⁴ However, Fréron had the upper hand in the newspaper scheme as his father Elias had been a master newspaper editor of the *L'Année Littéraire*. This gave Fréron a childhood and young adulthood full of experience that allowed him to effectively smash his opponents in the newspapers both he and Tallien edited *L'Orateur du Peuple* as well as *Ami du Citoyen*. Each publication spewed his venom denouncing the Jacobins and the *sans-culottes*.³⁵ Unlike the political agenda of the *Incroyables*, that of the *Merveilleuses* existed as more of an undertone since their access to



Figure 4. Horace Vernet, *Gooden Hazlitt & Fox*. Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incroyables Et Merveilleuses*: 25 Watercolours from the Collection of the Duchesse De Berry. London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1991.

public resources and platforms hit limitations due to their gender. However, if one compares the *Merveilleuses* to more contemporary women's movements, their own movement becomes clearer. The *Merveilleuses* movement follows the typical trend of women's movements in three large ways—club meetings, style changes, and patriarchal denunciation. Though Sorosis and the New England Woman's Club receive credit as the first true influential culture clubs—both founded in 1868—it can be reasonably stated that influential culture clubs had their start much earlier, specifically with the *Merveilleuses*.³⁶ Consider the French salons—especially that of Madame Tallien. Though French men as well as women had been meeting in salons to discuss political thought and the Enlightenment since the early eighteenth century, the salon of Madame Tallien skewed from the traditional path because a

common cause united those that met there rather than just the various rounds of political thought that swirled as they did before the revolution took hold. As mentioned previously, all who attended Madame Tallien's salon had been affected in some way by the Terror, and all longed for a renewal or for a taste of the ease of the luxury gone by. Take for example Josephine Beauharnais—future wife of Napoleon Bonaparte and Empress of France. After the execution of her first husband, the Marquis Alexandre de

Beauharnais, on 23 July 1794, Josephine was released from prison and immediately began to try to cement her place in royalist society once more receiving council to seek out Tallien and join his circle of friends.³⁷ Josephine writes beamingly that “the generations which are to come after us will owe their existence to Madame de Cabarrus and the representative Tallien.”³⁸ This praise comes after Tallien as well as his new wife Madame Tallien nee Cabarrus took Josephine in and wove her into their salon. Josephine then goes onto say subsequently, “If I wished to speak of a lady peculiarly dear to my heart—one of those friends who, as Cicero says, make prosperity brighter and adversity more tolerable—I should name Madame Tallien, at present Princess of Chimène.”³⁹ Evidently, from her memoir, Josephine felt the comradeship of the group, and even felt so comfortable as to insist that Napoleon Bonaparte, upon their courting stage, attend the salon as her guest.⁴⁰ Though criticized by patriarchal historians from the early twentieth century, such as J.B. Morton, as a “pest-house,”⁴¹ many indeed admit that Tallien's salon had considerable influence on the political conversation of the day.⁴² In this way, Tallien's salon shares stark similarities with the women's clubs founded later in the century—joining together under a common cause to influence the conversation. That alone seals the *Merveilleuses'* place in women's movement history, but more than that they also share a pattern of eschewing the common dress of the day to embrace the outrageous. Compare the *Merveilleuses* to the 1970 feminist movement. Though a large part of women's culture during the 1960's, women's fashion lost popularity in the 1970's as women began to reject feminine stereotypes and embraced disillusion with conforming within a patriarchal society, women stopped taking the advice of fashion designers and began to wear

more work attire such as pants.⁴³

Finally, similar to many if not all other women's movements before and after their time, the *Merveilleuses* receive a type of condescension from historians only reserved for women reaching beyond their means. Take for example Morton's description of Madame Tallien's salon mentioned previously. He writes, "For nearly two centuries the wittiest, the most learned, the most accomplished men and women of France had made conversation a high art, and had set a standard for the intellectual activities of the nation... The aim of Cabarrus was a less exalted one. Yet this pest-house exercised a conservable influence on the politics of the day."⁴⁴ Even Madame Tallien's husband did not reserve his criticisms of the movement.

The good citizens are these respectable women who stay at home to look after their household to raise their followers and not as one of our colleagues said, these guillotine furies that always saw in the stands of Jacobins not knowing nothing knowing nothing applauding wrongly through all that was good and bad. It is not such people who form the opinion of the people, but those good citizens who have sent their children to the frontiers whose hearts and fortunes are at home, which are nothing but wishes for her, who desire nothing so much than to see her prosper.⁴⁵

Consider yet another instance—James Gillray's portrayal of the *Merveilleuses*. He draws a lewd scene in which Madame Tallien and Empress Josephine dance naked for the viewing pleasure of Napoleon and Barras published in London.⁴⁶ While not a completely surprising portrayal as the English tended to satirize the French and indeed satirize the *Merveilleuses* on yet another occasion,⁴⁷ one should note just how much Gillray's portrayal of these ladies degrades the power of the *Merveilleuses* movement to mere oversexed women.

Chronology makes up the final detail when distinguishing the *Incroyables* from the *Merveilleuses*. As mentioned previously, the two movements share a genesis in the death of Robespierre and the revocation of the Law of



Figure 5. Gillray, James. "Ci-devant occupations-or-Madame Taliah and the Empress Josephine dancing naked before Barrass in the winter of 1797.-A fact! / Js Gillray dest & fact." 1805, etching, France.

22 Prairial. When the terrorists released the "treasonous" prisoners—of which the prisoners took as admission that they remained imprisoned unfairly—Parisians slowly began to feel safe telling their stories and being more open with their loyalties. The Terror had done away with thousands of "humble people," and the people needed someone to blame in the midst of their rejoicing.⁴⁸ This marks the split between the two movements. Upon realizing their need to get out in front of the riots against the Terrorists,⁴⁹ Fréron and Tallien began working tirelessly to turn the tide of the Thermidorian reaction in their favor. Gathering young elite men from those that had been imprisoned and those that just had a grudge against the Terrorists and the Jacobins, Fréron led his group of *Incroyables* through the streets causing havoc and eventually shutting down the Jacobins Club—though some question how much damage the young men actually did as they had little experience in the art of war.

In addition, a distinction must be made between the *Incroyables* or *muscadins* of Paris and those in the Lyonese region, the Rhône valley, and in Provence. Though there has been some effort to link the two groups broadly as

they were made up of the same type of middle class young man, the *Incroyables* were their own separate entity. Those *muscadins* not in Paris but in the three aforementioned areas took part in a sect of the Thermidorian Reaction known as the White Terror, which was largely contained to those specific regions due to the high population of royalists there. Arguably the *Incroyables* did not have a part during the White Terror but instead made up a special group of *muscadins* known also as the *Jeunesse dorée de Fréron*—middle-class young men as well as more elite whose headquarters was the *Café de Chartres*.⁵⁰ As far as an endpoint for the two groups of *muscadins*, historians agree that both movements ended with the directory period in 1799.

On the other hand, after the revocation of the Law of 22 Prairial, the Merveilleuse movement began with the release from prison of twenty-one-year-old Theresia Cabarrus who then married Tallien and began work on setting up her salon to welcome the newly freed Parisians. At this time, a certain sect of the *Merveilleuses* began to have something called the *bals des victims*. Though primary material eludes, the most revered historians of the French Revolution and the Directory period have all commented on the existence of these balls.⁵¹ One such historian Thomas Carlyle wrote this of the balls

Among the innumerable kinds of Balls [in post-Terror Paris], let the hasty reader mark only this single one: the kind they call Victim Balls, Bals a Victime. The dancers, in choice costume, have all crape round the left arm: to be admitted, it needs that you be a Victime; that you have lost a relative under the Terror. Peace to the Dead; let us dance to their memory! For in all ways one must dance.⁵²

Though all have credited the *Incroyables* and the *Merveilleuses* as the responsible parties for the balls, the best argument states that the *Merveilleuses* alone held responsibility. This argument, of course, has foundations in the distinctions previously mentioned. Like the *Merveilleuses*, the attendees wore neoclassical style dress with the differentiating pieces being red accent pieces and guillotine-style hair in honor of the dead.⁵³ Jules Goncourt describes the balls fittingly,

France is dancing. She has been dancing since Thermidor. she dances to avenge, she dances to forget! Between her bloody past and her dark future, she dances! Scarcely saved from the guillotine, she dances.... France, still bloodied and all ruined, turns and pirouettes and spins about in an immense and mad farandole.⁵⁴

The Merveilleuse movement did not stop with the *bals des victimes* or with Madame Tallien's salon. It did not even end when, according to Morton, "Bonaparte put an end to her reign."⁵⁵

Upon Napoleon Bonaparte's seizure of power in France in 1799 along with his subsequent crowning as emperor in 1804, all men's clothing—even the *Incroyables*—took a turn for the more natural. Clothiers made the adopted three-piece suit "of good cloth in plain, subdued colours" with "only the waistcoat offer[ing] a modicum of dash and colour."⁵⁶ This very clearly marks the end of the *Incroyable* period in 1799; however, the Merveilleuse movement does not end there. In fact, instead of calming down, fashion became a true women's sport, as during this time publishing houses pushed out various and many fashion journals directed at women for the first time.⁵⁷ Coming out of the eighteenth century, middle class women had more confidence in regard to clothing choices—a confidence given by the Merveilleuse movement which provided the "opportunity for vice"—as stated previously—to middle class citizens for the first time.

Also, at this time French fashion heavily influenced the English, and a pattern of copied dress style emerged and began developing. The best example of this phenomenon is the "empire" bust and waistline dress. Though many fashion historians believe that the empire waist was a product of Napoleon's French First Empire, there is more accuracy in stating that the empire line actually has its roots in key Merveilleuse figure and wife of Bonaparte—Josephine Beauharnais—and has its origins in the late 1790's rather than the early 1800's.⁵⁸ Josephine used her extensive time in Madame Tallien's salon wisely, and when she became Empress, she used her knowledge of the movement and women's fashion to encourage style in the middle classes and acted as a great sponsor



Figure 6. Lefèvre. Robert. Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese (1780–1825), 1806, Oil on Canvas, Wellington Museum, Wellington. France.

of troubador painters who propagated this neoclassical style.⁵⁹ Even those that despised Josephine, like her sister-in-law Pauline, tried their hand at imitating her style as particularly seen in Robert Lefèvre.⁶⁰ Without

ENDNOTES

1. “The Law of 22 Prairial Year II (10 June 1794),” *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity*, accessed November 17, 2019, <http://chnm.gmu.edu/revolution/d/439>.

2. *Ibid*

3. *Ibid*

4. Bertrand Barère de Vieuzac, *Mémoires de B. Barère, membre de la constituante, de la Convention, du Comité de Salut public, et de la Chambre des représentants*, vol. 2 (Paris: J. Labitte, 1842), 205-6. Excerpted in *Liberty, Equality, Fraternity: Exploring the French Revolution*, Jack R. Censer and Lynn Hunt, eds. (American Social History Productions, 2001).

5. J.B. Morton, *Brumaire, the Rise of Bonaparte; a Study of French History from the Death of Robespierre to the Establishment of the Consulate*.

Madame Tallien, Empress Josephine, and the Merveilleuse movement as a whole, no sudden rise in women’s fashion would have occurred. Thus, even after the end of Madame Tallien’s salon, the spirit of the Merveilleuse movement kept moving through history in the form of the movement’s greatest political attribute—clothing style—and should be thanked for the freedom it provided women of France.

While both the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*’ movements began shortly after the revocation of the Law of 22 Prairial on August 1, 1794 the two movements had different lives and to lump them together as previous historians have done as counterpart movements is evidence of a complete misunderstanding of the time period. The *Incroyables*’ movement, led by Monsieur Fréron, had a short life of violence within the time between 1795 and 1799. The goal of the *Incroyables* was self-preservation and revenge as they fought their political enemy, the *sans-culottes*. Unlike the *Incroyables*, the *Merveilleuses* embodied the freedom that came with the end of the Reign of Terror and became the embodiment of one of the first women’s movements with their timeline stretching long past 1799 into the nineteenth century. When one studies the two groups as separate entities, one preserves the intended natures of the *Incroyables et Merveilleuses*, but not doing so misses the mark on a key portion of the Thermidorian Reaction.

London: T. W. Laurie, 1948.

6. Hyacinthe Rigaud, *Portrait of Louis XIV (1638-1715), King of France, 1701*, Oil on Canvas, Musée du Louvre, Paris.

7. Elisabeth Mikosch, “The Manufacture And Trade Of Luxury Textiles In The Age Of Mercantilism” (1990). *Textile Society of America Symposium Proceedings*. 612. 53.

8. *Ibid*, 54.

9. Serfdom was not abolished in France until 11 August 1789 and not even by King Louis XVI, but rather by the National Assembly.

10. Mikosch, “The Manufacture And Trade of Luxury Textiles In The Age Of Mercantilism,” 54.

11. Jeanne-Louise-Henriette Campan, *Secret Memoirs of the Court of Marie Antoinette, Queen of France : with Sketches and Anecdotes of Her*

Private Life Limited ed. London: Grolier Society, 1900.

12. Genviève d'Ossun, Garde Robes de la Reine, Gazette pour l'année 1782, Archives de France, No. Ae 16, no.2; Alice Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion : 500 Years of Fashion Illustration New York: Costume & Fashion Press, 1997. 68-69.; Henrietta Campan, and Jean-François Barrière, Mémoires Sur La Vie Privée de Marie-Antoinette, Reine de France et de Navarre: Mis En Ordre et Puliés Par M. Barrière. Baudouin frères, 1826. <http://hdl.handle.net/2027/nyp.33433071382000>. 13. Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur, seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la révolution française depuis la réunion des Etats-généraux jusqu'au Consulat (Mai 1789-Novembre 1799). Vol. 15. Paris: Plon Frères, Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 1848. 198

14. Ibid, 271.

15. Horace Vernet, Gooden Hazlitt & Fox. Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incrovables Et Merveilleuses*: 25 Watercolours from the Collection of the Duchesse De Berry. London: Hazlitt, Gooden & Fox, 1991.

16. Alexandre Dumas, The Romances of Alexandre Dumas : Illustrated with Photogravures and Engravings from Paintings by Maurice Leloir [and Others]. New York: P. F. Collier, 1910. Page 262

17. Vernet, Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incrovables Et Merveilleuses*

18. Ibid

19. Ibid

20. Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 83.

21. "Officier de chasseur." Engraved fashion plate from Le Journal de la mode et du goût, No. 7, 25 April 1790, Plate I. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. As pictured in Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 82.

22. "Petit-maître en habit brun rougeâtre, collet cramoisi, gilet blanc brodé de carreaux tricolores, culotte de peau de daim." Engraved fashion plate from Le Journal de la mode et du goût, No. 27, 15 November 1790, Plate I. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. As pictured in Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 83.

23. "Petit-maître en habit brun rougeâtre, collet cramoisi, gilet blanc brodé de carreaux tricolores, culotte de peau de daim." Engraved fashion plate from Le Journal de la mode et du goût, No. 27, 15 November 1790, Plate I. Cabinet des Estampes, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, Paris. As pictured in Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 83

24. Vernet, Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incrovables Et Merveilleuses*

25. Dumas, Romances of Alexandre Dumas, 264.

26. "The Merveilleuse." Cruikshank, George. Fashion. 1817. Page 81

27. Vernet, Horace Vernet 1789-1863: *Incrovables Et Merveilleuses*

28. Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 83.

29. Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 85

30. Albert Soboul, The Parisian *Sans-culottes* and the French Revolution, 1793-4. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1964. 19.

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33. Réimpression de l'ancien Moniteur, seule histoire authentique et inaltérée de la révolution française depuis la réunion des Etats-généraux jusqu'au Consulat (Mai 1789-Novembre 1799). Paris: Plon Frères, Imprimeurs-Editeurs, 1848.

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38. Ibid, 132.

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40. Morton, Brumaire, the Rise of Bonaparte, 93.

41. Ibid, 33.

42. Ibid, 33.

43. "Gender in the 1970's: Women's Fashion." The History Engine, accessed 18 November 2019. <https://historyengine.richmond.edu/episodes/view/5835>; no single author found or clear editor.

44. Morton, Brumaire, the Rise of Bonaparte, 33.

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46. James Gillray, "Ci-devant occupations-or-Madame Taliah and the Empress Josephine dancing naked before Barrass in the winter of 1797.-A fact! / Js Gillray dest & fect." 1805, etching, France.

47. George Cruikshank, "The Merveilleuse." Fashion. 1817. Page 81.

48. Morton, Brumaire, the Rise of Bonapart, 30-31.

49. Revolutionaries who perpetrated the terror.

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53. Schechter, "Gothic Thermidor, 78-94.

54. Ibid, 78-94.

55. Morton, Brumaire, the Rise of Bonaparte, 34.

56. Mackrell, An Illustrated History of Fashion, 85.

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58. Ibid, 110.

59. Ibid, 116.

60. Robert Lefèvre. Pauline Bonaparte, Princess Borghese (1780-1825), 1806, Oil on Canvas, Wellington Museum, Wellington.

FRONTIER BUILDING AND FRANCISCAN MISSIONS: LA FLORIDA IN THE 17TH CENTURY

Steven Filoromo

Spain's attempts at colonizing the New World were quite variable. While the Spanish largely suppressed Indigenous coalescence for fear of resistance, their tribulations in the colony of La Florida illustrate that Spain's support for colonizing the New World was in trouble. Very early in the settlement of San Agustín (St Augustine) and Santa Elena, the Florida colony vouched for the *Situado*, or government subsidy program, to sustain the area as they provided a strategic defense to Spanish efforts in the New World. While the *Situado* is intended to provide the materials that the colony failed to produce, its effects were far-reaching as the frontiers of mission expanded further into the Florida panhandle and up the Atlantic coast of Georgia. Issues with the lack of consistency with the *Situado* helped create abject impoverishment during the First Spanish Period (1565-1704) in the administrative center and *Presidio* of St Augustine, thus forcing many of the missions to rely on other sources of subsistence since supplies trickled down from the port of St Augustine. Missions largely bore the brunt of the *Situado*'s instability despite the fact it was the main source of many materials required for Christianizing the natives. Several issues are clear through the documents of the colony of Florida, including friars abandoning their posts, and conflicts with other Indigenous communities. Governor Moore of South Carolina gave the final blows to the colony in 1704, but Spanish strength waned long before then as many of the aforementioned issues remained from the colony's earliest days. However, because of the *Situado*, it is clear that dissension amongst missions and increasing external pressures in the American colonies is the primary reason for the waning strength of Spanish frontier building in La Florida.

As the first waves of colonization reached the land of La Florida, they initially came as a response to the new French Huguenot fort on the St. Johns River (modern-day Duval County). Explorers that trekked through the reaches of northeast Florida never established a permanent settlement, but as Pedro Menendez de Aviles and his

entrada camped near the soon-to-be *Presidio* of San Agustín, they spent much of their time tearing down the French fort.¹ Following Spanish success in the region, Menendez established three *Presidios*, or fortified bases, along the coast following his founding of San Agustín in 1565. These *Presidios* included San Mateo, the former French fort, Santa Elena (Parris Island, which is abandoned in roughly two decades), and San Agustín. The decades following the founding of the colony proved to be trying, and as Spaniards in the land realized they were unable to exert their influence over Indigenous groups like they were in the Caribbean, they deemed the colony unproductive.

As administrative officials from the Council of the Indies determined that Florida offered little material value to their efforts, they sought to use the land as a strategic defensive colony, offering the colony a *Situado*. The *Situado* essentially acted as a government subsidy that ensures financial stability and material sustainability; however, it was not initially intended to be used for the wellbeing of the entire colony.² The *Situado* initially was received as this beneficial program that would mitigate the abject conditions of life in the land; however, it came with some issues. The *Situado* was designed to provide certain supplies based on the *dotación*, which essentially documents how many Spanish soldiers, military families, religious official, and other administrative positions are in the colony and need to be provided for.³ The one problem was, this does not account for population growth in the colony. Florida was a melting pot throughout the First Spanish Period, especially as mestizos and criollos join the population.⁴

As San Agustín prevailed as the primary *Presidio* for the colony of La Florida, it served as the base for all activities within what is now the southeastern United States. Royal orders often referred to as *cedulas* are essentially the laws to which the colonists are to abide by, assuming that they were enforced.⁵ Included within the Royal Orders are the approved amounts of supplies that are available

for the different people who benefit from the *Situado*. While the *Situado* is not a cedula, understanding how the cedula influenced the *Situado* becomes important. Father Leturiondo, a priest of the St Augustine parish in the late 1600s, issued complaints to royal officials because of the lacking supplies that he attempted to pick up in 1689. He was turned away as he attempted to retrieve the wine, flour, and wax allotted for the Parish, stating that the officials requested the cedula that outlined the number of materials he was to receive.⁶ While the Crown stated the cedula did not exist, Leturiondo insisted that the Governor or some other official stole it from him.⁷

Leturiondo's problem is part of a larger plague on Spanish colonial society in San Agustín. The *Situado* was terribly inconsistent and was threatened by shipwrecks and corruption.⁸ Because of this looming threat, it was in the interest of Spanish-Floridians to send an overseer, or *Situador*, to ensure accuracy in the acquisition of supplies.⁹ Because of early issues with the shortages of the *Situado*, the Viceroy of Mexico assumed full responsibility for the payment of the *Situado*.¹⁰ This is problematic because Mexico and Florida are far from each other with no overland route for Spanish use, and if issues happened that require the attention of the Viceroy, a month would go by before a response was given. Additionally, if there were issues within Mexico that required extra resources, those would be allocated to that situation rather than for the Florida *Situado*.¹¹ Because of these abject conditions, the inhabitants would have to turn to labor forces already available for them.

Indigenous communities within the territories of La Florida consists of the Timucua, Apalachee, Guale, Mayaca, and many others. Complex social systems were already in place by the time the Spanish and French arrived; however, due to the abrupt nature of the initial interactions, Menendez cautioned those who come to the land.¹² Menendez declared that because of the issues his colony faced in these early years, that the natives of these land are subjects of the colony, and slaves of the Spanish.¹³ This letter, written in 1574 and entitled *Indios de la Costa de Florida*, is the primary justification for the continued pursuit of Indigenous Christianization as the colony grew a decade old.

The primary reason that Spanish forces continued to colonize the New World is that the Catholic Church declared through the 1493 Papal Bull that they may colonize any nation they encounter that shows no signs of Christianity. Spain worked in tandem with the Catholic Church in order to secure support for continuing its mission. Pope Alexander VI declared that these expeditions may continue following the understanding that they shall not infringe upon of Christian nations.¹⁴ While Florida was not necessarily in a position to fully carry out these holy missions on the same scale that other parts of the New World were experiencing, around fifty missions are active within the first Spanish period (1565-1704). However, the mission model takes on its own form as the colony came into its own.

From the first mission of Nombre de Dios in St Augustine, it was clear that Indigenous communities were meant to live in these missions to keep them out of the city. The 1576 map of San Agustín shows that Nombre de Dios was located outside of the town near several small streams that empty out into the main river. On the map, writing refers to the area as "pueblos de yndios, Nombre de Dios," or Village of Indians, Name of God (Nombre de Dios is the name of the settlement/mission).¹⁵ In this case of mission-building, there are several elements present. First, there were four structures with a cross situated towards the façade on the roof, showing that religious buildings are present. Second, there are two different types of non-religious buildings essentially being Indigenous and Colonial dwelling. Two of the nonreligious dwellings at Nombre de Dios indicate common Indigenous construction, and five of the other demonstrate cross-hatching on the roofs, something common to colonial structures built by both Indigenous and European peoples. For the case of Nombre de Dios, its establishment at the administrative center of the colony allowed for access to resources more than that of missions on the frontier.

Nombre de Dios presents additional population information valuable to the tribulations of mission life as well. Religious upheaval at mission sites further from the city, specifically in the Guale province to the north of San Agustín, required the depopulation and transportation of different mission inhabitants. One such case, where

fugitive slaves amongst the Ocone congregated away from the mission, gave many difficulties for the administration in San Agustín. By 1655, the colonial administrations' issues became resolved (on paper) which is marked by the appearance of a letter stating that the Ocone were to move to Nombre de Dios.¹⁶ Actions like these, where deteriorating missions are removed and natives sent to other missions, are common in many of the primary and secondary documents of the time. The main causes of these concerns either revolve around a lack of structure from the priest, or growing irritations from the Timucua, Guale, and Apalache communities that are affected.

For the settlers of San Agustín, their lifeline relied purely on Indigenous labor and missionization and without missionization, Indigenous labor was nonexistent. Despite the *New Laws* adoption in the 1540s, Indigenous labor, while looked down upon elsewhere in the Spanish Americas, found support through the Ordenanzas de Felipe II, or the Ordinances of Phillip II, which restrict town planning and allow land to be sold with natives on it, essentially selling the native(s) occupying the land to the new landowner.¹⁷ These occupants are forced to become burden bearers and day laborers, generally carrying goods from the Apalachee missions that fed the entire colony.¹⁸ Therefore, the missions, while carrying out the auspices of Christianization, acted as an expansion of sociopolitical control. Phillip II's ordinances are enacted prior to the establishment of San Agustín; therefore, from its inception, the colonial administration exerted its influence over the land it touched without the insight of the Indigenous communities they would alter. Additional attempts for sociopolitical advances (imposed by Pedro Menendez de Aviles, the first Governor) existed in the form of an (attempted) tribute system and collusion in chiefly elections.¹⁹ These merely act as social forms of mission building, whereas physical forms, while briefly mentioned in connection with the Mestas map (1576), demonstrating a lack of organization in contrast to Spanish enforcement.

No single mission was ever built from the same materials, laid out in the same way, or managed the same way. Friars are required by the *Presidio's* administration to make many concessions due to the instability of their work,

unlike their counterparts in more active colonial regions like Veracruz. It is implied that variability relies on whether or not there is a pre-existing town, negative interactions, or lack of managerial expertise and that these factors determine how similar or dissimilar the settlements are from an urban one.²⁰ Physically, these issues are preserved in the archaeological record—marked by the existence of different materials like alters, medallions, or the remains of different religious buildings. Permanent furnishings such as the altar stone exist in open chapels, which are presumably locked if there is a resident priest; however, missions such as visitas, or a converted village lacking a friar, lack permanent fixtures.²¹ However, there are no clear-cut methods determining the order of mission settlement, as archaeology shows, missions are "an evolving settlement" responding to varying socioenvironmental circumstances.²²

The systems of interaction in the colony created a stressful lifestyle for the Hispanic occupants of the region. Essentially, to be sent to Florida, one requires great self-sacrifice, as Spaniards saw life there as a "sentence to penal servitude."²³ Their reactions to the conditions as well as the common practices associated with colonization contributed to even worse conditions for the Apalachee, Timucua, and Guale that had direct contact with the settlements. Issues with the living conditions and the abuse of power revolved around missionization and the acquisition of goods and services from Indigenous labor.

Friars from Spain were widely dispersed anywhere colonial powers established a *Presidio*. From there, they would embark upon journeys to make contact with different communities to spread the word of God. Friars in Florida understood from their departure that to fulfill their duties, they will predominately spend their time travelling, sometimes entering the woods and going for months without relief.²⁴

In a dramatic response to this, Father Quiñones, who lived amongst the Mayaca and Jororo south of San Agustín, lied to the chief and disappeared from his post, which resulted in an investigation. Father Quiñones grew tired of living amongst the natives, spending his endless days following in the footsteps of the Yamasee

that have migrated into the Mayaca area. He fell ill due to his reliance on Indigenous subsistence practices while in pursuit of the Yamasee in the area, and in response, disappeared from his post after he told the chief that the mission was ordered to close (which is a lie) taking with him the bells and ornaments of his church.²⁵ Correspondence between Governor Cabrera and Leturiondo indicating that Quiñones behavior and actions contributed to low numbers of occupants at San Salvador de Mayaca, and that many Mayacans ran into the woods because of the lack of spiritual consolation.²⁶ Because of Quiñones's disappearance, the inquisition into the viability of the mission was further expanded upon when one of the chiefs stated that despite Mayacans disappearing into the woods, the "heathens" were still viable candidates for Christianization.²⁷ Governor Cabrera expressed concern that without a friar, the Christians of Mayaca might disappear into the woods too.²⁸

Quiñones's story is in several documents and illustrative of some of the more abnormal interactions of the time. He lied to close a mission and stole religious implements that were gifted to the settlement, thereby causing an uproar to the *Presidio's* administration in San Agustín.

In contrast to the dissension revolving around living conditions, power abuse became an issue that plagued the *Presidio* as well. It's suggested that many of these abuses came from the sentiments shared by whoever controlled the *Presidio* at that time; however, it was quite clear that the abuse of power towards Indigenous communities was justifiable through these ordinances passed in the earliest years of the colony. One case from San Luis de Talimali, the heart of the Apalachee territory, demonstrated this. A complaint filed on May 29, 1687, clarifies an additional form of negative interactions between natives (in this

case, the Apalachee) and the Spanish. The statement by Juan Ximénez in regard to the controversy surrounding lieutenant Antonio Matheos states that Matheos continued to abuse his position of power over natives by verbally and physically harming them.²⁹ A leading Apalachee Christian, do Mateo Chuba, had quite the contentious relationship with Antonio Matheos closer to this inquisition, for Matheos continuously pestered Chuba for maize and other goods.³⁰

The trials of mission building stemmed from the lack of sustainability of the colony. The settlers were keenly aware of this, and with the adoption of the *Situado*, Ordenanzas, and the Franciscan mission system, these attempts largely failed. The *Situado* attempted to bring subsidized materials to the land in order to supply the colony that ultimately provided a defensive barrier to the encroaching English in North America; however, its dependency on other New World cities like Havana and Veracruz contributed to the instability. Additionally, the efforts that enforced the Ordenanzas allowed for the legal enslavement of Indigenous peoples contributed deteriorating living conditions outside of the *Presidio*. Finally, the instability of missionization ultimately caused the greatest issues that plagued the land because of how 'terrible' the living conditions were and how power was overtly abused in the land. While San Agustín (St Augustine) went on to continue into the present, its early history demonstrates that the Spanish were not nearly as strong in building a colony as many have been led to believe.

ENDNOTES

1 This is merely a very simplified version of the history of the first camps. Menendez established his fort at what is now known as the Fountain of Youth Archaeological Park, which is also the site of the Nombre de Dios mission/Le Leche shrine which is the first mission of the *Presidio*.

2 Verne Chatelain, *The Defenses of Spanish Florida: 1565-1763*, (Washington: Carnegie Institute of Washington Publication 511, 1941): 21

3 Verne Chatelain, 21.

4 The term mestizos refer to those of Spanish-Indian descent, whereas, criollos refers to people of full or partial Spanish descent born in the New World.

5 Ronald Childers, "The *Presidio* System in Spanish Florida 1565-1763," *Historical Archaeology*, 38, 3, (2004): 25.

6 Robert Kapitzke, *Religion, Power, and Politics*, in *Colonial St. Augustine*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida): 73.

7 Ibid.

8 Edward Chaney & Kathleen Deagan, "St Augustine and the La Florida Colony: New Life-Styles in a New Land," In *First Encounters: Spanish Explorations in the Caribbean and the United States, 1492-1570*," ed. Jerald Milanich, and Susan Milbrath, (Gainesville: Library Press @ UF, 2017): 177.

9 Ronald Childers, 27.

10 Verne Chatelain, 21.

11 Ibid.

12 Pedro Méndez de Avilés, "*Indios de la Costa de Florida*," 1574, Código de Referencia: ES.41091.AGI/29.6.38.4//Patronato 257,N.1,G.3,R.20, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain.

13 Ibid.

14 Bull of Pope Alexander VI, May 4, 1493, in *Documents of West Indian History: From the Spanish Discovery to the British Conquest of Jamaica* by Eric Williams, (Brooklyn: A & B Publishers Group, 1994): 201

15 Hernando de Mestas, "Plano del pueblo, fuerte y Caño de San Agustín de la Florida y del pueblo y Caño de San Sebastián," 1576, Código de Referencia:ES.41091/AGI/27.12//MP-FLORIDA_LUISIANA,3, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain. Nombre de Dios translates to "in the name of God," which is a recurring thing for Spanish settlement during the initial phase of discovery. Since religion was a key aspect allowing for the continued exploration and exploitation of the New World, new settlements were established "in the name of God."

16 John Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions*, (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996): 156.

17 Jerald Milanich, *The Timucua*, (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1996): 94

18 Ibid, 112.

19 Edward Chaney & Kathleen Deagan, 173

20 Rebecca Saunders, "Mission-Period Settlement Structure: A Test of the Model at San Martín de Timucua," *Historical Archaeology*, 30, no. 4, (1996): 25

21 Saunders, 26

22 Saunders, 33

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MOUNTAINS, MINES AND COMPANY QUARTERS LIFE, LABOR AND THE SLOSS-SHEFFIELD STEEL & IRON CO., 1880-1950

Steven Filoromo

The heart of Central Alabama's evolving landscape, Jones Valley, bore witness to tremendous changes in technology, community development, and industrial entrepreneurship as Birmingham was built. From this, a mobile workforce evolved, partially from the impermanence of mining camps, but generally from the desire to improve income and status and provide financial stability for families. At the height of industrial opportunity, Jones Valley flourished – creating a smog that filled the valley from the many furnaces in the city and beyond. Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron Company stands at the heart of industrial growth as their camps and communities extended far beyond the City Furnace. Through the workers at Sloss and residents of neighboring communities, we can further investigate the legacy of the adaptations made to mitigate harsh living conditions. Closed off mine shafts are among the limited remains of the once-bustling communities that fueled the growth of the city, making it difficult to understand how Birmingham came from more humble beginnings. Through an examination of the mining camps and industrial suburbs, a clearer understanding of how the urban, industrial, and inter-connected environment arose from the lives and labor of everyday workers.

The complexity of life and labor in this new industrial age is often sparse in historical documents. The trials and tribulations miners and factory workers adapt to throughout their communities are quite complex. Additionally, mining camps and industrial communities contribute directly to the industrial growth of the urban landscape in the newly formed city of Birmingham in Alabama. It is important to research the history of these communities and their inextricable tie to socio-cultural issues. These communities are not just reflections of the evolution of different mining technologies, they also physically demonstrate the juxtaposition of racial tension and urban planning. In this era, an attitude of post-industrial corporate paternalism develops towards African-

Americans, immigrants, and other ethnic working-class communities. Due in part to increasing work opportunities throughout the state of Alabama and these attitudes are directly reflected through community development. These attitudes exist in different extremes. On one hand, corporate paternalism is most obviously demonstrated through domestic science programs put forth in the 1920s. An extension of this attitude exists under the auspices of the convict leasing programs of the late 1800s and early 1900s. The physical relationship between company, worker, and place-making is first apparent through the development of the mining camp.



Sloss City Quarters. The vault, one of the last three remaining buildings located next to the rear of the Commissary. Photo by Steve Filoromo, 2019.

Mining settlements are defined by their impermanence - they develop as single-industry settlements that eventually falter as resources become depleted and are abandoned as workers find opportunities elsewhere.¹ Archaeological surveys on mining camps demonstrate that there are massive variations spanning short-lived temporary camps to sprawling urban settlements.² Similarly, the need for workers in industrial facilities lead to the development of the 'company town,' or quarters. Company towns find their historic origins in the development of riverside mills and

factories most notably in the late 18th century, as factory supported communities are generally built adjacent to pre-existing transportation networks.³ This model is reflected in many industrial facilities in Birmingham, like that of Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron Company and their Sloss City Quarters. Of course, instead of being built along a preexisting river network, their company is organized around the newly built railroad network. Mining settlements differ from company towns in various ways, one such way is their development, as mining settlements are designed around their mobility, yet they find similar living conditions. This need for impermanence results in the variations of domestic structures being either a log cabin, canvas tents with wood frames, dugouts, brush shelters, and many other haphazard living quarters.⁴ Birmingham's mining communities generally consisted of board and batten single and multi-family residences. Conditions within these communities are often sub-optimal within the architectural legacy of different communities as 20th century industrial quarters are most similar to the two-room homes of antebellum slaves.⁵ Understanding the complexities of community development is important. These different variables require much more specific contexts, and for the greater Birmingham area, it is important to note how the landscape changed from Alabama statehood in 1819 to the founding of Birmingham in 1871.

Prior to the massive industrial growth that influenced Birmingham's development, the regions origins stem from a more bucolic beginning. While the area is well-traversed by indigenous Creek communities, an American fort and log cabin is constructed atop the remaining Mississippian period mounds in what eventually becomes Bessemer.⁶ The Jonesboro fort in Bessemer is built to protect only several families from potential hostile interactions with the Creek (despite the lack of any known violence); however, it soon finds itself sharing Jones Valley with the small community of Wood's Station (Woodlawn) just several years after its humble beginnings.⁷ However, the most notable settlement prior to Birmingham's existence is found in the 1850s, as Williamson Hawkins purchased and developed 2000 acres surrounding Village Creek at the base of Jones Valley.⁸ Hawkins developed a cotton

plantation, enslaving 150 African-American slaves to manage the land.⁹ This changed following the founding of Birmingham in 1871 and again in the 1880s as industrial leader Samuel Thomas of Pennsylvania purchased the land to develop both the company town of Thomas and the Pioneer Company's blast furnace complex.¹⁰ This pattern of development seen with Thomas becomes all too common as blast furnaces, coke ovens, and other industrial facilities emerge and plant themselves on the growing urban landscape of the Birmingham district.

From simple shacks to well-kept bungalows and plantations to mansions, the landscape of transformation that turned the Birmingham district from farmland to the magic city revolved around one thing, industry. The city served as a playground for the wealthy investors who wanted to take a risk on the industrial potential found in the region. Therefore, acquiring land from the Elyton Land Company and situating industrial facilities along the newly built railroad encouraged a boom like no other. In order to maintain stability in production, facilities required a massive labor force; however, with constant influxes of workers in a newly formed city, they are presented with an issue. Young men such as David Allen sought opportunities as they entered the workforce, and many of those opportunities came from the Birmingham District. In 1929, David Allen of Andalusia, Alabama relocated as his uncle offered him a job at the No. 2 Slope at Lewisburg mine. Due to the lack of money, he eventually moved to Chattanooga, TN just a year later, and made his way to work at Hampton Slope in Pratt City and later Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron in the 1930s and 40s.¹¹ Not just David Allen, but many other African-American men believed that moving to Birmingham will improve their lives, mostly in part because of efforts made by industrial leaders to maintain a large unskilled labor base since unskilled workers would generally take the worst jobs.¹²

Mining camps surrounding the Birmingham district were ubiquitous through the industrial boom between 1876 to the 1950s. The region faced an unstable beginning; nevertheless, in- 1876 new methods for reducing lime in local ore to create stronger iron, partnered with the discovery of extensive coking coal deposits brought

together industrial entrepreneurs like James Withers Sloss, Truman Aldrich, and Henry DeBardeleben ultimately forming Pratt Coal and Coke.¹³ Due to the continued increase in labor demand, miners and other unskilled workers joined the ranks of many different companies rather than remaining at any single one. Strategically located facilities like Sloss City Furnace, Republic Iron & Steel, and Tennessee Coal & Iron are built in the heart of Birmingham. With the railroad running right through the center of the city, company sponsored living quarters develop around different facilities and camps spring up around the newly opening mines. Unlike the permanent communities built by the companies in the city, such as Sloss City Quarters and Sloss's North Birmingham Quarters, other quickly assembled camps moved throughout the mountains and fields due to the temporary nature of mining. Companies including Sloss, Tennessee Coal & Iron, and Woodward constructed many satellite communities within thirty miles of Birmingham including Pratt City, Brookside, and Dolomite.¹⁴ However, to understand the extent of these networks established by the companies, one would need to look further at Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron Company to help explain much of Birmingham's development.

James Withers Sloss's most ambitious project and lasting legacy are that of Sloss Furnaces, which are a National Historic Landmark in Birmingham. While the site itself is massive, the extent of the company's business expanded far beyond the city's limits. Sloss Mines, one of the first mining communities built by the company, near the former villages of Muscoda (now Bessemer), which is built just several years following the organization of the company.¹⁵ Ore excavated at Sloss Mines required less fluxing stone, proving to be far superior to the ore removed from Ruffner Mountain, where Sloss also maintained extensive mining operations.¹⁶ Sloss Mines 1 and 2 leave a little record of life in the area; however, reports from local newspapers describe a complex, yet dangerous, condition of living.

Long term living in the area brought ongoing work opportunities and a more permanent community of workers, standing in stark contrast to the nearby board



Sloss City Furnaces at Sloss Furnace National Historic Landmark. In the foreground are the stock trestles. Photo taken by Steven Filoromo, 2019.

and batten homes for other camps on Red Mountain. Each camp whether on Red Mountain or the Warrior Coal Fields were community resources, domestic residences, different processing facilities, and additional supervised quarters for convicts leased to the company. Within the residential area of the mining camps, streets are intentionally separated by race. Many white workers viewed the "black" areas of a community as inferior, wanting residents to not only face racial oppression through economic and social activities but also within their physical spaces. Often times these same white workers attempted to stay clear of different streets because of an unsubstantiated fear and ongoing racial terrorism within the community. With the inclusion of state-leased convicts, black workers, and white workers, as well as the climate of the Jim Crow South, racial terrorism permeated throughout mining communities such as Brookside. This is demonstrated through the murder of Tom Redmond, who attempted to step in and

lessen the ongoing altercation between a group of whites and blacks only to meet his untimely fate.¹⁷ One other case that stands out for the Sloss Mines at Bessemer is the 1892 murder of Brack Wallace. Reports showcase that community members Phil Thomas and Brack Wallace had a verbally aggressive exchange in town, and later that night during a social gathering Thomas recognized Wallace as he passed by to which Thomas quickly shot the man in the mouth, only to be chased by city officers that happened to be near the mining quarters at that time.¹⁸ Obscure references to activity in the residential area of Sloss Mines make mentions to the murder of Officer John Manning as well.¹⁹ Aside from similar reports of homicides in the community, residents and workers faced trouble when their tenured superintendent committed suicide in his family home. The coroner investigating the death of 55-year-old superintendent C.E. Barrett speculated that due to his ill health, Barrett may have been despondent when committing the act.²⁰

Not only did danger lurk within the domestic areas of mining and factory communities, workers face imperious conditions while working, too. As a new cylinder is put in place at Sloss Mine No. 2 in 1900, a white employee was crushed as the equipment was being installed.²¹ Additional reports show even during normal operations, the site remained quite dangerous. Later that year, on November 29, three men met their untimely end as empty tram cars “broke loose and carried death in their path.”²² For one man, his end came as he took a nap at the tracks of the L & N railyard, only to be awoken as a freight train caught and crushed his leg.²³ Instead of bringing the man to a nearby clinic, workers brought Was Robinson to the “negro restaurant” neighboring the Robertson’s & Petersons Saloon.²⁴ Occupational safety did little to actually protect workers as the condition in which they worked was constantly declining. At Sloss Mines in Bessemer, the trials and tribulations of life and labor consist of harsh conditions. However, they are distinctively different from other mining camps. Sloss Mines in Bessemer were one of the few more permanent neighborhoods. Impermanence plagued many of the different camps in the broader region; however, Sloss Mines in Bessemer benefited from its proximity to Bessemer, as well as helped change the

heavily forested landscape into a complex network of mines and camps.

Shown on a 1908 map of the Birmingham district made by Tennessee Coal & Iron, Sloss Mines existed on the periphery of Bessemer.²⁵ Bessemer’s urban layout provided plenty of space for the workers of Sloss Mines to expand and integrate into the community, unlike many of the other camps lining Red Mountain. This same map also shows many of the mining and industrial communities that have expanded and become modern neighborhoods in the City of Birmingham today. The map illustrates urban plans, road, and rail networks surrounding Red Mountain, and for most mines and their camps, such as Ishkooda, Smythe, and Redding, no urban layout exists. Few urban blocks appear in remote areas near the mine; however, the communities of Smythe and Ishkooda show simply an intersection in the road network as being the center of the communities associated with the mines. Within this 1908 map, small industrial communities are integrated well within the urban sprawl of Jones Valley. Yet many communities, some of which no longer exist, that will go on to become part of the modern Greater Birmingham Metropolitan area are merely in their infancy. Rosedale (formerly Clifton), Irondale, Crestline Heights, all appear within this map, as well as many remote urban blocks not tied to any specific city or industrial community.

Beyond the Birmingham District, Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron Company established satellite communities far into the fields and forests of western Alabama.²⁶ The isolation of these satellite camps and communities only attracted more issues. A series of robbery attempts plagued Sloss at Alden and Flat Top. The robbery attempts at Alden were unsuccessful; however, using nitroglycerine, robbers were able to blow the combination lock and escape with \$3,000 early in the day at Flat Top.²⁷ Another interesting story highlighting social life, specifically in the Sloss Mine No. 9 Russellville community, revolves around illegal whiskey production. On December 1929, Officers discovered a still run by three men in the local camp, and upon its discovery destroyed the facility.²⁸ While these activities are not atypical in any modern community, they demonstrate a life among the camp. Camps are generally small; however,

they did not remain isolated from the social landscape. The network of interactions exist far and wide throughout the state.

As demonstrated above, Sloss mine's camps landscape of north Alabama offer often elusive insight into the social sphere of a satellite community. Even as racial tension in the urban landscape created detrimental and unequal living and working conditions for African Americans, these attitudes are reflected and acted upon in the mining community. Racism is inextricably tied to the development and planning of a community, and at Flat Top mine, segregation is readily apparent. White workers at Flat Top lived in an area called 'Silk Stocking Row,' where the streets are lined with yellow homes; contrasted with the red-painted black worker's homes.²⁹ Similarly, the Sloss-owned Bessie Mines demonstrated this too. Photos from 1912 show further that the smaller board and batten homes in the community were similar in construction but show a difference in how close they are to each other and are racially separated.³⁰ Bessie mines faced their fair share of issues too. In 1916, where an explosion entombed more than thirty men in the mine.³¹

Returning to David Allen's story, Allen, once purchasing his own property in Cat Mountain, still returned to the closest commissary at Republic since it had good food resources.³² Allen made good use of six of his acres, while also picking up odd jobs on his days away from Sloss, even when working six days a week.³³ Like Allen, other individuals achieved some stability in their communities, which is remarkable since life is truly defined by mobility in this early industrial age of Birmingham. Gamble Mines blacksmith John Baker remained integral throughout a majority of the communities first several decades. Despite the increasing availability of "better" blacksmiths, Baker remained of service to his community after assisting in prospecting for Gamble Mine in 1887.³⁴ In 1941, Baker still lived at Gamble, remembering his fifty-four years of service to the community from its inception to its abandonment.³⁵ Witnessing decades of the constantly changing community, Baker, despite industry disappearing, remained an important part of the community's resources. Alongside Baker's blacksmithing

business, the resources available to individual communities vary.

Without detailed archaeological work and/or historical records, there are no true reconstructions of the original mining sites that enabled Birmingham to burst at its seams. Therefore, without these detailed levels of analysis, it is difficult to ascertain an idea about community resources in relation to community development. Several photographs from various sites including Pratt No. 6, Edgewater, and Sloss No. 2 give some indication as to the different features found within the landscape. Presumably, from 1914 (based on the date/trinomial in the bottom right-hand corner of the photograph), it is clear that at the fan & transformer house at Pratt Mine No. 6 is juxtaposed with a thick forest.³⁶ Within the photographic records at Sloss Furnaces, a clear picture of the inside of a TCI First Aid room at Edgewater demonstrates further the use of medical space at a mining camp.³⁷ Both photos, as well as others from Pratt No. 8 demonstrated that features are erected not for permanence, but for function.³⁸ These buildings are not intended to boast any architectural significance but more so to execute the wishes of the company, and unfortunately, miners' homes fall to the same issue.

Unlike their contemporaries in the industrial quarters of the city, the impermanence of a mining camp is clearly expressed further through the 1930s photos of Arthur Rothstein of the Farm Security Administration. Companies intentionally laid out their communities to support corporate paternalism. Rail lines ran within feet of the front doors of miners' homes.³⁹ The physical landscape of a company town is intentional because it also imposes social control and inequality, whereas, a mining camp reflects the chaos of American urbanization and exploitation. Rothstein's photos demonstrate that living conditions in mine camps, specifically that of the coal mine camps are deteriorating.⁴⁰ Pyramidal duplexes line the streets of most communities owned by TCI, and while most were built to offer 'passable' living conditions, Rothstein demonstrates otherwise.⁴¹ Boards were falling off already patchy roofs with front doors being boarded over, all while the front porches bowed. This speaks to not

only the living conditions described throughout various oral histories, archaeological fieldwork, and historical records, but also speaks to the difficulties in adapting to new economic situations that were born out of the Great Depression.

Adaptation, or the lack thereof, accurately describes in one word the ongoing issue of industrial quarters and mining camps. However, unlike the mining camps, industrial quarters (note the use of the word 'quarters') serve as an analogy to antebellum slave quarters.⁴² Not to say that mining camps do not reflect these same conditions, it is just more readily apparent and on display as industrial quarters are merely adopted into the urban footprint as a ward within the city landscape. While once a resident of Sloss Quarters, Will Prather describes that wind blew through the cracks in the walls, that the 1' x 6' boards only stood on the outside of the house with no boards or insulation on the inside.⁴³ By the time Prather even considered putting in tubs in the 1950s, the quarters were about to be demolished and/or moved elsewhere.⁴⁴

Oral history records offer valuable insight into the generation of Sloss workers who lived in and around the quarters and city furnace through and following the Great Depression. Interviews with Jeffrey Rush go on to further demonstrate that the Sloss Quarters had few resources, especially when it came to maintenance as there was no indoor plumbing in the properties where workers lived.⁴⁵ Luckily crime was low (according to Jeffrey's experience), and that the few deaths that did occur here are from two residents touching a naked wired with a wrench, and a stabbing that occurred later.⁴⁶ Rush spent his money mostly at the Commissary; however, when he and his family had some extra money they would travel into center city to get groceries from the Dago's such as Buckeyes, one on Morris Ave, and Willie's Curb Store on 2nd Ave.⁴⁷ The Sloss Quarters community is tightly knit, most of the people who lived and rented here stayed until they passed away or quit. The community itself is made up of residents from the countryside since the "city boys would save up to buy a new suit" and leave.⁴⁸ At the quarters, women created and influenced change within the household. Men worked; however, low wages and the male-dominated

industrial facilities limited female work opportunities to various domestic occupations such as laundresses, and house workers for the white Birmingham elite.⁴⁹ As the families moved in to company leased quarters, women worked to ameliorate their new homes which lacked window panes, insulation, running water, and other issues by saving money and working to purchase furniture from the commissary, create and decorate the homes, and gardening to provide food.⁵⁰ Without their hard work, conditions could have been much worse for those working and living in the community.

Change within the different mining communities relied heavily upon the actions of its residents. Despite the enforcement of domestic science programs and development of different community resources, areas near the city that lacked the supervision of a corporate entity demonstrate that among the changes made, they were made due to the actions of everyday individuals. The town of Clifton offers a good example of this. Clifton (now Rosedale) was organized in 1886 by the Clifton Land Company sitting atop Red Mountain near the present-day city of Homewood and the location of the *Vulcan* Historical Park. Clifton faced issues with attracting residents, mostly because of the lack of consistent transportation from Highland Park, therefore the company subdivided the lots and encouraged African American workers to move into the town, labelling it as an opportunity to become a property owner.⁵¹ The residents relied upon themselves for the construction of churches, stores, and more. Even with a steam dummy line running up and down the mountain, residents knew it was inconsistent and walked up and down the "pig trail" past the Valley View mine (near the present-day *Vulcan* statue). Early within the community's history, they erected the Healing Springs Baptist Church (1887), which when later renamed to Union Missionary Baptist Church, served as a center to offer community welfare and educational programs for the residents of Rosedale.⁵² This shows that citizens relied upon themselves to incite change for their communities. Specifically, with the case of Clifton/Rosedale, the community supported these activities by using the church as a social place that allowed them to discuss and later create better conditions for themselves.

Despite the difficulties of everyday life, residents were very active in inciting change for their living conditions. The lack of adaptation shown on a broader scale exacerbates the oversight of corporate-paternalism, and the adaptations a family makes to their own home can only be done at an individual level. Families maintained some sense of stability as the nature of working life changed; whereas, companies often neglected to understand how rapidly their communities evolved. Many companies, in response to the cultural shifts spreading throughout the country in the early years of the 1900s and the negative views whites had towards worker housing, instituted domestic science programs and remodeled many of their communities.⁵³ As these same shifts are occurring in the neighborhoods surrounding Birmingham, the exact opposite became prevalent in the satellite mining camps and communities. Miners went on strike in 1908 in response to the announced reduction in wages in the larger coal companies and union mines.⁵⁴ Despite the strike's short life, violence spread throughout the Birmingham district, with many bombings and murders in the valley.⁵⁵ Miners already worried about the lack of positive living conditions in their own communities. Canvas camps continued to go on without proper sanitary facilities and regular camps even faced issues with having proper law enforcement.⁵⁶ In response to the strike of 1908, mining camps added a clause on their home leases that allows the company to dictate who can and cannot be permitted on the property.⁵⁷ Eventually, as the strike settled, the camps did return to some sense of normalcy. The deputy-sheriffs of each mining camp returned to patrol and keep anyone unfamiliar to the area out.⁵⁸ Reporter John Fitch experienced this firsthand, and when he encountered a guard while photographing a mining camp, only to learn that the deputies police the camps to keep labor agents out.⁵⁹

A major contributor to the workforce at mining camps comes from the convict leasing system that the state of Alabama perpetuated from 1866 to 1927.⁶⁰ A majority of the mines in Alabama employed convict labor as a means to keep up with the demand for different materials at the many different blast furnaces in Jones Valley. Not only was convict leasing an inexpensive labor force, but

companies also sought to use convict miners for the jobs no one else would take.⁶¹ Conditions for convict workers were among the worst – it was not until 1901 that the state responded to the concerns of management and took control of providing food, clothing, and housing for convict miners.⁶² The state disregarded the concerns many had with convict leasing, and until the Banner Mine explosion of 1911, where 128 convict miners perished, the government rarely acknowledged the failures of this system.⁶³ Mining companies continued to exploit labor from this system as it also provided a weapon in response to impending miner strikes.

Of the many mining communities mentioned, several of Sloss's benefited from convict labor. While Flat Top maintained an entire non-convict community, at one point in the first decade of the 1900s mining labor is "almost exclusively convict labor," as the company began to open more mines in the region.⁶⁴ Another Sloss owned community, the Coalburg Mining Camp, leased several hundred black convicts.⁶⁵ The number of workers within each community varied; however, their presence is undeniable within each community's landscape. Convict workers could only travel to their working post and their prison camp. At Coalburg, prison facilities contained a separate female prison and washhouse separated by the main prison with a fence. In the main part of the prison camp, the kitchen was kept separate from the main building. Next to the entire prison camp though lied the northern extension of the coke ovens, with several log cabins to the south.⁶⁶

The Pratt mining village saw something similar. Pratt Mines Shaft Prison for Shaft No. 1 has a much different layout than that of Sloss. Just off the tracks to the coke ovens, a gangway leads to a small complex prison camp containing a bathhouse, hospital, kitchen, dining area, commissary, and guardrooms.⁶⁷ But between this 1888 map of the prison camp and an 1891 map of the same camp, major changes occurred. Enclosed in a large square fenced-in area, a plus-shaped prison containing cells and a dining room stand separated from kitchens, a larger hospital, and wash house.⁶⁸ These alterations reflect a larger change in how the state manages convict camps.

The employment of Dr. Russell Cunningham resulted in many changes, as his focus on sanitation, diet, and labor ultimately led to a reduced mortality rate at the convict camp.⁶⁹ Cunningham called for the creation of a separate convict town that improved the negligent conditions convict workers faced, shown in these two depictions of the facilities.⁷⁰ Pratt Mines, owned by TCI, saw an increase of convict labor within their camps, as in 1888 the company signed a new decade-long contract that employed the use of between 500 and 600 convict workers.⁷¹ These prison camps emerged as ancillary structures to most industrial features in, restricting workers to only be able to see a very limited aspect of the operations. It is important to note too that as to whether or not convict prison camps are visible in different records, convict labor is employed in a majority of the mining communities active during this period between 1866-1928.

Many mining communities dotting Red Mountain, Cat Mountain, and the Jones Valley region eventually absorbed into the urban footprint of Birmingham. Companies began to abandon mines and dismantle homes in the 1950s as housing laws changed and the demand for iron production is offset with modernization. Of the few signposts to the history of the Birmingham district, few exist in our modern age. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, interests in the mining and industrial history of Birmingham came to the forefront as the Sloss Furnaces National Historic Landmark opened and the Historic American Engineering Record (HAER) reviewed eligible historic properties in the surrounding region. Among these recorded sites, Sloss Mine No. 2 and Brookside offer unique glimpses into the dynamic and complex nature of these sites so ubiquitous to industrial life and labor in Alabama. Additionally, the interest in Birmingham's industrial age has even influenced the archaeological investigations into sites such as the Sloss City Quarters frequently mentioned above.

Sloss Mine No. 2 is one of the most important mines for the extraction of iron ore on Red Mountain. But after its abandonment in the mid-20th century, the site became heavily deteriorated. During the period in which archaeologists and historians began examining eligible

properties for listing on the Historic American Engineering Record, it is found that Sloss Mine No. 2 provides not only traces of the mine but several other important features.⁷² Within the site, features include the 1890 No. 2 mine opening, a cemetery, the 1894 hoist house, and several implements associated with the site remodel in 1900.⁷³ The Sloss Mine cemetery is found to have grave markers ranging the mid-19th century through the closing of the site in the 1950s – indicating that there is an occupation of the area preceding Sloss's purchase of the site.⁷⁴

Adjacent to the Mine No. 2 features, foundational remnants are leading towards the opening for Mine No. 1; however much of the area seems to be overgrown and in poor condition.⁷⁵

Further north from the Sloss Mines on Red Mountain, the Brookside community offers not just a glimpse into the legacy of industrial activity, but social activity. Brookside's cultural identity differed from many of the other satellite communities. It existed in near isolation with access to several different coal mines, and a majority of its residents are from Czechoslovakia, resulting in a close-knit community who found comfort in the cultural similarity.⁷⁶ Records from the HAER survey indicate that much of the landscape changes that are made in Brookside remain – beehive coke ovens in two batteries (or rows) hide under overgrown flora in the woods of the community.⁷⁷ It is clear from the drawn maps of the beehive coke ovens features that they are built around the topography and in a manner that minimizes the need for lifts that transport materials throughout the site. Coke ovens are among the more common features that remain present in modern post-industrial communities in the region. Aside from Brookside, beehive coke ovens still exist in both Blocton and the Pratt City communities as well as the Sloss City Furnaces.⁷⁸

Among the many different features present on the grounds of the Sloss City Furnaces, the Coke Ovens are of least known. Located near the front entrance of the grounds, several open archaeological units by the road covered with an awning shield the only remaining features from the base of the coke ovens. Only the foundational

remains exist from the coke ovens, where a small portion of the beehive coke ovens foundation is visible at the entrance of the site; however, they are part of a larger system that grew from 120 to 288 coke ovens, until they were ultimately dismantled in the 1920s.⁷⁹ Residents of Birmingham complained about how the coke ovens posed detrimental health problems those who live in the valley, forcing Sloss-Sheffield Steel & Iron Company to open a by-products plant in North Birmingham in the 1920s.⁸⁰

Additional archaeological work at the Sloss City Furnaces yields valuable information about the material living conditions of the residents at Sloss Quarters. The lots where the quarters once stood are generally cleared or built over with new commercial buildings; however, the commissary, vault, and doctors office still stand. Preliminary excavations conducted in 2012 unearthed a variety of materials including faunal remains, glass bottles, bricks, two dog tags, and other miscellaneous fragments.⁸¹ Many artifacts unearthed indicate that the remaining shotgun houses removed by the company in the 1950s, worker relocated and dismantled the homes rather than demolishing them with wrecking equipment as structural remains were minimal, including on few foundational bricks and no erratic debris that would indicate the presence of a wrecking crew.⁸² Since the commissary served as the main supplier for goods in the quarters, in the later years of the Quarters there is likely access to a wide variety of goods, including a diverse array of medicine. Faunal remains from the excavations demonstrate that residents had a highly variable diet that included a lot of wild game and domestic animals.⁸³

While the communal garden at Sloss Quarters no longer remains, the Birmingham Historical Society maintains a plot near the furnaces that includes a variety of herbs and snake gourds, while using slag and other soils that the garden of the bygone quarters would have adapted to.⁸⁴

Impermanence and exploitation are common themes throughout the history of the Sloss mining camps and quarters. Although, this is by no means exclusive to Sloss, as every single company that benefited from convict leasing, industrial growth, and the mineral wealth of the Birmingham district has similar stories. The legacy of these mining settlements ties to many of the modern communities that exist throughout Alabama, and through an examination of their history, the Sloss Sheffield Steel & Iron Company's legacy extends far beyond the city furnaces. Cultural values and racial tension directly influenced social life and urban planning even in rural, isolated, mining settlements. Far beyond that, it is clear that with issues such as convict leasing, mine abandonment, and corporate paternalism created a far more complex social system that provided difficult situations that workers found various ways to adapt to. Conditions of living were terrible in many cases, but workers were active agents for inciting change even when it seemed hopeless. The lasting remnants of this bygone era may not fully represent these issues; however, by understanding what the few traces of the past represent, we can have a more holistic understanding about the nature of living in Birmingham in its industrial age.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Paul White, *The Archaeology of American Mining*, (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 2017), 60.
- 2 *Ibid.*, 61.
- 3 Karen Metheny, *From the Miners Doublehouse: Archaeology and Landscape in a Pennsylvania Coal Company Town*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2007), 7-15.
- 4 Paul White, 68.
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- 6 Ethel Armes, *The Story of Iron & Coal in Alabama*, (Cambridge: The University Press, 1910), 41.
- 7 *Ibid.*
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Rose Reyes

UNFORTUNATE CONTINUITY? IMPERIAL INFLUENCE IN THE POSTWAR DEMOCRATIZATION OF JAPAN AND ITS EFFECTS ON THE NATION'S MODERN DEMOCRACY

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A nation's turn from authoritarian government to democracy has always been fraught with danger. The seeming failure of liberal democracy in Russia and Eastern Europe have spread a dark cloud over democratic promotion the world over. In contrast, the Japanese democratic experience has traditionally been presented as the great success story of advocates of democratic ideals. Before the 1940s, Japan was one of the most authoritarian regimes on Earth. This regime fought a massive war of conquest throughout the Asian-Pacific region until surrendering to Allied forces on board the battleship *Missouri* anchored in Tokyo Bay on September 2, 1945. In the aftermath, the United States instituted a military occupation, and began the task of creating a new Japanese government, ideally one based upon democratic structures and principles. Seven years later, the U.S. withdrew, and the modern Japanese state had emerged. A surface level analysis would seem to indicate that the democratization of Japan has been an unqualified success. The Japanese government is now based upon a bicameral legislative body known as the Diet, broken down into a House of Representatives and House of Councilors. Much like Britain, executive power is vested in a Prime Minister and an associated cabinet. An independent judiciary exists, and the Japanese constitution guarantees Japanese citizens free speech, the right to assemble, a separation between church and state, and the right to not self-incriminate. Given the highly authoritarian government that preceded it, the success of the Supreme Commander of Allied Forces Douglas MacArthur appears unprecedented in the annals of nation-building, especially given the difficulty the United States has experienced in Iraq and Afghanistan in the 21st century.

The appearance of a total change is somewhat illusory, however. Many political structures and groups from the old Imperial government survived the surrender

and played a huge part in the shaping of the postwar Japanese government. While the position of Emperor is the most famous, and controversial of these remnants, it is neither the most widespread, nor the most influential. An examination of the representative branches of the Japanese government shows a continuity between the Imperial government, conservative business factions, and local officials that may come as a shock to many. While the utilization of many members of the Nazi era German government, military, and scientific community is fairly widespread common knowledge, a similar compromise with Japanese remnants is not. Does such continuity stain the accomplishment of SCAP and the occupation? How has such continuity influenced Japanese politics? Is the Japanese miracle real? To answer these questions, we must understand the roots of democratic tradition in Japan, how such traditions evolved, the political situation in Japan and the world during the occupation, and the results that the government constructed at that time have yielded in the present.

The concept of Japan as a modern nation state was birthed in the Boshin War of 1868 to 1869, and the establishment of the Meiji government. The victorious so-called "outside" lords and their supporters sought to reform Japan as a European style nation. In order to accomplish this, they drew upon contract theory and other Western governmental concepts to construct the first Japanese constitution. Proclaimed with the Charter Oath, or *Gokajo No Goseimon*, this constitutional structure was based upon five commitments: The formation of deliberate assemblies, the unification and political engagement of all Japanese no matter their class, the "removal" of class barriers to "aspirations" and class-based "discontent," the revocation of "evil" laws of the past and the creation of new laws "based upon the laws of nature," and the seeking of outside knowledge to enrich and secure

the new empire.¹ While this would seem to indicate the intended construction of a democratic, or at least semi-democratic government as the goal, in truth the victorious lords wished to create a government that was based upon an oligarchic system, with themselves, known as the *genro*, at the center. The result of these efforts was the Meiji Constitution of 1889. This document created a bicameral parliament, with a Prime Minister and cabinet appointed by the Emperor. The power and democratic nature of this new parliament was mostly a mirage; however, as only 5 percent of the Japanese adult male population could vote initially, and most power was invested in the Privy Council that “advised” the Emperor and was made up of members of the *genro*.² The position of the Emperor as grand architect and director of this new state is considered to be mostly fictional by many scholars.³ Since very early in Japanese history, true power in Japan had been wielded in the Emperor’s name by various oligarchic forces, from the Fujiwara family, to the various Shogunates. The *genro* were thus simply the most recent to make use of the Emperor as a figurehead in order to rule from behind the throne. The Emperor was incredibly useful as such a figurehead, as his position was religious as well as political, and most Japanese were raised to revere the Emperor as the descendant of the Shinto sun goddess *Amaterasu*. Emperor Meiji himself seemed quite aware of his position, and almost always approved the “advice” offered to him by his Privy Council.⁴ This structure remained more, or less intact throughout Meiji’s reign.

Meiji’s death in 1912 and the reign of his son Yoshihito, known posthumously as Emperor Taisho, created a crisis for the newly created state. Taisho was considered a weak Emperor, as he suffered from various neurological conditions, and even suffered from mental derangement as he aged. The oligarchs realized that unlike Meiji, Taisho would not be the kind of unifying figurehead that they believed they required.⁵ Much like during the time of their initial development of the post restoration government, the oligarchy decided to make use of western political concepts to maintain legitimacy, in this case by attempting to replace the legitimization provided by a visible figurehead Emperor, with legitimization provided by popular elections.

This was the birth of the legislative branch of the Japanese government. Modern political parties, starting with the *Rikken Seiyukai* in 1900, first formed by competing oligarchs in the last years of Meiji’s reign were used to mobilize “popular” support in the Diet. Many Japanese politicians believed that a two-party system was an inevitability with the advent of constitutional government. Idealistically, they believed that such a system would allow debate and discussion of issues, as well as the creation of a more liberal state, one based upon real popular sovereignty, or at least “popular opinion”⁶ The reality, unfortunately, seemed to belie that hope. The major political parties, the *Seiyukai* and its rival the *Rikken Minseito*, exercised power, not in the name of the Japanese citizenry as a whole, but instead the political, military, and economic oligarchs.⁷ The Meiji constitution itself contained numerous restrictions on the Diet’s power, with the lack of executive force causing the need for support from the Privy Council, and the high cost of election necessitating close connections with one of the powerful economic combines known as the *zaibatsu*.⁸ Despite these setbacks, a much more liberal and effective form of democracy may have emerged from the Taisho period if it was not for destabilization that struck the country in the wake of a series of wars that the nation fought in, starting with the first war against China in 1894-95, continuing with the war against Russia in 1904-05, and ending with World War One. Despite winning, or at least being on the winning side, these wars, the economic cost, as well as the number of casualties, was high. The coming of the Great Depression seemed to signal the death knell for the Taisho Democracy. While it had perhaps been more oligarchic than democratic, it still created an understanding and burgeoning respect and value for the democratic style of government among the Japanese citizenry, and also allowed the legitimization of opposition parties, even if they were guaranteed not to succeed. The massive economic blow of 1929 caused many in the military, as well as the government, to believe that a more centralized form of government was necessary to guarantee the Empire’s future.⁹

By 1931, the Diet’s place in the government had become much less central. The new Emperor, Hirohito, did not suffer from the same ailments as his predecessor and

seemed much more in Meiji's mold. The success of the Japanese aggression in China, as well as numerous terrorist activities committed by radical elements of the military destroyed the political parties' ability to be effective rulers. After the assassination of Prime Minister Tsuyoshi in 1932, non-party members such as military officers and princes began serving as Prime Minister.¹⁰ Power was thus placed in the hands of the military, government bureaucrats, and economic leaders. These new oligarchs revived the Emperor as figurehead concept from its short slumber and used it to justify their rule by claiming to be above politics and ruling at the behest of a benevolent Emperor. They began creating a much more ultranationalist political and social fabric, denigrating liberal democracy as weak, and bringing to the forefront an even more extreme form of imperial ideology than had existed during the preceding Meiji years.¹¹ It was this government, and this political and social fabric, that waged war against the Allies in the Pacific War, and as defeat seemed inevitable faced a conundrum as to how it would react to the coming military occupation.

“ As it prepared to surrender, the oligarchic rulers of wartime Japan did not plan on giving up the reins of power in Japan. ”

As MacArthur and the rest of the occupation authorities prepared to commence with the occupation of Japan, they were faced with a rather complex mission. SCAP had been given several objectives, both civil and military, that he was to achieve during the occupation. These included: removal of restrictions on civil liberties, encouragement of democratic labor organizations, the abolishment of overly restrictive police and civil control mechanisms, destruction of the *zaibatsu*, removal and punishment of militarists, the banning of ultra-nationalist parties and/or politicians, and the establishment of a pacifistic democratic government.¹² According to observers at the time, this could be attempted with one of three methods: (1) a completely foreign effort spearheaded by the

Americans themselves, (2) the formation of a new native Japanese government made up of political outsiders, or (3) making use of the existing structures and officials that seemed not to be tainted by the actions of the wartime government. The first option was deemed unrealistic as the occupation suffered from a lack of expertise, especially linguistically. The second was deemed impractical, as due to the authoritarian nature of the wartime government, no mechanism for quick elections existed, and occupation opinion on Japanese dissident leaders was divided. This meant that SCAP went with the third method. This was to have very significant consequences for the democratization of Japan.¹³

As it prepared to surrender, the oligarchic rulers of wartime Japan did not plan on giving up the reins of power in Japan. They were aware that in any occupation, they would have a massive advantage: possession of the economic and political structures of the government. Any attempt to utilize these existing structures would need their expertise and co-operation, or be doomed to fail, or at least suffer from massive delays.¹⁴ These remnants began instituting several programs that would help them maintain a least some control over occupied Japan. The remnants consisted of three major groups: the heads of the *zaibatsu*, governmental bureaucrats, and members of the defeated Japanese military. It was obvious that the military leaders would be the least useful for this new battleground, as the conflict would shift to civilian and economic matters, and the military had been irrevocably tainted by the war. It was therefore decided that all efforts would be made to protect economic leaders, minor officials and functionaries, and the Emperor. The military leaders would offer themselves up as a sacrifice and shoulder the responsibility for the government's actions.¹⁵ The remaining members would thus be free to volunteer to “help” with the occupation.

To help defend incumbent officials, officials destroyed documents that would incriminate officials or political organizations and staged a massive reshuffling of governmental and law enforcement personnel. 2/3 of police, most prefectural governors, and most school principals were thus relocated, creating the sense that they were “new” officials and could thus not be blamed.¹⁶

The government utilized many different programs to try to protect the economic elites and the *zaibatsus*. First of all, the government relaxed market controls. It then transferred government military budgets to the *zaibatsu* as “war contract indemnities.” This was a massive inflationary stimulus and was designed to devalue the currency as much as possible. Wartime stockpiles of strategic resources such as cotton goods, blankets, uniforms, oil, drugs, batteries, metals, sugar, and paper were also transferred to *zaibatsu* control. Therefore, the *zaibatsus* would then own the majority of industrial and strategic supplies that existed in Japan as the occupation commenced. They would be in a good position to leverage such control to prevent any major reorganization of the Japanese economy that they did not approve of.¹⁷ The old guard thus entrenched itself and awaited the occupation.

Occupation officials were not blind to this effort. While the decision was made to utilize the existing government, this was not to be seen as supporting or approving of such officials. The policy was to “to use the existing form of government in Japan, not to support it.”¹⁸ This policy had advantages, but also major risks. As observers noted as the occupation was winding down: “As far as achieving a peaceful, rapid, and orderly completion of the terms of military surrender was concerned, this decision to use the existing governmental machinery, including the Emperor, proved extremely effective. There remained, however, the question of how the occupation authorities would fare when it came to carrying through the political and economic reforms called for in the basic directive, because they were operating through representatives of the very regime that they were seeking to change.”¹⁹ This decision greatly shaped the government that formed as the occupation continued.

In late 1945 the provisional government that had been formed at the Emperor’s insistence in October dissolved, and SCAP decided to try to hold direct elections. No new constitution had been established, and therefore this was held under the auspices of the pre-war constitution and the political aegis of the occupation authority. Since the beginning of the occupation, SCAP and other officials had been dismayed by the rise of militant labor and left-wing political forces in Japan. This rise was brought about due

to not only the removal of restrictive wartime policy, but also promotion of labor movements by the occupation authority, and the economic damage wrought by the wartime government’s economic reshuffle mentioned above. Due to the rising fear of Soviet influence in Japan, occupation officials had reversed their stance on labor groups that appeared too sympathetic to the Soviets.²⁰ The conservative forces, aware of this turnabout, seized the chance to further ingratiate themselves with the occupation authorities. In late 1945 conservative politicians had formed the Liberal Party. This party contained many former Imperial officials especially from the old *Seiyukai* party and sought to protect the Emperor’s position and maintain as much continuity between the old Japanese regime and the new. This was followed by the formation of the Progressive Party, made up of former members of the old *Minseito* party. Thus, the remnants, drawing upon their experiences in the Taisho years began reforming themselves into a more democratic form that never the less would allow the old guard to maintain control as the regime shifted from authoritarian to democratic.²¹ As the Emperor had seemingly been spared from prosecution for war crimes by MacArthur since the famous meeting at the end of 1945, the Emperor’s new position as “symbolic” and “spiritual” symbol of Japan was mobilized to gather support for the conservatives among the Japanese citizenry.²² The conservatives therefore seemed well prepared to compete in a general election.

However, the new conservative parties did not have to rely upon fair elections. Despite attempts by the occupation to deconstruct coercive imperial political structures, one major structure remained in place. The Imperial Japanese government had instituted a “neighborhood block” system during the early Showa years. This system was designed to allow the government to influence public opinion and support on the grassroots level via informers and advocates positioned in every residential area of the nation. The 1st purge instituted by the occupation had removed many of the old structures but missed this one. As the 1st election approached, the conservative parties enjoyed not only the support of SCAP in the face of rising left-wing sentiment and the influence the Emperor provided but also a preconstructed, coercive

network with which to influence voters.²³

The results of the 1st election in 1946 were, unsurprisingly, a strong victory for the conservatives.²⁴ The new government formed around Ichiro Hatayama, the leader of the Liberal party. Hatayama was a former leader in the *Seiyukai* and given his obvious connection to the former government he was prevented by occupation authorities from assuming the post of Prime Minister, instead, they confirmed another Liberal party official: Shigeru Yoshida. While Yoshida, a former diplomat, was considered pro-America and more moderate than Hatayama, he was still a strong conservative who wished to limit any major changes to Japanese society.²⁵ If one examines the results of various purges and reforms performed by the occupation in preparation for the 1946 election, a mixed grade would have to be presented. On one hand, SCAP had been able to establish liberal forms of civil rights, had purged many high-profile members of the wartime government, established a right to trade union organization, and had expanded the franchise by including women, lowering age requirements, and creating new large constituencies with a plural vote. On the other, the occupation officials had been unable to remove the *zaibatsu's* economic influence, and its governmental purge had been ineffective in removing all illiberal governmental structures.²⁶

As the occupation continued, SCAP advocated for the creation of a new constitution that would replace the old Meiji era document. Occupation leaders hoped that such a document would ensure a long term, and effective democratic government would be established. Unhappy with native Japanese attempts at a new constitution by the Yoshida government, SCAP produced a document known as a "model constitution." SCAP sought to have its model constitution adopted without modification, but Japanese officials attempted to secure numerous changes, the most famous one being the change from a unicameral legislature in the SCAP document to a bicameral one more in line with the previous Meiji era Diet. Despite a few such victories, SCAP's "model constitution" formed the basis of the constitution adopted in 1947, and as such is sometimes derided as a "foreign" constitution forced upon the Japanese and not a native document.²⁷ In spite

of this, the constitution was adopted, enshrining not only several liberal concepts and rights present in the American constitution such as freedom of speech, separation of church and state, and right to due process, but also much more progressive concepts, most famously Article IX, which renounces war as a sovereign right of the Japanese government.

Just before the new constitution went into effect, another general election was held. Further purges had removed the "neighborhood block" system, although some argue it was too late to completely prevent its influence in the elections.²⁸ Despite this, the Japanese Socialist Party emerged as the winner of the elections, making its leader Tetsu Katayama the first Prime Minister of the newly renamed State of Japan.²⁹ Despite this seeming victory for political outsiders, in fact the socialists did not have a majority of seats and were forced to form a coalition government with the new moderate Democratic Party which had formed from the remains of the Progressive party. Conservatives thus maintained a presence in the government, and at the local level had increased their control.³⁰ The Katayama government was in power only until February 1948, at which point defectors from the Democratic Party had merged with the Liberal party and formed the Democratic Liberal Party. Yoshida, who had maintained his leadership of the Liberals became the new Prime Minister as the remaining socialists were unable to rally behind Katayama's successor Hitoshi Ashida. He would remain the prime minister until 1954, when he was replaced by Hatoyama who had been reallocated into the government. The Democratic Liberal Party would rebrand itself back to the Liberal Party in 1950 following a merger with much of the remaining Democratic Party. The new Liberal Party, and the remaining Democratic Party members, both of whom can draw their lineage from the conservative *Seiyukai* and *Minseito* would compete for control of the government, before merging and becoming the ubiquitous Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) in 1955. The LDP has since managed to maintain a dominant position in Japanese politics, controlling the Japanese government since its formation except for two brief periods: 1993-94, and 2009-2012. It is therefore considered by many to be the most successful political party in any modern

democracy.³¹

As the occupation was winding down in 1949, East Asia expert T.A. Bison presented his judgement on how effective the occupation was in its initial stated objectives: "In the author's opinion, this country failed to achieve the announced aims of its initial post-surrender policy towards Japan, primarily because those aims could not be achieved through the instrumentality of Japan's old guard."³² Even before the official end of the occupation in 1952 it was obvious to some that a complete break with the old regime was impossible. What effect would this have on the emergent new democratic regime? An examination of the LDP, as well as the Emperor system, the two most prominent political structures with deep roots in the old regime, and how they have affected democracy in Japan, can answer this.

The office of Emperor is the most visible structure that remains from the prewar Japanese government, and easily the most controversial. The fate of the Showa Emperor was the one sticking point in Japan accepting the Potsdam Declaration of 1945, and keeping the Imperial Office was one of the major goals of the conservatives during the occupation.³³ MacArthur's recommendation to not try the Emperor for war crimes has become the subject of much debate, as Hirohito's role in the wartime government vis-à-vis the military, economic, and bureaucratic oligarchs remains murky. What is known is how most Japanese viewed the Emperor. Japanese soldiers viewed him as their sovereign, and Japanese civilians believed that it was in his name that they served the state. Whether or not he was just a figurehead in the Meiji system is irrelevant to these beliefs.³⁴ Because of this, there was, putting aside foreign views on the fate of the Emperor, much internal conflict about whether the Japanese wanted the office to continue. Conservative factions believed that the Emperor was critical to Japanese self-identity. Leftist factions, many of whom had been victims of the regime that ruled in his name, were adamant that democracy could not exist with the Emperor in existence.³⁵ In the end, however, the domestic opinion did not matter. MacArthur's decision, along with support from Japanese legal scholars such as Minobe Tatsukichi, convinced the United States that the Emperor served as an important culturally unifying

position, and therefore the Emperor would remain.³⁶ The decision to retain the Emperor was never in the hands of the Japanese citizenry but was decided upon by the occupation authorities. Once this had been decided upon, a politically limiting role for the Emperor as "symbolic ruler" was established and codified in the Constitution of 1947.

The office of Emperor has thus existed as "symbolic ruler" for over seventy years. What has been the result? Has the Imperial Office been helpful, or harmful to the liberalization and democratization of Japan? As it turns out, The Emperor, as a position, appears to have been mostly benign regarding democracy and Japan.

The initial years were critical in establishing what actual duties and powers the Emperor would have under the new political order. It began with much difficulty and confusion. As Katayama's government collapsed in 1948, he personally reported this fact to the Emperor. Such a display seemed to fly in the face of the Emperor as only a symbolic member of the government, and SCAP was quick to chastise all involved.³⁷ While this was seen as an overreach of what the Emperor's role should be, Hirohito insisted on regular briefings on political issues in effecting the nation, a practice which continues.³⁸ SCAP did not find this threatening. In the end, the development of the position of Emperor came from a curious mixture of two sources: the model of the British monarchy, and what Japanese legal scholars saw as the traditional role of the Emperor in Japan's history. The British monarchy had been in the mind of many of the occupation officials as they crafted their "model constitution," as well as with various Japanese officials as they contemplated what Japanese democracy would exist as. The British model had many benefits, as it was a system that worked in practice, and had allowed tradition to exist alongside democracy for many centuries. A direct copy of this system was, in the end, not palatable to SCAP however, as legal monarchical sovereignty, even constitutionally limited and purely symbolic as exists in Britain, seemed too likely to damage democracy's grasp on Japan, given the events of the Pacific War.³⁹ Therefore the occupation authorities combined the British model's *functioning* structure, instead of its *legal* structure, and crafted the office to be a sort of

“breathing symbol” of the state. How they wished this to be interpreted is clear: The Emperor was “no longer the source of any authority whatsoever” and “Can exercise no powers.” He was to operate solely as a “crowning pinnacle” at the top of the government.⁴⁰ This concept of pure symbol received great support from Japanese tradition, as best represented by the defense of the monarchy presented by influential intellectual Sokichi Tsuda. Tsuda was considered an opponent of the old order, and a highly respected scholar of history. His position that the Emperor had traditionally been a cultural, not a political, leader of the Japanese people. If popular sovereignty, democracy in its most basic ideal, was the goal of the new government, then the Emperor was highly useful because if the office was returned to just such a “cultural” position, the Emperor would no longer be the oligarch’s Emperor, but the “People’s Emperor” (*tenno wa warera no tenno*).⁴¹ Tsuda’s concept was inline with the “Functioning British” model that SCAP was suggesting, meaning that it easily served as an excellent buttress to the planned role of the Imperial Household.

Of course, no amount of theoretical modeling could be 100% sure on how the office would be wielded in practice. Given the examples provided by the two people who have held the office, Hirohito and Akihito, it appears that the office’s utility and power vis-à-vis the “political” part of the government varies according to the “style” of the Emperor themselves. Hirohito’s reign was marked with extended controversy as, perhaps due to his training and reign during the old regime, he constantly attempted to reassert some form of Imperial influence in politics, while at the same time claiming that he never had any form of influence or power in the wartime government.⁴² This, combined with actions taken by the ruling LDP party seemed to send ominous signals that the office could be turned into a bulwark of illiberalism used to undermine the constitutional separation of powers. In contrast, Akihito has shown throughout his reign a distinct tact in his wielding of the office, reflecting an understanding that the “cultural” power granted the Emperor can be used to subtly influence events, without overstepping constitutional bounds. Examples such as Akihito’s apologies for the war, his championing of charity, and

his handling of the media shows that the office can work within the confines provided by the constitution, while still having value as a symbol of popular will.⁴³ Using Akihito as an example of a “modern Emperor,” the continuity between the pre-occupation Emperor System and the post-occupation “symbolic” Emperor seems slim. Once someone not raised in the old system was inserted in the office, it lost much of its threat.

If the office of Emperor appears to have successfully transitioned to fall in line with liberal democratic expectations, what of the heirs of the old political oligarchs? As mentioned before, The Liberal Democratic Party can trace its lineage not only to the wartime government but also to the Taisho *Seiyukai* and *Minseitō* parties. Given the actions committed during the occupation in trying to prevent the removal of numerous illiberal structures, can the success of the LDP be seen as a failure of Japan to democratize completely?

The optics would seem to suggest that the LDP has at least some illiberal leanings. Besides the actions taken during the occupation, members of the LDP including Prime Ministers such as Koizumi and Abe, have taken controversial stances regarding the war. Most infamous of these are the visits to Yasakuni Shrine, where several convicted Class-A war criminals are enshrined.⁴⁴ LDP members are also at the center of the textbook controversies regarding Japan’s wartime actions as well as demands for removing Article IX from the Japanese constitution.⁴⁵ Further causing concern is the LDP’s long hold on power. Since the party’s founding, it has held power in Japan for all but two small timeframes.⁴⁶ One of the main signs of liberal democracy is frequent changeover in leadership. The LDP’s near-hegemonic control of the Legislative Branch of the Japanese government would appear to violate this.

In truth, the LDP is not the archconservative monolith it appears to be at first glance. The LDP is an incredibly diverse party, its very domination demanding the loose alliance of numerous factions that vary regarding their platforms on political issues.⁴⁷ The policies brought about during the years of LDP rule run a fairly extensive political range, with progressive policies being implemented by the

very same party that would seem to be the domain of the old guard.

The LDP's grasp on power is also not as illiberal as it might appear. The Japanese Diet contains opposition parties. Unlike say the single-party system as it existed in the Soviet Union, there is no institutional barrier for an opposition party to overcome. Competitive elections do take place, and despite the unlikely chance of it occurring, transfers of power have occurred.⁴⁸ The LDP does have certain advantages relative to opposition parties. It has a vast and organized political machine at its back, access to massive fundraising via interest groups, usually the incumbent's advantage in specific races, the advantages it obtained in its early days as the Liberal Party relating to prestige and access to pre-occupation extra-governmental structures, as well as the traditionally conservative nature of Japanese society. However, these advantages can, and have, been overcome in the past.⁴⁹ It appears that the LDP's most illiberal elements are those it shares among most other developed democracies: The influence of money and interest groups, not its status as the heirs of the old parties.

There is great continuity between the old government founded during the Meiji era, and the current post-occupation government, especially among the conservative side of Japanese politics. The continuing controversy surrounding how the Japanese remember and process their actions in the Pacific War means that these continuities are usually brought to the forefront of the media, making them appear incredibly strong and at least somewhat threatening. Japan existed as the greatest exemplar of authoritarianism in Asia during the first half of the 20th century, and that impression will take a long time to fade, especially given the actions of many in the Japanese conservative movement, and the usage of war memory for political purpose in nations such as China. This should not blind us to the fact that despite hiccups during the democratization process and attempts by the old guard to limit the change to a more liberal system, Japan has been able to become a shining beacon of working democracy in East Asia. The reason for this is simple: The effectiveness of Japan's democratic structures.

“ Japan existed as the greatest exemplar of authoritarianism in Asia during the first half of the 20th century, and that impression will take a long time to fade ”

The constitution of Japan is perhaps the single most famous constitution in Asia. It contains extensive protections for civil rights, free expression, and even labor representation. As shown by how the office of the Emperor has evolved, it provides a framework that has allowed even highly theoretical, potentially reactionary political concepts to be merged into a modern democratic state. The constitution constrained Hirohito's attempts to return the office to a position of political leadership, while at the same time empowered Akihito to utilize the symbolic and cultural powers of the office. The constitution's effectiveness has meant that even in the face of extensive plotting, democracy has gained extensive traction in the Japanese political framework. The most famous constitutional battle in modern Japanese politics, the fight over Article IX, shows the power that the constitution holds in constraining illiberal power. Despite the LDP's desire to increase Japanese military strength, they insist that this must be done following the constitution. Unless Article IX is revoked, the LDP feels it is in no position to greatly increase Japanese military capacity. Even among its critics, there is a respect for the constitution. Such respect for liberal democratic political structures means that even if there is a strong continuity between the two governments, the illiberal nature of the pre-occupation government is in no danger of seriously infecting Japan's current democratic system.

ENDNOTES

1 "Charter Oath," Encyclopedia Britannica, Accessed April 10th, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/event/Charter-Oath>.

2 "Meiji Constitution," Encyclopedia Britannica, accessed on April 10th, 2019, <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Meiji-Constitution>.

3 Not all scholars accept the position that the Emperor was completely without power. Some have argued that he in fact wielded power in fact as well as name, at least to some degree. The most famous proponents of a more politically active Emperor are Herbert Bix, Akira Fujiwara, and Peter Wetzler. Bix argues that Meiji, and then later Hirohito, exercised much more influence and direction of Japanese politics than what is normally considered to have been the case by making use of private meetings and influence, and that numerous Japanese figures have worked to obfuscate the Emperor's role in pre-war government. I find the "orthodox" explanation more persuasive, as it fits in with not only the Emperor's traditional place in Japanese politics, but also with the testimony of numerous members of the wartime Japanese government, and most persuasively to me, various foreign ambassadors and staff who would have no stake in hiding the Emperor's power. Readers interested in reading the alternative interpretation, however, would do well to read Bix's Pulitzer prize winning biography Hirohito and the Making of Modern Japan published in 2000 by Harper Perennial.

4 Kenneth J. Ruoff, *The People's Emperor: Democracy and the Japanese Monarchy, 1945-1995* (Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press, 2001), Page 19.

5 Ruoff, *The People's Emperor*, Page 29-30.

6 Peter Duss, *Party Rivalry and Political Change in Taisho Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1968) Page 28-30, 248-249.

7 T.A. Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1949), Page 6.

8 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 5.

9 Murai Ryota, "The Rise and Fall of Taisho Democracy: Party Politics in Early Twentieth-Century Japan," Nippon.com, Accessed April 10th 2019, <https://www.nippon.com/en/in-depth/a03302/the-rise-and-fall-of-taisho-democracy-party-politics-in-early-twentieth-century-japan.html>.

10 Ruoff, *The People's Emperor*, Page 34.

11 While the concept of "national polity" or kokutai was created during the Meiji years, and consisted of a belief in the cultural and spiritual identity unique to the Japanese, and therefore defined what it meant to be "Japanese," it is during the 1930s that much more chauvinistic and supremacist views begin to take root. This was originally utilized by the various political parties as a weapon against their opponents in the Diet but was soon turned on the very concept of democracy itself. Ruoff, *The People's Emperor*, Page 34.

12 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 17.

13 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 18.

14 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 4-6.

15 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 11-12.

16 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 12.

17 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 12-14.

18 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 18.

19 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 19.

20 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 28-29.

21 "In these matters the occupation was dealing only with the institutional framework of Japanese political life. Beyond this lay the far more fundamental and far more difficult problem presented by the strongly entrenched group interests that had controlled the old regime and were fighting vigorously to establish similar control over the new." - Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 22.

22 "Retention of the Emperor, even with the drastic modifications effected in his formal constitutional powers, has left the cornerstone of the old structure untouched, and facilitated the oligarchy's efforts to preserve its control." - Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 25.

23 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 39.

24 The conservative Liberal Party gained the largest share of seats in the diet with 148 seats. When combined with other conservative parties, this gave the conservatives a comfortable majority. Nohlen, Dieter editor. *Elections in*

21

Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook: Volume II: South East Asia. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), Page 381.

25 "As it was, the results of the 1946 election compelled SCAP, during the ensuing year to rely for the fulfillment of its basic reform directives upon a cabinet headed by Shigeru Yoshida, whose close identification with the old ruling oligarchy has been noted, and upon a diet in which the old-guard forces enjoyed an overwhelming majority." - Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 48. It should also be noted that Hatayama would later be allowed to return to government service, serving as Prime Minister for terms between 1954-1956. He was known for both working to further relations with the Soviet Union, as well as working to help parole several prisoners convicted of Class A war crimes at the Tokyo Trials.

26 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 43.

27 Ruoff, *The People's Emperor*, Page 52-55.

28 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 55.

29 The socialists won the most seats with 144. The Liberals won 129. The socialists therefore had to join their seats with the Democratic Party's 132 seats to have a majority, and as future events would prove, the Democrats could hardly be referred to as left wing. Nohlen et al, *Elections in Asia and the Pacific*, Page 381.

30 Bison, *Prospects for Democracy in Japan*, Page 63-72.

31 Ellis S. Krauss and Robert J. Pekkanen, "The Rise and Fall of Japan's Liberal Democratic Party," *The Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 69, No. 1 (February 2010), Page 5. Underscoring this even more is the fact that two years after Krauss and Pekkanen examined the LDP and the apparent end of its domination it had returned to power and remains so to this day.

- 32 Bison, Prospects for Democracy in Japan, Page 130.
- 33 Bison, Prospects for Democracy in Japan, Pages 12, 25.
- 34 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Page 40.
- 35 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Pages 44, 48.
- 36 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Page 43.
- 37 Bison, Prospects for Democracy in Japan, Page 26.
- 38 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Pages 11-12.
- 39 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Page 44.
- 40 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Page 52.
- 41 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Page 47. It is instructive to notice the criticism that Tsuda received at the time of his position's publication. Members of the right criticized his "stripping" of any political power from the office, while the left decried any cultural value that an "outdated" office might hold. The Imperial Household's position in modern Japanese society seems to have confirmed his moderate position as a very clever compromise, skillfully presented with historical precedent.
- 42 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Pages 107-109, 127-128.
- 43 Ruoff, The People's Emperor, Pages 151-155, 212, 218, and 224-233.
- 44 Reuters, "Abe's Offering and Lawmaker's Visit to Yasakuni Shrine for War Dead Rile China, South Korea," South China Morning Post, Accessed on April 21, 2019. <https://www.scmp.com/news/asia/east-asia/article/2089545/japanese-lawmakers-make-controversial-visit-yasukuni-shrine-war>.
- 45 Reiko Koide, "Critical New Stage in Japan's Textbook Controversy," The Asia Pacific Journal: Japan Focus, Accessed on April 21, 2019. <https://apjff.org/2014/12/13/Koide-Reiko/4101/article.html>.
- 46 See Appendix B for a list of all Japanese Prime Ministers since the constitution of 1947.
- 47 Nathaniel B. Thayer, How the Conservatives Rule Japan (Princeton: Princeton University Press 1969) Pages 39-42.
- 48 Jose Antonio Crespo, "The Liberal Democratic Party in Japan: Conservative Domination", International Political Science Review Vol. 16 No 2, Page 199.
- 49 Crespo, "The Liberal Democratic Party in Japan," Page 200-203.

“LET’S GET RID OF ALL OF THEM”: NO GUN RI AND THE AMERICAN POLICY OF SHOOTING REFUGEES DURING THE KOREAN WAR

Erin Marie Starr

On June 27, 1950, only two days after the North Korean army pushed into South Korea, the United States (U.S.) officially entered the Korean War. The U.S. quickly learned that this new war differed from any they had fought before. Contending not only with the regular Korean People’s Army, the U.S. troops also faced guerrilla warfare and spies hiding among the massive numbers of refugees fleeing south. To prevent the U.S. troop positions from being known to enemy forces, the military issued orders to keep refugees from crossing U.S. lines. While it was a sound policy in theory, the orders led to atrocities being committed on refugees. One example is the incident at No Gun Ri where several hundred refugees were trapped under a railroad bridge and under fire from air and ground troops for three days. Buried by the pro-American and totalitarian regimes that formed after the armistice, No Gun Ri remained an unnoticed moment in the United States’ “forgotten war” until actions in South Korea during the 1990s raised the issue to the surface. In September 1999 when *The Associated Press* writers Sang-Hun Choe, Charles J. Hanley, and Martha Mendoza published their string of articles on the No Gun Ri massacre during the Korean War, the first articles to break the news in the U.S., they sparked a controversy over the question of whether the Army ordered the soldiers to open fire.¹ While the Army claimed that no order was given in the *Report of the No Gun Ri Review*, the official investigation conducted by the U.S. Army, the available evidence, the memos, field journals, and flight records dating from the time of the massacre and afterward, paint a picture very different from the official report.² Military documents show that the use of deadly force as a means to control the “refugee problem” became an ongoing strategy even before No Gun Ri and the excuse of inexperienced soldiers cannot explain the numerous incidents of needless slaughter.

On September 19, 1999 Sang-Hun Choe, Charles J. Hanley, and Martha Mendoza published three articles and one timeline of events during the Korean War. The first article

broke the story about an event that occurred in late July 1950 in which several hundred Korean refugees were slain by United States troops.³ Through documents found in the U.S. National Archives, interviews with Korean War veterans who were supposedly present, and interviews with the Korean victims and their families, *The Associated Press* writers pieced together the events that occurred at No Gun Ri from July 26 to July 29. Later, the trio published *The Bridge at No Gun Ri: A Hidden Nightmare from the Korean War* which greatly expounded on the original articles, chronicling the events of both the 7th Cavalry and Koreans before the incident.⁴ Less than a month after the first articles, another article told of other atrocities committed against refugees by U.S. troops.⁵ Publication of the articles started a media frenzy as other journal outlets began to take notice of massacres that had occurred nearly fifty years earlier. These events finally forced the United States to investigate the incident which despite multiple petitions, the country previously refused. However, the conclusion of the investigation did not provide a conclusive answer.

In the original article, the recounts from victims and G.I.s did not always match even among themselves in regard to certain facts. These discrepancies include the number of civilians killed, whether an air strike was called in, who began shooting first, if weapons were found on the bodies, and most importantly, if the soldiers were ordered to open fire. Detractors quickly found fault with the story. First, pointing out how green soldiers thrown into a stressful and volatile situation could easily lead to mistakes being made and later attempting to discredit the entire story because evidence showed that one veteran lied about his own involvement. Despite naysayers’ claims of a fabricated event, the United States government acknowledged an incident at No Gun Ri did occur, but exactly how it occurred leaves room for debate.

According to the Korean account, on July 23 roughly ten American soldiers accompanied by a South Korean police officer came to the village of Chu Gok Ri and ordered

the villagers to evacuate due to the possibility of a battle occurring in the area.⁶ Many villagers did not want to leave their homes. They attempted to stay inside but “the Americans dragged them out” and forced them to the village of Im Gye Ri. On July 25, the villagers were forced to move again at bayonet point.⁷ The combined refugees of Chu Gok Ri and Im Gye Ri, numbering around five hundred, were forced off the road by U.S. soldiers and into a riverbed near Ha Ga Ri where they spent the night.⁸ Chun Choon-ja, ten-years old at the time of the incident, stated that “people who strayed away from the group were shot and killed,” and other villagers corroborated her story and added those who strayed away “went off to relieve themselves.”⁹ After moving on the next day, a different group of U.S. soldiers approached the villagers. The soldiers checked their belongings, confiscating anything deemed a weapon, but most items were kitchen knives and farming implements. The villagers then claimed that the soldiers used a radio to report something, quickly left, and then airplanes began to strafe and bomb the area surrounding the bridge.¹⁰

One of the main detractors of *The Associated Press* story, Robert L. Bateman, proposed a different theory on how the refugees arrived at No Gun Ri in his book *No Gun Ri: A Military History of the Korean War Incident*.¹¹ Bateman believes that refugees were “swept up” by a company that lost their way during a change at the front line. Earlier in the day the newly arrived 7th Cavalry Regiment relieved and replaced the 8th Cavalry Regiment. Team Field, a force from F Company 2nd Battalion 8th Cavalry, was cut off from the normal route out of Yongdong, had out-of-date maps, and were lost looking for other members of the regiment. Bateman believes that the refugees who found their way to No Gun Ri had been “inadvertently swept up” by Team Field on their “wandering” and sent toward the position of the 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry.¹² In his version, no concerted effort was made on the side of the U.S. and South Korea to move the refugees and the evacuation of villagers happened as an accident.

There are multiple holes in Bateman’s theory. First, the proposed path that Team Field followed did not go near either of the villages named in the Korean account.

Bateman’s path showed Team Field moving south of Yongdong before turning north roughly a kilometer to the east of Yongdong. The villages of Chu Gok Ri and Im Gye Ri, on the other hand, are one to two kilometers farther east than the proposed path.¹³ Second, his version denies the presence of South Korean police officers at the evacuation. If Team Field had actually picked up refugees who had already left or were planning to leave, then the presence of police officers in the Korean account does not make sense.

Ample evidence shows that the task of removing villagers from the battle areas fell to the South Korean police. The letter from John Muccio, ambassador to South Korea, to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk lists several decisions made “by the military” regarding the movement of refugees by the police.¹⁴ The first states that if the army deems it necessary to evacuate civilians in a certain area, the tactical commander “will notify the police liaison officers attached to his HQ, who through the area Korean National Police will notify the inhabitants, and start them southward under police control on specified minor routes.”¹⁵ Another states that “no mass movements unless police controlled will be permitted.”¹⁶ The 8th Army Headquarters confirmed these decisions in a message to the frontlines which states “no area will be evacuated by Koreans without direct order from CG EUSAK or upon order of Div commanders, each Div will be assigned three national police liaison officers to assist in clearing any area of the civilian populace that will interfere with the successful accomplishment of his mission.”¹⁷ Finally, Bateman’s version has the refugees moving through the night, while in the Korean version they stopped overnight. Again, the Korean version is more in line with the official Army order. Both the Muccio letter and the 8th Army message stated that no refugee movement would be permitted after dark.¹⁸

Documentation makes it easier to trace the whereabouts and movements of the 7th Cavalry Regiment during the days before and during the incident. The 7th Cavalry Regiment first set foot on Korean soil on July 22, 1950. Three days later, the 2nd Battalion made its way to the frontlines a few miles east of Yongdong, a position

previously held by the 8th Cavalry Regiment who was now withdrawing behind friendly lines.¹⁹ On their first night in combat, a series of mistakes led to a disorganized retreat. North of the 2nd Battalion's position, the 27th Infantry Division was engaged in combat to delay the North Korean advance, and exaggeration of the fighting brought news of an enemy breakthrough. 7th Cavalry headquarters decided to call for the withdrawal of the 2nd Battalion.²⁰ However, the withdrawal was not orderly. The *No Gun Ri Review* called it a "disorganized and undisciplined" retreat, fairly innocuous words for what really happened: the 2nd Battalion panicked and scattered.²¹ Over one-hundred men from the 2nd Battalion went missing the night of the retreat, later joining up with the battalion again the next day just north of No Gun Ri.²² Meanwhile, the 1st Battalion 7th Cavalry arrived in the area after a delay in Pohangdong and took up position on the south side of the tracks near Hill 207.²³ All of the parties were now in place for the incident at the No Gun Ri bridge.

While the refugees stood on the railroad tracks above the No Gun Ri bridge, U.S. airplanes attacked them. Both U.S. veteran accounts and Korean accounts agree that the attack by airplane occurred with strafing. The Korean victims claimed that the troops called in the airstrike by radio, but the likelihood of a deliberate attack on July 26 was slim. The airstrike caught the 7th Cavalry Regiment troops and refugees unaware, forcing them to pile into the tunnel with refugees or take refuge in foxholes outside.²⁴ In addition, the SCR-300 field radios used by troops could not directly contact airplanes. The two types of radios transmitted on different frequency types, field radios on frequency modulation (FM) and airplanes on amplitude modulation (AM).²⁵ Even if the soldiers had requested an air strike, the time it would have taken to go through the proper channels would have made it impossible for such a timely response. The "Statement of Mutual Understanding" states that "research does not reflect any mission flown on the 26th July in the vicinity of No Gun Ri."²⁶ Available mission reports do reflect this. From the records, the closest aircraft mission involved the 35th Fighter Bomber Squadron's Mission 35-11, which took off in the afternoon of July 26, the destination the "Yongdong area" and, specifically, the "road North from Yongdong to

Chengsan."²⁷ The "Statement of Mutual Understanding" does mention that mission reports for three missions in the vicinity of No Gun Ri were unable to be located.²⁸ It is possible that Mission 35-11 was off target or one of the missing reports indicated a flight closer to the location of No Gun Ri.

The *No Gun Ri Review* confirmed that "ground fire, including small arms, artillery, and mortar fire, hit and injured or killed some Korean refugees in the vicinity of No Gun Ri during the last week of July, 1950."²⁹ While it cannot be denied that the incident occurred, the reason that troops began firing on the refugees is another example of the confusion surrounding the events at No Gun Ri. In the first *Associated Press* article to break the story, according to ex-soldier Eugene Hesselman the order to open fire came from Captain Melbourne C. Chandler, who's exact words were "The Hell with all those people. Let's get rid of all of them."³⁰ The *No Gun Ri Review* does not reflect the findings of *The Associated Press* writers, and instead offers two explanations for gunfire. The first explanation concluded that soldiers "told to keep the civilians pinned down or stopped" fired above the heads of refugees to keep them in place. The second explanation concluded that other soldiers returned fire in self-defense when they believed hostile fire was coming out of the tunnel.³¹ The second explanation can also be found in *The Associated Press* articles, which further explained from interview quotes that there was a possibility of the hostile fire actually being their own shots ricocheting back at them.³² The *No Gun Ri Review* provides very little information on the number of interviewees who held the above opinions—only referring to the number as "some" or "several"—and no information on which battalion of the 7th Cavalry Regiment they were from.³³ As both accounts agree the refugees were searched for weapons before the airstrike, the official explanation of returning hostile fire does not make sense. Without the information on interviewees, it is unknown if there was a correlation between which battalion conducted the search on the refugees and the battalion of the interviewees who provided the different explanations.

The credibility of *The Associated Press* reports, as well as the Korean accounts, were called into question by some

observers. Interviewees lying about involvement and the appearance of the sudden petition from the South Koreans are all points that have been brought up to discredit the story and propose that the massacre did not actually occur. While all of these are important reasons to question the validity of the No Gun Ri incident, and it is somewhat hard to question it when the U.S. Army has acknowledged the event took place.

Shortly after *The Associated Press* articles came out, the service records for one interviewee, Edward L. Daily, became available through the Freedom of Information Act. The records showed that Daily was not in the area of No Gun Ri on the days the incident occurred, nor was he even in Korea. In 1950, Daily served as a mechanic in the 27th Ordinance Maintenance Battalion in Japan, and it was not until March 1951 that he transferred to the 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry.³⁴ While questions existed on the validity of Daily's statements before publication of *The Associated Press* articles, Hanley felt that Daily provided sufficient evidence, along with corroborating stories of other soldiers, to include his quotes in the article. In a letter to Bateman Hanley stated:

[After looking at] more than 100 interviews with 84 men of the 2nd Battalion and saw enough Daily connections and overall context—i.e., the common sense of it all—to begin to feel comfortable again. Then when Ed told me on the phone about the driver's license and other things, I felt more comfortable. When I saw them myself, that was it. The H Co. driver's license alone is unassailable—old, worn-at-the-corners dark blue cardboard, with appropriately faded typescript, signature, rubber stamp of the provost marshal. All the rest was convincing, too; as I said, I stopped paying rapt attention because of the overkill. Obviously, it would a superhuman hoax—by a man who never knew he'd be challenged in this way—to have constructed such a personal history.³⁵

Perhaps more important is how the articles used his false record. Daily was only a minor source of the first article, with only three quotes attributed to him, "providing no essential information" as Hanley and Mendoza later explained.³⁶ Daily's quotes focused on the feelings after such an incident, where in one he claims, "I can still hear

the cries, the little kids screaming," and in another that "we all share a guilt feeling, something that remains with everyone."³⁷ Edward Daily lied about his involvement in the No Gun Ri incident, and the articles now carry an editor's note reflecting this fact, but the false information from one of numerous sources should not be enough to completely discredit the entire event.

Even before the story of Edward Daily became news, many questioned *The Associated Press* story due to the lack of any previous mention of the incident. Bruce Cumings and William Stueck, Korean War historians, told the *New York Times* that "there was no previous report of any atrocity of this magnitude by United States forces in the Korean War," and that most instances of atrocities were committed by Koreans against each other.³⁸ However, the information released in 1999 was far from the first time the Korean victims tried to gain acknowledgement of the incident from the United States government.

The original petitions from the South Koreans and return letters are in *The Truth of the No Gun Ri Massacre*. The first petition was written in 1960, followed by several more petitions in the 1990s.³⁹ The small number can be directly linked to the political climate in South Korea after the war, which left no recourse for victims to tell their story or claim compensation. Much like the Red Scare in the United States, South Koreans who voiced any type of dissent against the South Korean or American governments, including mention of the massacre, were subjugated to political investigations under suspicion of being a communist sympathizer.⁴⁰ The 1960 petition can be attributed to the removal of Syngman Rhee as president, which ushered in "a brief window of liberalization" in South Korea, but the U.S. military claims office told the victims they missed the deadline to file the petition, and it was ignored.⁴¹ The later petitions met with two responses. The U.S. answered the 1994 petition with the following statement: "It appears that the incident giving rise to your claims arose directly from a combat activity of the Armed Forces. The United States is not legally liable for such claims resulting from an act of the Armed Forces of the United States in combat." After the 1997 petition, the United States repeated the previous statement, but also included that "there is no evidence to support the claims

nor is there any evidence to show that the U.S. 1st Cavalry Division was in the area where the incident allegedly occurred."⁴² Intentional suppression of information and denial of the event created the "no previous account" misconception.

“The Hell with all those people. Let's get rid of all of them.”

No Gun Ri may be the best-known instance, but it was not the only time U.S. troops killed Korean civilians in massive numbers. After the No Gun Ri story became publicized, South Korean survivors came forward to talk about roughly forty similar incidents during the first year of the war.⁴³ Though told to avoid civilians when attacking, many pilots ignored the order and "bombed major population centers by radar, or dumped off huge amounts of napalm on secondary targets," later pointing out that leaflets were dropped warning civilians while knowing leaflets were ineffective.⁴⁴ An incident similar to No Gun Ri occurred only a few days later on August 3, as the Army retreated across the Naktong River into Taegu. Both the Tuksong-dong Bridge incident and the Naktong River Bridge incident occurred in much the same way. In order to stop the advancing North Korean troops from following into Taegu, the Army planted explosives on the bridge, detonating them to prevent further crossings. However, in both instances large numbers of refugees remained on the bridges. The person who gave the order to detonate the Tuksong-dong Bridge is unknown, but the order to detonate the Naktong River Bridge came directly from the commander of the 1st Cavalry Division, Major General Hobart R. Gay. He later stated that the decision to blow up the bridge was tough, but days earlier Gay had given a statement to reporters that "he was sure most of the white-clad columns pressing toward American lines were North Korean guerrillas" and that "we must find a means to hold these refugees in place."⁴⁵ Given time and

an outlet to share their stories, it is likely that more victims or their family members will come forward and bring other unknown incidents to light.

Looking at an incident without the greater context of the Korean War can skew the reality of exactly how such a situation could occur, as well as paint the U.S. soldiers in an unnecessarily negative light. As William T. Sherman aptly put it: "War is hell." There will always be circumstances that lead to undesirable actions, and the case of the Korean War is no different. Several factors combined in Korea to lead up to incidents such as No Gun Ri. Boundary and government issues first led to civil unrest in South Korea, the speed at which North Korea pushed back the U.S. and Republic of Korea (ROK) forces demoralized the troops, and the U.S. military deployed to Korea were overconfident and underprepared. Add in the massive numbers of refugees fleeing from the battle areas, and they made for a deadly combination.

General disregard for Koreans may have begun shortly after the end of World War II. After the United Nations divided Korea into North and South, then Lieutenant General John R. Hodge was in charge of governance of South Korea under American occupation. Even before setting foot on Korean soil "he had instructed his officers to view the Koreans as the enemy."⁴⁶ Perhaps he already knew the situation in Korea would eventually come to a head as he shortly after reported to General Douglas MacArthur that "dissatisfaction with the division of the country grows."⁴⁷ The dividing of Korea at the 38th parallel was an arbitrary decision with no strategic value other than being easily found on a map. Like many boundaries after WWII, the Korean boundary did not take into consideration the economic makeup of the country. It cleanly split the industrial north and the agricultural south.⁴⁸ In addition, the election of American-backed Syngman Rhee allowed the South Korean elite, who had trained under the Japanese, to seize power over both the government and the land. A new form of landholding emerged, enforced by the Korean National Police and the elites of the Korean Democratic Party occupying key government positions.⁴⁹ Discontent spread rapidly among the peasant populations, who now had to give up at least half of their rice crop to government organizations.⁵⁰

Then, guerilla warfare broke out in 1948. While it was most noticeable on Cheju Island, the mountainous areas around Yongdong and Hwanggan, where No Gun Ri is located, were not free from fighting. According to a U.S. Central Intelligence Agency estimate, between 3,500 to 6,000 guerrillas were active in South Korea by early 1949.⁵¹ Bateman would have readers believe that all the villagers were supportive of the guerilla fighters, making statements such as “many villagers were at the very least sympathetic to the guerillas, feeding them and providing supplies and shelter at times.”⁵² However, the villagers were not always given a choice in providing for the guerrillas. As Bruce Cumings points out, when supplies were low and villagers may be less inclined to part with what little they had, the guerrillas “would attack whole villages and lay them waste in search of supplies.”⁵³ Long before the North Koreans invaded, South Korea peasants were stuck between two aggressive forces.

“ All they knew of war came from Hollywood movies. ”

While civil unrest was occurring in the South Korea, the North was preparing for an invasion intended to unify the whole Korean peninsula under communism. It is now known that North Korea received extensive aid from the Soviet Union in preparation for the attack. Not only did the Soviet Union give North Korea some of the most modern Soviet weaponry, tanks, aircraft and artillery, the Soviets provided the North Koreans training up until the minute of the invasion.⁵⁴ It was chaos in South Korea after the invasion by North Korea as only four ROK divisions were faced with holding off ten North Korean People’s Army (NKPA) divisions.⁵⁵ The NKPA was moving swiftly toward Seoul, and the families of the Korean Military Advisory Group (KMAG) staff needed to be evacuated as quickly as possible. The U.S. troops who had recently left were quickly recalled, but not before Seoul was lost. U.S. troops arrived in Taejon on July 2, but even together the U.S. and ROK were unable to hold back the advance of the NKPA.⁵⁶

In addition, the U.S. found itself in a type of war they had not faced since the Philippine-American War at the turn of the century. Guerilla fighting did not stop when North

Korea invaded, and combined with North Korean soldiers who would disguise themselves as peasants to hide from the U.S. and ROK forces. The combined attacks from the NKPA and guerillas greatly contributed to the loss at Taejon and began the U.S. tactic of destroying villages suspected of helping guerillas.⁵⁷ The quick setbacks had a profound effect on the morale of the U.S. troops, particularly the loss at Taejon where the U.S. Army’s 24th Infantry Division had a nearly thirty percent casualty rate in addition to the disappearance of Major General William F. Dean.⁵⁸ It was shortly after the fall of Taejon when the 1st Cavalry Division arrived in Korea, and took over defense near Yongdong. After this point, the U.S. began to take the threat from the NKPA seriously.

The United States entered the war overconfident, yet unprepared for the realities of war in Korea. General MacArthur claimed on the day North Korea invaded South Korea that he could “handle it with one arm tied behind my back.”⁵⁹ All he needed was the 1st Cavalry Division to send the North Koreans scurrying back to the Manchurian border.⁶⁰ This infectious view disseminated down the ranks until the majority of soldiers felt confident the war would be over quickly. Private Leonard B. Wenzel thought the war would end after “maybe a couple weeks in Korea... Maybe a couple months.”⁶¹ The soldiers also went into Korea without any idea of the horrors of war. Most of the young men who served in Korea would not have had the benefit of a father who served during World War II to transmit factual information. All they knew of war came from Hollywood movies, showing bloodless death and, possibly more important in the case of the Korean War, a clearly defined enemy.⁶² Overconfidence was neither the only nor the worst problem facing the troops, especially those of the 7th Cavalry Regiment.

In addition to overconfidence, the woefully undertrained U.S. troops faced cohesion problems at all levels. While most information is specific to the 7th Cavalry Regiment, it would also apply to any troops stationed and trained in Japan before the Korean War. Based in Tokyo, the 7th

Cavalry Regiment had little room to practice as a group. As John Loppincott, second lieutenant of F Company, 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry, said “we trained at the squad and platoon, and we were pretty proficient at that, but beyond that we were sorely lacking.”⁶³ This meant that the members of the 2nd Battalion only trained in groups one-tenth the size of the groups they would have to coordinate and cooperate as in Korea. Perhaps even worse, cohesion issues plagued the 7th Cavalry. As the different units deployed to Korea, officers were shuffled around to fill in gaps. Right until the 7th Cavalry departed Japan the officer situation remained in constant turmoil. Though more pronounced in F Company which rotated through four commanders in the roughly seven months before the war, several other officer positions in the regiment remained unfilled.⁶⁴ Young men were thrown together with officers “who had never shared a barracks or a beer” with them before and expected to trust them unconditionally.⁶⁵ An example of how the shocking reality of war, undertraining, and cohesion issues combined into larger problems can be seen in a memorandum from the latter half of July. It shows how the 1st Cavalry Division had problems maintaining order of the soldiers: “Elements of the US Cavalry unit fired into friendly troops. They are having a difficult time getting oriented and are trying to straighten out green troops.”⁶⁶ The panicked retreat of the 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry Regiment in their first night of combat is also likely the result of these problems.

The previously mentioned problems would not necessarily lead to the No Gun Ri massacre without one more very important factor. The ‘refugee problem’ is at the epicenter of Korean War atrocities. Newspapers and military documents chronicled the issue well during 1950. In mid-July, a *New York Times* article stated that “hundreds of thousands of refugees fleeing before the advancing Red armies clogged the roads of South Korea today.”⁶⁷ However, the threat posed by the refugees was more than a problem of congestion on the roads, the military held a firm belief that the refugees were not all they seemed. Many in the U.S. military that both guerilla fighters and North Korean combatants mixed into groups of refugees in order to infiltrate the American lines. This led to strict control measures to ensure no refugee groups would pass

through battle lines. The situation was not as dire as the U.S. military made it out to be, and news reports during the war show that there was acknowledgement of the small numbers of infiltrating enemy combatants.

The allied forces swiftly enacted measures to prevent civilians from coming into contact with U.S. lines, with the South Korean police taking charge of these issues. A July 26, 1950 *New York Times* article laid out the guidelines, the regulations included only two hours of “daily liberty” where civilians were allowed outside of their homes, “strict investigations” of persons moving in large groups, and any person in violation or considered to be making “enemy-like action” would be “executed immediately.”⁶⁸ Despite these guidelines the U.S. issued contradictory orders which forced civilians out of their homes, such as the case in Im Gye Ri and Chu Gok Ri. Communication from General William Kean to the 25th Infantry Division mentions that “civilians have been ordered cleared out of the combat zone to the west and north of the line,” while General Walton Walker believed that all civilians should be removed from the combat area making it easy to spot enemy agents as they would be the only ones remaining.⁶⁹ These actions were not always undertaken by the South Korean police as policy dictated. Though most archival documentation discussing the movement of refugees specifies it to be handled by the police, a message to the 25th Infantry Division relays that the “First Cav is taking action against the civilians who are remaining in the combat area.”⁷⁰ The question should then be asked if the U.S. military actually created the refugee problem. With numerous dispatches during the month of July contradicting each other on what actions to take regarding civilians, it becomes easier to imagine how the situation leading up to No Gun Ri developed.

A more definitive estimate of the number of the refugees flooding toward U.S. and ROK held territory can be found in *South to the Naktong, North to the Yalu*, where Appleman estimates that 380,000 refugees had already entered the territory by mid-July and the number was increasing by 25,000 per day.⁷¹ The Muccio memorandum states that “the refugee problem has developed aspects of a serious and even critical military natures, aside from the

welfare aspects.”⁷² The U.S. Army felt the full force of these developments during the battle of Taejon. People dressed as refugees, including women and children, would run toward the American lines as if escaping the battle. Upon a signal, the “refugees” would produce weapons such as firearms or grenades and attack the American troops.⁷³ Fear of infiltration and guerilla attacks increased the distrust U.S. soldiers felt toward Korean civilians. “Watch those guys in white!” was frequently heard on the front lines.⁷⁴ The fear was not completely unfounded. A story circulated among the troops tells how on July 25 a pregnant woman and a man accompanying her were stopped and checked. The woman’s ‘pregnant belly’ actually turned out to be a radio that the pair had used to report U.S. position to the NKPA.⁷⁵ Documentation shows that the danger posed by the ‘refugee problem’ was not as critical as the U.S. military made it seem.

The *No Gun Ri Review* claims that “U.S. soldiers new to combat and to the country encountered a war unlike the one fought barely five years earlier in World War II. Guerilla-like tactics reigned, and the threats existed everywhere, even behind enemy lines.”⁷⁶ Although guerilla activity occurred during the war, if the CIA’s estimation of 3,500 to 6,000 guerilla fighters is correct, this is far less than the number of North Korean regulars the U.S. Army was facing. When placed in the context of how many refugees existed, even if all the guerilla fighters hid among refugees it would still amount to less than two percent of the total refugees. In addition, it was acknowledged in July 1950 that the guerilla attacks were not as much of a threat as the *No Gun Ri Review* would lead readers to believe. The evidence provided by the Review to back its claim of eminent danger through infiltration mainly comes from hearsay or rumors, with very few examples of actual events.⁷⁷ A July 1950 news article explains that while guerilla activity may be increasing near Yongdong, the guerillas had been “virtually wiped out” and “there had hitherto been little sabotage or other activity behind the American lines.”⁷⁸ Also, little evidence exists that the presence of the NKPA helped to increase support for communism. A July 16 news article states that most South Koreans actually feared communism after being “conditioned by two years of violent anti-Communist

propaganda,” and that the number of Communist sympathizers among civilians was relatively small.⁷⁹ This is confirmed by the fact that Kim Il Sung condemned the communists in South Korea for being unable to raise enough support for an uprising.⁸⁰ Ironically, most instances of infiltration actually occurred when the NKPA took advantage of wide gaps in the U.S. lines, allowing them to perform envelopment or turning movements and attacking from the rear.⁸¹ While large numbers of refugees did clog the roads of South Korea, the threat they posed as a means for guerilla fighters to infiltrate U.S. positions was much less than the *Review* would have people believe.

The main question was whether soldiers received orders to fire on refugees at No Gun Ri. The *Review* claims “neither the documentary evidence nor the U.S. veterans’ statements reviewed by the U.S. Review Team support a hypothesis of deliberate killings of Korean civilians.”⁸² There are multiple problems with this conclusion. The first being that the idea of an accidental massacre does not fit the details of the event. Perhaps the initial fire was an accident, but it becomes harder to believe that soldiers would continue fire for three days without questioning their actions. Although there is no archival information to support this, the existence of mortar and artillery fire during the three-day incident also throws doubt on the official claim, as both require coordinates for targeting and orders to fire.⁸³ However, the assertions made in the *No Gun Ri Review* obscure the misdirection and numerous omissions of the report.

The *Review* places emphasis on the fact there is no paper trail to follow. On July 24, 1950, an order was sent to the 8th Cavalry Regiment at 10:00 AM that stated “no refugees to cross the front line. Fire everyone trying to cross lines. Use discretion in case of women and children.”⁸⁴ This is the only evidence from before the No Gun Ri incident that directly references an order to open fire on refugees. The Army report makes it seem as though the order was not received by the 7th Cavalry Regiment, but nowhere in the *Review* does it state that the 7th Cavalry’s communication log for July 1950 as been missing since at least 1998.⁸⁵ In fact, dates are not listed for documents related to the 7th Cavalry, but dates are provided for previous documents

and continued on the next page.⁸⁶ Bateman agrees that the 7th Cavalry could not have received the same order, but he bases his deduction on other the location of the 7th Cavalry at the time when the 8th Cavalry received the order. He claims that as the 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry was still on the train from Pohang-dong to Hwanggan, they would not have had equipment able to receive the same message.⁸⁷ Bateman's deductions sound plausible, but he and the *Review* fail to take into account the orders could have been passed orally to the 2nd Battalion 7th Cavalry after their arrival. Not only did they spend a night camped near headquarters in Hwanggan, when they were sent to the front to relieve the 8th Cavalry, contact was made between the two regiments. The Army report even acknowledged the contact occurred by presenting evidence from the regiment commander.⁸⁸ In light of the fact the official report discussed how the headquarters of the Fifth Air Force and Eighth Army were located adjacent to one another to facilitate oral communications and "permitted face-to-face discussions of sensitive matters instead of communicating via paper," the fact that oral communication of the order was not considered is almost laughable.⁸⁹

The same excuse of no paper trail is used to dismiss two documents claiming the Army asked the Air Force and Navy to fire upon refugees. The Rogers Memorandum, dated July 25, 1950, questions the orders that the Air Force should fire on refugee groups. Rogers wrote that "the army has requested that we strafe all civilian refugee parties that are noted approaching our positions" and that "to date, we have complied with the army request in this respect."⁹⁰ Although the memo could not be dismissed completely, they chose to leave out the most damning part. To show that the memo is actually against the shooting of refugees, the *Review* summarizes a part of the memo by saying "Rogers argued that the refugee issue was primarily an Army problem and that the Army should screen civilians as they came through the lines."⁹¹ What it leaves out is that Rogers also included "or shooting them as they come through if they desire such action."⁹² The Navy document, an action summary from the same date as the Rogers memo, fares slightly better. The *Review* does not omit the line that refugees were strafed

"in accordance with information received from the Army that groups of more than eight to ten people were to be considered troops, and were to be attacked."⁹³ Instead, the report goes on to say that both documents reference a "single discussion" and North Korean combatants were the intended targets.⁹⁴

While intentionally misconstruing evidence is bad enough on its own, the *Review* Team also completely dismissed evidence that they considered to be a 'smoking gun.' Nowhere in the *Review* is the Muccio Memorandum mentioned. When later questioned about the omission, the Pentagon stated that they examined, but later dismissed, the Muccio document, citing that it was only a proposed plan and not an approved plan.⁹⁵ The language used by Muccio proves otherwise. Muccio state that "decisions made" at the meeting between the U.S. and South Koreans included orders, in no uncertain language, that "if refugees do appear from north of US line they will receive warning shots, and if they then persist in advancing they will be shot."⁹⁶ On the danger posed by refugees, it states "the Army is determined to end this threat."⁹⁷ Muccio uses definitive language throughout the memo, making it shocking that the *Review* Team would view it as unimportant. The Muccio memo is only one of many such omissions that Hanley and Mendoza noted after the *Review* was published. They claim that many documents included in their original articles, documents that contain comments refugees are "fair game" or similar phrases, were intentionally ignored by the *Review* Team.⁹⁸ When the omissions and misconstrued evidence are brought to light, it becomes questionable if the U.S. Army ever intended to seek the truth, or if they begin the inquest only intending to clear their own name.

Two documents have the potential to discredit the entire *No Gun Ri Review*. The first, dated July 26, is the GI Journal of the 25th Infantry Division, which records "Incidents, Orders, Messages, etc." At 2200 hours, the GI Journal reports that an order from Major General Kean was received, and it states: "CG (Kean) directed we notify Chief of Police that all civilians moving around in combat zone will be considered as unfriendly and shot."⁹⁹ The same order is given by Major General Kean the following day in

a memo to “Commanding Officers, All Regimental Combat Teams” and so on. A map, not included with the document stated, “All civilians seen in this area are to be considered as enemy and action taken accordingly.”¹⁰⁰ Perhaps the order was not actually for soldiers to shoot the refugees, as Kean did not use such language himself, but the soldiers on the ground took it quite differently. Robert M. Carrol, a retired colonel and original interviewee of *The Associated Press*, asked in a subsequent interview

“What do you do when you’re told nobody comes through? We had to shoot them to hold them back.”¹⁰¹ The large number of refugees left the soldiers with few options as a way to carry out the order from Major General Kean.

The floodgates opened after the decisions listed in the Muccio memorandum went out. The month of August saw an increase in the number of orders referencing shooting of refugees, and these orders continued well into the next year. On August 9, the communications log of the 1st Battalion, 8th Cavalry Regiment reported an order from ‘Scrappy 6’ that stated, “shoot all refugees coming across river.” Within three minutes, this order was relayed to “Baker and Charlie.”¹⁰² The Journal of the 35th Infantry Regiment 25th Infantry Division reported on August 17 that “any refugee approaching our defense position will be considered the EN and will be dispersed by all available fires including Art.”¹⁰³ Then, on August 29 the Unit Journal for the Headquarters 61st Field Artillery Battalion received orders from ‘Saber 6’ that “all refugees on this side of the north firing line are fair game,” and, again, this was quickly relayed to “all batteries in the battalion.”¹⁰⁴ Numerous examples can be found in the Army memorandums, journals, and communication logs. The advice in the Rogers memorandum appears to have been ignored as flight records continued to show a pattern of strafing refugees, and the USS DeHaven September war

diary noted an instance where the Army requested they fire upon “a large group of refugee personnel located on the beach.”¹⁰⁵ These instances of orders to open fire on refugees throw even more doubt on the statement that the Muccio document was only a proposed plan.

The question of whether a direct order was given to fire on refugees at No Gun Ri will probably never be answered unless the 7th Cavalry Regiment’s communication log is located and contains either definitive proof that no order was given or the record of an order to open fire being given. Between the circumstantial evidence and the misdirection of the *No Gun Ri Review*, there is a high possibility that the 7th Cavalry received orders regarding the shooting of refugees before the massacre at No Gun Ri. The Muccio memorandum and the numerous examples of orders to fire on refugees that were discovered points to a theatre-wide¹⁰⁶ policy of shooting refugees as a means of control. Whichever the case, the Korean War remains a brutal war with roughly four million people killed during the short three-year duration, the majority being civilian deaths. Atrocities against civilians were not limited to the United States’ actions, the North Koreans and South Koreans were incredibly brutal against civilians believed to support the other side. The fact that the story of No Gun Ri only came to light forty-nine years after it occurred shows that much more research is needed to uncover the whole truth of what occurred during America’s “forgotten war.”

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Rose Reyes

FILM REVIEW: MIDWAY (2019)

McCallie L. Smith III – Co-Written by Robert Ezekiel

On December 7, 1941, Japanese forces launch a devastating attack on *Pearl Harbor*, the United States (U.S.) naval base in Hawaii. Six months later, on June 4, 1942, the Japanese navy commenced an attack against an American naval base in the Pacific, this time at Midway Island. Over the course of three days, the U.S. Navy both from the sea and from the air engage the enemy in what became the turning point for the Allies in the Pacific campaign.

Well-known director Roland Emmerich, whose films include *Independence Day* and *The Patriot*, successfully assembles on screen both the battle and the events leading to it. Emmerich's *Midway* saga is unlike many of the war films that have been released in recent years, for both better and worse. It is safe to say that *Midway* is not a genre defining film such as *Saving Private Ryan*, nor is it as hollow, romanticized, or embellished as Michael Bay's *Pearl Harbor*. *Midway* is an earnest war film and, for this reviewer, feels generated in the vein of post-war Hollywood war features that used to star the likes of Audie Murphy and Gregory Peck. To further the analogy, the script of the feature, which was written by Wes Tooke, feels seemed written in the style of late 1950's Hollywood, and the actors seem to be projecting a wonderful aura of nostalgia in their delivery. Both these elements combined generates a work that utilizes all the wonders of modern cinema (i.e. color, CGI, and editing software) in services of a film that would not be out of place if directed by David Lean in 1957 (*Bridge over the River Kwai*). Emmerich's decision to emulate the post-war Hollywood style begs comparison with the last major Hollywood film to depict the story of *Midway*. Many member of the original 1976 *Midway* cast were World War II veterans, as was the director Jack Smight. Emmerich does not have the same ability cast veterans in his film, but he makes up for this lack of authenticity with his application of nostalgia and combat depiction. Emmerich's *Midway* is by no means a shot for shot remake of the original 1976 feature, but in its own way an homage or a modern tribute to this significant historical event.

With immaculate attention to historical detail surrounding props, costumes, and scene setting the production team flawlessly represents the era. The film took very few liberties in its historical representation, as the film is as much period piece as it is a war film. However, that is not to say that the film has no historical inaccuracies. One of these minor inaccuracies occur late in the film when sailor Bruno Gaido, played by Nick Jonas, is captured at sea by the Japanese Navy. Gaido is interrogated, and after refusing to give up the ship's name he came from is thrown overboard with an anchor tied to his leg. Many may think this event is Hollywood taking liberties for dramatic flair, with one reviewer in the *Hollywood Reporter* saying that it "is probably pure fiction."¹ However, the event itself is not fiction but recorded fact. The historical inconsistencies in this case are actually that when Gaido was thrown overboard it was not an anchor that was used for weight. In actuality after being interrogated for two weeks Gaido was thrown overboard with two water-filled kerosene cans tied to his persons and not an anchor.

The script can be, at times, overly ambitious and unable to fully depict the density of the various events corresponding and leading up to the events of *Midway*. Lots of screen time was given to the segment covering *Pearl Harbor*, and the same was allocated to time highlighting the Doolittle Raid on Tokyo. Other important events however do not receive the same treatment. For example there could have been more screen time to highlight the Battle at Coral Sea leading up to Midway. Another significant steppingstone that led to the ultimate success at *Midway* was the breaking of Japanese code by naval intelligence. While both of these events have a corresponding scene in the film, both could have been expanded and elaborated upon. This would be to the benefit of the viewer who is predisposed to have no prior knowledge on the history of the Pacific theatre of the Second World War beyond *Pearl Harbor* and the dropping of the Atomic bomb. Upon further investigation of the film, the presence of Doolittle's Raid and its aftermath may be due to the fact that the film received extensive

Chinese backing in fund. The common sentiment in China surrounding the history of World War II, is that people are often to dismissive of Japanese action taken against china during the War, especially the atrocities that were endured by civilians and soldier alike.

Despite occasionally biting off more than it could chew, the film was exciting, informative, and more than entertaining. Emmerich's *Midway* exceptionally depicts close proximity scenes of World War II naval warfare. *Midway* is one of the most expensive independent films of all time, and while the films might not land with every viewer, it is a film that is more than sincere in its execution. This World War II epic is a welcome addition to any war film catalog.

ENDNOTE

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Dr. Harriet Amos Doss

We would like to dedicate the 24th edition of the *Vulcan* to Dr. Harriet Amos Doss. For over 42 years, students and colleagues of Dr. Doss have recognized her “superior, significant, and sustained contributions to the teaching and study of history in the state of Alabama” (Alabama Association of Historians). Dr. Doss began her academic study at Agnes Scott College in 1972, followed by earning a masters and PhD from Emory University. Her professional teaching career began at Northern Michigan University in 1977 and then became a permanent fixture at The University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB) since 1978.

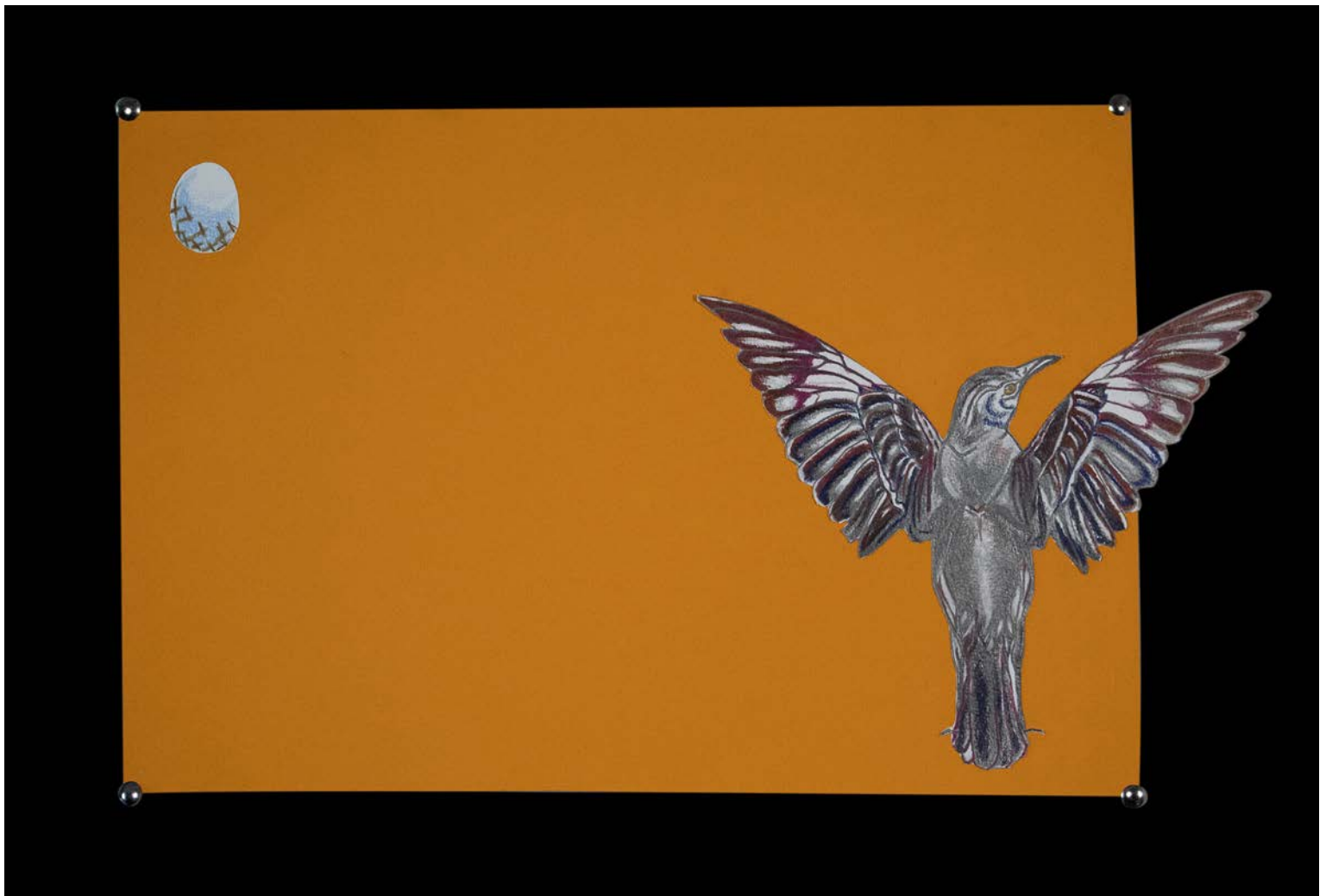
An Alabama native, Dr. Doss was born in Mobile and raised by her parents Bevil T. and Nona S. Amos. She later met and married her husband Chris Doss. In addition to her strong southern roots and plethora of accomplishments, Harriet Amos Doss is known statewide for her teaching expertise and vast research knowledge. Her favorite courses centered around American History (the Civil War and Reconstruction), Southern Women, and Historical Research and Writing.

In addition to her contribution of articles to many journals and anthologies, Dr. Doss published, *Cotton City: Urban Development in Antebellum Mobile*, as well as several book chapters with a focus on Alabama history. Her many academic distinctions are evidence of the excellent standard held by Dr. Doss throughout her career and include the Milo B. Howard Jr. Award (AHA) and President’s Award for Excellence in Teaching (UAB).

Finally, Dr. Doss’s commitment to her students’ historical research and writing is perhaps one of her most appreciated talents. She strives to get the best out of every one of us, and every student in her classes will tell you they are a better historian and writer because of her.

Thank you, Dr. Doss, for the decades of dedication you gave to aspiring historians, researchers, and writers. You continue to be a favored faculty member and mentor of countless students and Alabama residents. We miss you already – have a happy retirement!

fantastical mockingbird



Rose Reyes

tender-headed

Taylor Byas

I resume
my Saturday night post
between stretchmarks,
shoulders caught
between chestnut thighs
as grandma greases my scalp.
She carmines the nape of my
neck with her rat-tail comb,
the one with gaps where
my naps wrestled and won.

The coffee table muddles
with jars of gel and
rubber bands that welted
her thumbs when they
snapped, my backside numb
on the living room
carpet, dahlia fibers
honeycombing my skin
through my oversized tee.

Be still now, and I strain
against her grip on my roots,
chewing tongue to check my
mewls, focusing
on the click of her short
nails colliding as she plaits
piece over piece.

She hums For Your Glory,
parts my hair into sections
gridding out old city streets
and rows of cotton;
I wonder if she braids my hair
for the pastor's approval
or God's – they'd never say.

INTENTION FROM GOD: MIDWIVES AND PROFESSIONAL PHYSICIANS IN LATE NINETEENTH-CENTURY ALABAMA

Sheila Blair

"There was an intention from God because that was God's program for the women to have babies. It was the midwife or nothin."

Onnie Lee Logan, midwife in Sweet Water, Marengo County, Alabama

In Alabama, toward the end of the nineteenth century, professional physicians routinely expressed grave concerns about the practice of traditional midwifery. Midwives, they claimed, were incompetent, ignorant, and unclean. They ridiculed and derided midwifery for its supposedly superstitious and dangerous practices and sought to improve public health in Alabama by standardizing or regulating the practice of midwifery. Members of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama and *The Alabama Medical and Surgical Journal*, the most powerful and influential physicians in the state, regularly presented papers on the midwifery issue during the years 1886 to 1918. These governing bodies in the medical field were deeply concerned with elevating the standards and rigor of the medical profession in Alabama, and they saw unregulated midwives as a threat to their efforts.

Yet midwives in nineteenth-century Alabama were an integral piece of public healthcare, due to high levels of rural poverty, racial segregation, and general mistrust of professional doctors. Alabama was (and remains today) one of the most rural and poor states in the country. In the context of late nineteenth-century transportation, physical difficulties interfered with country doctors' ability to get around and attend births. Most rural women, black and white, could not even afford to have a physician attend their birth. Furthermore, high levels of racial segregation and racism meant that many white doctors simply refused to attend black patients. In the words of Onnie Lee Logan, an Alabama midwife who practiced in Marengo County, I cain't remember a doctor go in a place my whole time in the country to deliver a black baby. I don't remember a single doctor not a single time deliverin a black baby at



"On the Road." Midwife on her way to a birth, carrying her kit. Greene County, Georgia, November 1941. Photographer Jack Delano. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

home. Not one. ...Not on my whole life. Not in my whole life. Cause if they sent for him the baby woulda been there and probably some of em walkin befo' he got there.¹

In practice, then, midwives attended most births – women would call them right before or just as soon as they went into labor, knowing they were close by, and it wouldn't take them long to arrive. There was also the fact that late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Alabamians of both races did not fully trust professional physicians yet. The field was still recovering from its early nineteenth-century reputation, and doctors were only just learning how destructive treatments like bloodletting and purging had been. Many women, both black and white, preferred the presence of their familiar friends and neighbors to the unfamiliar and unknown technological complexity of a doctor-attended birth. Although it frustrated physicians,

midwives continued to attend births in high numbers throughout the end of the nineteenth and into the twentieth-century. The statistics of midwife-attended births in Alabama may even be higher than records show, given physicians' difficulties in getting local healthcare practitioners and midwives to report each birth and register it.

Historians who have investigated the transition from traditional midwifery to professional obstetrics aptly describe a transfer of power and authority from midwives to physicians. Analysis of this historical transition in Alabama reveals a more complex situation in which physicians in Alabama continued to rely on midwives in practice, while publicly and professionally denouncing them in the literature. Racism, rural poverty, and general mistrust of professional medicine in Alabama created a situation in which both black and white women in rural areas continued to rely heavily on midwives, while physicians routinely and publicly worked to discredit them.

Although many historians have explored the history of the transition from American midwifery to professional obstetrics,² not much research has been devoted to Alabama in particular. Howard L. Holley, in his comprehensive history of medicine in Alabama, devotes limited page space to early professional obstetrics and a few passing remarks to the ignorance of midwives, acknowledging the issue as a concern of early professional Alabamian physicians. Legal scholar Stacey Tovino includes Alabama as a case study in her comparative analysis of midwifery legislation in the United States. Charlotte Borst's work on midwives in Wisconsin at the turn of the nineteenth century provides helpful comparisons and contrasts to the situation in Alabama. Perhaps the most in depth work on this historical moment in Alabama is found in the two published oral histories of Alabama midwives, *Listen to Me Good: The Story of an Alabama Midwife and Motherwit: An Alabama Midwife's Story*.³ These volumes, along with scholarly research on the history of African American midwifery in the Southeast region more generally, form a crucial foundation upon which this paper builds.

As noted by Judy Barrett Litoff, historical research on midwifery is challenged by the dearth of written

information produced by the midwives themselves.⁴ Many of these women were either illiterate or emphasized oral communication, meaning that much of what is known comes from the often-hostile observations of contemporary physicians. Nevertheless, the contemporary rhetoric in the professional medical community illuminates and enriches understanding of this moment in medical history. Therefore, the other important source of information necessary to an understanding of this historical moment in Alabama comes from physicians, in the form of medical journals and the transactions of the state medical association.

Continuous change and profound transformation characterized the medical profession throughout the second half of the nineteenth century. Following dramatic advances in bacteriology and other sciences, Alabamian physicians strove to consolidate authority, trust, and standardized public healthcare. Eventually, these efforts would result in a near-total authority vested in the professional physician. In the field of American obstetrics, this process caused a drop in midwife attended births from 50% to 15% during the period 1900 to 1930.⁵ Professionally organized physicians used technological interventions to attract women with the promise of a smooth, painless, and relatively risk-free labor. Yet midwives continued in high numbers as birth attendants in certain areas of the country. 80% of all midwife-attended births in 1913 occurred in the South, "where physicians had always been extremely scarce and the population had the highest percentage of black, poor, and rural citizens."⁶ Despite the ascendance of specialized obstetrics at the turn of the nineteenth century, parturient women continued relying on midwives for healthcare when physicians could not, or would not attend to them. This process was contingent on developments in medical obstetrics and how they affected the transition away from midwifery in Alabama.

Technological and scientific advances in medicine, both obstetric and otherwise, assimilated slowly in Alabama. According to Howard Holley, "medical practice in the second half of the nineteenth-century did not differ too greatly from that of earlier days."⁷ Forceps were commonly used but still a matter of discussion in the 1886 issue of

The Alabama Medical and Surgical Journal (AMSJ).⁸ Much more debate revolved around the new practices of using anesthesia and antiseptics during labor.⁹ Although these would eventually become cornerstones of medical authority in the birth chamber, during the late nineteenth century their efficacy and appropriateness was still somewhat unknown. Physicians continued to disagree and debate how to effectively manage labor; the literature reflects this and reveals a great deal of uncertainty.

In fact, it is possible that women were at a higher risk from physician-attended or hospital births due to the prevalence and misunderstood nature of puerperal fever – an infectious disease caused by introducing bacteria into the vagina during labor. Despite the fact that bacterial science had determined the infectious etiology of puerperal fever, in the second half of the nineteenth century, “[t]he reluctance with which physicians surrender traditional ideas and methods was again demonstrated. ... The therapeutic value of bloodletting and purging in the treatment of puerperal fever was still being stressed.”¹⁰ Indeed, in the 1886 issue of the AMSJ, Job Thigpen of Greenville recorded his use of bleeding to treat puerperal fever.¹¹ Alabamian physicians resisted using antiseptic techniques of sterilization, and women who gave birth in hospitals, urban areas, or crowded clinics remained at higher risk due to the greater prevalence of bacteria. In addition, doctors also tended to intervene and use more instruments during labor than midwives,¹² increasing further the possibility that harmful bacteria would be introduced. Even by the 1930s, when medical obstetrical advancements had become more widely accepted, three independent studies explicitly found that high rates of infant and maternal mortality in the United States were caused by physician error, intervention, and exposure to hospital environments.¹³ Despite frequent claims to the contrary in the medical literature, the idea that midwives posed a greater risk to health during birth attendance at the turn of the twentieth century is simply untrue.

Some wealthy, urban women did choose physician-attended births, but the scarcity of doctors in the country meant that it was unlikely or impossible for rural women to do so. On the one hand, there were not enough doctors

to go around. In the words of Onnie Lee Logan, “[a] doctor was impossible for him to keep up with all these cause women was havin babies like cats havin kittens durin these times with no prenatal care whatsoever.”¹⁴ Alabama was a frontier state, and the first cities settled had been decimated by malaria and yellow fever.¹⁵ In the late nineteenth century it remained rural and lacked an effective network of public healthcare. Famous physicians like Jerome Cochran would work to change this so that by the early twentieth century the foundations had been laid for public healthcare in the state, but the process was slow and arduous.¹⁶ Calls for improvement in licensure, examination, and efficacy of county health officers permeate the medical discourse from the 1880s to the early 1900s. There was a logistical and organizational dilemma to resolve before doctors would become widely available in rural areas. Due to the distance and onerous nature of transportation in the late nineteenth century,¹⁷ doctors charged high rates for travel into the country, posing a significant financial barrier for rural families. In 1894, Dr. Halle Tanner Dillon Johnson, the first female doctor licensed by the Alabama Medical Society, “reported that families living far from town could not afford medical care because physicians charged two dollars per mile for a visit—plus the cost of medicine—and demanded cash or reliable assurances of payment before coming.”¹⁸ Black families were either too wary or too shrewd to even ask a white doctor to come, knowing that he would either fail to arrive or would treat them with discrimination. Logan explains: “The white doctors at this time—...I don't think they paid too much attention to the black families then, because the spirit of the white people then didn't go out for the black people. They thought that we was—as they used to call us—animals. We were like animals. So, they didn't have any feelin for us.”¹⁹

Beyond the cost of travel, physicians charged fees for obstetrical care that many families in Alabama simply could not afford, while midwives were available to perform the attendance for exchange or for free. In 1837 physicians charged up to \$20 for obstetrical engagements;²⁰ by the late nineteenth century, average country doctors were barely eking out a living, not allowing them to drop costs for attending births out in the country.²¹ In contrast,

midwives often attended births either for exchange in goods or for no compensation at all. Midwives would also perform tasks beyond the childbirth event itself, such as cooking, cleaning, and sometimes making sure the family had enough to eat.²² According to Logan, speaking about the generation before hers, “Now the midwives in those days—let me tell you about the midwives in those days. When they go on a delivery, they didn't just go on a delivery. They do the cookin and the washin. ...My mother wasn't paid hardly anything alot a times. If she was paid at all they might give her co'n, chicken, greens outa the garden if we didn't have any and such like that. There wasn't any money to pay em.”²³ Midwives offered a healthcare system founded on informal networks of community and family, not financial transaction. This made them not only available but also appealing to rural and poor families.

“ White families engaged physicians in an official capacity and relied on African-American midwives to provide the actual labor of healthcare. ”

Midwives' physical proximity, willingness to attend births even without financial compensation, and extra steps to provide support and care to parturient women made them more available and appealing than physicians. This situation was enhanced for black women, who faced open discrimination and racism from white physicians: "You know why the blacks avoided the white doctors? Because, honey, they avoided the whites period. ... The doctors thought the black person was mostly too filthy for him to put his hands on. They talk to em just like they was a dog that didn't have human sense. They did not want that kinda treatment. They didn't deserve that kinda treatment because they was human beings."²⁴ Black women made active choices to involve caregivers that they could trust and who would treat them well during their labor.

Yet white women displayed preferences for midwives as

well. Logan explains: “Fact a business, alot a white families years ago didn't do nothin but use midwives. And most midwives at that time was black. ...And it wasn't only white sharecroppers that my mother delivered for. There was white people that owned property. You don't call em sharecroppers the ones that own property.”²⁵ When white babies were involved, there would usually be a doctor present at the labor, but he would frequently be attended by a midwife. Logan described the way this scenario usually played out in her mother's work as a midwife: The doctors mostly time they are there to deliver that baby and get goin. They're not go'n clean up any of it. They will have Mother there with the doctor knowin Mother's go'n do the cleanin up afterwards. This would be the white families. Mother would do whatever need to be done. Sometimes she would get the house all cleaned up. Mother all settled and baby all settled. See the doctor's not go'n bathe that baby, not go'n dress that baby or nothing like that. That's go'n be the midwife. The doctor would fill out the birth certificate. It happened alot a times that the baby was born befo' the doctor got there. So, you see it was white and black alike that used midwives. It was never hard to get a midwife unless she was already on another case. All you had to do was to go down and pick her up.²⁶

Even when doctors were officially present at childbirth, then, African-American midwives still performed most or all of the labor. The doctor attended in an official capacity, but his presence did not extend beyond the labor event. White families engaged physicians in an official capacity and relied on African-American midwives to provide the actual labor of healthcare. Black families learned not to count on doctors altogether, instead relying on long-established networks of familial and neighborly support and ancestral knowledge to maintain a healthy community.²⁷

Of course, physicians did not openly acknowledge that they relied on midwives to deliver black babies in rural areas, but the reality can be inferred from the oral histories of midwives themselves and sociocultural realities of racism during the Jim Crow era. Physicians neglected the black community in their healthcare practices – labor attendance was no exception. Charlotte

Borst argues that this stems from “a double standard of obstetrics tied to a very gendered and culturally defined professional ideal. The standards of scientific, male professionalism were presumed to be absolutely essential for white women, but a black female midwife, properly supervised by the state, was considered adequate for black women.”²⁸ Racist and ethnic stereotypes contributed to the idea that a delicate, white American woman required more attention during childbirth, while immigrant and black women could give birth more easily, “a sure indication of a cruder, more animal-like character.”²⁹ The dehumanization of black people during the Jim Crow era in Alabama meant that white physicians did not respond to the needs of black parturient women, forcing them to count on the informal networks of midwives to stay healthy during childbirth.

For these reasons, before the advent of a fully specialized and technologized field of obstetrics, physicians in Alabama relied on midwives to attend high numbers of births, counting on them to bring healthy babies into the world in areas and communities they could not or would not access. Many parturient women still mistrusted modern medicine and did not yet fully acquiesce to the supremacy of the physician in childbirth attendance. Yet while midwives performed the labor of childbirth attendance, professional medical organizations openly debated how to license, censor, and erase their practices. Not only did these physicians disregard the fact that the state of public health in Alabama was largely dependent on the uncompensated and unacknowledged labor of midwives, but they themselves did not necessarily perform cleaner or safer childbirth than the midwives. Their rhetoric proceeded from an ancient, gendered, and racist stereotype that ran contrary to actual midwifery practice and presence. The medical literature of the period provides a window into the rationales and arguments used by physicians to argue for licensure and eventual elimination of midwives in the state of Alabama.

Perhaps the most obvious reason for physicians’ concern about the state’s reliance on midwives was a genuine consideration for the state of public health in Alabama. Physicians and public health officials claimed that “the high

rate of infant and maternal deaths during childbirth was directly related to the use of untrained midwives,”³⁰ and they believed that licensing and controlling the practice would solve the problem. They argued that midwives’ lack of basic obstetrical education linked directly to high maternal mortality and argued for the establishment of examinations and certificates to regulate the practice midwifery in the state. In 1890, at the annual conference of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama, in a session titled “The Education of Midwives,” the presenter argued that “a large majority of the midwives in Alabama are extremely ignorant of even the most elementary principles of obstetric practice...a higher standard of efficiency amongst them is very greatly to be desired.”³¹ They then presented an ordinance for the examination of midwives, to be adopted by the association. They directly connected concerns about midwifery with a lack of standardized and regulated midwifery education.

Yet in the late nineteenth century, even professional physicians often lacked a basic clinical understanding of obstetric practice. Far from the elite education associated with pre-medical and medical training today, “[f]or most American doctors who sought a medical education between the end of the Civil War and approximately 1890, medical school was not a post-college degree program. Indeed, most medical students had little or no college preparation, and many had not graduated from high school. The medical school curriculum was minimal.”³² When it came to obstetrics, a lack of clinical or practical education seems particularly concerning: most obstetrics courses were taught as lectures, and graduates of medical schools often had never attended or even witnessed a live birth.³³ In fact, despite continuing efforts to

improve standards and rigor in medical education, a 1910 report conducted by the education reformer Abraham Flexner found the two top schools in Alabama unsatisfactory.³⁴ Some of the concerns Flexner raised included lax acceptance requirements and an unbalanced ratio of lectures to clinical instruction.³⁵ Those general practitioners and early obstetric specialists who lacked practical experience yet performed physician-attended births at the time escaped castigation in the medical

discourse. Despite their lack of experience, these physicians' professional status and adherence to the practice of rational, scientific medicine protected them from the kind of public denunciation directed at midwives. This double standard indicates that other reasons motivated top physicians of the day to spill so much ink over the need for licensing and controlling midwives. A non-academic, faith-based practice predicated on learning by experience, traditional midwifery was epistemologically dissimilar to an obstetric approach to childbirth. Midwives in Alabama were older black women who had learned the trade from their mothers and grandmothers, and from giving birth themselves. They explicitly linked practices of midwifery to their faith, and often referred to their work as a calling. Oral histories by rural Southern midwives, limited as they are, are full of stories in which midwives describe being called to the work by the Lord, and not being ready to stop until the Lord lets them know.³⁶ Midwives learned by apprenticing to someone more experienced, usually a relative. Knowledge was passed down orally and through direct experience at the childbirth event. The skills necessary to successfully bring healthy babies into the world were not considered scientific or technological and birth was viewed as a natural process rather than a pathological episode in need of medical intervention. For these reasons, midwifery and early professional obstetrics viewed childbirth in completely different ways.

One fundamental distinction between the epistemologies of midwife care and physician care is found in the latter's emphasis on speed, action, and intervention. Physicians believed that these three factors lay at the heart of an effective and successful medical practice. C.H. Fort of Tuskegee spoke at the Medical Association's 1881 meeting of the appropriate stance of the birth attendant: "he should be ready, willing and zealous in his endeavors to assist nature in every way in this her sore hour of need and distress; ever having a firm reliance in his resources, relying upon true knowledge and power; like the pilot before the storm he is ever anticipating danger, and thus is prepared for any emergency, believing and realizing that delay and timidity are always bad."³⁷ Nineteenth-century physicians prioritized action and intervention in the birth chamber, largely because at that point they

were almost always called in to a labor when something had gone wrong and lives were in danger: "[t]hey were called at a particular time in the drama, they joined an already established social scene with its own pattern of emotions and relationships, and they were expected to do something terribly important but also quite exact: stop the convulsions, get the baby out."³⁸ Their general medical training and the nature of their role in obstetrics combined to encourage an active, interventionist approach to birth attendance. Midwives, by contrast, attended the majority of births in which nothing went wrong; lacking any technological or surgical skills they learned to prioritize patience and maternal agency to ensure a smooth and uneventful labor. This often meant that they spent more time with the mother and played a more passive role in the birth, more akin to witnessing it than managing or directing it. Margaret Charles Smith, an Alabama midwife who practiced in Greene County, exemplified this emphasis on maternal agency, patience, and behavioral soothing: "Only when she has used her powers of discernment to determine what the mother really wants to do will Mrs. Smith reply, 'If you can go, go as soon as you can.' ...Holding her hand and rubbing her back, she offers comfort, telling her having that baby won't be as hard as she thinks."³⁹ Onnie Lee Logan shared similar priorities in her midwifery practice, and clarified the way this distinguished her work from that of official healthcare practitioners: I tell you one thing that's very impo'tant that I do that the doctors don't do and the nurses doesn't do it because they doesn't take time to do it. And that is I'm with my patients at all times with a smile and keepin her feelin good with kind words. The very words that she need to hear it comes up and come out. And that means a lot. Most of the doctors when they do say somethin to em it's so harsh. They already had contractions, and then with a ugly word to come out not suitable to how they're feelin. Some of em say that if they wasn't strapped down there they would get down and come home. A lot a women are left totally alone. And plenty of them have had their babies right by themselves. Well see I don't leave my patient like that. I'm there givin her all the love and all the care and I be meanin it and they know I mean it. It's from my heart and they can feel me. You see what I mean? ...What she's



"Aunt Sally." Midwife named Sally. Gees Bend, Alabama, May 1939. Photographer Marion Post Walcott. Courtesy of Library of Congress.

goin through with I'm goin through right along with her.⁴⁰

Midwives' emphasis on soothing touches, kind words, and encouraging behavior takes on new significance in light of contemporary research that finds birth attendant behaviors and attitudes to be either as powerful or more powerful than pharmaceutical pain relief or technological interventions in producing positive birth experiences.⁴¹ Midwives and physicians relied on different sets of skills and tools to ensure positive birth outcomes; these different practices were not ontologically incompatible, yet in the struggle for consolidation of professional authority physicians highlighted their epistemological differences, reinforced the supremacy of their birth practices, and denied any value in those of the midwives. The professionalization process occasioned this because "the professional practitioner must master a body of knowledge unique to the field within a formal setting, and then have the autonomy to decide when and under what circumstances to apply this knowledge."⁴² In order to establish professional medical authority, it was crucial that physicians establish a special body of obstetric knowledge in order to master and then pass on to new trainees. Professional authority would have been undermined by the admission that an alternative and viable set of practices existed outside of scientific medicine. In prioritizing the organization of modern

“ The overwhelming power of white supremacist ideology made it nearly inconceivable for early professional physicians to officially and professionally praise the knowledge, birthing experience, wisdom, or authority of illiterate older black women. ”

medicine into specialties, physicians had to neutralize the competing authority of the midwifery practice, which they often accomplished by using their professional and public governing bodies as platforms to denounce midwifery practice and fight for its assimilation into the new field of obstetrics. Yet another factor remains which must be examined in order to explain and understand the level of denigration and vehemence toward midwives in nineteenth-century medical discourse: the role of race. The deeply ingrained white supremacy of Southern culture associated black people with filth, squalor, ignorance, stupidity, and sloth. Pseudo sciences like phrenology provided a rational discourse of support. For white Alabamians, the association of these qualities with black people would have seemed natural, rational, scientific, and inherently true. In an 1898 session of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama, physician David Leonidas Wilkinson explicitly tied race to the "especially hazardous"⁴³ status of midwives: "Their morality is frequently on a par with their ignorance. Most of them are negresses, whose sole claim to midwifery is that they have borne children, in filth and squalor; that these children have lived. Therefore, they say: 'I am competent.'"⁴⁴ Despite the positive collaborative relationships that sometimes formed between white physicians and black midwives, where the former had to acknowledge at least the individual competence of the latter, discourse in the medical literature reverted to racist stereotypes when discussing midwives. Indeed, the absolute crux of a double standard against midwives appears in the practice of white professional physicians who denigrated black midwives and yet relied on them to attend the births of families

living in rural poverty that they refused to attend: “[i]n the rural south, African-American midwives reported that physicians encouraged them to deliver babies. Indeed, Louvenia Taylor, who practiced in rural southern Alabama, reported that she was 'forced' by physicians to become a midwife. ...Taylor reports that the doctors begged her to get a license and help them out.”⁴⁵ Black midwives were denounced in the medical literature because of their race, and then exploited in practice for the very same reason. Alabamian midwives existed in a sociocultural realm far from the anxieties and goals of early professional physicians. These women emphasized their calling by the Lord and prioritized intuition, spirituality, and community health where physicians prioritized professional development, material gain, and individual achievement. The vast cultural distance between these types of practice and the overwhelming power of white supremacist ideology made it nearly inconceivable for early professional physicians to officially and professionally praise the knowledge, birthing experience, wisdom, or authority of illiterate older black women. Although a few physicians did put aside the hegemonies of rational scientific medicine and white supremacy to recognize the value in traditional midwifery, they did not represent the official, public, professional discourse in medical literature at the time. The transition from midwives to professional obstetric specialists in America, scholars have found, met little organized resistance. Midwives lacked any professional organization, and in fact many may not have identified themselves as midwives per se. They had no governing body, no form of standardization or licensure, and their approaches to birth attendance did not align with those of professional physicians. However, as examination of this historical moment in Alabama reveals, a more complicated transition took the place of a straightforward transfer of power from midwives to physicians. In fact, midwives comprised an integral network of community healthcare for far longer in Alabama than in many other parts of the country, due to rural poverty, racism, and mistrust in professional medicine. In actuality, many Alabamian physicians relied

heavily on these informal caregivers to supplement their healthcare practice in the poorest and most rural parts of the state. Furthermore, white supremacy and racial segregation meant that many physicians neglected the black population entirely, making black women even more dependent on midwives for healthcare. In nineteenth century Alabama, marginalized women without money or options would give birth with a midwife present or with no one at all. Midwives attended births for which they might receive no financial compensation and would assist in ways that went beyond the event of childbirth itself. In a time before public health, before welfare, and before adequate transportation in many parts of the state, midwives comprised an essential and informal network of caregiving in Alabama that supplemented the practice of rural doctors who could not or would not attend. However, as the rise of professionalism put pressure on the medical community to standardize obstetrical healthcare, practitioners in Alabama could not publicly or professionally defend the midwives or their behavior due to the intersecting ideologies of white supremacy and rational medical science. At the time, midwives in Alabama were almost exclusively older black women. Physicians did not look past this aspect of their identity, and continued to rely on negative stereotypes of ignorance, uncleanliness, and incompetence to argue for their licensure and eventual erasure. Further, midwives and physicians relied on completely different skillsets and tools to ensure positive birth outcomes. Professional physicians were trained to use surgical tools, prioritize speed, and intervene, while midwives relied on maternal agency, patience, and comforting behavior. These two epistemologies were not inherently incompatible, as midwives and physicians often worked together to improve birth outcomes. But physicians were committed to constructing a professional authority in the field of obstetrics that required establishment of their practices and approaches as superior. Racism and professionalism prevented physicians from publicly acknowledging the value of midwives and the extent to which they relied on them, even as they did in practice do so.

ENDNOTES

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3 *Listen to Me Good* is the oral history of a rural African-American midwife named Margaret Charles Smith. Ms. Smith practiced in Greene County, Alabama, during the twentieth century. Ms. Smith was aided by Linda Janet Holmes in recording and publishing her oral history. *Motherwit* is the oral history of a rural African-American midwife named Onnie Lee Logan. Ms. Logan practiced in Marengo County, Alabama, during the twentieth century. Ms. Logan was assisted by Katherine Clark in recording and publishing her oral history.

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7 Howard Holley, *The History of Medicine in Alabama* (University, Alabama: The University of Alabama Press, 1982), 175

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18 Margaret Charles Smith and Linda Janet Holmes, *Listen to Me Good: The Life Story of an Alabama Midwife* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press): 20.

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20 Holley, 38.

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27 Logan and Clark, 56.

28 Borst, 157.

29 Susie, 7.

30 Holley, 26.

31 "The Education of Midwives," *Transactions of the Medical Association of the State of Alabama: Organized 1847—Session 1890* (Montgomery, Ala.: The Brown Printing Co., Printers and Binders, 1890), 114.

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32 Borst, 93.

33 *Ibid.*

34 Holley, 94.

35 Holley, 98-99.

36 Many stories attesting to this can be found in *Motherwit* by Onnie Lee Logan and Katherine Clark (New York: E.P. Dutton, 1989), *Listen To Me Good* by Margaret Charles Smith and Linda Janet Holmes (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), *Folks Do Get Born* by Marie Campbell (New York and Toronto: Rhinehart & Company, Inc., 1946), and *In the Way of Our Grandmothers: A Cultural View of Twentieth-Century Midwifery in Florida* by Debra Anne Susie (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1988).

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SECOND-WAVE FEMINISM IN NORTHERN IRELAND IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TROUBLES: THE MOVEMENT AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON WOMEN

Sunya Reddy

Social justice movements throughout history have a tendency to influence one another around the globe. The Northern Irish Women's Movement of the late 1900s is no exception. Similar to how the Abolitionist Movement helped inspire the first wave of feminism, the Civil Rights Movement helped encourage a new "second-wave" feminism that took hold in the United States and quickly spread to many European nations.¹ This second-wave of feminism, which began in the early 1960s, hoped to increase equality for women through sociopolitical spheres that transcended mere enfranchisement.² The Movement reared its head in Northern Ireland in the early 1970s, around the same time that the Troubles exploded. The Troubles refers to a political and nationalistic period of conflict that occurred in Northern Ireland from the late 1960s to 1998.³ One of the key issues of the Troubles was the "national question" over the constitutionality of Northern Ireland. On the one hand, loyalists and unionists, who were mostly of a Protestant faith, believed that Northern Ireland should remain within the United Kingdom (UK); on the other hand, republicans and nationalists, a majority of whom were Catholic, believed that Northern Ireland should join the Republic of Ireland to form a united nation. Both the Troubles and second-wave feminism occurred during the same time period, but how were the movements impacted by one another? The Feminist Movement made significant gains in Northern Ireland, nevertheless, it had to confront difficult questions about identity and purpose. Though ideological and political disagreements were a common feature of most contemporary feminist movements, the nature of sectarian differences during the 1970s in Northern Ireland further divided the second-wave feminist movement. This research aims to demonstrate this by first contextualizing the role of women prior to the emergence of second-wave feminism, then analyzing that role under both unionist and nationalist groupings. The paper will then discuss the formal and informal institutions of the Feminist Movement and how the nature of the sectarian tensions that defined

the Troubles shaped the Movement. Finally, the paper will examine the effects of the second-wave feminism on the role of women, particularly in the peace and reconciliation process.

Carmel Roulston of the University of Ulster wrote in 1989, "Women in Northern Ireland appear in many ways to have the worst of all possible worlds."⁴ She described the struggles of Northern Irish women during this time period and their similarity to problems faced by many women living in industrialized countries. However, Roulston claimed that women in Northern Ireland simultaneously lived in an environment "more influenced by male beliefs and values than is the case for other industrialized countries."⁴ Traditional religious beliefs held significant influence in Northern Ireland during this time, especially as the backdrop upon which the Troubles' waged violence. On that end, it should come with little surprise that, regardless of sectarian differences, traditionalism characterized the roles of women in terms of 'feminine' ideals that upheld the heterosexual family unit: motherhood, domesticity, and sexual purity, to name a few.⁵ Both unionists and nationalists believed that this view of women was crucial to uphold the cultural values and continuation of their ethnic groups.⁵ Because of this, women did not seem to have a place in formal politics and were largely excluded from decision and policy-making practices. That is, of course, not to say that the roles of women were exactly the same for both nationalists and unionists, especially not as the Troubles progressed. In fact, to understand how sectarianism affected the feminist movement, it is crucial to examine the different roles of women under each ethnonationalist grouping.

Most explorations of Protestant, Unionist, and Loyalist (PUL) women during the Troubles suggest that they were less politically active than their Catholic and nationalist counterparts. These Catholic and nationalist counterparts were more visible in paramilitaries and were often present on the front lines of violence. According to

Fidelma Ashe and Caireen McCluskey, researchers on gender politics, it is worth noting that because nationalist women were seen as more active in political struggles, they were also seen as ideologically closer to feminism.⁵ Moreover, PUL women received less analytical attention than their nationalist female counterparts; their very identities seemed under-theorized.⁵ In fact, McGlynn and McAuley contend that in research terms, PUL women as a group are “doubly marginalized in relation to both male loyalists and republican women.”⁶ Due to the conservative and oftentimes patriarchal ideology of unionism, the accomplishments of PUL women often went unacknowledged and undocumented. For a long time, many individuals believed that PUL women had little to do with the unionist movement other than supporting their husbands or raising their sons; they were categorized into largely traditional female gender roles. However, recent research has led to a more appraised view of PUL women’s roles during the Troubles. PUL women are now believed to have engaged in a variety of activities within political parties, such as advocating for lower-income residencies, peace-making engagement projects, and increased support for domestic violence victims; even their participation in paramilitary activity was significantly higher than formerly believed.⁵ Ultimately, the role of PUL women during the Troubles was more multifaceted than the misconception that they were simply deferential supporters of a unionist political agenda dominated solely by men.

Catholic, Nationalist, and Republic (CNR) women were more concretely linked to the feminist movement than PUL women, partly due to their increased political activity during the conflict and partly because of nationalism’s ties to the Civil Rights Movement. However, it is important to note that the Nationalist Movement was not innately feminist. As stated earlier, nationalist sentiments oftentimes characterized womanhood in terms of motherhood and relationships to men. Many CNR women even felt that they had to wait on feminist issues to promote the more pressing nationalist cause.⁷ Moreover, not all CNR women identified or even supported feminist efforts. CNR women who upheld more traditional religious values, for example, found a point of contention within

the sexually liberating aspects of second-wave feminism and Catholicism. When looking at the interaction of CRN women and feminism, it is crucial to also look at the role CRN women played in paramilitary organizations like Cumann na mBan and the Irish Republican Army (IRA). The IRA was the principal Republican paramilitary group during the Troubles. Some CRN women were early participants in the IRA, while others were combatants. As more women joined the IRA, however, it became necessary to address the presence of women within a “hypermasculine” space.⁷ According to Jennifer Earles, after being categorized by England as the feminine “other,” the Nationalist Movement overcompensated by becoming a place of exaggerated masculinity. Earles claims that when paramilitary groups are “not divided along lines of gender, intricate steps must be taken to insure the appearance of an overall masculinity within these armies despite the presence of women.”⁸ Female nationalists were seen as subordinate and inferior to men; many were even pressured to hide or diminish their sexuality.⁸ Because of this, many CRN women were displeased with their treatment in the IRA. It was ultimately many of these women that created some of the formal organizations of the second-wave feminist movement.⁹

Against a background of local and community-led groups, some formally organized feminist groups appeared in the 1970s in Northern Ireland. According to Roulston, Belfast’s Ormeau Road was the site of the first organized second-wave feminist group based in a working-class community.⁴ Its members fought against poverty and poor housing environments with some success by using both direct action and lobbying techniques.⁴ Soon after, in 1974, the Coleraine Women’s Group made strides as a “consciousness raising” group focused on tackling the substantial problems surrounding domestic violence against women. The Coleraine Women’s Group, which was comprised of women from the New University of Ulster and from Coleraine itself, also brought public attention to the issues surrounding the lack of support for single parent families.⁴ 1975 saw the continuation of university women’s participation in feminism, as continued collaboration with the Northern Ireland Civil

Rights Association, trade-union activists, communists, republicans, unionists, and individual women ultimately led to the formation of the Northern Ireland Women's Rights Movement (NIWRM). According to the organization's Manifesto, its goal was "to spread a consciousness of women's oppression and mobilize the greatest possible number of women on feminist issues."⁴ Their members specifically called for the extension of the 1975 Sexual Discrimination Act of the UK to Northern Ireland. The act was only applied in England, Wales, and Scotland, and protected both men and women from discrimination on the basis of sex or marital status. Thus, the act's extension into Northern Ireland was of extreme importance to NIWRM members.

“ Many contemporary women's movements have faced fragmentation along ideological and political lines. ”

Many members hoped that the NIWRM would function as a kind of headquarters, the head of a partnership or collaboration of feminist groups that would extend throughout Northern Ireland. There were also hopes that the NIWRM would be able to strengthen and mobilize into a more influential movement that was inclusive of working-class women and so-called "middle-class feminists."⁴ Unfortunately, these women were unable to see these hopes achieved. Some smaller feminist groups established themselves throughout various towns and provinces near Belfast, rarely was there continuous cooperation with the NIWRM.¹⁰ The wide range of political and ideological backgrounds of the NIWRM's members produced numerous disagreements that ultimately fragmented and divided the organization.¹¹ The first divisive issue the NIWRM encountered was over the decision to include or exclude men from the organization's meetings. Some argued that NIWRM should refuse male delegates on the principle that the organization should remain autonomous and composed of only women. Others believed that the more support the organization had, the more positive change they could make for women, so allowing men membership would be beneficial.

Some members believed that the inclusion of men would force trade unions to take their demands more seriously, so by including men, the organization could make more progress when negotiating.

These divisions eventually caused a group of women to break away from the NIWRM and form the Socialist Women's Group (SWG), which combined a commitment to socialism with feminist and nationalist concerns.¹¹ Many contemporary women's movements have faced fragmentation along ideological and political lines. And though the relatively small number of participants in women's groups in Northern Ireland perhaps made unity more necessary, that unity was neither guaranteed nor realized. The Troubles only heightened these tensions and furthered the divisions.

By 1976, women's groups around Northern Ireland were becoming increasingly divided by the "national question" about the constitutional status of Northern Ireland.⁴ This was a question about whether Northern Ireland should remain as a part of the UK or if the nation should separate from the British and become a part of the larger Republic of Ireland. Unionists fought for the former and nationalists fought for the latter; this tension was a major component of the Troubles. The NIWRM had members from a wide variety of ideological backgrounds, including unionists and nationalists; the organization thereby decided not to take an official stance on the matter of the national question. Its members believed the goal of the organization was to unite women from different political backgrounds. The focus, therefore, was not on political sectarianism but rather on promoting equal rights for women in the home, workplace, and community. Some organizations, including the SWG, criticized the NIWRM for taking a "non-position" on the national question.⁴ Though the idea of uniting women was inspiring, the SWG argued that the NIWRM's stance ignored basic questions about reform, such as whether Northern Ireland could accept reforms granted by a British government if the British's governmental authority were being contested as part of the national question. In assuming that the British could make policy changes that affected Northern Irish citizens, it was then applied that the British do possess governmental authority over Northern Ireland, which was, in essence, taking a

stance on the constitutionality of the state. In taking a “non-position” and assuming the ability of the British government to grant reforms that benefited women, the SWG accused the NIWRM of complicity with the state. The stance of non-position thereby alienated potential new members and hindered collaboration with women’s groups that were sympathetic to the nationalist cause.

Support for female political prisoners was also an extremely divisive topic within the feminist movement. In fact, the Belfast Women’s Collective, a group formed by some members of the SWG following its collapse, dissolved largely because of this matter. Tensions were high in the campaign for Special Category Status for all prisoners convicted of Troubles-related offenses.¹² Special Category Status referred to certain privileges afforded to both loyalist and republican prisoners in 1972, but later rescinded, such as the ability to refuse prison uniforms, freedoms to refuse to take part in prison work or convict labor, or the power to congregate with other members of a prisoner’s paramilitary group.¹³ The IRA largely spearheaded the effort to regain the Special Category Status of prisoners. Throughout the late 1970s, the protest for political status evolved from its original form, assuming new forms with hunger strikes, dirty “no-wash” protests, and strip searches which became a part of the internment experience for many CRN women prisoners. The call to support female prisoners met mixed responses from different women’s groups, particularly because of the IRA’s involvement in the original protest to regain Special Category Status for prisoners. According to Roulston, even opposing the sexual harassment of women in prisons as a result of strip-searches was difficult to express without being drafted by the movement to regain Special Category Status.⁴ As mentioned earlier, the Belfast Women’s Collective certainly felt the strain of this tension. The Collective initially supported the prison protests and joined many of the demonstrations, but its members became unhappy with the lack of autonomy for the women in the campaign because parts of the campaign were becoming a part of the larger IRA ideology. Continued disagreements culminated in the termination of the Belfast Women’s Collective in 1981. Though the NIWRM did not dissolve over the women internment issue like the Collective did,

there were, “...deeply felt differences about it, reflecting the different perspectives held by its members on Northern Irish politics.”⁴ Most of the NIWRM’s members disagreed with the way prison authorities treated female prisoners as they often subjected these women to strip-searches, unsanitary conditions, and often severe abuse from prison guards. However, many members still had reservations about the Special Category Status issue.

The Troubles also divided the second-wave feminist movement in terms of single-issue campaigns like abortion and rape.⁴ When women’s groups attempted to start a movement on abortion law reform, for example, conversation quickly turned to whether the campaign needed to address the legitimacy of British legislation in Northern Ireland. The Troubles thus splintered second-wave feminism in two important ways. Firstly, many feminist concerns were neglected in favor of the “more pressing” issues of the Troubles that needed to be addressed. Secondly, many singular feminist campaigns were unable to confront the national question or did so in a way that aligned with one ethnonational group and alienated the other, thereby further dividing feminist support on the topic.

All in all, the attempt to create a broad, unified women’s movement in Northern Ireland proved to be extremely challenging.

Though second-wave feminism was successful in appealing to women from a variety of religious, ideological, and socioeconomic backgrounds, political issues still managed to fragment the overall movement. The goal of prioritizing women’s issues did not appeal to all women; many saw the avoidance of taking a stance on issues like the national question as complicit in the unionist agenda and “pro-British.” The women could not even consider the question of whether the state should play a role in the fight for women’s rights because the very legitimacy of the state was in question. Moreover, the violent conflict seen during the Troubles by various paramilitary and state-led groups made resistance to the mistreatment and subjugation of women more challenging to effectively organize. It is impressive that second-wave feminists managed to keep the movement alive during the Troubles

at all, considering national attention was less focused on the fight for women's rights and more focused on the conflict.

However, a fixation on the fragmentation of second-wave feminism seemingly ignores the numerous accomplishments its proponents achieved. The Equal Pay Act of 1970 was an earlier achievement of the Movement, requiring employers to pay men and women equally for equal work and banning discrimination between employees in terms of employment conditions on the basis of sex.¹⁴ The Sex Discrimination Order of 1976 protected women from discrimination on the grounds of sex or marital status, and expanded upon the Equal Pay Act by covering training, education, harassment, and a variety of other fields.¹⁵ The establishment of the Equal Opportunities Commission in the same year was also a major accomplishment for trade union activists and second-wave feminists alike because it was a formal commission that promoted gender equality and helped enforce the Sex Discrimination Order.¹¹ Throughout the 1970s and 1980s, the second-wave feminist movement improved Northern Ireland's divorce laws and paid higher attention to domestic violence.⁴ For example, the Domestic Proceedings Order of 1980 gave some formal protection to victims of domestic violence.¹⁶ Outside of the scope of the legal changes, the feminist movement also saw the establishment of numerous Women's Aid centers throughout Northern Ireland, which aimed to provide a variety of services to women, including rape response centers, well-women clinics, and specialized support for domestic violence achieved mainly through direct action and lobbying.¹⁷ While the Troubles and national question may have prioritized public focus and caused further divisions in feminist organizations, the conflict certainly did not paralyze the fight for increased women's rights.

Another interesting development of the women's rights movement includes the sizable increase in local women's groups throughout the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. These women, who came together for solidarity, unity, and support, certainly felt the ramifications of the intense violence of the Troubles. Susan McKay wrote that the conflict of the Troubles "was masking horrific levels of

violence against women and children, some of it carried out by men who saw themselves as heroes within their community."¹⁷ She called the Troubles a time of "armed patriarchy" where "men with guns which they held supposedly to defend their people . . . used those guns to intimidate, overpower and silence women and children."¹⁷ These local groups of women, then, played a vital role in the community. They held consciousness-raising courses that helped bridge the divide between unionists and loyalists and brought in mediators to calm tensions and work with local police during protests marches and violent outbreaks.¹⁸ Often, they spearheaded cross-ethnic peace organizing, like Peace People and Women Together; these were groups that came together from both sides of the divide to lead peace marches and rallies protesting against the violence of the Troubles. cooperation among such groups eventually led to the creation of a Women's Support Network.¹⁹ These cross-community cooperative efforts seem even more impressive when one considers how risky it was to facilitate such endeavors during the Troubles.

Community-based women's groups sponsored and hosted various classes on education, literature, and women's history throughout the Troubles. They allowed women to become involved in solving local problems, which eventually translated into a desire to become more involved in politics as a whole. In April of 1996, that desire manifested when a small group of women active in community development organizations, women's centers, and civic associations formed the Northern Ireland Women's Coalition (NIWC).¹⁹ Kate Fearon, a founder member, describes it as a "channel for cross-community cooperation" in a "politically and socially divided society."²⁰ The NIWC was a political group composed of non-governmental organizations from both sides of the sectarian divide, republicans and unionists alike, created to contest elections. When the administration established the Northern Ireland Forum, the NIWC managed to secure one percent of the vote, which translated to two seats that would join in the discussion for peace negotiations. However, electoral success certainly did not ensure acceptance at the table, the Unionists repeatedly harassed Coalition members at the Forum talks. Some even made

“ Politics largely underrepresented women in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, and that legacy of underrepresentation persists to this day.

animal noises when the representatives of the NIWC tried to speak.¹⁹ However, despite the initial hostility against them, female participants in the peace process ultimately developed a reputation for building trust, engaging in all sides, and fostering dialogue.²¹

According to Fearon, the NIWC’s “involvement in the negotiations not only facilitated and promoted women’s participation, it also demonstrated the possibility that civil society can participate in and influence formal political negotiations.” However, not all women saw the NIWC as the catalyst for change that Kate Fearon seemed to view it as. It frustrated many that the party evaded the national question, as it maintained a policy of “non-position.” For others, it was a cause for concern because the party seemed to assume that the mere presence of women’s voice in politics, on the virtue of their gender, was the singular requirement for change.¹¹ Nevertheless, the NIWC played an important role in the 1998 Belfast/Good Friday Agreement that marked the formal end of the Troubles. As one of the only cross-community political parties at the peace talks, its members were representatives of both nationalist and unionist communities, and thus, essential for guidance during critical parts of the peace negotiation process.²² The NIWC also helped to secure language in the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement for the reintegration of political prisoners into society, compensation for victims of the conflict, an integrated education for both Protestant and Catholic children, and mixed housing – all items that were essential for reconciliation after thirty years of violence.²³ As one of the most visible representations of the changing status of women, many women looked to the NIWC with hope for peace, unity, and increased rights for women.

Though society hailed the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement

as a success, progress in gender equality is still necessary. In 2006, the NIWC officially disbanded. In 2017, the Northern Ireland Assembly collapsed until January of 2020. Considering that the Assembly, not the Parliament of the UK, is responsible for passing, amending, and upholding anti-discrimination legislation in Northern Ireland, policies and legislative actions could not ensure the effective protection of women for almost three years. The effects of this extended into many different sociopolitical spheres, but gender-based violence hit a record high, with domestic abuse crimes, which are generally under-reported, hitting a record high at 16,575 cases.²⁴ Politics largely underrepresented women in Northern Ireland during the Troubles, and that legacy of underrepresentation persists to this day. Twenty years following the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement, the administration has only appointed one woman to a monitoring body for the peace process.²² Monica McWilliams, a professor of the Transitional Justice Institute at Ulster University, observed that the “diminution of women’s contribution to peace building has meant a loss of the plurality and creativity that was so beneficial to the peace negotiations in the first place.”²² Ultimately, female participation is lacking in political and peacebuilding arenas. Gender equality has historically taken a back seat to the ethnonational pressures of the Troubles in the 1970s and the modern politics of today; we cannot allow that tradition to continue. As Brexit enters its transition period, it is crucial that women remain in the process. The UK must make active efforts to ensure that the loss of European Union (EU) funding does not lead to a regression in support for women’s rights and efforts to keep Northern Irish gender equality laws on pace with those of the EU. As tensions continue to rise, we cannot forget the valuable contributions of women’s voices to complicated peace processes.

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poem in which i inhabit a founding father

Ashley Jones

I live in Jefferson County, Alabama.¹
I don't know if Thomas Jefferson ever visited Alabama,
if he ever stepped one presidential foot into this county,
one thousand one hundred twenty-four square miles
named for him—that makes one hundred eighty-seven square miles

for each of the six children he made with Sally Hemings,
so much more than forty acres and a mule
but how many miles does it take to forget your father
and his lecherous grip, how many miles
to remember him as the history books do?

One hundred eighty-seven square miles, perhaps the distance
it takes to make a Black child forget his mother,
miles enough to will him whiter, whiter, white—

I live in Jefferson County, Alabama.

Here, we've covered up a Confederate statue right across the street from City Hall and the
Good Governor says we don't have the right to free speech if it's against the Heart of Dixie
by which I mean the Daughters of the Confederacy by which I mean women of a movement
that is still moving don't get it twisted reader the South did rise again—and it was called
American Greed and it was called American Tradition and it was called the status quo—

Here, we covered up a Confederate statue and the Good
Governor ordered it undressed—what is intimacy, after all,
without nakedness,

(and we know that the State just wants to know us all
the way, past the bone and even into the womb)

what is nakedness but an act of law?
The Good Governor ordered it undressed
and she ordered a man to death with the same urgency.
A statute, an idea, a confederacy, a history of blood
must have room to breathe, but a man?
An innocent man? A Black man?
I live in Jefferson County, Alabama,
and I know the history of that name.
I know the ghosts that bubble from its teeth,
the rot beneath the bone.

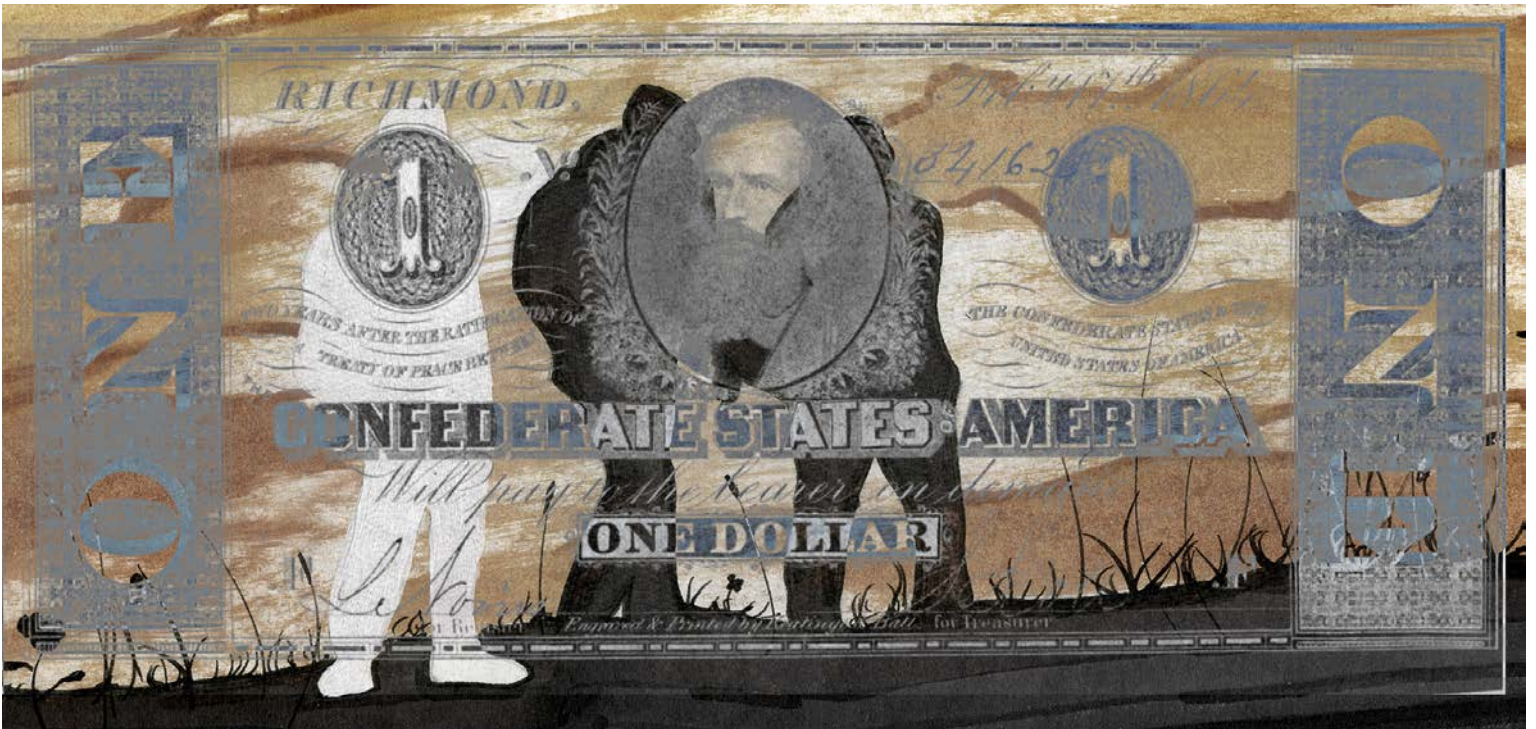
**“Do you want to
know who you are?
Don't ask . Act!
Action will delineate
and define you.”**

- Thomas Jefferson

ENDNOTE

¹ Jefferson County, Alabama was established in 1819, the same year Alabama became a part of the United States of America, just seven years before Jefferson died, just seven years before Sally Hemings, Jefferson's slave and mother of six of his children, was freed.

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Rose Reyes

THE SCOTTSBORO BOYS

Casey Dunsmore

Corruption, institutionalized racism, and ideological dogma surrounded the case of the Scottsboro Boys. The case itself, inspired several poems, books, and even a musical, focuses on nine African American teenage boys falsely accused of raping two white women. However, the narrative of unfolding events centered less on the boys and more on the groups and people claiming to help save them. The story acts as a promotional battle between the effectiveness and superiority of two activist groups: The International Labor Defense (ILD) and National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). While most of the historiography shows how these groups attempted to aid these nine unfortunate boys, it seems their conflict, instead of cooperation, caused more harm than good. The ILD and NAACP both made claims of championing the innocent boys yet failed to look past their differences to do so successfully.

The effects of the Great Depression were sweeping through the nation, leaving countless able-bodied people unemployed. The Great Depression became a main political focus of Communist parties in America. Many of these parties, like the Worker's Party of America, searched for ways to capitalize on the depressed economy to garner support for their cause. The effect of massive unemployment on poor Americans could be seen as a justification for supporting Communism. The case of the Scottsboro Boys became a tool for the Worker's Party of America to popularize their ideology.

March 25, 1931, altered the future of the Scottsboro Boys' lives forever. The nine poor African American boys, some of whom had met for the first time on this day, hopped aboard the train as a means of travel in search of work. The nine boys (Haywood Patterson, Andy and Roy Wright, Eugene Williams, Clarence Norris, Charlie Weems, Olin Montgomery, Ozie Powell, and Willie Roberson) all happened to be hoboeing on the same train that day. Although the train's scheduled destination was Memphis, the next stop for the boys would be jail. Before the train could arrive in Memphis, a local Alabama sheriff halted

the boys' journey in Paint Rock, AL. At some point during the voyage the nine Black boys had an altercation with a group of white boys also hoboeing on the train. Patterson recalled one of the white boys stepping on his hand, which led to a verbal confrontation between the two.¹ Once the train stopped in Stevenson, AL, Patterson and the three other boys he originally boarded with met several other young Black boys who all agreed to stand against the white teenagers if they attempted to cause any further trouble.

Shortly before departing from Stevenson, the white teenagers began harassing the group of Black boys again.² The white boys hurled rocks and yelled racial slurs in an attempt to force the Black teenagers to abandon the train. In retaliation, the groups of Black boys banded together and engaged in a fistfight with the other group, causing the white boys to all jump or be thrown off the train. Embarrassed by their defeat, the white group went to the train stationmaster and claimed the Black teenagers assaulted them. The stationmaster called ahead to the Paint Rock authorities and alerted them of the train passing through. The sheriff ordered the "capture [of] every negro on the train" and gave Deputy Sheriff Charlie Latham the authorization "to deputize every man you can find."³

Dozens of white men with guns met the Black boys when the train arrived in Paint Rock, Alabama. The posse of freshly deputized men forcibly removed the boys who were in the original altercation as well as a few others who were entirely unaware of the skirmish. A posse took the boys at gunpoint and tied them together. The posse then loaded them into the back of truck and drove them to the Scottsboro jail. Law enforcement originally detained the boys for the crimes of assault and attempted murder. However, the boys were not the only people found on the train by the posse. The posse also discovered two young white women, Ruby Bates and Victoria Price, on the train. The two women, "clad in masculine overalls and looking traumatized," immediately claimed the group of Black boys raped them.⁴

“ The court is where the true nature of the Scottsboro Boys’ story begins to unfold – ideological groups began to use the boys and their case as tools for personal gain. ”

The boys, along with the two white girls, were all taken to the Scottsboro jail. Once they arrived, the sheriff ordered a physician to examine the two girls. The physician, Dr. Marvin Lynch, would later testify in court that the women were, “not hysterical and... both talked quite calmly to him.”⁵ He added that there was little to no evidence of forced sexual intercourse on the women’s’ bodies.⁶ However, just the claim that a Black man had raped a white woman was more than enough to incite a lynch mob. It was not long before that very mob surrounded the jail demanding the boys be released into their hands for vigilante justice.

Jackson County Sheriff Matt Wann, whom Patterson remembered not believing the two girls’ testimony, called the governor to ask for military support in guarding the boys.⁷ The governor sent 25 members of the National Guard to protect and escort the boys to Gadsden, AL. The court indicted the boys with charges of rape and held them without bond. The court date was set for April 6, in Scottsboro. Over one hundred members of the National Guard escorted the boys to the courthouse to await trial. Although the event that landed the boys in jail had already passed, the court is where the true nature of the Scottsboro Boys’ story begins to unfold – ideological groups began to use the boys and their case as tools for personal gain. The legal battles over the boys’ innocence are the main focus of most the literature surrounding the case. The struggle to prove their innocence began before the boys ever set foot in a courtroom. During this time, the South often saw a Black man accused of a crime as guilty until proven innocent. On the unlikely chance a court of law found a Black man was innocent, he would likely face vigilante violence from the community. Less than 24 hours after their arrest, the nine boys were deemed “beasts unfit to be human,” by a journalist in the *Huntsville Times*.⁸

The Alabama newspapers reported the full details of the alleged incidents on the train, yet made no mention of the lynch mob, demanding the boys be handed over, that formed around the jail.⁹ The public had already unofficially declared the boys guilty and called for their executions.

The boys had not met with any legal counsel until the day of their trial. No one, not even the NAACP or ILD, willingly presented themselves to defend the boys. At first, it seemed that the court would not award them an attorney. Only one lawyer of the Scottsboro bar did not refuse to defend the boys in court. Milo Moody reluctantly stepped inside the railing when the judge called for the counsel. Moody, a nearly seventy year old man, was a “doddering, extremely unreliable, senile individual who is losing whatever ability he once had.”¹⁰ Stephen Roddy, a real estate lawyer from Chattanooga and known alcoholic, assisted Moody. Roddy mainly dealt in real estate law in Tennessee and had hardly any knowledge of Alabama criminal law, and the amount of help he provided the boys reflected that. Roddy opened with a “half-hearted petition to move the venue.”¹¹ He also failed to provide effective witnesses or cross-examine the prosecution. However, he was the only lawyer that leading Black citizens of Chattanooga could retain on such a short notice and small fee. When asked if Roddy would be representing the boys, he informed the judge that he only appeared to assist the defense and said, “If I was paid down here and employed it would be a different thing, but I have not prepared this case for trial.”¹²

Before leaving Chattanooga, Roddy had insisted to the group of citizens paying him that he would see to it the boys received a fair trial.¹³ Conversely, the trial could not have been farther from fair. A mob had surrounded the court building long before the boys arrived. If by some miracle the court found the boys innocent, either a lynching or massacre would likely have taken place. Roddy claimed he had not received his pay and did not even request that the boys receive separate trials. Each boy would face consequences according to the whole group as opposed to their individual actions. Instead, it was the prosecution who insisted on separate trials. All accounts of Roddy describe him as unfit or unwilling to effectively provide any assistance.

The judge granted the prosecution's petition for separate trials. The court called all of the boys to testify separately. Some of them claimed they had never seen the two white women before they arrived at the jail. Others, like Patterson and Norris, claimed that some of the boys had raped the girls while the others had no part in it. Both James Goodman and Dan Carter, historians of the trial, recount Patterson as being confused during a cross-examination and condemning five of the boys but later retracting his statement. Patterson, in his own book, claims he staunchly held his defense that he had never seen the women on the train.¹⁴ One source quotes Roy Wright saying, "They whipped me, and it seemed like they was going to kill me. All the time they kept saying, 'Now will you tell?' and finally it seemed like I couldn't stand no more, and I said yes. Then I went back into the courtroom and they put me up on the chair in front of the judge and began asking a lot of questions, and I said I had seen Charlie Weems and Clarence Norris in the gondola car with the white girls."¹⁵ The freedom to torture a defendant into committing perjury reflects the lack of rights African American possessed during this time. This despicable act, which could have influenced the jury's decision, went unmentioned. The jury found all of the boys guilty and sentenced eight of them to death. The jury sent Roy Wright, the youngest in the group, to life in prison because of his young age. On April 9, "with tears in his eyes," Judge Hawkins sentenced the eight boys to death by electric chair.¹⁶ These were the first capital sentences Judge Hawkins had ever administered.¹⁷ Hawkins set their execution date was set for July 10, the earliest possible date they could be executed. The boys would spend the better part of the next decade inside a cell.

From this point forward, the case of the Scottsboro boys shifts its focus from the boys themselves to the groups claiming to support them. On the day of the sentencing, the *Daily Worker*, a newspaper run by the Communist Party, published a lengthy report of boys' case under the headline "8 Negro Workers Sentenced to Die by Lynch Court." The article condemned the Southern justice system for its poor handling of the case. *The Daily Worker* attacked Roddy and the two white women who claimed they had been raped. It defined the sentencing as a "legal

lynching."¹⁸ The fact that the paper referred to them as "workers" rather than "boys" or "teenagers" raises some concern for scholars today. The choice to identify the boys as "workers" is further evidence of the Communist Party's true intentions of using the boys as propaganda tools. Some question if the Communist Party truly wanted to help the boys or if they merely sought to use them for political gain. The Communist Party devoted so much of its time and resources to help the boys that, on the surface, it seems they truly meant to help the boys.

Before the trials began, Dr. P. A. Stephens, one of the men who helped hire Roddy to defend the boys, contacted the executive secretary of the NAACP asking for assistance on the case. The reply Stephens received showed a blatant reluctance to associate the NAACP's name with the boys. Carter argues, "The last thing [the NAACP] wanted was to identify the Association with a gang of mass rapists unless they were reasonably certain the boys were innocent or that their constitutional rights had been abridged."¹⁹ The Communist Party outwardly attacked the NAACP in the papers for their lack of involvement. One headline in *The Daily Worker* read "Negro reformists of the NAACP expose themselves as traitors to the Negro masses and betrayers of the Negro liberation struggle."²⁰ Disputes over who was best equipped to represent the boys began to grow evermore intense. The International Labor Defense (ILD), the legal arm of the Communist Party, had already been heavily involved in the case. The ILD sent a telegraph to Judge Hawkins during the trials demanding the boys' release and holding him personally accountable for their lives if he refused.

Seeing the opportunity presented by representing the boys in court, both groups began to battle for the chance to lead the legal defense. The ILD attempted to reach out to Roddy, as he was technically in charge of defending the boys, but he declined the offer. Next, the ILD attempted to enlist Clarence Darrow to serve as chief counsel in an appeal to the Supreme Court. Darrow served as a member of the board of directors of the NAACP. His reputation as a magnificent lawyer, losing only one murder case out of over one hundred, gave him renown throughout the country. Darrow informed Walter White, executive

“ White’s personal feelings hindered a cooperative effort between the two groups and furthermore destroyed any chance of procuring an innocent verdict.

secretary of the NAACP, about the ILD contacting him. White responded with warning to avoid the ILD at all costs. White told Darrow, “It has been our experience that it is impossible to cooperate with them in any legal case” and that “their main goal always remained propaganda instead of results.”²¹ Goodman makes the claim that Walter White began to view the fight between the NAACP and the Communist Party not only as a political battle but a personal one as well.²² Not only had White just recently been named secretary of the NAACP, but the majority of the Party’s attacks were aimed directly at him as well. Perhaps White’s personal feelings hindered a cooperative effort between the two groups and furthermore destroyed any chance of procuring an innocent verdict.

The boys finally found adequate legal defense for the boys in Joseph Brodsky, chief lawyer of the ILD, and George Chamlee, a prominent Chattanooga lawyer.²³ On April 20, Brodsky travelled to Birmingham to interview the boys and secure their support for the ILD defending them. Brodsky convinced the boys that the ILD would do everything in its power to free them. The boys all signed an agreement to have the ILD provide the counsel for their defense. This agreement gave the ILD almost full control over the case of the Scottsboro Boys.

The NAACP panicked when it learned the ILD had obtained the retainer for the boys’ defensive counsel. Three days later, Roddy, the man who had hardly seemed concerned for the future of the boys, went to Birmingham to sway them against the ILD. The NAACP released a series of statements declaring the boys had never signed an agreement with the ILD and refuted the organization all together. Strangely, the ILD was misnamed in the statements.²⁴ Another anomaly of the statement was the naming of the inadequate lawyers, Roddy and Moody, from the first trial as chief attorneys, as opposed

to Darrow, the nationally renowned criminal attorney who had agreed to support the NAACP in defending the boys. A letter from Stephens to White expressed that they were “fairly well satisfied” with keeping Roddy as the head attorney, despite his poor performance in the initial trials.²⁵ It seems strange that the NAACP would want to keep Roddy as the head attorney after his lack of skill and poor performance.

After receiving the news that the boys allegedly rejected their counsel, the ILD quickly met with several parents of the boys, most importantly those who were under eighteen, and asked if they could represent them. As most of the boys were minors, the parents had the final say in legal representation. The next day, Brodsky and the parents he had met with drove down to the jail again to reaffirm the agreement that had taken place just a few days earlier. The boys, now with consent from their parents, once again agreed to allow the ILD to handle their defense. They also rebuked the statement procured by Roddy by issuing a response statement with the ILD that read, “This statement was obtained without the consent and advice of our parents and we had no way of knowing what to do. We completely repudiate that statement and brand those who obtained it as betrayers of our cause.”²⁶

The agreement the boys signed with ILD proved a catastrophic defeat for the NAACP. This not only allowed the ILD to take credit for the case, it also made the NAACP appear incompetent: How could the NAACP claim to fight for all African Americans if they could not even earn the confidence of nine young boys? The inability to gain the support of the boys caused the NAACP to lose the retainer for the prominent Birmingham lawyers it had previously secured. The NAACP and ILD continued to hurl insults and accusations against one another through their respective newspapers. The NAACP originally maintained that they had hired Roddy and therefore, were the first to assist the boys. This gave them some claim to the right of defending the boys. Nevertheless, soon after they reproached him as, “a drunkard recently released from an asylum,” who provided no substantial defense in the first trials.²⁷ With the censure of Roddy, the NAACP lost nearly all claim to represent the boys.

In December of 1931, Darrow and Hays, the two leading attorneys for the NAACP, met with Chamlee and Brodsky to reach a compromise. The boys had written to Walter White and pleaded with him not to fight with the ILD but to cooperate. The ILD proposed that they would allow Darrow and Hays onto the counsel if they denounced the NAACP. Darrow and Hays agreed to work with Chamlee and Brodsky as private attorneys if they denounced the ILD as well. The ILD lawyers refused to denounce their group. Darrow and Hays adamantly rejected working under the ILD. No compromise was reached, and Darrow and Hays withdrew from the case. On January 4, 1932, the NAACP, with no qualified legal representation left, withdrew completely from the case of the Scottsboro Boys.

The Scottsboro Boys' case would continue on for several years. The counsel of the of the ILD requested numerous appeals to the Supreme Court followed by multiple retrials. On July 24, 1937, the court found four of the boys guilty of rape and four others innocent.²⁸ In an unrelated case, the court dropped charges against Ozie Powell as part of a plea bargain. Finally, in 2013, the state of Alabama granted posthumous pardons to the boys because the court had not overturned their verdicts.

ENDNOTES

- 1 Patterson, Haywood, and Earl Conrad. Scottsboro Boy. p. 3.
- 2 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 4.
- 3 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 5.
- 4 Aretha, David. The Trial of the Scottsboro Boys. p. 2.
- 5 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 28.
- 6 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 28.
- 7 Patterson, Haywood, and Earl Conrad. Scottsboro Boy. p. 8.
- 8 Goodman, James. Stories of Scottsboro. p. 13.
- 9 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 8.
- 10 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p.18.
- 11 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 23.
- 12 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 23.
- 13 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 20.
- 14 Patterson, Haywood, and Earl Conrad. Scottsboro Boy. P. 42.
- 15 Aretha, David. The Trial of the Scottsboro Boys. p.
16. Goodman also includes this account in his work on p. 97. 16Carter,

It is impossible to truly know how the fates of the boys may have differed had the NAACP and ILD been able to work together. However, it seems at the very least, the boys would have had a greater opportunity for overturning their original verdicts. Most of the literature surrounding the case frowns upon the actions of Walter White during the case. Nonetheless, no scholar outright condemns him for allowing his personal feelings and biases interfere with helping the boys. The inability to see past his pride and selfish goals may have been a deciding factor of the boys' fate. It seems that the NAACP holds a large portion of the blame between the two political groups because of its focus on the organization's reputation over the lives of the boys. Nevertheless, the ILD is not without fault and contributed a fair portion to the lack of cooperation. It seems the warring factions of a cause often result in harm to the very people they are trying to support. Perhaps if these two political groups been able to see past ideological differences and reputational worries, the future of the Scottsboro Boys would have unfolded differently.

- Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 48.
- 17 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 48.
- 18 Kinshasa, Kwando Mbiassi. The Scottsboro Boys in Their Own Words: Selected Letters, 1931-1950. p. 20.
- 19 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 53.
- 20 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 61.
- 21 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 53.
- 22 Goodman, James. Stories of Scottsboro. p. 34.
- 23 Carter, Dan T. Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South. p. 53.
- 24 Kinshasa, Kwando Mbiassi. The Scottsboro Boys in Their Own Words: Selected Letters, 1931-1950. p. 28.
- 25 Kinshasa, Kwando Mbiassi. The Scottsboro Boys in Their Own Words: Selected Letters, 1931-1950. p. 30.
- 26 Kinshasa, Kwando Mbiassi. The Scottsboro Boys in Their Own Words: Selected Letters, 1931-1950. p. 34.
- 27 Kinshasa, Kwando Mbiassi. The Scottsboro Boys in Their Own Words: Selected Letters, 1931-1950. p. 38.
- 28 Goodman, James. Stories of Scottsboro. p. 344.

REPRESENTATION AND METAPHORS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN MARVEL COMICS

Brian Powell

The comics industry in the middle and late twentieth century was a mainstay of progressive politics, particularly in the field of minority representation. Writers like Stan Lee, Chris Claremont, Don McGregor, Jack Kirby, Dave Cockrum, and Marvel Comics in particular, spread ideas of the Civil Rights movement to their predominantly white readership in the 1960s and 1970s. Through metaphor and representation, Marvel Comics used its platform to push the ideas of progressive politics to echo the changing real world around them.

In 1963, the legendary creative team of Stan "The Man" Lee and Jack "King" Kirby set out to create a comic book title that would reflect the strife of the Civil Rights movement at its peak. Lee titled it, "X-men." They were a group of young mutants, meaning they were born with special abilities such as telepathy and bird-like wings, led by their wheelchair-bound teacher, "Professor X." The concept of mutants is an allegory for marginalized members of society such as people of color in America. Typically, humans hated mutants for the simple fact that they were different even though the X-men frequently saved the world from threats such as the evil mutant "Magneto" and his "Brotherhood of Evil Mutants." The metaphors used to liken Marvel's X-men to the Civil Rights movement did not stop there. Some readers observed the contrast between Professor X and Magneto as a metaphor for the distinction between Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X. Professor X is a peaceful man with a vision of "harmonious human-mutant coexistence,"¹ similar to Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and Magneto as a militant with a "rigid attitude toward the defense of mutant-kind."² These comics were written during a time when Civil Rights leaders like King and X were marching and delivering grand speeches calling on the people of the United States to act in the benefit of their fellow man. The first issue of the X-men released in late September of 1963, hardly a month after King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech. In 1965, Marvel introduced the "Sentinels."³ The "Sentinels" were giant robots created to hunt mutants and kill them.

“ Marvel Comics used its platform to push the ideas of progressive politics to echo the changing real world. ”

The introduction of these characters was a response to the Los Angeles riots in 1965, protests against police brutality. The X-men is the most political comic book title of the 1960s.

Alas, politics does not always lead to commercial success and, in 1970, the X-men comic books were canceled, and would not be revived until 1975, by Len Wein and Dave Cockrum. Wein and Cockrum's run on the X-men comics started with *Giant-Size X-men #1*. This comic introduced an all-new team lineup, including Storm, the first African-American female superhero to be published, Thunderbird, a Native American, Sunfire, a Japanese man, and others.⁴ In fact, only one white American male appeared in the lineup. All other characters came from a different ethnic background or nationality. The inclusion of these characters reflected a more significant movement at Marvel comics to push for greater diversity in comic books. This is in part because if Marvel produced cartoons with a broader range of ethnicities and backgrounds for the characters, it would increase the odds relating to the character and wanting to buy the comic book. The loosening of the Comics Code rules in 1971 may also explain these phenomena.

The Comics Code was a set of rules put forth by Congress to censor comic books. The infantilization of the 1950s and 60s comic books stories with goofy premises and silly tropes are attributed almost solely to the Comics Code. Before 1971, a comic book could not even mention illegal drug use or even death. Interpersonal conflict between characters on the side of good was almost non-existent. With the disillusionment of the post-Vietnam and Watergate era, Congress stopped worrying about what

was in comics and allowed for a relaxation of the comics codes.

Writers created more realistic stories with real-life conflicts like explicit racism, the loss of a loved one, corruption, drug abuse and poverty. Wein and Cockrum, followed by Chris Claremont, took the racism angle of storytelling to heart as Stan Lee and Jack Kirby had and widened the team's lineup to include several different ethnic groups. The characters and storylines that came from this period became the classic X-men that come to mind.

The characters that Wein, Cockrum, and Claremont popularized in the 1970s are still around today. Storm has gone on to no longer be considered the "token" black character in the X-men and became an official leader of the team in *X-men vol. 2 #1*, in October of 1991.⁵ She has been a mainstay of the comics and a fan favorite since her inception in 1975. Storm is the prime example of representation in the X-men as a character because she is notably a role model to the younger members of the team, educated and well spoken. She goes through her fair share of hardships in her stories, but remains strong, independent and kind throughout her publication history, thus making her not only a role model for African-Americans but young women of all backgrounds.

While the X-men were definitively the most political comics of the 1960s, they by several politically charged characters and series followed. Stan Lee and Jack Kirby introduced the character, *Black Panther*, in the pages of *Fantastic Four* in 1966.⁶ Often recognized as the first black superhero, *Black Panther* was the ruler of an Afrofuturistic utopian nation in Africa called Wakanda. Wakanda appeared as a nation that was prosperous, peaceful, and, most importantly, free from the influences of European colonialism. Naturally, this made *Black Panther* a symbol of black power and culture from the 1960s to the present. *Black Panther* was not, however, named after the Black Panther Party, as the creation of the character predated the Black Panther Party.

While *Black Panther* did not obtain a regular title until 1977, he was a frequent guest star in the short-lived *Jungle Action* comic books. The famous story of *Black Panther*

vs. *The Ku Klux Klan*⁷ by Don McGregor initially came from these comic books. The story was controversial, and the creative team was discouraged from continuing the story at every turn. Thus, *Jungle Action* was canceled in 1976, citing low sales, except among college students.⁸ The cancelation of the series is evidence of a more cynical Marvel publishing company. Their sales were reportedly not doing as well as they would have liked; therefore, they decided to cancel a controversial book.

Over the years, *Black Panther* became a more central character in many stories Marvel published, including series of his own on and off since 1977. In 2018, Marvel Studios adapted *Black Panther* into a film starring Chadwick Boseman and directed by Ryan Coogler.⁹ The film consisted of an almost entirely black cast, a first for Marvel Studios, and a rare occurrence in Hollywood films in general. The black community and filmgoers the world over lauded it as one of the best films of the year, earning numerous awards and praises, including an Academy Award nomination for Best Picture. Critics and audiences loved it, and it represented a massive point for the black community. Shaun King wrote in an article for Medium.com that the success of *Black Panther* was a critical achievement for the African American community. He claimed the movie's success was as significant as Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on a bus, the election of Barack Obama as the first black president of the United States, and even Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech. Shaun King goes on to explain how excellent it is to have a movie focused around black people that "showed us our families in one piece. No war on drugs. No mass incarceration. No KKK. No lynching. No racial profiling. No police brutality."¹⁰ Media has often depicted African American based films as families being torn apart by the things listed above. However, *Black Panther* was about the empowerment of the black community, presenting Wakanda as a kind of black utopia. The team behind the film wanted to give young black people something to aspire to, like white children already have *Captain America*, Thor, and Iron Man.

While *Black Panther* was the first black superhero, he did not get his own title until 1977. The first black superhero to receive a titular comic series was Luke

Cage in 1972. Luke Cage was a wrongfully accused ex-convict, a victim of the war on drugs, who was subjected to scientific experimentation while he was in prison. A racist and abusive guard caused an accident during one of the experiments. This accident during the testing gave him super strength and unbreakable skin. After leaving prison, Luke went to Harlem, New York to live, but had trouble finding work being an ex-con. He decided to be a superhero for hire in New York, as well as policing his neighborhood of Harlem.¹¹ Popular blaxploitation films of the time like *Shaft* and *Superfly* largely influenced his stories. Luke Cage wore flashy clothes, possessed a limited vocabulary, and used the catchphrase "Sweet Christmas" as the Comics Code prohibited swearing in comic books. All of these features are shared with the characteristics of blaxploitation films. On top of this, Cage's origin story is reminiscent of medical experiments performed on African Americans. This is particularly true of the Tuskegee Syphilis experiments in which government officials infected numerous black men with syphilis and then refused to treat them just to see what the effects of untreated syphilis were. This experiment made the front page of the *New York Times* the very same month that Luke Cage made his comic book debut. Due to the incident's popularity at the time that it is highly unlikely that the two are not related, given Marvel's history of reacting to current events with stories.

In early 2005, Luke Cage became a member of the Avengers superhero team.¹² He did play somewhat play the role of the token black character in the series, but he also played an essential role in the way the team operated. Being a community-based superhero in Harlem, he was used to working on street corners and tackling gangs and drug dealers. This affected the team visibly in issue sixteen when the team went to Detroit, Michigan, and just stood at an intersection in a particularly crime-ridden neighborhood.¹³ This tactic is known as proactive policing. It is a tactic used to ingratiate the police with the local community and scare off undesirable elements by showing police presence, and often force. It is the equivalent of a police car parked on the side of a busy highway where many people break the speed limit. Everyone slows down. Luke Cage had the *Avengers* do this with street crime.

With the arrival in 2016 of the Netflix-produced television show starring Mike Colter as Luke Cage, Marvel saw yet another political moment to seize. The numerous shootings by police of unarmed black males led to a boiling point of racial tension in the United States, punctuated by protests from the Black Lives Matter movement. In the series, Luke Cage stands up to police brutality unabashedly wearing a hoodie, much like the style that Trayvon Martin wore when gunned down in his own neighborhood⁸. Luke Cage is a black man that does not need to fear confrontation with the police because they could not harm him if they wanted to. His persona is like a fantasy that was tailor-made for the year 2016. It was a fantasy of power for members of the black community in the United States.

In September of 1969 by Stan Lee and artist Gene Colan created another early African-American superhero Sam Wilson, also known as the Falcon.¹⁴ The Falcon, recognizable from the *Avengers* film franchise, could fly using mechanical wings and had a bird sidekick of his own name Redwing. Initially, he was only a minor character in a *Captain America* story, not even being given a name until the middle of the second issue in which he appeared. However, Sam Wilson became so popular that Lee decided to give the character more press time. Falcon became a regular sidekick to *Captain America*, particularly in predominantly African-American neighborhoods in New York City, such as Harlem. The Falcon and Captain America even shared the title billing on their comics for most of the 1970s.

While most of Marvel's comic characters and story arcs present a progressive look at race and politics, the Falcon's history is slightly more muddled and controversial. In *Captain America #186* by Steve Englehart, Falcon, who had always been depicted as a social worker for troubled youth in Harlem up to that point, was revealed to have been a career criminal for several years and having numerous mob connections.¹⁵ This goes against the traditional Marvel mold of progressive ideas by insinuating that the black character, who was one of the very few black characters present in the comics at the time, was a criminal. This was against the progressive ideas of

the company and was changed in the early 2000s. In *Avengers* #181, the Avengers draft a new team under the supervision of their new United States government liaison, Henry Peter Gyrich.¹⁶ Henry Peter Gyrich is often used in comic books as a metaphor for government red tape, which is rarely a good thing in the comic industry. In this particular instance, Gyrich was there to ensure that the Avengers complied with the United States government hiring policies, namely minority hiring. Gyrich announced that the lineup would include the Falcon, but not Hawkeye, who had been an Avenger for many years at this point. The United States minority hiring practices were given as the main reason for this, and since *Black Panther* was not available, they decided to go with Falcon. Falcon resented being patronized as the "token" black member of the team and quit the team at his very first opportunity. This is not a progressive way to talk about affirmative action because typically, the liberal view is that the government should get minorities into positions by just about any means necessary and the fact that Falcon feels patronized and resentful counters the benefits of affirmative action.

In November of 2014, Sam Wilson, took on the mantle of Captain America when the original one, Steve Rogers, was

unable to continue. He became the leader of the newest *Avengers* team that years earlier, he felt he did not deserve even to be a member of.¹⁷ This team itself was a second diversity push. The group consisted of Ms. Marvel, a young Pakistani-American girl, Nova, a young Hispanic boy, Thor, who had become a woman via magical purposes, and the new black Hispanic Spider-Man, Miles Morales. This push for diversity brought new minority characters in, but also marked a higher standing for the older characters like *Black Panther*, Luke Cage, and the Falcon. They all lead the Avengers at some point and enjoy a spotlight that they no longer are required to share with white characters.

Throughout the twentieth century and the early twenty-first century, characters like *Black Panther*, Luke Cage and Falcon have enjoyed growth as characters and objects of attention in the public sphere. Their inclusion in the overall narrative of the Marvel comic books could have happened at any time. However, the fact that they arrived at a time when people of color were fighting for civil rights in America showed Marvel writers' and editors' support for the ideals of the civil rights movement and the black community as a whole.

ENDNOTES

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15 Englehart, Steve. *Captain America* #186. (New York City, New York. 1975).

16 Michelinie, David. *Avengers* vol. 1 #184. (New York City, New York. 1979).

17 Waid, Mark. *All-New All-Different Avengers* #1. (New York City, New York. 2015).

voicemail #1: to Madam C.J. Walker

Taylor Byas

Sorry to call so late, but I thought of you the other day, your history-book picture stamped into my dream like a president's face on a twenty and I had to hit you up. Just talk to you. I've been thinking about your hands, how they were primed for kinks and curls

since childhood, pricked by the fang-curl of the cotton bracts. How this gifted you a love of softness, of running a hand through cotton pressed to silk. I can picture your first pass with the hot comb, its hiss-talk as it steamed through hair and grease, and your face

at the curls' sulfur-cook. And you, tilting the client's face this way and that in the mirror, their curls stretched and simmered into submission. Talk about magic. I must confess, I thought you were the one who invented the hot-comb. Your picture next to a short paragraph on my U.S. history hand-

out for Black History Month, your life in shorthand to keep us black girls from hoping. Let's face it, the history books are another slavery. No pictures of black children smiling, no girls playing in their curls or boys caressing the parentheses of their afros. Even you, your hair glassed with sheen spray, bone-straight. No talk

of your money, your millions, your mansion. No talk of being self-made, no family fortune handed down. No talk of you really living. The books say you worked in the cotton fields like your parents, your face deepened by the sun, your 7-year-old feet curling a path through the stalks. The book has your picture

only a few pages of away from slavery, another picture of bodies pencil-shaded black, and the quick talk of a whip on their backs. And the scars, never curled or bent but always drawn as X's by an artist's hand And I wish you could have seen my face when I saw those bloodied backs so close to you

in the book, as if it were all the same. As if the hand that straightened your curls was the same hand to whip you. Talk to you soon. Try to picture my face.

red mt. bus stop



Rose Reyes

THE EXPLOSIVE HISTORY OF BIRMINGHAM: HOW THE CITY'S PAST FORGED THE FUTURE OF ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT

Kendra Bell

Many know the city of Birmingham for its industrial footprint in the scope of American history, its unique conglomerate of natural resources, and the role it played in the advancement of the Civil Rights Movement. Racial disparities within the historic city have existed since its conception. This principle led to the understanding of Birmingham by many people, including Martin Luther King Jr., as “the most segregated city in America.”¹ As society roots issues of race much deeper than simply the color of one’s skin, the effects of racist sentiments understandably transcend further than the popular notion of segregation. This research aims to dissect these effects and discover other hidden manifestations of racial inequalities in Birmingham by examining the history of natural resource industries alongside the intentional racial redistricting of the working class and the housing market. The administration that was developed to cultivate the coal and steel industries is linked to societal restrictions that propelled Jim Crow policies, in all facets of society, and resulted in violent hate crimes. Politics, economy, and society are surveyed from the beginning of Birmingham’s influence to the 1960s, when the events on Dynamite Hill spurred Birmingham to take action within the Civil Rights Movement.

The location, at first, did not attract the attention of settlers. In fact, they described it as resembling a swamp with cornfields.² However, beneath the surface of the area lay the materials that made Birmingham a prime location for economic potential. The region houses a unique combination of various natural resources such as bituminous coal, iron deposits, limestone, and a diverse ecosystem within the Cahaba River. Settlers eventually took advantage of these resources following the development of mining and iron-producing facilities, which began during the time of the Civil War.³ Later, President Johnson sent farmers to occupy the valley during Reconstruction, long before the establishment of the city. John Milner, a leader in the mining industry, also

surveyed the land and, realizing its potential, called it Birmingham in hopes it would mimic the manufacturing hub of Europe that shared its namesake.⁴ Those that came after intended to mold the ‘City of Perpetual Promise’ in a way that would curate a national industrial powerhouse.⁵ To clarify, industrialists’ motivation to establish a separate regional identity, rather than extend the influence of nearby Elyton, centered on capital gain. The belief was that the formation of a new town would act as a clean slate for economic possibilities. With no previous economic or political limitations in public policy, emerging industry leaders could dictate the future of their enterprises and careers without restrictions.⁶ Another leader in the iron industry, Abram A. Hewitt, projected that only one year after Birmingham’s establishment, “...Alabama is to be the manufacturing center of the habitable globe.”⁷ As early as the formation of the city, the propulsion of the manufacturing industry was intertwined in the city’s legacy.

“ The use of labor leasing led to an industrial reliance on the systematic exploitation of predominantly African-American Alabamians. ”

The need for a dependable labor force persisted within those industrial blueprints, while the post-civil war era in the American South confronted the issues of a labor shortage. Reconstruction instituted many policies to alleviate this stress on Southern business owners. These policies, riddled in racist idealism, accounted for the growth which earned Birmingham the nickname, the Magic City. For example, the implementation of convict labor perpetuated racial profiling alongside many other social issues that become apparent as the city develops. For the sake of a well-rounded understanding of the

subject, the population itself is evaluated to perceive how Birmingham's economic and cultural structure affected its inhabitants.

The largest component of the labor force that drove the coal and steel industries were leased convicts. Convict labor allowed for industrial growth through the state's ability to rent the labor of convicts to areas like the mining communities in and around Birmingham, resulting in the development of mining towns, sometimes separated by race. The use of labor leasing led to an industrial reliance on the systematic exploitation of predominantly African-American Alabamians. Since convict labor offered a potential solution to the labor shortage, the state needed a surplus of convicts. One way this was achieved was the implementation of vagrancy laws in Alabama. Constructed after the end of the Civil War, these laws allowed law enforcement to target, arrest, and sell African-Americans as convict laborers for trivial offenses such as appearing to be without work, gambling, or homelessness.⁸ Their sentences were often comprised of contracts which sold their labor for months at a time with no option for appeal and, in many cases, the court system was willing to waive the prospect of hard labor for whites, leaving the convict labor population disproportionately African-American.⁹ Because of this law, the ability to racially target and sell people for work was codified and backed by the state administration and accepted by southern industrialists. By extension, the development of social stigmas and racist ideologies against the African-American community were perpetuated by the utilization of the convict labor system and vagrancy laws, allowing for these perceptions to disseminate into political practices within the city.

An example of this is the election that ultimately authorized Birmingham as the county seat, rather than an extension of the nearby town of Elyton. Robert Henley, a resident of Elyton, was elected as the first mayor of Birmingham. His behaviors regarding the electoral process represents how these exploitations become systematic and are visible within the local political machine. To some degree, the practice of inhibiting full political participation of African-Americans in this context was developed to deter populism and undermine advancements made by the local Bourbons, or the more conservative members of

the Democratic Party in the South. To ensure a majority vote in his favor, Henley transported a number of African-Americans on trains the day of the election and attempted to influence them to vote for his views.¹⁰ Many were unaware that the result of this election and Henley's political plans was going to affect the role of African-Americans in both the labor force and in Birmingham. In fact, after this election, the labor force fueling the furnaces was described as, "...almost entirely negro," as African-American workers were restricted to 'unskilled' labor that was utilized in nearly all Birmingham-area furnaces in 1889¹¹ The attitudes held by white employers and employees alike, were paralleled with the racist sentiments held by many in the years following the Civil War. Though they were dependent on the convicts and black working population for capital gain and economic stability, they maintain the perception of African-Americans as unintelligent with behavioral qualities aligning with barbarism.¹² Those living in Birmingham held these sentiments deeply and they are reflected in the social stratification of residency.

Arguably one of the most problematic practices within Birmingham's administrative history is that of redlining. Redlining occurs when certain demographics or groups of people within a particular region are withheld from receiving benefits or aid in various ways.¹³ Originally, this practice in Birmingham was not an indication of racial segregation. Rather, the implementation of redlining acted as a tool for people within the community to remain considerably moral by keeping brothels and saloons under regulation.¹⁴ During daylight hours, known sex-workers and the like were treated with disregard in a public setting, as well as the local architectural ordinances did not allow for these businesses to be near major areas in the city. Essentially, lawmakers kept sex-workers from occupying living spaces in the vicinity of devout Baptists that occupied much of Birmingham. Not long after, the target of redlining changed populations dramatically to focus heavily on the African-American community. At this point, redlining practices in the Jim Crow South disengaged desegregation efforts, limiting both the economic and nuclear mobility of African-Americans. Numerous instances of banks refusing substantial loans to African-

Americans, even if they possessed adequate collateral, constitutes one of Birmingham's most significant administrative actions against the black community.¹⁵ Resources for fundamental economic and architectural development were intentionally denied in many of the neighborhoods deemed unsuitable to mortgage lenders which reflected areas disproportionately occupied by African-Americans.

Local governments and financial bodies denied the black community acceptable working wages and refused the opportunity for infrastructure development. Without the ability to increase property values, there were no real means to advance in society as most houses were unsellable due to a lack of quality construction and materials. This was an intentional measure to decrease the likelihood of people of color engaging with other parts of Birmingham where whites resided. During and after World War II, the influx of African-Americans returning to the U.S. increased the labor supply, resulting in two possibilities of life after return: with a stroke of luck, find work and relatively thrive within the increase of the middle-class, or confront even more economic hardship without a stable income. Even those that could make a living were still not making enough to compare to many whites within Birmingham, but because they were making more money than before, they no longer qualified for public housing projects.¹⁶ George Leighton, a historian that had offered history through prose, once wrote about the economic setbacks within Birmingham's administration. He stated, "the Southern people, black and white, are poor and every influence has been to keep them so. The concomitants of this poverty have been illiteracy and bigotry, inheritances from the slave system, consolidated by the Civil war," which describes the nature of institutionalized policies.¹⁷ These factors may have contributed to the rise of the homeless population in the city that continues to exist.

Neighborhoods in most cities tend to bleed into one another with few wealth variances within a range of fewer than 5 miles. Birmingham, on the other hand, is known by many for the opposite. If one were to visit the winding roads of Mountain Brook, perhaps designed to intimidate and discourage people of color from traveling through, one would notice the obvious wealth. Yet, if one were to

venture down the hole-ridden streets of Pratt City, they could note the higher concentration of people living in seemingly negligent conditions. These are clear indications of the effects of redlining which conclude the reality that city residents are still struggling to break free from the restrictions that redlining has enacted.

Redlining was not just a facet of Birmingham culture, but a national phenomenon. In 1943, the U.S. government established the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to supplement the increasing number of foreclosures that resulted from the Great Depression.¹⁸ It was during this time that the FHA began surveying and collecting empirical data that could determine which neighborhoods were more likely to cause a loss of investments. These areas are subjected to redlining in places all over the United States including Chicago, North Carolina, and Los Angeles.¹⁹ This practice continued to directly affect the black communities of Birmingham until the 1960s when the FHA dismantled and discontinued the process of selective mortgage programs. However, a theory exists that the highway system of Birmingham was designed in part to perpetuate segregation within and of neighborhoods and aligns with the boundaries of the 1926 racial zoning law of the city.²⁰

It is not just housing that people are struggling with, though. The nationwide economic decline that occurred in 1907 is one of the key moments in which the struggles of the working class of Birmingham are observable. Alongside an inability to acquire sufficient loans, there was also the matter of pay. In the late 1880s and early 1890s, industrial facilities compensated white workers who employed between two and three black workers well. Typically earning \$150.00 per month, white workers earnings equate to a monthly salary of \$4,190.14 in today's standards. African-Americans typically made less than 80% of the salary of their white counterparts, which equals less than \$3,352.11 a month today.²¹ From a historical perspective, for this information to resonate most efficiently, it must be set in the appropriate context. This wage inequality was common across America and still exists without total resolution. However, in the context of Birmingham, this principle is important in the foundation of economic racial disparities: African-Americans having less opportunity to accumulate wealth and better living

“ the dispersal of African-Americans within Birmingham into low-valued estates without the opportunity to receive substantial wage, was the fuse to what would become an incendiary moment in local history.

conditions due to insufficient wages.

From this point onward, the issues surrounding welfare in Birmingham become more prominent. The topic is one that is popular in political discussions with the division between the left and right sides of the political spectrum. That is, whether the responsibility of providing aid for people that have less economic stability belongs to the federal government or from the state, or to neither. Regardless of political opinion, there is an undeniable fact that a large portion of Birmingham's population is in need of aid and that lawmakers established this need early in the city's history. In the beginnings of the 1900s, one of the city's most prominent employers provided most of the social welfare services. The Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company (TCIRC) actually built a medical center to provide care at a low-cost to employees and their respective families. However, to some degree, it is evident that this fact is not representative of humanitarian concern for the public's health, but rather, an investment.

To clarify, shortly before TCIRC established the hospital, the company conducted an investigation and found that there were two main culprits to an increase of a 400% turnover rate in 1912: discontent with the company and employees succumbing to illnesses.²² That same year in Birmingham, reporters estimated six thousand cases of malaria possibly due to lack of sewage and water regulations in the area. To increase the number of employees and decrease the turnover rate, the company felt it necessary to provide some sort of aid.²³ It is important to note that the driving force for the institution of a company hospital was not stemmed from the rise in illness rates of employees, but rather the dramatic

increase and difficulties that accompany a high turnover rate. In 1940, the Housing Authority of the Birmingham district investigated the social and economic qualities of citizens, revealing that roughly 40% of non-white families in the Birmingham-metropolitan area were experiencing economic difficulty and 43.7% experiencing health issues.²⁴ The study conducted consisted of 42,615 families, though the numbers reported do not include families experiencing multiple problems but instead, a singular reported problem per family.²⁵ In reality, the percentages of people of color facing issues and in need of assistance in a variety of areas were most likely much higher. It is becoming clear how the administrative bodies of Birmingham have affected people of color and particularly African-Americans both socially and economically, and how those effects have survived generations.

Center Street, one of the residential tourniquets for the black community in Birmingham, proved to be one of the most significant areas in the city. To explain, it was one of the racially dividing lines within the residential communities in which whites set themselves apart from African-Americans in the area. As aforementioned, the local government established housing developments to construct deep-rooted segregation. The considerable lack of political representation, the maintaining of low wages, and the dispersal of African-Americans within Birmingham into low-valued estates without the opportunity to receive substantial wage, was the fuse to what would become an incendiary moment in local history. Industry leaders rigged elections for their own benefit and set wages low for people of color. Convict labor more or less replaced the practice of slavery in the Southern town. White civilians congregated in pockets of the city to dismantle attempted desegregation, to raise themselves on a social pedestal, and ensure that neighborhoods dominated by people of color were lower in value with little developmental potential. When African-Americans grew tired of the forced conditions of their lives, some decided to cross Center street and move onto the west side, which was the “white side” of the neighborhood. Dramatic responses to neighborhood inclusion and desegregation act is if the utopian-post-industrial suburb is threatened by racial inclusion. One could even argue that those that held the

greatest opposition were in fear. Fear of the possibility that African-Americans, oppressed so intensely for so long, would do more than just move residences across the dividing line of races. Local historian Horace Huntley explains the events of this seemingly harmless relocation as a result of a challenge to white supremacy. The administration and police force supported supremacy in order to discourage upcoming Civil Rights activists.²⁶ Though, their efforts proved ultimately unattainable. Jeff Davis, a member of the community describes the social attitudes prior to the events to Nation Public Radio's (NPR) Debbie Elliot in an interview project revisiting the history of 'Bombingham'. He remembers how the white supremacists of Birmingham contested the arrival of African-Americans in their community, acting on their feelings by bombing Center Street, giving it the nickname, 'Dynamite Hill.' He describes the awareness of danger when decommissioned police cruisers burned rubber up and down the street. "They'd throw that bomb, and we used to marvel at how fast those guys could drive..."²⁷ A series of over forty bombings took place in the area, most of which remain unsolved to this day. Families living in the area had to take special precautions to survive, such as erecting brick walls for protection from bullets and instructing children on safety procedures to remove themselves as much as possible when confronted with the rain of bullets shooting through the windows of their homes.²⁸ Many of those affected would never be able to shake the feelings and images associated with living in Birmingham as a black person. To those of us not subjected to the experiences, it is difficult to comprehend the bravery it took to remain in a city that profited from destroying a person's humanity.

These acts of racial terror continued until an incident which stopped not just the city, but the nation on a dime. In 1963, the Ku Klux Klan bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church, killing four young girls, Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley, Denise McNair, and Carole Robertson.²⁹ This moment would spark intense protests to the systems that have been the main topic of discussion on a national

scale. Though events such as this have not stopped and innocent lives of children and young people of color are taken frequently, their murderers supported by the administration, there exists a determination for justice in moments such as this. This determination fuels fighters for true freedom. The legacy of these girls continues to inspire people to participate in the dismantling of social restrictions within the city of Birmingham, the United States of America, and the world at large today.

The Magic City is characterized by its possession of a unique combination of natural resources that allowed the respective industries of coal, steel, and even the railroads to thrive and mark Birmingham as a developing industrial power full of opportunity. However, the underlying policies, practices, and attitudes molded into the economic and societal culture of Birmingham established and maintained a racially exclusive social and political hierarchy. The extensive use of convict labor, exploitation of African-Americans in the workforce, the intentional lack of political representation for the black community in policymaking, the herding of people of color into low-income neighborhoods, the refusal to provide equal opportunity for fiscal advancements through redlining, and the strict social contracts of segregation built the road that would lead to inevitable protest from the oppressed community. The protest was met with immeasurable violence and yet the African-American residents of Birmingham display true resilience in their ability to reside in a city that caused so much cultural, social, and individual destruction. The battle is yet to be won, but that does not mean the progress made is unimportant. Rather, people should evaluate and remember this progress. The true intensity of struggles and observing how deep the oppression is, these are the components of history that supplement revolutionary principles and encourage modern activists to pick up the torch left by those before and to continue the journey to freedom and equality.

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COMPARATIVE ANALYSIS RACISM: THE "ORDINARY" WAY OF LIFE

Robert Crawford

The Jim Crow era illustrates an example of society's flaw of blindly following traditions without questioning the ethics of them. Without a doubt, discrimination and violence against a person on the essence of skin color are unlawful. Alice Walker and Erskine Caldwell courageously address racial injustice and other social issues in their pieces of literature. In Walker's beautiful yet ugly short story, "The Flowers," the protagonist's optimistic perspective of the world suddenly meets destruction due to the mutilation of a man's decaying body. Caldwell's story, "Saturday Afternoon," involves the same brutality with the addition of a casual tone. In the text a butcher named Tom Denny, and his friend Jim Baxter, proudly participate in lynching an African-American man named Will Maxie. Both Walker and Caldwell use imagery and aptronyms to abolish the acceptance and normalization of the immorality of racism.

The combination of the sociopolitical conditions of the rural South in the United States and the invincible ignorance of Caucasian southerners established the perfect breeding grounds for racial segregation and inhumanity; this began the Jim Crow era. Simultaneously, the period briefly glimpsed the potential economic success newly freed slaves could have. To prevent implementation of that, racist southerners used interrogation as a tool to reestablish the idea of racial superiority, and that ultimately evolved into violence. A conventional method to inflict violence was by the brutal practice of lynching.

In "The Flowers" and "Saturday Afternoon," Walker and Caldwell were able to capture the grotesque unpleasantness of the practice of lynching, and at the same time, showcase America's regularization of racial prejudice through the imagery present in their stories. Walker vividly describes an unrecognizable man's corpse by strategically manipulating the description of words to reveal the unattractive components of the nature of racism. Walker effectively does this when she states, "she pushed back the leaves and layers of earth and debris ... he'd had large white teeth, all of them cracked or broken." The typical characterization of the beauty of a smile is

equivalent to those of the man's, "large" and "white." However, Walker's selection of words immediately alters the context of that with adjectives such as "cracked" and "broken;" it perfectly embodies the facade minorities, at the time, must adapt to counteract racism: a broken smile. Though there are various similar definitions for the phrase, Walker's work describes it as falsifying a smile to hide suffering. Walker deepens the overall message in this aspect of the story by the condition in which Myop finds the body. Walker purposely camouflages the man's remains with the earthy materials to expand on her theme of society during this period, burying the wickedness of racial violence to the point that racism naturally appears acceptable.

In contrast to Walker, Caldwell's story addresses the atmospheric aspect of lynching from the perspective of the spectators to develop the normality of racism in the story. To give a clear example of this, "Doc Cromer's boy was doing a good business with his Coca-Colas ... five or six bottles of the first three cases were left ... There were only a hundred and fifty or seventy-five there today." From the vending of beverages to the supportive attendance of people, the example produces images of a sporting event or some form of entertainment venue in the readers' minds. Caldwell deliberately does this to unveil society's normalcy for racism; more explicitly, Caldwell utilizes the store owner's son as a vehicle to deliver this idea. The boy subconsciously perceives the participants' dedication to attend and perform the lynching as indirect validation to be a racist. Caldwell incorporates the theory of sociocultural context — environmental surroundings that influence interpretation and actions— in a manner that conclusively confirms the reason for the prevalence and tradition of racism. He implies that racism is a behavior that one obtains by indoctrination. Interestingly enough, Caldwell uses a tertiary character to exemplify the main idea of his story. The imagery present in, "The Flowers" and "Saturday Afternoon" compellingly captures the awful aspects of lynching and the regularity it reinforces to racism.

Alice Walker and Erskine Caldwell creatively sprinkle the customary acceptance of racism throughout every detail of their short stories. Walker and Caldwell's artistic embedment of the theme creates underlying messages that readers can only comprehend upon further analysis; they use aptronyms to do this.

Walker's main character, Myop, is a young, naïve girl. Myop playfully envisions the world during the Reconstruction Era, that seems impossible to see from that perspective; unfortunately, that suddenly ends with the accidental discovery of a dead, decaying body. Walker intentionally unravels the story in this matter to emphasize the character's figurative short-sightedness. The character's name, Myop, is the literal interpretation of the story's climax. Myop, the name, is perhaps myopic or myopathy but shortened; the two terms derive from the Latin word myopia meaning nearsightedness. Walker's introduction of the victim's death concurrently introduces the end of Myop's nearsightedness; Walker reveals this detail in the story when she writes, "Myop laid down her flowers." The character accepts the harsh reality that she must be tolerant of racism because "more than meets the eye." Myop's vicarious experience of pain and despair creates the realization that her nearsightedness would have ultimately led her to the same fate as the man, dead. Walker's character Myop illustrates the participation of both minorities and racially superior individuals' contribution to the normalcy of racism.

Unlike Walker, Erskine Caldwell applies the aptronym to both a primary character and a secondary character in "Saturday Afternoon," and that is Tom Denny and Jim Baxter. Caldwell's story relies on the third person limited point of view to tell the story. The narration allows the audience to see explicitly, the revolting personalities the characters display throughout the story and the aptronyms he links to them. Take, for example, "'Come on, Tom! Git your gun! We're going after a nigger down the creek a ways'... Tom tied on his shoes and ran across the street behind Jim". Caldwell indicates that Tom and Jim are figurative and physical embodiments of Uncle Tom and the Jim Crow laws, two popular terms of the Reconstruction Era. Originating from the novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, the character Uncle Tom is a virtuous and religious black

slave. However, due to bias film adaptations, Uncle Tom's depiction in movies are as an overly obedient individual and, as a result, gave birth to the derogatory term, Uncle Tom. In the example, Tom unquestionably obeys Jim and performs the lynching. Caldwell intentionally initiations the lynching in this manner to display racism as typical behavior. To justify the normalization of Tom's actions, Caldwell utilizes Jim Denny; the character perfectly emulates the goal Jim Crow laws set to achieve. Jim's encouragement for Tom's participation imitates the Jim Crow laws' enforcement of racial segregation. Walker and Caldwell's unique usage of aptronyms shows the involvement of accepting the immoral belief of racism in the characters names.

By inventively using imagery and aptronyms, Walker and Caldwell were able to effectively reveal society's acceptance of racism as universal and morally adequate. The authors' stories "The Flowers" and "Saturday Afternoon" demonstrate that two different methods can yield the same results. Although both writers' fictional narratives function to deliver the central idea, in this case, Walker's conveys it more efficiently, despite its shorter length. The character, Myop, in Walker's story is relatable for the reason that minorities can understand the acceptance of the harsh reality that accompanies racism. Caldwell's piece loses relatability by incorporating the perspective of racism from the racists themselves. Walker's African descent and Caldwell's European descent may be the influence and reason for the selection of characters and perspectives they present in their stories. The difference in the authors' ethnic backgrounds enables the reader to visualize and understand from opposing ends of the spectrum. Walker's approach is not only more powerful, but it still has relevance in contemporary society due to the youthful yet mature mood of the story. Caldwell's addition of racial slurs and southern dialect in the story decreases the timeless value his work could potentially have. In spite of Walker's and Caldwell's distinct approaches to a controversial topic, both authors expose the damage that racism inflicts on society.

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love thy neighbor



Caroline Myers

A HISTORICAL ESSAY ON BLACK WOMEN'S GENDERED RACIAL TERROR IN THE UNITED STATES

Martez Files

The Black body has been a site of exploitation and criminalization for as long as Black people have existed in the United States (U.S.). Incontrovertibly, there are clear ideas about which bodies in the U.S. are indictable and which ones exist unobstructed. Race and gender color the conversation around punishment in America in critical ways; radical Black activists have responded to this interlocking raced and gendered system of punishment by centering complete abolition. In *Freedom is a Constant Struggle*, Angela Davis spoke of the U.S. abolition movement in this way, "It is about prison abolition; it also inherits the notion of abolition from W.E.B. DuBois who wrote about the abolition of slavery. He pointed out the end of slavery per se was not going to solve the myriad problems created by the institution of slavery."¹ The parallels between prison abolition and slavery abolition are ostensive in understanding the ways that gender and race order and maintenance the systemic criminalization of Black bodies. Systems of crime and punishment have been modernized to further conserve white supremacist ideals in American society. One such example is the system of convict leasing that followed from the emancipation of Black people in America. Explaining how the system of convict leasing was a contemporary iteration of enslavement Sarah Haley in *No Mercy Here* argues:

Convict leasing represented a gendered regime of neo-slavery that constituted modernity by extending the gender logics produced under slavery through gendered racial terror and gendered regimes of brutal labor exploitation. Jim Crow modernity premised upon [B]lack subordination in the service of southern capitalist development required definitive ideas about gender difference.²

These logics were grounded in racist and sexist ideas that imposed subordinate status on bodies deemed less valuable than those of the property-owning white male ruling class. These constructions were systems of inextricably linked gendered racial terror and violence.

Public intellectuals such as Malcolm X referred to Black women as the most "disrespected and unprotected"

people in America.³ Literary scholars like Zora Neale Hurston noted that Black women's second-class citizenship and exploited labor made them the "mules of the world."⁴ In a similar vein, scholars across disciplines have written about this gendered racial violence in nuanced, profound, and critical ways. Radical historians, gender theorists, and legal scholars have contributed significant insight around Black women's race, gender, and punishment in the United States, assisting with the illumination of their specific gendered racial terror.

Sarah Haley's *No Mercy Here* positions gendered racial terror "as a technology of white supremacist control"⁵ and argues that it "encompassed a range of violent practices that were routinely inflicted upon [B]lack women's bodies, but from which white women's bodies were almost always exempt."⁶ These violent practices were often predicated on notions of domination and subjugation. For Black women in particular, this sometimes meant there was no refuge in homes, communities, or any other social or political institutions. Haley notes, "As Georgia developed from an agricultural, plantation-based economy to an industrial one, gendered racial terror fortified white patriarchal control over economic, political, and social relations, thereby enshrining Jim Crow modernity."⁷ Most saliently, she contends:

All violence is, of course, gendered insofar as it is exacted by and against people socially constructed as gendered subjects. Examining violence against [B]lack women as gendered racial terror is not meant to reinforce or naturalize the idea that women and African-Americans are gendered and racialized subjects while white men are not. Instead, this analysis delineates gendered racial terror as a particular realized instrument of state attack against [B]lack women and as a mechanism through which gender was constructed in historical, cultural, and political contexts... Gendered racial terror was a resource in the production of race.... Its forms included specific psychic, physical, and symbolic acts of violence against [B]lack women.⁸

Here Haley illuminates the abstract and material ways

that gendered racial terror served as a form of state violence to capture, harm, target, and violate Black women's bodies, minds, and spirits within Jim Crow modernity. Gendered racial terror was specific and far-reaching. It encapsulated multivalent forms of violence and even read gender itself as a system of state control. With gender came the maintenance of womanhood that protected white women while simultaneously leaving Black women vulnerable. As Haley and other Black feminist scholars before her note, "gendered racial terror worked to crystallize the position of the [B]lack female subject outside the normative category woman."⁹ This de-womanization (a specific type of targeting) of Black women meant that their bodies existed in temporalities that allowed impunity for any assaults, torture, or violations inflicted upon them. The "pornographic performative rituals of violence and humiliation"¹⁰ were common occurrences during enslavement, in convict leasing camps. These pornographic violent rituals included nude whippings, rape, and other forms of racial-sexual domination. With this in mind, gendered racial terror can be understood as the personal and political, psychic and social, interior and exterior forces working against Black women's bodies.

“ Gendered racial terror can be understood as the personal and political, psychic and social, interior and exterior forces working against Black women's bodies. ”

In *Women, Race, and Class*, Davis describes enslaved women as exploited, tortured, and abused. Black women, during enslavement, were subjected to grueling manual labor and vicious sexual abuses at the hands of white men. Davis argues this was done to remind these women of their vulnerability and subjugated status. During this period, Black women functioned inside and outside of the gender construct-- all at once gendered and genderless. To that point, Davis illuminates:

But women suffered in different ways as well, for they were victims of sexual abuse and other barbarous mistreatment that could only be inflicted on women.

Expediency governed the slaveholders' posture toward female slaves: when it was profitable to exploit them as if they were men, they were regarded, in effect, as genderless, but when they could be exploited, punished, and repressed in ways suited only for women, they were locked into their exclusively female roles.¹¹

Gender, which offered the concept of womanhood to protect white women's dignity, was muted at will with respect to Black women. Black women were not allowed to participate in the daintiness and delicateness associated with womanhood. The enslaved were property, tool, and object - incapable of motherliness, wifeliness, and cleanliness. Even still, when it suited the slaveholder, these enslaved Black women were used to service the enslavers' sexual pleasure and twisted fantasies. Black women were not women. To quote Davis, "they were simply instruments guaranteeing the growth of the slave labor force. They were "breeders" - animals, whose monetary value could be precisely calculated in terms of their ability to multiply their numbers."¹² This notion of Black women as breeders carried over into other facets of these enslaved women's lives and had tragic implications for their children who often served as living, breathing signifiers of their torture and abuse.

Mothering was an impossibility for enslaved Black women. As Davis notes, "Since slave women were classified as 'breeders' as opposed to 'mothers,' their infant children could be sold away from them like calves from cows ... a South Carolina court ruled that female slaves had no legal claim whatsoever on their children."¹³ The absurdity in the logic of white supremacist violence was circular yet comprehensive. From day-to-day, the pregnant women and mothers could be subjected to floggings, sexual abuse, grueling labor, and the abduction of their children at any moment. This inhumane treatment of Black women spilled over in multivalent ways but particularly with respect to punishment.

The technologies of patriarchy and white supremacy spelled doom for Black people in general, but Black women in particular. Under these restrictive and harmful conditions, Black women were not afforded any protective factors. Those who would dare resist these unendurable logics and technologies were often punished inhumanely

in order to cement the notion of white dominance. These Black femme bodies represent a more complete and thorough analysis of the criminalized Black body. These discourses often contend with the brutality that Black men suffered under enslavement, reconstruction, Jim Crow, and the War on Drugs era. Most saliently, several researchers have argued that enslavement evolved into the 21st Century phenomenon of Black mass incarceration. While it is true that Black men have suffered incontrovertible indignity, suffering, and harm under white supremacist violence, Black women have often been refused dialectical sanctioning in popular discourse. Stated plainly, the violence against Black women has not been deemed worthy of public discussion. Haley's work cements the notion of a comprehensive assault against Black women and offers gendered racial terror as a lens by which this assault can be understood. Haley makes the case that Black women have been targeted by vigilante violence as well as state violence. Importantly, she notes that courts, judges, juries, and the American legal system "crafted, reinforced, and required [B]lack female deviance as part of the broader constitution of Jim Crow modernity premised on the devaluation of the Black life broadly."¹⁴ She argues that police, prosecutors, and judges reinforced conceptions of the Black female deviant, criminalized Black mothers, and targeted Black women. This state sanctioning, she contends, fortified racial constructions of gender through the criminal legal process.¹⁵ To drive this argument, Haley reads through the interventions of Black female historians such as Angela Davis and posits: While historians have analyzed the relationship between slavery and the white supremacist logic of postbellum convict labor regimes, the violent reproduction of racially specific gender categories represents another continuity. The chain gang replicated the particular dialectics of [B]lack women's oppression under slavery. As Angela Y. Davis has argued of the [B]lack woman: "she was a victim of the myth that only the woman ... should do degrading household work. Yet, the alleged benefits of the ideology of femininity did not accrue to her. She was not sheltered or protected; she would not remain oblivious to the desperate struggle for existence unfolding outside the 'home.' She was also there in the fields, alongside the man, toiling under the lash from sun-up to sun-down."¹⁶

“ The violence against Black women has not been deemed worthy of public discussion. ”

This reading of Black women as victims to the mythology of "women's work," but non-recipients of its "womanly benefits" like protection, care, and reverence is profoundly clear. Black women have always worked alongside men in the United States. They have always had to work to provide for their families and larger communities. For centuries, Black women's bodies have been as vulnerable as Black men's bodies. In *Killing the Black Body*, legal scholar and activist Dorothy Roberts discusses, in part, the myriad ways that Black women's bodies were regulated by the state. Elucidating the legacy of racialized and capitalistic investment in the reproductive productions of Black bodies, Roberts notes, "The story of control of Black reproduction begins with the experiences of slave women... Black procreation helped to sustain slavery, giving slave masters an economic incentive to govern Black women's reproductive lives."¹⁷ To that end, the justifications for the rape and impregnation of kidnapped and enslaved Black women can be understood through a prism of labored exploitation of Black bodies. Elucidations such as this demonstrate how it is inconceivable to disentangle the evil ways that whiteness, patriarchy, and capitalism interplay to etch out systemic violence for Black women's bodies - with their children as physical signifiers and personifications of that violence. Sarah Haley illustrates the phenomenon that Roberts described by presenting the case of a young and expecting Black mother. She notes, "At the age twenty-two, [Eliza] Cobb was raped and became pregnant, [when she felt the pain of childbirth she fled to the outhouse of her home]. She gave birth 'at stool' on the floor of the outhouse, between sharp devices, tools, and debris[.]

Police alleged that she killed her baby, and as a result, she was arrested and convicted of infanticide in 1889."¹⁸ This arrest is a stark example of gendered racial terror because it elucidates how Black women were denied humanity even in pain, grief, and suffering. This example highlights how Black women who were historically denied

motherhood through systems of white violence, could be penalized for being subjected to comprehensive forms of white violence like the denial of healthcare, medical treatment, protection from rape, and clear second-class citizenship. Rape, a tool of dominance and control, was not punishable when perpetrated against Black women. However, their bodies' response to such trauma could be an imprisonable offense under patriarchal white supremacist logics. This denial of Black women's personhood continued into the 20th Century.

Ain't I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism by bell hooks¹⁹ explores the inextricably linked raced and gendered oppression that Black women suffered. hooks contends, "No other group in America has so had their identity socialized out of existence as have [B]lack women."²⁰ Black women were often erased from conversations around liberation and freedom. Yet, their intellectual property and physical bodies were used in service of Black men's liberation and white women's liberation - two groups who refused to "see" them. hooks laments:

Contemporary [B]lack women could not join together to fight for women's rights because we did not see "womanhood" as an important aspect of our identity. Racist, sexist socialization had conditioned us to devalue our femaleness and to regard race as the only relevant label of identification. In other words, we were asked to deny a part of ourselves--and we did. Consequently, when the women's movement raised the issue of sexist oppression, we argued that sexism was insignificant in light of the harsher, more brutal reality of racism. We were afraid to acknowledge that sexism could be just as oppressive as racism.²¹

Black women had to choose which to be - Black or woman. hooks' work is building on the theorizations of scholars such as Frances M. Beal who argued that Black women were trapped in a reality of racist and sexist oppression. These ideas have been advanced further to account for the numerous ways that Black women are situated in complex systems of marginalization. bell hooks calls this multi-layered configuration imperialist capitalist white supremacist patriarchy. At the core of this "naming" is a recognition of Black women as social agents and humans who experience suffering in numerous ways.

Going beyond "naming" and mutual recognition, hooks offers a sharp critique of the Civil Rights Movement and asserts:

The 60s movement toward [B]lack liberation marked the first time [B]lack people engaged in a struggle to resist racism in which clear boundaries were erected which separated the roles of women and men. [B]lack male activists publicly acknowledged that they expected [B]lack women involved in the movement to conform to a sexist role pattern. They demanded that [B]lack women assume a subservient position. [B]lack women were told that they should take care of the household needs and breed warriors for the revolution.²²

Here hooks conjectures that the Civil Rights Movement was expressly for the benefit of Black men. She writes, "...a movement to free all [B]lack people from racist oppression become a movement with its primary goal the establishment of [B]lack male patriarchy."²³ This politically charged statement has been vigorously contested by a number of scholars who tend to focus on hooks' "primary goal" argument. While "unintended consequence" might have been more digestible and appropriate, her major premise that racialized oppression was being replaced with gendered oppression is lucid and tangible. It was apparent that Black women were engaging in the difficult work of anti-racism only to have to fight an anti-patriarchy battle soon after. hooks complicates the Civil Rights Movement and forces us to see figures that have been deified and "heroified" as flawed human beings. Other historians who write on the Civil Rights Era have followed in the tradition of bell hooks by further complicating the legacy of this period by developing the missing gender analysis.

At *The Dark End of the Street* by historian Danielle McGuire proceeds in a similar fashion, she writes:

The real story - that the civil rights movement is also rooted in African-American women's long struggle against sexual violence--has never been written. The stories of [B]lack women who fought for bodily integrity and personal dignity hold profound truths about the sexualized violence that marked racial politics and African-American lives during the modern civil rights movement.²⁴

McGuire argues that this consideration necessitates a historical reinterpretation and rewriting of the Civil Rights Movement.²⁵ Her text is a significant contribution to America's civil rights historiography. Rightly, she centers the often-ignored sexual violence, suffering, and resiliency of Black women as a primary site of civil rights organizing. She does a brilliant job of describing the countless ways Black women fought, resisted, and organized in an effort to save their own lives and the lives of those in their community. McGuire described the sexual terror enacted against Black women in this way:

During the 1940s, reports of sexual violence directed at [B]lack women flooded into local and national NAACP chapters. Women's stories spilled out in letters to the Justice Department and appeared on the front pages of the nation's leading [B]lack newspapers. The stories told how white men lured [B]lack women and girls away from home with promises of steady work and better wages; attacked them on the job; abducted them at gunpoint while they were traveling to or from home, work, or church; and sexually humiliated and harassed them[.]²⁶

White violence was comprehensive and far-reaching in Black women's lives. McGuire describes how even when Black women sought new work, better opportunities, and pay increases their bodies and spirits were under racial sexual assault. To that end, Sarah Haley argues that these types of assaults against Black women were necessary to cement the stable category of "woman." She argues, ...woman did become a property right and a privilege in the context of southern punishment. [I am not arguing] that the fundamental problem of this history was [B]lack women's exclusion from womanhood [as to suggest that justice comes from] normative femininity [encompassing] [B]lackness. Far from contending that woman is a category into which more people should have been included, [my goal is to demonstrate that] gender is constructed by and through race, and that the production of woman and other stable gender categories required violence."²⁷

This is important because it highlights the ways in which the establishment of normativity was a comprehensive tool of colonial and white supremacist violence. A system where woman literally meant all the things for which Black women could never become (i.e., dainty, soft, virtuous,

and chaste), spelled continuous harm for Black women. This denial of "womanhood" meant that Black women were un-attackable, un-rapeable, and un-victimizable. Even still, Haley does not believe Black women's inclusion into "womanhood" was the prescription for circular, comprehensive, and far-reaching white violence. On the contrary, she suggests that the creation and maintenance of stable categories such as gender actually required violence. This might be read as Haley suggesting that only the dismantling of these stable categories is sufficient in countering the violence associated with their creation. Gender-based harm is multilayered and requires multilayered approaches. Imani Perry's *Vexy Thing* reads through the layers of gender-based domination. It grapples with a complex legacy embedded in feminism that attends to property, national sovereignty, and what it means to be a legal citizen. The text moves beyond critiques of patriarchy and deals seriously with domination and violence. This work gestures towards a more rigorous conversation around gendered terrorism - one that does not place Black women's specific violence in competition with violence enacted on other bodies. Perry contends: [T]he shift toward greater awareness of the particular forms of domination experienced by Black women has happened in a discursive space that often posits dominated people (in this case, Black men and women or Black queer and straight people) in competition for attention rather than collaboratively seeking liberation...it is a result of the marketization of identity and entrepreneurial subject status. Each of us is in categorical, as well as individual, competition, and that lies in tension with conceptions of interdependent communities. Zero-sum games abound. Patricia Hill Collins's landmark work on matrices of domination merits revitalization. We are not all subjugated in the same way, but the interrelationship of forms of subjugation ideally forge creative pathways toward alliance rather than competition.²⁸

This is an important commentary on gendered forms of violence and domination during neo-liberal times. It forces us to examine the marketization of domination and to deal seriously with the solidarity economy. Perry's work allows us to explore not only the ways in which rape, labor, and carcerality have inflicted Black women's bodies but also how scholars can look more broadly at gender

terrorism as functioning inside and outside of the body in complex and multivalent ways. As Sarah Haley notes, “In the white imaginary ‘[B]lack woman’ was an oxymoronic formulation because the modifier ‘[B]lack’ rejected everything associated with the universal ‘woman.’ The [B]lack female subject occupied a paradoxical, embattled, and fraught position, a productive negation that produced normativity.”²⁹ This denial of Black women’s Blackness and woman-ness has been a theme throughout the Black freedom struggle. It colors the way Black women have engaged in movements toward liberation and freedom. Imani Perry argues counter to Haley that perhaps the complete dismantling of gender is not necessary. She proposes a more expansive, improvisational, and less stable category as one answer. She notes: Gender liberation may not require the evacuation of all categories, but it does require us to imagine that each human being might be afforded access to embodying and experiencing and representing all of the beautiful traits we have ascribed according to gender, irrespective of the accidents of birth of body, the ascriptions of our cultures, or the decisions of identity. It pains me to admit this, but human beings appear to require some kind of organization of who and what we are; it is just as important, however, that human organization be broad, improvisational, and appropriately contingent and open to change. The organization should help us make sense of our lives, be

ENDNOTES

1 Angela Davis, *Freedom is a Constant Struggle*: Ferguson, Palestine, and the Foundations of a Movement, (Chicago: Haymarket Books, 2016), 25. 2 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*: Gender, Punishment, and the Making of Jim Crow Modernity, (Justice, Power, and Politics. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2016), 67.

3 Malcolm X: Speech Excerpt from Los Angeles. Produced by Educational Video Group. https://search.alexanderstreet.com/view/work/bibliographic_entity%7Cvideo_work%7C2787248.

4 Hurston, Zora Neale. *Their Eyes Were Watching God*. New York: Harper Perennial, 1998. 5 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 3.

6 Ibid., 8. 7 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 12.

8 Ibid., 86.

9 Ibid., 57.

10 Ibid., 252.

11 Angela Yvonne Davis, *Women, Race & Class* (New York: Vintage Books, 1981), 6.

12 Ibid, 7.

13 Ibid, 7.

14 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 2016, 3.

a map that is essentially affirming of all of our humanity. But instead, much of our social organization is devoted to crushing people, either their entire identities or aspects of the self that ought to be affirmed and that bring good to the world. We must build into our way of doing gender a confrontation with the ethical questions posed by gender that exist at the level of gender ideology (which may be different from one’s actual gendered experience), as well as market-based and other social, familial, and intimate interactions that occur both between groups and within them.³⁰ This is a salient argument because it attends to many of the public fears around categorization and deconstructionism. Often the refusal to engage in rigorous conversations around the gender construct is centered on the notion of destabilizing society. This might explain why there is so much contention around trans and non-binary identities. The notion that marginalized and oppressed people are in competition for liberation is a product of what Perry calls, the “marketization of identity and entrepreneurial subject status.”³¹ This formulation almost certainly ensures that Black women are kept at a subjected status because under this market-driven logic, their liberation is in conflict with some other marginalized or oppressed groups’ liberation. In this way the mantle must be taken up by those committed to justice for all bodies irrespective of adherence to some stable category.

15 Ibid.

16 Ibid, pp. 158-159

17 Dorothy Roberts, *Killing the Black Body*, 1997, 22-23.

18 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 2016, 17.

19 bell hooks intentionally lowercases her name for political purposes.

20 bell hooks, *Ain’t I a Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1981), 7.

21 Ibid, 1.

22 Ibid, 5.

23 Ibid.

24 Danielle L. McGuire, *At The Dark End of the Street*, 2011, xx.

25 Ibid.

26 Ibid, 33-34.

27 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 2016, 8. 28 Imani Perry, *Vexy Thing*, 2018, e-book location 3071

29 Sarah Haley, *No Mercy Here*, 2016, 21.

30 Imani Perry, *Vexy Thing*, 2018, e-book location 5135.

31 Ibid, e-book location 3071.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS AND EDITORS



Alice Grissom, a senior majoring in History and English (linguistics concentration), is thrilled to spend a fourth year on the board of the *Vulcan Historical Review*. In addition to the VHR, Alice also serves on the editorial boards of *Aura Literary Arts Review* and *Sanctuary Literary Journal* and has previously served on the editorial board of *Inquiro Undergraduate Research Journal*. Alice has a passion for interdisciplinary research in the humanities and social sciences, as evidenced by minors in Economics and Women's and Gender Studies. Outside of academic interests, Alice works with the Desert Island Supply Co. to provide creative writing and poetry workshops to students in the Birmingham City Schools System, and tutors at the University Writing Center.



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Brian Powell is a senior at UAB majoring in History. He enjoys studying 20th century pop culture history. After graduation, Brian intends to go to law school. In his free time, he enjoys reading comic books and listening to punk music and podcasts.



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Casey Dunsmore grew up in Albertville, Alabama. He graduated from Jacksonville State University in 2017 with a bachelor's degree in History. Currently, Casey is enrolled in the master's program for History at The University of Alabama at Birmingham. His goal is to continue his education and ultimately teach at the collegiate level.



Erin Starr earned her bachelor's degree from the University of Alabama at Birmingham in 2018, with a double major in History and Anthropology, and is currently a graduate student in the history program. Her focus frequently changes, but she may have finally decided on the Korean War. In what little spare time she gets, Erin enjoys reading for fun, crafts of all kinds, playing with her cat and three guinea pigs, and has recently reignited her love of hiking.



Kendra Bell is a candidate for bachelor's degrees in Anthropology and History from the University of Alabama at Birmingham. With a history in museum work and archaeological fieldwork, she currently plans to attend graduate school to pursue and conduct research in archaeology or museum curation after graduating from UAB in 2021. Her research interests are socioeconomic patterns and impacts of political division in various time periods and regions. Specific examples include the first and second intermediate periods in Egypt and American political reform since the 19th century. She also focuses heavily on the importance of human rights in her work, recently publishing research about lynching victims of Jefferson County, Alabama with the Jefferson County Memorial Project. People can find her spending what little time she is not researching or writing making arguably the best lattes in Birmingham at the Starbucks in Vestavia where she works.



Martez (Tez) Files is the 2019 Sutter Scholarship winner, awarded by UAB's Department of History to graduate students with a love of teaching and a penchant toward History. He works as a Graduation Coach for GEAR UP Alabama, serves as a member of the Alabama Disabilities Advocacy Program (ADAP)'s Protection & Advocacy for Individuals with Mental Illness (PAIMI) Advisory Council, is a former teacher in Birmingham City Schools, former Adjunct Professor of African-American Studies and the 2017-2019 Diversity Enhancement Program (DEP) fellow at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). He is completing his Ph.D. in Educational Studies in Diverse Populations with a concentration in Metropolitan Education Studies. Prior to that, he earned a Master of Arts in Teaching degree with an emphasis on social justice from Brown University and bachelor's degrees in both History and African American Studies from UAB. His work is centered around care, Anti-Blackness, abjection, mothering, and macro-systems of education like communal knowledge. He still hasn't learned boundaries or how to say no as a complete sentence and probably won't ever learn it. He is interested in locating sites of workable work in complex, complicated and diverse Black spaces.



McCallie Smith is a candidate for master's degree in History at the University of Alabama at Birmingham and a University of Alabama alumnus. There he received his bachelor's degree with a major in Anthropology and minor in History. McCallie worked for two years at the UA's Office of Archaeological Research. Ultimately deciding to pursue his lifelong passion of History, he applied and was accepted into UAB's graduate program. McCallie's research interests include American military history, the Vietnam War, American popular culture and music, Veterans' studies, and other various aspects of modern American history.



Robert Ezekiel is currently a second year graduate student in the history department at UAB, where he originally received his bachelor's degree in 2017. Robert's focus is on Japanese history, culture, and politics, especially during the Meiji period. A lifelong believer in the value of historical education, his goal is to continue his studies in the future by pursuing a doctorate, and seeking a career in the academic sector.



Robert Carl Crawford, Jr. An enthusiast of art, exploration, and conversation, Robert is currently a sophomore at The University of Alabama at Birmingham. Aspiring to become a therapist, Robert is a psychology major; he is someone that stresses the significance of mental health, especially for younger populations. His experience ranges from an Alabama Air National Guardsman to a Medical Assistant at Med Help. Robert has had many roles but, his greatest performance is as a writer. Said best by his favorite poet, Erykah Badu, "The man that knows something knows that he knows nothing at all."



Rose Reyes is an accepted Bachelor of Fine Arts (BFA) student with a concentration in drawing at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB). Her fantastical animal illustrations have been displayed among exhibitions at the Project Space gallery including “Several Powers: A Darwin Day” in 2017 and “Putnam Trees & Birds Verses” in 2019. While producing response pieces to “Antarctica: A Disappearing Continent,” she qualified for the 44th Annual Student Juried Exhibition, both works displayed in the Abrams-Engel Institute for the Visual Arts (AEIVA) 2020. Through vivid imagery most of her work discusses injustice against animals and the environment, but currently, Reyes is discussing injustice and prejudice against people of color. This year, Reyes has contributed illustrations against lynching to the Legacy Museum as well as illustrations for a literary workbook at STAIR of Birmingham, an organization dedicated to improving education at inner-city schools. Reyes hopes to give back to the community she grew up in through her art.



Sheila Blair is a candidate for the master’s degree in history at UAB. Following a bachelor’s degree in anthropology from New York University, Sheila moved to Birmingham and spent time working at a local nonprofit before returning to academia. She is a research fellow with the Jefferson County Memorial Project for the 2019-2020 year and hopes to continue on to a PhD program when she graduates from UAB. She has a passion for histories that give voice to the voiceless and scholarship that is informed by contemporary struggles for equity and justice. Specific research interests include history of science and medicine, environmental history, and history of social change.



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Steve Filoromo is a recent graduate of the University of Alabama at Birmingham. Currently he is pursuing his Masters in Anthropology at the University of Alabama. His research takes a multi-scalar approach to community development in the historic period of the southeastern US (1500-1900) exploring identity, inequality, and materiality. Furthermore, his research analyzes how families interact and adapt their spaces to reflect internal and external pressures both from within a community and the greater sub region.



Tammy Blue is the 2020 Outstanding Graduate Student Award for History recipient, awarded by UAB's History Department. She also received the Clinton Jackson and Evelyn Coley Research Grant from the Alabama Historical Association (AHA) in 2019 for her research on lynching violence in Alabama. Tammy presented her article, "Blood on the Great Seal of Alabama" at the AHA's annual meeting in Tuscaloosa in 2019, which was published in *The Vulcan Historical Review's* 23rd edition. In October 2019, she presented her paper, "Surviving Rough Justice" at the Graduate Association for African-American History's 20th Annual Conference at The University of Memphis. Tammy is currently completing her master's degree in history with an emphasis on racial violence at UAB, where she also earned her bachelor's degree in English. In 2018, she joined The Jefferson County Memorial Project as a fellow, conducting research on lynching victims in Jefferson County, Alabama in partnership with the Equal Justice Initiative. Tammy is proud to have served as *The Vulcan Historical Review's* Head Editor for this edition and is grateful to Dr. Andrew Baer for giving her this opportunity to work with gifted historians. Tammy plans to keep her focus on advocacy against racial violence and injustice in a non-profit organization and continue to research, present, and publish her work.



Taylor Byas is a fun-sized Chicago native who loves hugs. She received both her Bachelor's and Master's degrees in English from the University of Alabama at Birmingham, and she is now a first-year PhD student, poet, and Albert C. Yates Scholar at the University of Cincinnati. Her work appears or is forthcoming in *New Ohio Review*, *The Journal*, *Borderlands Texas Poetry Review*, *Iron Horse Literary Review*, and others.

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