VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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

Cover photograph by Izabella Janush-Hernandez.
Article photos courtesy of the Library of Congress, 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

The editorial Staff is excited to present the 29th edition of the Vulcan Historical Review. Last year's edition contained a wide variety of topics from many different regions and historical periods. This year, the authors have once again shared a wide variety of topics and perspectives along with a new section dedicated to the exploration of Public History. The cover art of this year's edition is by Izabella Janush-Hernan. With such a diverse collection of student topics this year, we decided to highlight artwork by one of UAB's own students. This edition continues the VHR tradition of stimulating thought, introducing readers to new topics, and sometimes, challenging readers to consider familiar topics from novel perspectives. The publication begins with a paper written by our Glenn Feldman award recipient, Gabrielle Capellan Gaspar. Gaspar's paper analyzes Filipino Baroque and the ways it is distinctly unique to the Philippines. This paper is an engaging and exciting look at the ways Filipino Baroque differs from Baroque seen in Spain, as well as other Asian translations. Next, Joshua Teasley's analysis of the Historiography on the end of the Cold War, as well as an explanation on the real victors suggests that there was never a true "winner" of the war, but rather, only those who lost. The next publication, by Tyler Hargrave, explores the present-day implications of China's inclusion in the WTO, arguing Bill Clinton's legitimization of China set a precedent that affects U.S.-China relations today. Next, Gaspar's second contribution to this year's addition analyzes the connection between sexual violence and the military, with a primary focus being the U.S. military presence in the Philippines. The next publication, by Aurora Tipp, explains the long history of Jewish people in Europe and the Middle East being forcibly marked for identification, including during the Holocaust and even going back to the medieval ages. Next, Patrick Henckell argues that French Huguenot refuges residing in other European countries in the 1600s, greatly contributed significantly to those countries' economies. The next publication, by Sam Wise, analyzes the impact the Vietnam War had on the U.S. film industry, arguing that U.S. films were made after the war to help the nation come to terms with the nature of the conflict. Next, Beau Bowden discusses the 2017 election race for Alabama's senate, arguing that the election created a diverging path for voters, with the choice being a new future or an old history. The next publication, once again by Hargrave, is about Gulf states like Louisiana, and their ability to deal with the 2020-2021 hurricane season, in which a response was difficult due to the coinciding COVID-19 pandemic. Next, Robert Powell argues the Convict-Lease system contributed heavily to the industrialization of the South, especially in cities like Birmingham, Alabama, which also required economic restructuring following the abolishment of this system. The next publication, by Mark Ledlow, discusses how the perspectives of race by white Americans influenced the understanding of history in the north and South. Finally, Tanner Thornton argues how to particular women capitalized on the atmosphere of the 1970 elections.

This year's edition of the Vulcan Historical Review highlights more than just our commitment to producing academic literature as we feature a section dedicated to UAB students engaging in public history. For this section, we feature three different students interacting with different forms of public history. To start this section, Tanner Thornton reviewed Pam Powell's and David Brower's film titled Bending the Arc: Origins. Following Thornton's review, Iris Beasley detailed her experience and the history of the Islamic community in Homewood Alabama. This section ends with Elizabeth Albrecht's review of the UAB Dennis G. Pappas Historical Collections Gallery, which was dedicated to otolaryngologists Dennis G. Pappas, Sr. and Dennis G. Pappas Jr. We would also like to give thanks to Dr. Britney Murphy for her help in forming this section that is dedicated to the exploration of Public History.

The 29th edition of the Vulcan Historical Review would not have been possible without the assistance of a few important individuals. Firstly, we would like to thank Dr. Andrew Baer, served as our faculty advisor as well as providing insight throughout the publication process. In addition, we would like to thank the Department of History Chair Dr. Walter Ward as well as Administrative Associate Robin Albarano for any and all assistance throughout the process. We also would like to thank our graphic designer, Tierra Andrews, who has consistently delivered an exemplary service in helping design our publication. We are also thankful for Mark Ledlow, who served as our Executive Editor for this year's edition. Our gratitude is also extended to each of the authors and editors, whose hard work showcased a wide range of topics and periods of History. We also want to thank each and every person who was, in some way, involved with the 29th edition. Finally, we want to thank our wonderful readers for the continued opportunity of publishing UAB's Omicron Chapter of the Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society's official historical publication for the 29th year. Thank you again to anyone involved in the publication process. Without you, this would not have been possible.

RELIGION, ART, AND POWER: INTERPRETATIONS OF BAROQUE IN THE SPANISH-COLONIAL PHILIPPINES

by Gabrielle Capellan Gaspar
Winner of the Glenn Feldman Memorial Writing Award

Introduction

This essay argues that Filipino Baroque is neither an imitation of its Spanish counterpart nor a direct Asian translation of forms found throughout Latin America. Instead, Baroque and its initial use as pro-Spanish, pro-Catholic propaganda evolved into a form of art and architecture specific to the Philippines. The Baroque era is defined by a period of cultural and religious change throughout Europe, facilitated by the Reformation. During the Spanish colonial era, the lines between church and state were blurred, with friars in charge of the dispensation of religious and administrative justice. In the colonial interpretation, the emergence of Baroque was motivated both due to political rivalries and varying cultural influences. Section I will discuss the evolution of Baroque as a philosophy developing out of the Reformation with specific examples in Spanish Baroque art. Section II will discuss the role of religion in the colonization of the Philippines and competing motivations among monastic orders. Section III will discuss the conception of Filipino Baroque from varying religious and cultural influences and its practical applications.

Section I. Catholicism, propaganda, and the development of Baroque art.

Although some use the terms interchangeably, others differentiate between the Catholic Reformation and the Counter-Reformation, with the former referring to the "renewal" of the Church, or a rebuilding of Catholic values. The latter would focus on rebuttals towards Protestantism's attacks on Catholicism.[1] The Catholic Reformation is essentially symbolized by the Council of Trent (1545-1563), which outlined the central theme of the meetings under

Figure I Gian Lorenzo Bernini, The Ecstasy of St. Teresa (1647–1652).

the Decree on the Profession of Faith: a reworking of the spiritual ideologies through the "extirpation of heresies and reform of morals."[2] Trent outlined the Catholic viewpoint on iconodulism: images of religious figures (e.g., the Trinity, , Virgin Mary, and the saints were valuable for their ability to inspire fervor and prayer but were not themselves meant to be venerated.[3] From this, ideas on the Catholic perspective of Baroque began to take form.

On June 22, 1622, Pope Gregory XV established the Sacred Congregation for the Faith, an organ-ization tasked with the "transmission and dissemination of [Catholicism]."[4] The operation was fundamental in defining Catholic Baroque. The Baroque period, as a style, philosophy, and behavior, began in the 17th century and lasted until 1750. Although

a variety of debates continue as to the true "meaning" of Baroque, its separation from other movements is marked by the performative nature of its display.[5] Humanism perfused through the works of the Renaissance, likening man to God and God to man. On the contrary, Catholic Baroque mentality focused on the supremacy of the divine.

Renaissance exhibitions, focusing on minutiae and details, were replaced with Baroque intentions to leave an impression on the audience through the presentation of the whole through dichotomous depictions of passion and agony.[6]

An icon and allegory of the Catholic Reformation, St. Teresa of Ávila (1515-1582) exemplified the push for religious re- form and its subsequent propagandization. Her life's work consisted of improvements within the Carmelite order, whereas publicity surrounding her life focused on her spiritual visions and her descriptions of religious ecstasy.[7] The Ecstasy of St. Teresa, itself one of the greatest works of Baroque art, presents one of these events. When rays of light sift through an open sliver positioned above the model, golden rays illuminate the surrounding area, bringing the viewer into St. Teresa's divine experience. This intersection between religion and drama, although not limited to Baroque, is highlighted by a duality of "asceticism, agony, and ecstasy" during the period.[8] Its sculptor, Gian Lorenzo Bernini, was employed by the Propaganda Fide and frequently commis- sioned by Pope Urban the XIII—an example of the role artists played in the transmission of ideas and especially during the early modern period.

Analysis of Baroque as a wholly unique art movement ignores the precedents that served to usher in its foundational pil- lars. Spanish Baroque specifically, although distinct from other forms of Western European styles at the time, still resulted from the convergence of the Italian and Flemish Renaissance on Moor- ish Muslim influences.[9] Plateresque (derived from plateros en yeso, or silversmiths in stucco), a style that emerged from Spain in this era, featured florals, wreaths, and mythological creatures combined with an ornate overlay of precious materials such as gold and silver with pearls, jewels, and enamel on sculptures and other artwork arranged in a manner similar to the Gothic approach. Mudéjar ornamentation frequently involved crescent moon motifs and geometric patterns, such as girih-style decoration and arabesque lines. Monastic orders further influenced the development of Spanish Catholic Baroque. Members of the Society of Jesus actively worked to combat the Protestant Reformation, working both alongside and against the Inquisition to stamp out heresies in Spain and Western Europe.[10] These effects were then compounded by the dual exchange between Spain and its colonies.

Figure II Detail of the Plateresque façade at the University of Salamanca (above) and girih-patterned artesonado ceiling at the Royal Convent of Santa Clara in Tordesillas (below).

Section II. Church and authority in the Spanish-Colonial Philippines. Spanish political culture in early modern history operated under a philosophy wherein social class was

determined by individual "entitlement," with the monarch acting as the mouthpiece for the dispensation of God's due process. The Inter caetera, which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, described that the discovery of these lands must be accompanied by religious colonization, with the "[instruction of] inhabitants and dwellers therein in the Catholic faith."[11] Prior to the arrival of the Spanish, Philippine religion was neither unform nor strictly organized. It was only upon Legazpi's arrival that forms of scheduled communal worship (i.e., Mass) began in the Philippines, resulting in widespread construction projects that featured churches, living spaces for missionaries, and administrative buildings.[12] Through these ideas, imperialism was substantiated as a mechanism for providing appropriations to colonized peoples, including forced conversion for "salvation."

The exact extent to which church and state overlapped in the Spanish-colonial Philippines is hotly debated. In 1810, Tomás de Comyn wrote that it was "only through the monk and friar that Spain was enabled to retain her hold on [the Philippines]."[13] Friars oversaw school inspections and monitored the quality of education, usually establishing colleges of their own; teachers were required to faithfully follow their commands. All areas of life—from farming, masonry, religion, and education—were supervised by the religious, with flogging frequently utilized as punishment. Friars were often admitted as members of the junta de autoridades (board of authorities) alongside civil administrators.[14] Despite a "decided earnestness" among Spanish monarchs for native Filipinos to learn Spanish or Castilian, Spanish friars in the Philippines vehemently opposed the instruction of language to maintain secrecy in their abuses.[15] This also served to bar indigenous peoples from entering the priesthood, as knowledge in the fields of grammar and philosophy served as prerequisites for joining the Holy Orders. Social stratification then became another tool employed by both religious orders and Spanish civil administration to marginalize Filipinos.

The politics between monastic orders, Spanish Crown authority, and the Papacy in the Philippines cannot be easily understood. Relationships were dynamic, and alliances frequently changed. Papal bulls issued from 1744 to 1753 required that friars carry out royal orders within the Philippines; instead, they threatened to abandon their posts. On the other hand, although Pardo de Tavera agreed that the spread of Catholicism eased the burden of colonialism, he attested that friars' "humanitarian impulses, truly Christian and equitable," were outweighed by their tendency to take advantage of the natives, relying on the warrants granted to them by the Pope.[16] Orders in the Philippines possessed the privilege to hold large estates and haciendas, organize evangelizing missions, and right to participate in the Manila Galleon trade. Of the existing societies in the Philippines, Dominicans, Augustinians, and the Jesuits existed as the primary competing powers, with some revolts between them necessitating armed force for separation. Augustinians had the longest history of colonial conversion, with the convent of Culhuacan, Mexico, granted a religious warrant for missionary activity in the Philippines in 1564, months before the Legazpi expedition. Dominicans had both the greater numbers and a tighter control on the Philippine Inquisition and were often in control of the Archdiocese of Manila. Jesuits often sided with the government in various clashes (e.g., the Pardo controversy, the Bustamante affair, etc.) and were thus assigned more favorable missionary assignments. Furthermore, they owned the most land.[17] Antonio de Morga argued the priests' primary goal was to build wealth in the Philippines and then return to Spain to enjoy it.[18] Rather than functioning as a tool which solely existed to aid and abet colonialism, it may have been instead that religion and its

usefulness quickly spiraled out of control for the Spanish crown.

Section III. Development of the Filipino Baroque.

The development of colonial Spanish Baroque resulted from the dual-ended transmission of ideas between Spain and its possessions during the 17th and 18th centuries. The suggestion that the arts and other intellectual achievements occurring in occupied civilizations (e.g., the Philippines) results from the people's passive reception of these ideas exists to help maintain European justifications of "imperial tutelage." Furthermore, imperialists maintained that the imposition of Spanish ideas and practices onto the Philippines was both uncomplicated and unchallenging because Filipinos lacked a unified culture and consciousness to "rise up," or revolt against the conquistadors. It was, of course, true that there was no definitive Filipino identity until the Spanish arrived, owing to the simple fact that kingdoms and tribes spread over roughly 7,000 islands did not share a "sameness" until it was forced upon them.[19] This parallel between national identity and class consciousness may be maligned as too Marxist for comfort. However, it cannot be denied that the distance across the island-states that existed prior to colonization created physical borders, and the Spanish agglutination of previously distinct barangays into single pueblos allowed for its citizens to organize themselves therein.

The colonization of the Philippines was initiated specifically with religious conversion in mind, taking advantage of its geopolitically advantageous location to establish a launching point to conquer China and establish a Spanish Pacific empire. Spanish expansion into central Luzon and Visayas through the Legazpi expedition ushered in a new age of cenobite migration. Through the late 16th century, the Spanish crown financed the establishment of religious orders throughout the islands.[20] One of the most notable events in the beginnings of religious transmission in the Philippines details the conversion of the Hindu king Rajah Humabon of Sugbu (Cebu) and his family. After his baptism, Magellan allegedly gifted a sculpture of Señor Santo Niño de Cebú to Humabon's wife. Local devotion to the Christ Child is still widespread in the Philippines, with Sto. Niño at the forefront.[21] Original forms of the statue were crafted by Flemish artisans inspired by St. Teresa of Ávila's writings of religious ecstasy, highlighting the convergence of proto-Baroque ideas and artforms on religious actuation. Furthermore, anecdotes of St. Teresa's travels often featured an icon of the Infant Jesus that she purportedly carried wherever new Carmelite convents were established.[22] The multiple driving factors competing for increasing influence throughout the Reformation—Catholic dominance over Protestantism, Carmelite devotion of the Infant Jesus, and Spanish imperial ambitions, among others—culminated in the Philippines and are exemplified in the artforms showcased therein.

Rajah Humabon and his wife Hara Humamay are noted

Figure III Sto. Niño de Cebu as enshrined in the Basilica Minore del Sto. Niño de Cebu.

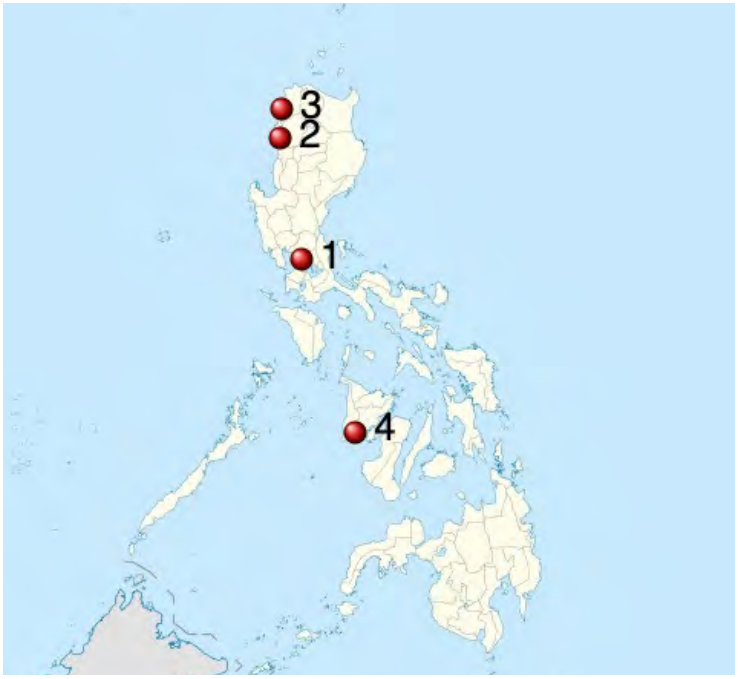

Figure IV Locations of the UNESCO World Heritage List Baroque churches of the Philippines: San Agustin (1), Santa María (2), Paoay (3), and Miagao (4).

as Don Carlos Valderrama and Doña Juana after their baptism. It is unconfirmed if these names were truly utilized in their daily lives as local rulers (unlikely) or they only were referenced as such in Spanish records moving forward. Other interpretations for the fervor for Christ-child worship in Cebu and the Philippines may involve Sto. Niño de Praga or the Sto. Niño de Atocha.

In 1996, UNESCO added four Baroque-era churches in the Philippines to its World Heritage List: San Agustin Church in Intramuros, Manila; Paoay Church in Ilocos Norte; Santa María Church in Santa María, Ilocos Sur; and Miagao Church in Miag-ao, Iloilo.[23] These churches serve to exemplify these defining traits of Filipino Baroque. Discussion on these four papers will be limited to overarching details.

Form and function. Architecture develops in response to the contemporary political landscape and the needs of the people, serving to embody the environment in which these operate. During the medieval age, European castles typically featured shorter and stouter walls that protracted from the main walls as defensive efforts to withstand fire from cannonballs, prevent the direct attachment of projectiles, and fend off invaders from climbing. Churches often featured large wooden doors that could be barred from the inside and high-level openings instead of windows to protect against forced entry. Belltowers could be used either as a watchtower, a defensive point from which to shoot projectiles, or as an alarm system for the surrounding town.[24] From the 16th to 18th century, Moro Muslim pirates besieged the Philippines, with the profitability of raids tied directly to the development of the Manila Galleon trade. Furthermore, weather in the Philippines is tropical and maritime, highlighted by high temperatures, humidities, and rainfalls; natural disasters, such as floods, tsunamis, and earthquakes, frequently occur. Church walls and buttresses began to thicken, and transepts were generally eschewed in favor of a single large room. Free-standing bell towers separate from the nave were a common trait to preserve the central structure itself.

Engaged columns were typically coupled, though masons held little regard for the European custom of super-positioning Ionic over Tuscan columns. Existing stairways were usually moved outside—likely acting as additional

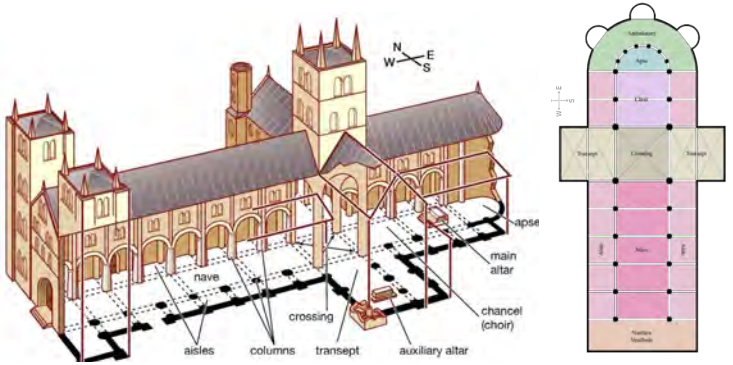

Figure V Exterior floor plan of a Medieval cruciform cathedral (left) and interior floor plan of a typical Western European cathedral (right).

support for the building and transportation when repairs were required—leaning against the nave wall and leading up to the roof.[25] These modifications culminated into the identifying features of Filipino Baroque and its related category of earthquake Baroque.

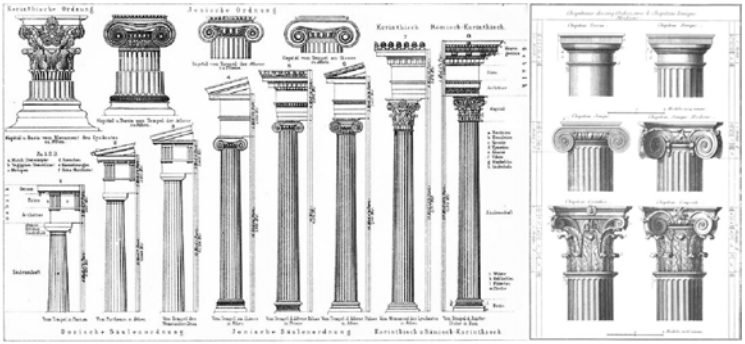

Figure VI Doric (1-3), Ionic (4-6), and Corinthian (7-8) columns in classical Greek order (left) and the five architectural column orders (right), showing Tuscan and Doric orders (top row), two versions of the Ionic order (center row), and the Corinthian and Composite orders (bottom row).

Las *Leyas* de las Indias, a collection of land ordinances for Spanish colonies, dictated that temples (churches) were to be placed separate from all other buildings and "ought to be seen from all sides so that it can be decorated better, thus acquiring more authority."[26] Originally built along the Tumagbok River, Santo Tomás of Miag-ao was relocated to protect against Moro raiders, with the town developing around it. Its two belltowers stand guard at uneven heights over the church and the town, with the taller west tower constructed before the east.[27] Paoay, too, is notable for its defensive structure. Large buttresses measuring roughly 5.5 ft (1.67 m) protrude from the side and back walls of the church, and the side walls each feature exterior stairways with differing slopes. Its front façade is represented as a single pediment divided by vertical lines rising to its finials, upheld by rectangular columns rather than the traditional rounded, engaged columns seen throughout Ilocos to add additional support.[28] Santa Maria, in defiance of Spanish land ordinances, stands overlooking the coast atop a hill, with two stairways for its western and eastern sides. Jesuits missionaries had a prominent place in Spanish military strategy, and after the founding of Manila, they began their tutelage of Filipino and Sangley workers in brick and stonework to construct defensive forts.[29] Naturally, workers blended their instructions with their own artistic flair.

Figure VII Miagao front façade and belltowers (left) and close-up of façade (right).

Figure VIII Paoay front façade and belltower (left) and façade (right).

Competing cultural influences. Despite the pressing dominance of Spanish colonization in the Philippines, interpretations of Filipino art and architecture cannot be simplified as dilutions of Hispanized creations. On June 24, 1571, conquistador Miguel López de Legazpi ordered the construction of the walled city of Intramuros, founding Spanish Manila on the ruins of an indigenous settlement. An influx of Chinese immigrants later known as Sangleys traveled to Manila along the Manila Galleon route, providing "skilled, agile, and cheap" labor in almost all trade and bringing with them a variety of merchandises. Sangley craftsmen were naturally involved in the reproduction of

Spanish imports, including artwork, wherein they impressed their own flair onto the pieces.[30] Principles of feng shui integrated themselves into the design of church architecture, lending to the synthesis various cultural influences. The San Agustin of Intramuros features guardian lions reminiscent of those used in the Forbidden City and throughout Chinese imperial architecture. The vaulted ceilings in the interior take on the Spanish-Mudéjar artesonado style leading down to the apse in stone construction, a stark deviation from the usual from the usual wood carvings, while combining it with trompe l'œil painting typically seen in European churches.[31] Santa María features a single belltower that stands detached from the church itself, its octagonal build reminiscent of a Chinese pagoda. Other motifs, such as stylized clouds, commonly represented in Chinese art can be seen along the raking cornices and the rear wall. [32]

Figure IX San Agustin front façade (left) and interior ceilings (right).

"Filipino"-specific contributions to the Spanish Baroque may be seen particularly in the decorative elements of church architecture. The front buttress of Santa María features a relief image of Our Lady of Assumption standing on a guava tree, a nod to the founding tale of the church. As the story goes, the statue of the Virgin Mary at the old church,

Figure X Santa María side walls and buttress, showing relief image of Our Lady of Assumption.

originally located at Bulala, repeatedly disappeared until the new church was built at its current location. Miagao's front façade (see Figure VII) exemplifies a "local understanding of the life of Christ" and is intricately decorated with native flora carved into red-orange limestone. St. Christopher stands in the center of the pediment, carrying Sto. Niño and leaning on a coconut palm and surrounded by papaya and guava trees. Below them, separated by various plants and banana leaves, St. Thomas of Villanueva stands in a small niche.[33]

The retablo serves as the pièce de resistance of Filipino Baroque in the church. In Latin America, the retablo is an altarpiece, though in New Spain retablos may also appear inside or adjacent to the home as part of a family's shrine. Across other parts of Europe, the "retable" is typically gargantuan and may occupy the whole nave. The Philippines fuses these elements, creating a structure that houses devotional artwork that often depicts a story. These retablos are often gilded and multi-tiered, built to "draw the eyes upward and evoke a sense of divine grandeur."[34] Typical decorative features include niches divided by columns (usually either coupled or garlanded), with open pediments and scroll-like cornices; spirals, finials, and curved motifs are overlaid on each other.[35] Among the UNESCO churches, San Agustin particularly is noted for its retablos. There are

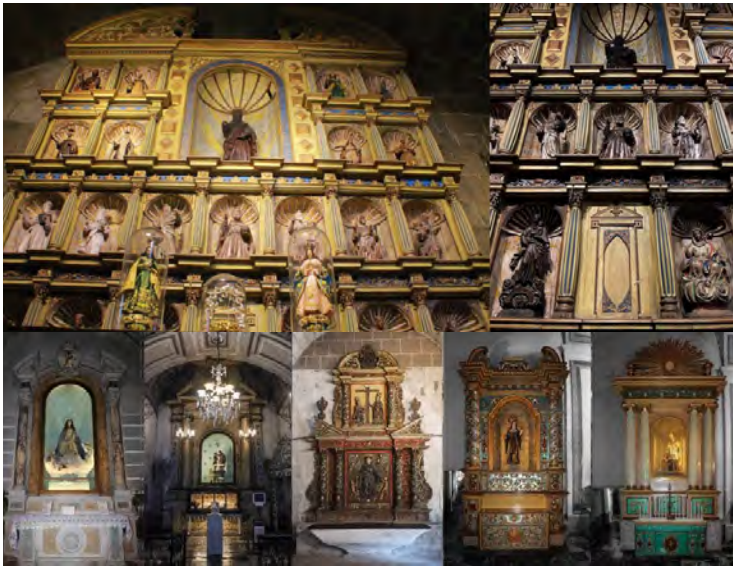

Figure XI Retablos from San Agustin. Top row: Retablo of Juan de los Santos, close-up (left) and details (right). Bottom row, left to right: Retablo de la Asunción de Maria, Retablo del Baptiserio, Retablo de Santa Mónica, and Retablo de Santo Tomás de Villanueva.

nineteen total surviving throughout the church and cloister, varying in their display and dedication. Some depict saints, some show aspects of the Virgin Mary, and others focus on scenes from Christ's life.[36] Overall, the retablo is solid and stationary, fulfilling the same purpose of stained-glass windows in an earthquake-prone location, exemplifying the Spanish colonial and evangelical mission in the Philippines.

Conclusion.

Despite a breadth of literature on Baroque in Spain and its territories in the New World, the discussion surrounding art and architecture in the Philippines during the early modern period remains largely unexplored. The role of art and form in the Filipino Catholic church cannot be overstated. These pieces are representative of Spanish colonization (both within the Philippines and throughout Latin America) and its ramifications across the Asia-Pacific. Filipino translations of Spanish artforms highlight a "learned" effect, which incorporates knowledge with a modification, as opposed to a "replication" effect. This broader definition of Baroque—which includes (1) the direct trace between Catholicism and the Reformation to Baroque and (2) the use of propaganda—enables a more comprehensive conversation surrounding the transmission of information and its implementation in colonization.

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ENDNOTES

1. Fastiggi, “The Contributions of the Council of Trent to the Catholic Reformation,” 3–5. Further reasons for a delineation between a Catholic Reformation and a Counter-Reformation include evidence of reform movements within the Catholic church prior to the publication of the Ninety-Five Theses. However, others point to this as the beginnings of the Protestant Reformation instead.

2. Denzinger, The Sources of Catholic Dogma, 273.

3. Waterworth, “Session the Twenty-Fifth,” 234–37.

4. “Propaganda Fide”; Brown, “The Propagation of Awe,” 383. Until 1982, the organization was known as Sacra Congregatio de Propaganda Fide, or Propaganda Fide. The organization eventually changed its name to the Congregation for the Evangelization of Peoples (Latin: Congregatio pro Gentium Evangelizatione) and eventually merged with Pontifical Council for Promoting the New Evangelization into the Dicastery for Evangelization.

5. Hassold, “The Baroque as a Basic Concept of Art,” 5.

6. Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America, 1:15.

7. Bilinkoff, “The Social Meaning of Religious Reform,” 340, 348.

8. Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America, 1:105–6.

9. Paglinawan, “The Philippines in Microcosm,” 76.

10. Briggs, Baroque Architecture, 28–29, 181–82. St. Ignatius of Loyola, the founder of the Jesuits, is both a Spanish and Reformation saint.

11. Alexander VI, Inter caetera: Division of the Undiscovered World Between Spain and Portugal.

12. Philip II, Laws of the Indies; Little, “Retablo,” 23.

13. de Comyn, Estado de las Islas Filipinas. Quoted in Cunningham, “The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines (1565-1850).”

14. Bourne, “The Philippine Islands, 1493-1803,” 57; Cunningham, “The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines (1565-1850),” 163; Robertson, “Catholicism in the Philippine Islands,” 379–80; de Tavera, “Census of the Philippine Islands,” 343–44.

15. Cunningham, “The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines (1565-1850),” 163; de Tavera, “Census of the Philippine Islands”; Schumacher, “The Early Filipino Clergy,” 11–12. Filipinos were largely barred from monastic education until the late 1600s, when the Colegio de San Juan de Letrán began admittance for indigenous Filipinos. This education was still limited in scope, with the first to wholly educate Filipinos for the priesthood being the Universidad de Santo Tomás.

16. de Tavera, “Census of the Philippine Islands,” 340–41.

17. Cunningham, “The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines (1565-1850),” 184–85; Robertson, “Catholicism in the Philippine Islands,” 377–78.

18. de Morga, Blair, and Robertson, “Report of Conditions in the Philippines”; Fajardo Chacón, Blair, and Robertson, “Letter from Fajardo to Felipe III.” Quoted in Cunningham, “The Ecclesiastical Influence in the Philippines (1565-1850).”

19. Bentley, “Indigenous States of Southeast Asia.” Quoted in Flores, “Philippine Painting (1521-1821) and the Politics of Colonial Visualities.” Constantino, Identity and Consciousness, 4; Ocay, “Domination and Resistance in the Philippines,” 13–14.

20. Perez, “Empire, Law, Religion and Native Agency,” 106–7; Robertson, “Catholicism in the Philippine Islands,” 376–78.

21. Sala-Boza, “The Sword and the Sto. Niño,” 248–50, 263–64. Rajah Humabon and his wife Hara Humamay are noted as Don Carlos Valderrama and Doña Juana after their baptism. It is unconfirmed if these names were truly utilized in their daily lives as local rulers (unlikely) or they only were referenced as such in Spanish records moving forward. Other interpretations for the fervor for Christ-child worship in Cebu and the Philippines may involve Sto. Niño de Praga or the Sto. Niño de Atocha.

22. Braünlein, “Image Transmissions as Image Acts,” 12–15. Multiple areas in the Philippines claim patronage for St. Teresa of Ávila, including Talisay City, Cebu; Malalag, Davao del Sur; and Carles, Iloilo.

23. San Agustin Church may be called Archdiocesan Shrine of Our Lady of Consolation and Cincture, the Church of Saint Augustine, and Immaculate Conception Parish. Paoay Church may be called Saint Augustine Parish Church or the San Agustin Church of Paoay; to reduce confusion, San

Agustin (or the Church of Saint Augustine) in this paper will refer only to the Immaculate Conception Parish. Santa María may be called Archdiocesan Shrine of Our Lady of the Assumption or Nuestra Señora. Miagao Church may refer to Santo Tomás de Villanueva Parish Church.

24. Loreto et al., "Façades of the Filipino-Spanish Churches of the Diocese of Maasin," 11.

25. Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America, 1:30–31; Legarda and Fernandez, "Colonial Churches of Ilocos," 130–35.

26. Philip II, Laws of the Indies.

27. Little, "Retablo," 69–70.

28. Legarda and Fernandez, "Colonial Churches of Ilocos," 145.

29. Lucca, "The Philippine Archipelago," 170, 173.

30. Chirino, "Relacion de Las Islas Filipinas"; Villamar, "Cultural Change in the Pacific During the Baroque Era." The Chinese were not the only "foreign" culture in the Philippines at the turn of the 17th century. Particularly on the island of Ilocos, Javanese, Indonesian, and Muslim influences from Southeast Asia may be seen.

31. For further reading on Spanish-Mudéjar artwork in the Philippines, see Ahlborn, "Spanish Churches of Central Luzon"; Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America.

32. Akpedonu and Saloma-Akpedonu, "Manila's 'Chinatown,'" 12–13; Legarda and Fernandez, "Colonial Churches of Ilocos," 138, 145, 149–50.

33. Legarda and Fernandez, "Colonial Churches of Ilocos," 437; Little, "Retablo," 70–71, 78–80, 110–11. Sources differ on whether this depiction of St. Christopher is localized or otherwise. Although dressed in native clothing, some argue that this is akin with the 18th century depictions.

34. Little, "Retablo," 28–29; Villena, "The Decorative Art in Filipino Catholic Church Architecture," 20.

35. Kelemen, Baroque and Rococo in Latin America, 1:42.

36. Guzman and Cham, "Letanía," 323.

A REVIEW OF COLD WAR HISTORICAL RESEARCH: THE END OF THE COLD WAR – A VICTORY FOR UNITED STATES, OR A PREMATURE COLLAPSE BY GORBACHEV?

by Joshua Teasley

Historical research on the ending of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union has shifted away from focusing almost exclusively on individuals like Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan, towards focusing on a broader context of the state of the Soviet Union and how individuals navigated and interacted with it. While it is claimed by some that Reagan won the Cold War, there is much historical research that refutes this claim. It is debated among historians who and what caused the Soviet Union to collapse as well as the Cold War to end. Some have suggested that despite popular belief, President George H.W. Bush, actually contributed the most from the United States towards the ending of the war. While it is debated how much the U.S. contributed to ending the war, it does not seem as hotly debated that Gorbachev contributed to a significant degree. While research published only a few years after the war only really focused on the individual big figures like Reagan, Bush, and Gorbachev, more recent work has focused on other factors like the declining Soviet economy. In addition, there has also been a shift away from focusing on the Soviet Union's collapse in terms of it being the defeat of Communism by democracy or Capitalism. It now is argued that the Soviet Union was bound to collapse and the war to end eventually. However, people like Bush and Gorbachev helped to ensure these events occurred sooner rather than later.

One of the first things to note is that historical research on the end of the Cold War often addresses a few different questions that are intertwined and related. One of the most important pair of intertwined questions are those regarding who ended or won the war, and who or what caused the Soviet Union to collapse. It oftentimes is the case that different authors have different responses to these questions, with some even seemingly separating them into independent events. For the purpose of this essay, questions on the causes of both the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union will be understood to be connected, despite differing opinions on how that connection functioned and influenced each event.

Frances FitzGerald approaches the end of the Cold War as being the result of a few different things. She does not credit Reagan with bringing about the Soviet collapse, nor does she blame Gorbachev entirely for the ultimate failure of the Soviet Union. While she does point to Gorbachev's failed policies such as Perestroika and Glasnost as contributing to a premature collapse, she ultimately asserts that the regime, at least in terms of the Soviet economy, was doomed to fail from its very conception. She writes "The economic decline, of course, resulted from the failures of a system created by Lenin and Stalin..."[1]. She argues that the collapse of the Soviet Union and end of the Cold War was inevitable, regardless of the policies of either Reagan or Gorbachev. In Reagan's case, it seems that he was merely in the right places at the right times, and thus has been given credit. FitzGerald, however, argues that Gorbachev's policies did cause the Soviet Union to collapse prematurely. She argues that while the Soviet economy had been in decline since the early seventies, Gorbachev's attempts to halt the economic decline and revitalize the country actually resulted in a collapse that otherwise would have occurred many years later. Essentially, Reagan never won the Cold War, but Gorbachev also did not lose the war. Rather, FitzGerald argues the Soviet Union was already on the path to failure and Gorbachev merely provided a catalyst for an early demise.

FitzGerald also addresses who she believes contributed

the most towards ending the Cold War, or at least, towards nuclear disarmament in Europe. She explains how Bush, as President, contributed more to the easing of the conflict than Reagan. As she puts it, "George Bush dealt in substance and achieved far more with Gorbachev than Reagan ever did,"[2]. She explains how Bush seemed to maintain a close and friendly relationship with Gorbachev, similar to that of Reagan. Additionally, Bush's presidency saw the reunification of Germany, aided by his promise that the United States would not take advantage of the collapse of the Berlin Wall and withdrawal of Soviet troops from various European countries. Additionally, FitzGerald points out that Bush was able to persuade Gorbachev to sign the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START), which was the first between the two nations to be signed and ratified since 1972.[3] Despite these accomplishments of Bush, FitzGerald argues that Reagan, rather than Bush, received credit for improving the conflict for a few reasons. One of the main reasons was the Bush Administration's "pause" in policies towards the Soviet Union. She mentions that many officials claimed that Bush took far too long to make any decision relating to the Soviets. Bush was seen as indecisive and slow, at times even hindering the progress with Gorbachev. Reagan, by contrast, was seen as decisive, hardline, and able to easily work with Gorbachev. FitzGerald also points out that following the collapse of the Soviet Union, many Republicans began to credit Reagan rather than Bush. She claims that despite critiquing Reagan's policies and relationship with Gorbachev during his presidency, they shifted towards arguing Reagan made the greatest contribution to U.S. and Soviet relations. Regardless of popular opinion, FitzGerald argues that overall, Reagan's contribution was of little significance, especially compared to that of Gorbachev or Bush.

In a similar manner, Vladislav Zubok argues that the greatest contribution towards ending the Cold War and bringing down the Soviet Union came from Gorbachev. He argues that Gorbachev's own personality led him to make decisions that while in good faith, weakened a system that was inherently flawed. He argues that Gorbachev was naïve in that he envisioned his reforms only by their outcome without actually considering how difficult they would be to implement. Essentially, Zubok argues that Gorbachev was overly optimistic in his pursuit of economic and political reforms. Gorbachev dealt in idealistic theories and potential outcomes, rather than practical politics and methods. As Zubok argues, Gorbachev never demonstrated the ability to make decisions based on a long-term timeline. He focused on the ideals of what the Soviet Union could become but disregarded the difficulty of what would require a near total upending of regime and party power. Additionally, Zubok argues that one of the ultimate flaws of Gorbachev's decision-making was his inability to separate his goal of ending the Cold War and reforming the Soviet Union. One of his own personal political beliefs, which he applied to foreign policy, was the avoidance of using force or violence at all costs. However, as Zubok argues, when internal conflict from nationalist forces "...began to break the country apart,"[4] Gorbachev refused to use to suppress them. In doing this, Gorbachev essentially released his control and power over the country, simply for the purpose of refusing to use any kind of force. Regarding Gorbachev's refusal to stop the nationalist forces, Zubok writes, "Remarkably, Gorbachev thus renounced the authority to maintain order, a cornerstone of state sovereignty and the duty of the state leader."[5]. Still, Zubok cites Gorbachev's apparent two-sided nature towards both the West and his own country being crucial to his failure. As he says, Gorbachev's idealism, tolerance of other opinions, and optimism made him popular with the West, but made him extremely unpopular in the Soviet Union. Ultimately, when protests within the Soviet Union began to occur, and as satellite states began to break away and declare independence, Gorbachev's own policies had weakened both state and his own power. Zubok argues that even if Gorbachev had decided to use

force, he still likely would not have been able to hold the Soviet Union together. Zubok concludes that Gorbachev caused the rapid disintegration of the Soviet Union. He argues that his policies stripped the state of any real power and resulted in destabilization and the loss of an ability to function coherently. However, Zubok does seem to consider Gorbachev, Bush, and Reagan as being, in a sense, partners in the ending of the Cold War. Regardless, he does argue that the person who most influenced the end of the war was indeed Gorbachev.

A slightly different approach is that of James Wilson. While he does argue that Gorbachev played a significant role in ending the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union, he also asserts that the Bush administration played an equally significant role. He argues that despite criticism, the Bush administration often reacted skillfully to the rapidly changing landscape of the last few years of the Cold War. He points out how Bush was able to compromise and work with Gorbachev following the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait by Saddam Hussein. When the U.S. responded, Gorbachev initially objected to the use of any force to solve the conflict. Additionally, Gorbachev was concerned that the U.S. responded to Hussein with force before consulting or informing the Soviet Union. He even claims that while Bush dealt with Iraq, he was still working to help promote Gorbachev's economic reforms.

Wilson also cites the Soviet economy as playing a significant role in the country's collapse. He points out that despite Gorbachev's economic reform plans, the Soviet economy was not equipped to be modernized. Although efforts were made by the Bush administration and American businessmen, the Soviet economy could not be modernized and reformed in the way Gorbachev envisioned. Wilson even cites multiple occasions when Gorbachev asked Secretary of State James Baker if the Soviet Union could receive a loan from the United States to help stabilize the economy, portraying Gorbachev as almost begging and pleading for assistance. However, Wilson does not blame the United States entirely, instead claiming that the unstable Soviet economy simply could not be reformed and fixed in the way that Gorbachev desired. Overall, Wilson argues that the poor economic condition of the Soviet Union had the greatest influence on its collapse. However, he seems to argue that the Cold War had ended before the collapse of the Soviet Union. He believes that Bush's improvisation in new conflicts and ability to work with Gorbachev in the Middle East marked the end of the Cold War. One thing to note is that Wilson is highly critical of claims that Reagan's strategies and rhetoric aided in ending the war. He argues that Reagan played little if any role in actually ending the conflict. As he puts it, "Yes, Reagan stood in Berlin…and proclaimed: 'Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!' But Gorbachev never gave an order to tear down the Berlin Wall. Demolition occurred by accident."[6] He is clear that he does not believe Reagan ended the war and really did much of anything substantial. When it came to the ending of the war, the two most important people were Bush and Gorbachev. As for the collapse of the Soviet Union, Wilson believes it was simply the condition of the country, combined with some of the failed policies of Gorbachev that led to demise of the Soviet experiment.

Another different yet somewhat similar argument is that of Robert Hutchings. He argues that the end of the Cold War was brought on by American policies that essentially forced the end of the war while still maintaining relatively positive relations. He mentions that the United States helped support the democratization of Communist Poland. He explains that the policies of the Bush administration saw the reshaping of the Polish economy into a more western style economy. He also argues that the United States helped to promote democratic change across Eastern Europe while also reducing arms in the region. The idea was to demonstrate to the Soviet Union that there was a sense of reciprocation in relation to arms reduction. Overall, he believes that the United States played the most significant role in ending the conflict. He talks little of the collapse of the Soviet Union,

but he does mention the spread of democracy throughout Europe. While he discusses arms reduction at length, he frames the Cold War in terms of an ideological struggle between democracy and Communism. Hutchings points to the policies of Bush as being the most crucial to deescalating the conflict.

Raymond Garthoff also frames the Cold War as an ideological, yet geopolitical struggle. He claims that it stemmed from a belief from both sides about an imminent ideological threat from the opposing side. He argues that the role of the United States in ending the war was of little significance. He claims that the only way the war could have ended was through a Soviet leader. He also claims that the United States did not "win" the war because of Reagan's military policies, but rather, "'victory' for the West came when a new generation of Soviet leaders realized how badly their system at home and their policies abroad had failed."[7] Garthoff argues that Gorbachev demonstrated a shift away from fear of western threat, which represented a shift towards the end of the war as early as 1986. He also claims that unlike former Soviet leaders, Gorbachev recognized that the war could not end on the grounds of military or any form of deterrence. Gorbachev, in his opinion, was the one who cleared a path towards ending the war. He also claims that the role of the United States in ending the war, while necessary, was not the main influence. He even points out that despite revisionist narratives that the United States was the ideological victor, it often behaved in ways similar to the Soviet Union, in ways that only worsened the war. Essentially, he argues that not only did the United States not win the war, but it often worsened the tension and conflict. The United States only "won" the Cold War because the Soviet Union began a kind of ideological shift or reform, with the greatest contribution coming from Gorbachev.

A common theme in all but one of the authors' works analyzed here is the significant role played by Gorbachev. Excluding Hutchings, the authors all claim that Gorbachev's policies were central to both the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, FitzGerald and Zubok both contend that Gorbachev, at the very least, sped up the collapse of the Soviet Union. While FitzGerald attributes the collapse to Gorbachev's economic policies, Zubok attributes it to his inability to deal with actual long-term policies. The authors also often do not paint Gorbachev as being a skilled leader. Even Garthoff, who, while not portraying Gorbachev as being a kind of Soviet savior, but as the first to recognize the need for change, still credits his policies as leading to the Soviet Union's collapse. Despite Hutchings, the common consensus seems to be that regardless of the specifics, Gorbachev was one of the more important figures in at least the collapse of the Soviet Union. However, it does seem that most of the authors agree that Gorbachev also played a significant role in ending the Cold War conflict.

Additionally, FitzGerald, Zubok, Wilson, and Hutchings all seem to agree that Bush played a significant role in ending the conflict. Unlike their opinions on Gorbachev, the authors all contend that Bush's policies helped to slow and finally end the war. They all agree that while Bush might have had a delayed or paused start, he significantly improved U.S. and Soviet relations. They also contend that Bush contributed more towards ending the war than Reagan. While they might disagree or focus on different aspects of the relationship and interactions of Bush and Gorbachev, the three authors all seem to agree that Bush played a more significant role than he is given credit for.

One interesting element of the five authors' works to note is how little credit they give Reagan. While, for example, Zubok claims that Gorbachev, Reagan, and Bush all held similar roles, none of the authors credit Reagan with making substantial or at least, a substantially greater contribution compared to any other person or factor. The authors agree that Reagan was not as important in terms of ending the war as he is often given credit for by his proponents. He

did not win the war, but even if he did, it was only because he happened to be President at the time, regardless of his policies. If anyone won the war, it would have been Bush, although still, all five authors excluding Hutchings suggest that rather than there being a victor, there really was just an end.

It is interesting how the arguments and focuses of the authors seem to have shifted with time. The publishing date of each of the authors, in order, is Garthoff (1992), Hutchings (1999), FitzGerald (2000), Zubok (2007), and Wilson (2014). There is a noticeable shift in what the authors attribute to the end of the war and collapse of the Soviet Union. For example, the two oldest works, written by Garthoff and Hutchings respectively, focus on the specific actions and policies of the United States and Soviet Union, as well as their leaders. However, in more recent research like Wilson's, there is a greater focus on the actual condition of the Soviet economy. There seems to have been a shift away from understanding the Cold War in terms of individual people and their specific actions, focusing on background influences. The more recent literature demonstrates a focus on internal issues with the Soviet Union, but not necessarily on the failures of a Communist system. While the system itself might be critiqued, the more recent authors focus more on how the individuals acted and reacted to a changing system and landscape. It is also interesting how the more recent authors give credit to Bush. An obvious issue with earlier research is how recently the Cold War occurred and concluded. This is not to say that the earlier research is inherently flawed or without any kind of contribution to Cold War studies. However, the more recent research provides a broader analysis of the event. It seems that the newer research is of greater value because of its shift away from focusing on the Cold War as being driven by one or a few individuals. This research focuses on a larger variety of factors and elements of the war, that all influenced how it occurred and ended.

Recent Cold War research has focused on understanding the end of the war, as well as the collapse of the Soviet Union in a broader context of both the important individuals and conditions in the Soviet Union at the time. Initial research focused primarily on figures like Reagan, Bush and Gorbachev, with only a little attention directed towards the actual condition of the country at the time. Rather than arguing that the two events were driven and motivated almost solely by individuals, recent writing instead tries to understand the Soviet collapse and end of the Cold War in terms of how many different factors, important individuals included, all had a certain degree of influence. Most research seems to contend that Bush, rather than Reagan, had the greatest impact in terms of influence from the United States. However, it seems that Gorbachev is considered to have been equally, if not more influential than anyone in the United States. It also now seems to be understood that it was not Gorbachev alone, or even Gorbachev and a United States' president that brought down the Soviet Union and ended the war. Now it is argued that the Soviet Union was already likely to fall, and its actors, especially Gorbachev, only sped up the process.

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ENDNOTES

1. Frances FitzGerald, Way Out There in the Blue (New York, N.Y.: Simon & Schuster, 2000), 475.

2. FitzGerald, Way Out There in the Blue, 473

3. FitzGerald, Way Out There in the Blue, 473

4. Vladislav Zubok, Failed Empire: The Soviet Union in the Cold War from Stalin to Gorbachev (The University of North Carolina Press, 2007), 319.

5. Zubok, Failed Empire, 319.

6. James Wilson, The Triumph of Improvisation: Gorbachev's Adaptability, Reagan's Engagement, and the End of the Cold War (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2014), 198.

7. Raymond Garthoff, "Why Did the Cold War Arise, and Why Did It End?" (Diplomatic History 16, No. 2, 1992) 288.

CLINTON AND CHINA: THREAT OR OPPORTUNITY?

by Tyler Hargrave

Background: Sino-U.S. Relations from 1899-1979

Should China be considered a threat or a place of opportunity for the United States in a post-Cold War world? This question comes from a Forum conducted in 2005 by the *Review of International Studies* led by political scientist William A. Callahan who was trying to understand "the meaning of this newly emerging power... [and] to examine the impact of a 'rising China' on the international society."[1] The origin of the question can be traced back to the beginning of the 20th Century. The two countries had been close with one another and the U.S. being perhaps China's most important ally in a Pacific region dominated by imperial powers like Great Britain and Japan who had earlier in the 19th Century carved up "spheres of influences" along China's coastline and even into the mainland itself. Not wanting to be left out of this chance to compete for economic dominance in the Pacific, the U.S. put forth the "Open Door Policy" established in 1899 which forced China to accept free trade with all nations, eliminating any need to compete for territorial control in China by foreign powers. Although this hurt China who now no longer can control its own foreign affairs, it did provide economic opportunities for the U.S. in the vast foreign market that was China, home to millions of people and goods that could be bought and sold back in the States, while also providing some protection for the well-being of the Chinese state itself by the U.S.

At the turn of the century, the relationship between the two nations was looked at favorably by both parties because the U.S. now had an economic interest in keeping China from being divided up amongst the European powers and Japan. By 1911 China had embraced democracy becoming the first East Asian nation to do so giving the U.S. a political ally in the region on the eve of WWI. However, this somewhat mutually beneficial relationship took a hit when the U.S., specifically President Woodrow Wilson, failed to live up to the promises made to the country. During WWI at the Versailles Peace Conference (1919-1920), the U.S. chose to give land and more political power to China's rival in the region Japan, a growing industrial and powerful nation in the Pacific. This would upset many in China's government which had been divided by nationalists and monarchial loyalists in the South and North of the country by the end of the war. The split would eventually take shape to divide the country in the late 1920s and 1930s causing the Chinese Civil War to break out. The U.S. decided to back the more industrialized Nationalist, aka the Guomindang Democratic Party (GMD), over the agrarian Chinese Communist Party (CCP) as the U.S. saw Communism as an international threat after the successful Russian Revolution of 1917.

Eventually, the CCP, under the leadership of Mao Zedong. would win this struggle in 1950 after taking a pause in their fight with the GMD to work together to defeat the Japanese invasion in the 1940s during WWII. In this post-WWII China, the CCP were in control of all economic output after kicking out all outside influences. The U.S. now found itself dealing with a China that would not continue to foster the friendly relationship it once had and would in fact react with force against its former ally. This came as a result of the U.S. and United Nation forces pushing their fight past the 38th parallel that divided Soviet backed North Korea from the American back South Korea during the Korean War. The combined U.S. and U.N. forces, now on China's backdoor steps, caused the nation to enact a preemptive self-defense move by sending hundreds of thousands of its own military into Korea pushing the American and U.N. forces back across the 38th parallel.

It was at this moment in the aftermath of the Korean War that formal relations between the two countries was severed completely and would stay that way for about 20 years until in the early 1970s when President Richard Nixon and his National Secretary Advisor/Secretary of State Henry Kissinger would begin to ease tensions by opening up normal communications between the two nations via their *détente* policy. By the end of the decade in 1979, President Jimmy Carter set aside his differences with China's human rights issues and political disagreements to restore and normalize diplomatic relations between the two countries under China's new leader Deng Xiaoping.[2] After seeing how China switched from being a land of economic opportunity in the first half of the 20th Century to a political threat to the U.S. in the region of East Asia by the 1950s, the question remained whether or not China would in the 1980s and 1990s be a place the United States could do business with or one that it would need to keep an eye on as a potential threat to U.S. interests. Though his predecessors Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush had little to say on this matter in the 1980s and early 1990s (exception being the Tiananmen Square Massacre), the response to this question by President Bill Clinton (1993-2001) has been heavily criticized by many historians, political scientists, and journalists who view his soft stance towards China as contributing to their recent rise as both a political and economic rival to the United States not just in East Asia but globally as well.

Clinton: China Human Rights Issues and Most-Favored Nation Status

During the 1980s, China began to transition parts of its economy slowly to a more liberal market economy. Disguising its state-owned enterprises (SOEs) as privately owned businesses, however, the state kept firm control over the political affairs of the country. At the same time, Taiwan (a former Chinese owned island) switched from a dictatorship to a democracy, and the formerly British-owned Chinese city of Hong Kong had been negotiated for its return during this time as well. With China opening up more to the world during the 1980s through business and cultural exchanges along with the previous examples of areas around mainland China either importing or embracing democracy, it makes sense that citizens of China (specifically, students who grew up during the disastrous Cultural Revolutions under Mao in the 1970s) would now use the same tools of organizing a youth movement to call not for a Communist revolution but the democratization of the state.[3]

While Eastern Europe was going through the process of shedding itself from the cloak of Soviet and Communist rule during the revolutionary year of 1989, the CCP leadership was violently squashing the democratic protests in Tiananmen Square. This crackdown revealed to the world that although China had transformed itself economically in the 1980s it was still stuck in its authoritarian past politically as a country. As a result of this violence, possibly hundreds of students were killed demonstrating in Beijing and across the nation – though no accurate number can be estimated as the Chinese government refuses to this day to recognize its own violent actions against these demonstrators – and even more protesters were rounded up and imprisoned leading to outrage and condemnation from the Western world including then President George H.W. Bush. In the book *A Fabulous* Failure, historians Nelson Lichtenstein and Judith Stein argue that, though multiple presidents from Carter to Clinton tried to be strong on China's human rights issues, "The China Price" for doing business with this large country is having to turn the other way when they do undemocratic things in order to maintain the best economic and security measures possible.[4] The discussion on China in their book highlights how the U.S. dealt with country during the 1990s under the Clinton Administration and how President Bill

Clinton capitulated to the East Asian giant despite its history of human rights abuses.

Lichtenstein and Stein argue that, despite running on holding China accountable for its human rights violations in the 1992 Presidential Election and condemning his opponent President George H.W. Bush., Clinton like his predecessors ended up not just bending to China's needs but giving them exactly what they wanted, a seat at the top of the global economic table. Speaking at the Democratic Convention, Clinton said he would "withdraw all trading privileges from China as 'long as they're locking people up'... [because unlike his opponent he would not be] 'coddling aging rulers with undisguised contempt for democracy, for human rights' [in a post-Cold War era]."[5] Though Clinton came off as being tough on China for their human rights issues and anti-democratic practices, he could not avoid even what his Republican predecessor tried which was separating holding China accountable while keeping normalized economic relations with the country. The Democrats, led by Nancy Pelosi, attempted to create a linkage between China's human rights issues to their Most-Favored Nation (MFN) status during the Bush Administration after the Tiananmen Square Massacre. When they tried again with a Democrat in the White House, the measure failed again because of Clinton being a Neo-Liberal Democrat who, according to most historians during and immediately after his presidency, was focused primarily on domestic issues dealing with the economy which influenced his foreign policy decision making.[6]

Though *A Fabulous Failure* is harsh in condemning Clinton and his administration for ultimately "delinking" human rights from trade negotiations, others like Jeffrey A. Brader, a former U.S. Ambassador and National Security Council member under the Obama Administration, believed he took a realistic approach with China. By "arguing to the Chinese that positive steps [in human rights] would both help China and strengthen the necessary political support for improved relations between the US and China," Bader believes Clinton's evolution during his presidency allowed him to understand the unique transition period China was going through and wanted to include them into the "neoliberal globalization" process that was taking off in the 1990s.[7] However, as Lichtenstein and Stein point out, the hands-off approach with China's human rights with regards to human labor would eventually cause the U.S. to fall behind China in production and output affecting the U.S. economy:

> Chinese purchases of US bonds kept American interest rates low and the value of its own currency high, which in turn made Chinese exports cheap, perpetuating a trade surplus that was undercutting the competitive capacity of US industry. Powerful forces, both political and economic, were therefore at work negating the capacity of Clinton's program of trade and engagement to democratize Chinese society.[8]

This was all part of China's plan. According to Lichtenstein and Stein, the Chinese played on this idea that the U.S. needed China more than it needed them meaning that they could refuse to follow the human rights conditions of the Most-Favored Nation status put forth by Clinton – which they did – and still conduct business with the American people. In summarizing this back and forth that the Clinton Administration was engaged in over the issue of human rights and the economic situation with China, the authors put it perfectly when they say that China "gambled on repression and won."[9]

Clinton: China vs. Taiwan and Japan

If China was not going to cooperate through economic pressures to change its stance on human rights, what hope would the Clinton Administration have in deterring the Asian

giant from using its military might to get its way in East Asia and beyond? This fear of China becoming a military powerhouse in Asia after the Korean War was extended to the island of Taiwan and its capital Taipei which was officially established by the Nationalist leader Chiang Kai-shek after their defeat by the Communists in 1949-50. The West, specifically the U.S., refused to recognize CCP controlled China as the legitimate government of the state, instead, recognizing Taipei's government as the rightful leaders of the country even though they had been kicked out by revolutionary forces. After the U.S. normalized diplomatic relations with mainland China and officially recognized the CCP as the legitimate government of the state in the 1970s, the agreed upon expectation of Taiwan's autocratic rule by both the U.S. and China was that the island state would cease to exist and would be reincorporated into the territory of China under the control of the CCP.

This assumption about the fate of Taiwan was something historian Arthur Waldron discusses in his article "The Rise of China: Military and Political Implications" as part of the *Review of International Studies* piece that William A. Callahan had organized to address the question of what to make of a rising China in the early 2000s. In the article Waldron stated:

> In the case of Taiwan, the script was that the island's government, then an autocracy run mostly by the people who fled there from China, would not be able to survive the blow of American withdrawal of diplomatic recognition and military support. Its government would reach over the heads of its disenfranchised people and make a deal with Beijing, by which Taiwan would become part of the People's Republic of China...The United States and China agreed that this was going to happen. The government in Taipei would grasp the situation and settle peacefully.[10]

He goes on to discuss how both the U.S. and China were so confident in this playing out how they envisioned that the U.S. "stipulated that whatever happened must be peaceful and the Chinese government almost declared it would not use force to retake control of the island."[11] Taiwan, however, chose instead to not follow this script and changed its government during the 1980s embracing democratization, political freedoms, and presidential elections to create a democratic state.[12] Falling in the shadows of the rising tension between China and the West as a result of the Tiananmen Square Massacre in 1989, this beacon of democracy that had been established by the time Clinton became president in 1993 was now worth investing economic, political, and military resources into by the United States. Waldron correctly points out that Beijing felt it had been "betrayed when the US failed to deliver them Taiwan" causing the Chinese state to ramp up building "an increasingly credible force both to subdue Taiwan and to keep the United States from coming to its aid."[13] He contends it was thus inevitable that the U.S. would guarantee Taiwan's future be "peaceful" and that the Clinton Administration had "no choice...but to begin to understand that as China felt herself stronger and stronger, she might underestimate the risk of an attack on Taiwan and undertake an operation that could draw the United States into war."[14]

The result of Waldron's observation can be seen in how the U.S. under Clinton resorted to boosting up Taiwan's defenses and sending in its own military to defend the small island when in 1996 China threatened the state. This move came during a time when economic and political tensions between Japan and the United States were rising and ended up bringing the two nations closer together as allies. Writing on this relationship between Japan and the U.S. during the Clinton Administration, political scientists Takashi Kanatsu discusses this incident:

> In 1996, the United States dispatched two aircraft career battle groups to the Taiwan Straight [an unprecedented move today where we see maybe one carrier group responding to a specific event around the world] responding to the provocative military exercise conducted by the Chinese People's Liberation Army...[whose] aim was to intimidate the Taiwanese people not to vote for pro-independent Lee Teng-hui. One of the aircraft battle groups was stationed in the US naval base located in Japan. This event set up an image that if Taiwan became a battleground between China and the United States, Japan would play a major supporting role.[15]

This form of harassment and near forceful interference with Taiwan's democratic elections was promptly responded by President Clinton demonstrating the type of response the U.S. would give towards China going forward. Kanatsu goes on to discuss how this response by the Clinton Administration would end up strengthening a military alliance between the U.S. and Japan, however, he argues that the Clinton Administration still viewed China as a more important nation to deal with politically and economically over Japan. He states that by his second term "Clinton's views on China and its leaders became much more sympathetic than before... [and that though] there was a period when both governments faced a major confrontation – like the Taiwan crisis in 1996 and the accidental bombing in Belgrade [of the Chinese embassy] in May 2000 – the overall relations between these two countries progressed significantly during the Clinton presidency."[16]

So, although the U.S. was being threatened militarily by China in the 1990s, based on Kanatsu's understanding of events, the Clinton Administrations dealings with the country reflected more of a "realpolitik" handling of this rising power in East Asia and not one of an adversarial approach. This idea would be articulated at the end of the Clinton's presidency when he would put forth his argument for giving China membership into the World Trade Organization (WTO) pulling it firmly out of its mercantilist economy into the globalized network of nations. However, the question now was could Clinton convince the world at the end of this long century that China would be able to conduct themselves using fair trade practices that all member nations had to obey, or would they simply choose to ignore them and force the rest of the world to capitulate?

Clinton: China WTO Membership

Since Clinton failed in the beginning of the 1990s to hold China accountable for its human rights violations through a conditional MFN status, the opening up of China to Foreign Direct Investment into U.S. businesses by 1994 caused these businesses to start outright lobbying the President and Congress for "an unconditional renewal of China's MFN status" that would be continued beyond 1994.[17] With such pressure from domestic manufacturers and businesses, Clinton would continue, according to Lichtenstein and Stein, to do China's bidding when it came to helping it transition from a planned economy to a market economy creating an immediate entanglement between both nation's economies. At the end of his term in office, Clinton committed himself to arguably his most controversial decision regarding Sino-U.S. relations. His push for and support of China's admission into the WTO from 2000-2001 would impact the world economy to this day.

Clinton's main idea behind bringing China into the fold of other globalized nations despite their track history with human rights and economic violations, as mentioned in *A Fabulous Failure,* was that he believed their membership into the WTO would trigger a liberalization of political movements

as China would be continuously exposed to the liberalized global market. One of the arguments of the day pointed out in Lichtenstein and Stein's chapter on China comes from the "*New York Times* columnist Thomas Friedman, whose best-selling *Lexus and the Olive Tree* encapsulated the most extravagant claims of Clintonite trade policy."[18] Friedman correctly sums up how Clinton viewed the China situation arguing that "capitalist marketplaces – and in particular the stock market, banking, and the investment protocols mandated by the WTO and other trade agreements – required accurate and unrestricted financial information to function."[19] This argument of Friedman's that Lichtenstein and Stein discuss here accurately represents Clinton's belief that by allowing China to experience what it means to be included in the free market of globalism other liberal ideas would filter into the country itself.

Before becoming full members into the WTO, China would need trade agreements with other countries, primarily the nations of Europe and the U.S. With the U.S. being the dominate economic power in the 1990s, achieving a long-term trade agreement with the U.S. was one of China's main goals in its desire to join the WTO. A permanent normal trade relations agreement (PNTR) would replace the continually changing MFN status agreements that were being updated every year by Congress. By securing this long-term agreement with the U.S., the "Chinese would use the PNTR template to reach similar trade deals with the Europeans and other major players, a prerequisite to formal admission to the WTO."[20] This would allow China to achieve a decade long goal of "guarantee[ing] that their trading and financial relationship to the rest of the world would no longer be disturbed by the ebb and flow of domestic politics in the United States or the European Union."[21] In the pursuit of this agreement, the PNTR would "deprive Congress of its warrant to debate each year the degree to which China met American human rights or fair trade standards. Such issues would be handled by the WTO... thus the United States would forsake its oft-invoked right to retaliate unilaterally against unfair Chinese trading practices...[and] in the future, disgruntled Americans would have to seek redress from the WTO."[22] What Lichtenstein and Stein demonstrate here is that once Clinton and the U.S. decided to allow China's membership into the WTO it effectively surrendered its right to hold them accountable for any unfair trade practices it conducted against the U.S. and its businesses.

Though Lichtenstein and Stein were critical of Clinton's push and eventual achievement in getting China into the WTO, Bader disagrees citing this moment in the last two years of Clinton's presidency as "one major accomplishment."[23] With the PNTR agreement and China's WTO admission secured, he states that "this opened wide Chinese markets to American manufacturers and farmers... [and that] President Clinton put together a strong centrist congressional coalition that back the bilateral trade agreement."[24] This agreement, Bader goes on to explain, would hold China accountable because it would be "subjecting it[self] to the global rules-based trading system and making China the fastest growing US export market by orders of magnitude for years to come."[25] His praise for Clinton's handling of China continues:

> Clinton repaired the relationship from the mortal blow of Tiananmen, helping shape a new consensus to treat China not as an enemy or a crumbling empire but as a normal, major country with whom the US had significant interests in a constructive relationship... [this] marked slowdown in the blistering public commentary about China...made it vastly easier for Clinton's successor to conduct normal relations with China without fear of coming under the kind of attacks that President Clinton had to endure.[26]

Even though the United States would no longer be able to control exactly how China conducted its trade practices, Bader believes that the long term economic opportunity impacts are worth it and that "there is no reason to believe that more positive results could have been achieved by a different approach than President Clinton followed in his last six years in office after abandoning the experiment with conditional MFN."[27]

Conclusion

As these various historians and political scientists have pointed out, Clinton and his administration's stance on China during the 1990s was met with both condemnation and praise for its handling of the "Rise of China" at the end of the 20th Century. With regards to the question of whether China posed a threat to the United States or provided an economic opportunity, the latter seems to hold merit based on the overwhelming fact that U.S. businesses, just like in 1899-1900, were begging to get into the Chinese markets (both labor and commercial) and were willing to invest heavily to do so. Couple this with the fact that Clinton's primary domestic focus was the U.S. economy, he was able to make the "realpolitik" decision to put the American consumer and business owner first, something that was a neoliberal concept of the New Democrats of the 1990s, while putting the traditional Democratic values of global human rights aside.

Though the military threat over Taiwan is something that the United States still struggles with today, the response by Clinton was something that his predecessor and successor would have done as well, and it set a precedent for how the U.S. would respond to China's miliary threats to this day. The longer-term impacts of Clinton's legitimizing China as a major world economic power through its membership in the WTO, however, could be used to potentially highlight the origin of China's economic dominance over the U.S. The actual threat that China posed to the U.S. after joining the WTO and entangled itself with the U.S. economy to the point where economists in the early 2000s worried that China's economy might rise and fall with the U.S. is something that has not panned out as predicted.[28] Though some might have predicted that China would one day come to be the powerful economic and military giant it is today, for Clinton in the 1990s China was a place of economic opportunity for the U.S. A place that was slowly rising out of the depths of its planned economic identity that it had been under for the previous half century, and lastly, a place hoping to use this open mindedness towards market economics as a means to promote liberal human rights initiatives.

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PROSTITUTION, AMERICAN MILITARISM, AND FOREIGN POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES

by Gabrielle Capellan Gaspar

Sex and the Military

The relationship between the military and sexual abuse exists due to the selective "problemization" of military prostitution, which itself is highly dependent on the politics between the countries at hand. The militarization of sexual violence is created through adverse responses to reports of sexual violence, where the promotion of military intervention as a reaction to assault and the "denying, [rationalization], or defense of sexual violence as a part of military culture" makes rape immune to "civilian regulation" and left solely under the jurisdiction of martial and international law.[1] On a larger scale, rape—as a consequence of militarism and as a weapon of war—is political aggression and is typically utilized for or results from one of the following: "a weapon of war, a reward for troops, the breakdown in social constraints, the consequence of a 'root cause' of masculinity, or the expression of frustration-aggression and male trauma." In this context, rape and sexual violence are used as a method of "initiation" for soldiers, creating a "brotherhood of guilt" amongst them.[2]

The crime of rape is unique in that it stigmatizes the victim as well as the perpetrator, oftentimes affecting the former more than the latter. These effects can vary greatly depending on the legal and cultural systems within individual countries or regions. Starting in the 1970s, Western countries began to include broader meanings of forced penetration for the prosecution of rape. Traditionally, definitions of rape explicitly listed only penile-vaginal penetration. Subsequent expansions included forced anal and oral penetration and forced vaginal penetration by objects other than the penis. In 1994, some areas in the United States began to include sexual assault and sexual battery, and by 2012, the FBI updated the formal definition of rape to include "sexual assault without consent of the victim."[3]

In the Philippines, unmarried women who engage in sexual activities—whether paid or unpaid, forced or otherwise—are the sole bearers of all consequences, regardless of the circumstances. Culturally, violence against women is excused through a hierarchical superiority of men over women, with men comprising 98.92% of the perpetrators of violence against women. Further cultural explanations for the dual crime of kidnapping and rape include the concept of bride capturing, or the abduction and rape of a woman to consummate a marriage.[4]

Women are disproportionately affected by rape; furthermore, prostitutes are disproportionately more vulnerable to rape than the average woman. The idea that prostitutes are "commonly available" for the alleviation of sexual desire engenders the idea that they are, by profession, in a constant state of consent and therefore unable to be raped. This form of discrimination extends to every level—from societal to legislative. In the Philippines' penal code, prostitution—described as a "[woman] who, for money or profit, habitually indulges in sexual intercourse in lascivious conduct"—is criminalized specifically for women.[5] Despite both *de jure* and *de facto* discrimination towards prostitutes, the attitudes of local businessmen and officials in countries occupied by the United States (e.g., South Korea, Japan, and the Philippines) remains largely consistent. Brothels (and the prostitutes who worked in them) were required to protect "decent and respectable women," with the former sacrificing their honor to preserve the latter.[6] Government and military officials, particularly in South Korea and Japan, were known to "regularly patrol" base towns and their surrounding areas on behalf of bar owners to ensure that there was a steady

flow of women available to participate in "entertainment activities" without protest. This view of prostitutes in contrast with honorable women is simply an extension of the Madonna-whore dichotomy, or the view that women exist solely in two states: licentiousness or piety. Furthermore, the history of the Philippines itself has not remained untainted by sexual violence. Throughout its history as a colonial entity (of Spain, 15651898; of the United States, 1898-1946; of Japan, 1942-1945), Filipina women have faced sexual abuse at the hands of colonial occupiers.[7]

Militarization and rape can be connected through similar ideologies: domination and conquering, either of land or of bodies. Hypotheses attempting to prove causation can be broadly separated into three groups: *essentialists*, who view all women as victims to a larger masculine military system; *structuralists*, who state that only some women are threatened in this system and that rape is a consequence of an in-group, out-group dichotomy; and *social constructionists*, who believe that both women and men can be victims of broader systemic oppression within the military and that ideas of "masculinity" and "femininity" can contextually be applied to anyone.[8] The military as an institution is inherently sexual, yet not entirely consensual. The military-supplied condom brand to occupying troops, "Assault No. 1," touted success at "penetrating enemy territory." Similarly, the psychological desire to "dominate and humiliate the enemy" quickly became conflated with a physical domination over women, which was most easily attained through the abuse of prostitutes—one of the lowest social classes in any society. For example, after landing in Japan, an American general immediately "demanded" that the country establish a brothel for military use.[9]

The ties between American militarism and prostitution, however, cannot simply be explained through a single gender-centric lens. The racialization of interactions between Americans and Filipinos—e.g., American soldiers and Filipina women, U.S. foreign policymakers and Filipino Senators)—are overlayed with overtones of inequality. An individual (whether he is white or a person of color himself) who comes from a wealthy country is oftentimes one whose nation is oftentimes willing to disguise any crimes he makes; the other is typically a member of the global South, his country a former colony, and can be threatened with violence against his home nation. The intersectionality of identities—including race, gender, poverty, and nationality—on American military bases are difficult to disentangle. As one member of the U.S. Navy notes, "The guys call the women 'Little Brown Fucking Machines Fueled by Rice,' or LBFM for short. Guys comment continuously on how brown the women are, how many they can have, or have had, how cheap they are, how they will do anything, and how young they are."[10] Women who fall into prostitution on American military bases are typically lured through the promise of well-paying jobs under trafficking rings disguised as placement agencies. These women, born into poverty and lacking formal education, fall victim to these hoaxes then habituating themselves to sexual violence. Their rape shames them into inuring abuse, believing no other choice is available for them. For example, "foxy boxing" is typically offered in these red light districts, which feature Filipino women who compete in fighting arenas for entertainment with the underlying assumption that they will be forced to provide sexual service to the attendees. [11]

Although there is abundant literature on the compounding effects of hyper-militarism (specifically the expansion of the U.S. military) on prostitution and the associative factors between rape and prostitution, this paper attempts to synthesize the two into a cohesive narrative that explains rape and prostitution in the Philippines through American affairs in the Asia-Pacific. In the 21st-century, this has manifested in attempts to safeguard U.S. interests against

China through the utilization of territorial disputes between the Philippines and China in the West Philippine Sea/South China Sea.

American Military Presence in the Philippines

U.S.-Philippine Military Treatises and Agreements

The American military presence in the Philippines extends as far back as the Spanish-American War in 1898. Through the Treaty of Paris, the United States purchased the Philippines from Spain for $20 million, on the condition that Spain ceded all claims to the islands. [12] From 1898 to 1946, the Philippines remained a colonial possession of the United States, and the newly emerging Cold War in the 1950s expanded American occupation through several treaties. The Military Bases Agreement (MBA, 1947) allowed for the continual operation of bases in the Philippines following Filipino independence from the United States in 1946, and the Mutual Defense Treaty (MDT, 1951) required both nations to support each other if a foreign party attacked either nation.[13] In 1991, growing anti-American sentiment led to the non-renewal of the MBA, ending the American operation of military bases within the Philippines. Although the Bush administration initially claimed that it would "immediately and irrevocably withdraw" from the Philippines should the treaty not renew, the American government later declared that American forces would likely remain in the Philippines until after a referendum was completed. [14]

The United States legally returned to the Philippines through the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA, 1998), which allowed the United States to conduct joint military practice exercises ("Balikatan") in the Philippines if the U.S. and the Philippines maintained "common security interests." The deal allowed the U.S. government to retain jurisdiction over military officers accused of crimes in the Philippines, except for crimes "of particular importance to the Philippines," and allowed them to prosecute them under American law. Furthermore, the United States could refuse to detain or arrest accused persons. The terms of the treaty only required the U.S. to alert Filipino authorities of a crime when it became aware of the "apprehension, arrest, or detention of any Republic of the Philippines personnel."[15]

American powers in the Philippines were extended through the Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA, 2014), which allowed the U.S. "access to and use of designated areas and facilities owned and controlled by the [Armed Forces of the Philippines] at the invitation of the Philippine Government." [16] The agreement came as a direct response to China's claims to disputed territories in the West Philippine Sea—specifically Scarborough Shoal and the Spratly Islands—through Nine-Dash Line claims. This "Pivot to Asia" in American foreign affairs during the Obama administration was described as the "protection of hegemonic influence over the surrounding Asia-Pacific nations" through the suppression of foreign enemy military powers (e.g., China).[17]

Violence Against Women and Infringements on Filipino Sovereignty

The most infamous American overseas bases, Subic Naval Bay Station (SNBS, "Subic Bay") in Zambales and Clark Air Force Base (CAFB, "Clark") in Angeles (Fig. I), have been continually occupied since 1898 and 1899, respectively. American military investments quickly established the Philippines as an important blockade and "military outpost" for the U.S. in the Pacific to defend against its enemies in the region (e.g., Russia, China, and North Korea), and for a time, these were the largest military bases outside of the mainland United States. After the discontinuation of the MBA, Subic Bay was converted into the Subic Bay Freeport Zone (SBFZ) in 1992. Similarly, Clark Air Force Base became

Figure I. The locations of Subic Bay and Clark on a map of the Philippines ("Exploring the Philippines Special Economic Zones," 2018).

the Clark Freeport and Special Economic Zone (CFEZ). Each of these were fenced-in, resort-style areas built on top of the former bases, replete with top-of-the-line hotels, casinos, and nightclubs beside American government offices which routinely decided on the national security of the Philippines, directly adjacent to impoverished villages.[18] The imagery was stark—the physical apogee of modern American intervention in the Philippines—and in practice, left vulnerable populations open to manipulation for casual leisure without regards to their safety or wellbeing.

Near midnight on November 1, 2005, Suzette Nicole was gang-raped in a Hyundai Starex in Olongapo City by four U.S. Marines: Chad Carpentier, Dominic Duplantis, Keith Silkwood, and Daniel Smith. Witness descriptions later described Nicole at Alava Pier, dropped off and carried "as if she were a pig" by her hands and feet, dressed only in her shirt and her underwear. She was said to have a used condom stuck to her underwear; one of the men threw a pair of jeans at her.[19] The investigation that followed (*People of the Philippines vs. Dominic Duplantis, Keith Silkwood, and Daniel Smith*, also known as the "Subic rape case") was particularly emblematic of how the VFA failed to properly protect the Filipino people in exchange for promoting an American-Philippine political connection. Nicole herself accused the Marines of "conspiring to rape her," and bruises found on her genitalia, arms, and legs were found to be "consistent with non-consensual sexual assault." [20]

The Subic rape case is especially noted as a failure of the Filipino justice system and evidence of American overexertion of influence. Filipino prosecutors did not bring charges until December 27, more than a month later, and a warrant for arrest was not issued until January 13, 2006. Article V of the VFA allowed the U.S. government to maintain custody of the Marines throughout the legal process. Furthermore, the Philippine Department of Justice seemed reluctant to prosecute the Marines, downgrading charges against them. Testimony from Nicole and her sister revealed that someone named Ben Natividad had attempted to bribe them to reach a settlement instead of proceeding with the suit. On December 4, 2006, Smith was found guilty beyond reasonable doubt of rape and sentenced to *reclusion perpetuá*, or forty years of life imprisonment, in the Makati City Jail. Carpentier, Duplantis, and Silkwood were acquitted due to lack of evidence, and weeks after the trial, Smith was relocated to the U.S. Embassy under the terms of the VFA.[21]

The case was widely publicized as the first where a member of the U.S. Military was convicted of rape in a Filipino court of law. However, events during and following the trial only served to highlight the Philippines' subservience to the United States as a product of military intervention

and foreign policy agreements. In an extreme display of irresponsible journalism, Philippine press leaked Nicole's identity. While Smith remained under Filipino custody, Balikatan exercises were suspended; upon Smith's entrance into American guardianship, Balikatan exercises were again resumed. On March 17, 2009, an affidavit allegedly written by Nicole and dated for March 12, 2009, was released, recanting her accusations and labeling the night of the rape as a product of a "spontaneous, unplanned romantic episode."[22]

The case served as the impetus for action for anti-American, anti-foreign intervention lobbyists. Leftist, feminist, and nationalist groups largely theorized that the release of the affidavit resulted from a covert deal between the U.S. government and Nicole's family, a theory supported by Nicole's permanent immigration to the United States with a boyfriend shortly after withdrawing her testimony.[23]
In the Philippines, rape is punishable by life imprisonment at the minimum; if the victim suffers "insanity" or is killed as a result, the perpetrator can be put to death.[24]The slap-on-the-wrist that the perpetrators received pushed debates on the effectiveness of the VFA in protecting Filipinos. Among the rallying cries for protestors was the chant, "U.S. band of rapists, guilty, *ikulong*, *parusahan*" (tr. "jail them, punish them").[25] On February 16, 2009, members of the 14th Philippine Congress filed Senate Resolution 892, which explicitly called for the termination of the VFA with indirect references to the Subic rape case.[26]

The events of the Subic rape case and its broader foreign policy implications were major players in modern Filipino feminist theory, but a similar case emerged that pushed the discourse even further. On October 11, 2014, Jennifer Laude was murdered in Olangapo by U.S. Marine Joseph Scott Pemberton. Pemberton described the crime as one of "passion and obfuscation" and "self-defense," stating he felt "raped" since Laude had allegedly failed to disclose she was a transgender woman.[27] When Filipino prosecutors brought charges against him, American military officials refused to turn him over, again citing their right to "protect" Pemberton under the VFA. On December 1, 2015, Pemberton was sentenced to 6-12 years of imprisonment for the crime of homicide.[28]

As previously mentioned, the association between militarism and rape exists due to shifting of blame (from perpetrator to victim or otherwise).[29] The similarities between the murder of Jennifer Laude and the Subic rape case highlight the cycle of sexual violence against Filipinos from American soldiers who elude punishment and create precedents for further abuses. In February 2009, the Philippine Court of Appeals acquitted Daniel Smith, releasing him from his "captivity" within the U.S. Embassy and facilitating his return to the United States.[30] On September 7, 2020, Philippine President Rodrigo Duterte granted an absolute pardon to Joseph Scott Pemberton (likely in an attempt to curry favor with the United States after a series of pro-China statements), despite promises to the Laude family to keep Pemberton imprisoned for as long as he remained president.[31]

The similarity of the crimes—a member of the American military enacting violence against a Filipina woman in a sex-associated context, only to be protected by the VFA, an agreement meant to provide Filipinos with safety from enemies, followed by a tumultuous trial—is overshadowed only by the optics. Pemberton's method of murder was particularly brutal: arm-locking Laude and beating her face then repeatedly shoving her head into a toilet until she drowned.[32] His actions were emblematic of the American government's hegemonic view of the Philippines and its people, an object to be violently discarded once no longer desired. Directly contrasting protests during the Subic rape case, arguments arising in the aftermath of the killing

Figure II. A map of the naval territorial claims of China/Taiwan, Malaysia, Vietnam, Brunei, and the Philippines (Voice of America, "Claims in the South China Sea," 2012).

of Jennifer Laude were markedly pointed at the Philippine government itself, or rather, its failure to protect Filipino citizens from a foreign power (e.g., the United States).

Expansion of U.S. Military Presence in the Philippines

International Relations between China and the Philippines

Throughout most of the countries' histories, relations between China and the Philippines have been cordial and, at times, even warm. However, the majority of tensions between the two countries arises from a body of water south of China and west of the Philippines (CHI: South China Sea, FIL: West Philippine Sea or Luzon Sea). In 1947, a map published by the Republic of China (ROC, Taiwan) claimed Chinese sovereignty over occupied regions within the area, delineating what is now known as the Nine-Dash Line. In 1992, the Chinese Law on the Territorial Sea and Contiguous Zone claimed the following islands in the contested area: the Pratas (CHI: Dongsha) Islands, the Paracel (CHI: Xisha, VIE: Hoàng Sa) Islands, Macclesfield (CHI: Zhongsha) Bank, and the Spratly (CHI: Nánshā, FIL: Kalayaan, VIE: Truong Sa) Islands (Fig. II). Tensions between the Philippines and China heightened further in 1995 when Filipino fishermen discovered a Chinese flag flying over Mischief (CHI: Meiji, FIL: Panganiban) Reef. The atoll, well within the area claimed by the Philippines and less than 130 miles from the island province of Palawan, was surrounded by armed Chinese vessels—allegedly to protect the construction of "octagonal huts on stilts." When questioned, Chinese officials maintained that these structures were shelters for Chinese fishermen. In May 1997, the Philippine Navy blockaded two Chinse ships near Scarborough (CHI: Huangyan, FIL: Panatag) Shoal. China rejected this blockade and stated that Scarborough Shoal was part of Chinese territory. The Philippines denied this claim and returned later that month to place a Philippine flag on the reef. Numerous disputes have occurred within this territory in subsequent years, with each nation detaining the other on grounds of illegal fishing.

On January 22, 2013, the Philippines officially filed a lawsuit against China in the Permanent Court of Arbitration (PCA) for violations of Annex VII of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS, 1982). The Court ruled in favor of the Philippines in majority of the claims, stating that China's historical claims over areas within the Nine-Dash Line had provided them no legislative power. China notably did not participate in the proceedings, and both China and Taiwan have rejected this ruling.[34] For these reasons, opinions in the Philippines toward China are now distrustful, primarily on not-unfounded fears that China will annex

territory in the West Philippine Sea. China, too, is wary of proposing bilateral development projects in the Philippines, as that would require a delineation of the borders of the South China Sea and the West Philippine Sea.

American Interests in the West Philippine Sea/South China Sea

The United States' vested interest in maintaining Filipino claims to these areas is contingent on the fact that Filipino ownership of the resource-rich islands and archipelagos begets American use. Approximately $USD 5.3 billion worth of trade annually passes through the South China Sea, with $USD 1.2 billion accounting for trade with the United States.[35]

American foreign policy in the Asia-Pacific has, for the most part, worked to prevent important geopolitical allies from a Turn to China (i.e., preventing the development of deep foreign relations between the Philippines and China). Approval of the EDCA during the Obama administration signaled the covert counterattack, a "Pivot to Asia" from the United States.[36]

Under President Corazon Aquino, Filipino contingency plans against China consisted of military modernization, strengthening geopolitical ties with the United States, and the utilization of international law. Succeeding presidents generally continued these policies. On April 3, 2023, four new bases were added to the EDCA: Camilo Osias Naval Base, Lallo Airport, Camp Melchor Dela Cruz, and Balabac Island (Fig. III).[33] The United States claimed that these bases were established for "regional readiness" in the event of a "Taiwan contingency" for use of "utility in times of a [West Philippine Sea] conflict."[37] The official response from the Chinese government stated the deal was simply "part of the U.S. efforts to [encircle] and contain China through its military alliance, [...] to bundle the Philippines into the chariots of

Figure III. Philippine military bases with U.S. access through EDCA (AFP News Agency, "U.S. Military Footprint in the Philippines," 2023).

geopolitical strife."[38] To be frank, there is merit in this claim. In the EDCA agreement, the country with the heavier burden of responsibility is ultimately the Philippines. Not only is it the host of the actual Balikatan exercises, but it is the closer geopolitical enemy to China and thus the first target should conflict arise. Furthermore, the Philippines' history as a colonial possession of the United States is a sore point for many activists. Hosting of American troops on Filipino soil is seen as a breach of sovereignty and an extension of the shared imperial history between the two countries where the Philippines existed as a subservient satellite to the United States.[39]

Anti-American, anti-foreign military intervention groups

in the Philippines have only grown in the past twenty years. Despite high opinion of the American military, the Philippines has the third highest recorded amount of anti-American military protests, despite a lack of official U.S. bases on the islands since the 1990s.[40] The Philippines is one of the only countries touched by American military intervention wherein activist groups have been successful in removing the U.S. (i.e., non-renewal of the MBA). Despite this success, protest groups have been unable to wholly remove the presence of the deeply entrenched United States from the Philippines, as evidenced by the expansion of EDCA bases and Balikatan exercises.

Considering the recency of the EDCA expansion, conclusive literature on any effects on the rate of rape and prostitution in the aforementioned areas has not been published yet. Considering the previously established link between an increased American military presence, prostitution, and rape, it can be hypothesized that brothels (likely supported by the U.S. Military, if not commissioned by) will increase in number.

Conclusion

The history between the Philippines and the United States has been intertwined for over one hundred years. Throughout this period, this relationship has remained primarily parasitic. The safety of the Philippines is reliant on the distress of its citizens, and Filipina women have been exchanged for the safety of their brethren. The Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA), Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement (EDCA), and their preceding military compromises allowed for a further expansion of American martial capabilities in the Philippines. Throughout this paper, a link between militarism and sexual abuse has been illustrated through the plight of prostitutes with specific notice to two women who fell victim to the provisions of these negotiations: Suzette Nicole and Jennifer Laude. Currently, American military expansion into the Philippines can still be seen through the furthering of the EDCA in 2023 as an anti-China policy. It can be presumed that in the following years an increase in prostitution and brothel operations will arise in the surrounding areas.

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ENDNOTES

1. Winter, "Guns, Money and Justice," 375; Cerretti, "Rape as a Weapon of War(riors)," 794–95.

2. Diken and Laustsen, "Becoming Abject," 112.

3. Chon and Clifford, "The Impacts of International Rape Laws Upon Official Rape Rates," 246.

4. Bernarte et al., "Violence Against Women in the Philippines," 120–21; Rimonte, "A Question of Culture," 1311–12. Cultures that practice bride capture are not localized to a single region, and the custom is done in some areas of the Asia-Pacific (e.g., the Philippines, the Hmong people), Europe (e.g., Sicily), and Western Africa.

5. "The Revised Penal Code."

6. Enloe, Maneuvers. Quoted in Zimelis, "Human Rights, the Sex Industry and Foreign Troops," 64.

7. During the Filipino-American War (1898), rape was used as a "scare tactic" against Filipina women. During World War II (1939–1945), Filipina women comprised a significant portion of Japanese comfort women.

8. Kirby, "How Is Rape a Weapon of War?," 800.

9. Zimelis, "Human Rights, the Sex Industry and Foreign Troops," 63–65.

10. Sturdevant and Stoltzfus, Let the Good Times Roll. Quoted in Stienstra, "Madonna/Whore, Pimp/Protector."

11. Fajardo, "Her Body Is Tethered," 135; Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 55.

12. "Treaty of Peace (Treaty of Paris)."

13. "Military Bases Agreement"; "Mutual Defense Treaty."

14. Shenon, "Philippine Senate Votes to Reject U.S. Base Renewal"; Winter, "Guns, Money and Justice," 374. For more on Clark and Subic, see the following section, Violence against women and infringements on Filipino sovereignty. In the months preceding the Senate vote, the U.S. had already left Clark due to damages received from the 1991 eruption of Mt. Pinatubo. Similarly, widespread activism from leftist groups such as the Gabriela Women's Party succeeded in campaigning to close Subic in 1992. Philippine Senator Agapito Aquino stated that this was the "dawn of our nation's birth, \[...] an end to political adolescence tied to the purse strings of America—a crippling dependence."

15. "Visiting Forces Agreement," 3–7.

16. "Enhanced Defense Cooperation Agreement."

17. Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 2. For more on tensions between the Philippines and China in the West Philippine Sea/South China Sea, see International relations between China and the Philippines.

18. Winter, "Guns, Money and Justice," 375–76.

19. Winter, 379. In some reports, Nicole is reported as Nicolas.

20. Winter, 380–81.

21. Winter, 380–81; Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 37.

22. Winter, "Guns, Money and Justice," 381–82; Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 12.

23. Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 37; Reyes, "Global Borderlands." Nicole's family received PPHP 100,000 (around \$USD 2,075), which her mother claimed were for "damages" to the family and not settlement money.

24. "The Revised Penal Code."

25. Reyes, "Global Borderlands."

26. Pangilinan et al., Resolution Expressing the Sense of the Senate That the President of the Philippines Should Re-Visit the Provisions of the Visiting Forces Agreement (VFA) and Accordingly Exercise the Right to Terminate the VFA Considering That Supervening Events Have Rendered the Provisions of the VFA as Contrary to the 1987 Philippine Constitution.

27. Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 1, 20; Abad, "TIMELINE: The Killing of Jennifer Laude and Release of Joseph Scott Pemberton"; Phillip, "U.S. Marine Charged with the Murder of a Transgender Woman in the Philippines." Laude, who had been seen with Pemberton with a friend named Barbie, had allegedly told her friend that they should leave before Pemberton found out that they were trans women out of fear that he would harm them. Furthermore, Pemberton was identified as the assailant by multiple witnesses and confessed to the crime to a superior officer moments after committing it, stating "I think I killed a he/she."

28. Abad, "TIMELINE: The Killing of Jennifer Laude and Release of Joseph Scott Pemberton."

29. For more on the relationship between militarism and sexual abuse, see Sex and the military.

30. Santos Jr., "LOOKING BACK."

31. Abad, "TIMELINE: The Killing of Jennifer Laude and Release of Joseph Scott Pemberton"; Fajardo, "Her Body Is Tethered," 136.

32. Abad, "TIMELINE: The Killing of Jennifer Laude and Release of Joseph Scott Pemberton."

33. Dutton, "Three Disputes and Three Objectives," 45. Regional names for the islands and archipelagos are listed associated with the respective language's ISO 639-2 code. Regions within the Nine-Dash Line claimed in the map were based on a 1945 internal government report delineating Chinese borders acquired after annexing Japanese islands through the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations. Both China and Taiwan lay claim to the same regions within the West Philippine Sea.

34. Gunawan et al., "Dispute Resolution between the Philippines and China"; United Nations, United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea; "The Republic of the Philippines v. The People's Republic of China."

35. Schrag, "How Much Trade Transits the South China Sea?"

36. Frial, "Transgender, Transnational, Transpinay," 2. For more on the terms of the EDCA, see American military presence in the Philippines.

37. Lendon, "US Gains Military Access to Philippine Bases Close to Taiwan and South China Sea."

38. Chavez, "What's next for the US-Philippines Basing Agreement?"

39. Willis, "Right Frame, Right Time," 202.

40. Willis, 13–14. Willis also suggests that a common hypothesis might be to suppose that Filipinos should have a lower number of anti-American military protests than what is observed due to American intervention in "counterterrorism and counter-insurgency efforts." However, it may be because of American intervention in these situations, which leads to further extrajudicial killings, that leads to increased protest numbers.

THE YELLOW STAR: A SYMBOL OF PERSECUTION THROUGH THE AGES

by Aurora Tipp

For centuries, different ruling groups ordered Jews to distinguish themselves from society by wearing different garments and symbols, including armbands with stars, rings, yellow belts, and hats, culminating in the infamous yellow Star of David during the Holocaust. A seemingly innocuous yellow patch was a key component in the Nazis' meticulously planned mass murders, making it easier for them to identify and round up Jews across Europe, aiding in the facilitation and deportation of Jewish individuals and families to ghettos and killing centers. By simply wearing the star, the Nazi Party transformed Jews into targets, dehumanizing them, stripping them of their individuality, and reducing them to a symbol of hatred. However, the yellow badge was not an original idea of the Nazis. The practice of marking Jews for identification has a long and sinister history spanning centuries, with various iterations used to shame and dehumanize Jewish populations throughout Europe and the Middle East. From it's medieval roots in ordering distinctive clothing and accessories for Jewish people to wear in public settings to its systematic implementation by the Nazi regime, the yellow star exemplified the century-long antisemitic policies created to marginalize and eliminated Jews from all of society.

The practice of forcing Jews to wear identifying markers dated back centuries to before the Nazi regime, with roots in religious and social discrimination throughout Europe and the Middle East. Early precedents can be traced back to early Islamic governance. Historian Flora Cassen notes, "In lands under Muslim rule, non-Muslims had been required to wear identifying marks since the Pact of Umar, a ruling attributed to a seventh-century caliph, though scholars believe it originated later."[1] The Pact of Umar aimed to create segregation in appearance between non- Muslims and Muslims within the societies ruled by Muslim governance, with garments such as a yellow belt (zunnar) or yellow turban. Further examples of this discrimination occurredin the 9th century when Abbasid, a Muslim dynasty extended the use of discriminatory badges to regions under Abbasid, a Muslim dynasty. Starting in 807 CE, under the most prominent ruler Caliph Haroun al-Rashid, al-Rashid ordered Jews in Baghdad to wear yellow belts or fringes. Following suit, under Caliph al-Mutawakkil, Jews wore a donkey-shaped patch.[2]

These discriminatory laws held no boundaries, and Europeans mimicked similar policies where non-Christians, particularly Jews, were ordered to wear distinctive garments or badges. In the 13th century, Louis IX of France and King Edward I of England established laws requiring Jews to wear identifying badges in public. Austria also implemented similar measures when Emperor Ferdinand I decreed that Jews had to wear yellow rings.[3] This practice intensified during the High Middle Ages, with a significant turning point occurring at the Fourth Lateran Council in 1215 CE. Pope Innocent III mandated the forced markings for Jews and Muslims in Europe. Cassen wrote, "The pope explained that it was a means to prevent Christians from having sex with Jews and Muslims, thereby protectingsociety from such prohibited intercourse." This mandate was part of a larger meticulous plan that intertwined with religion to create a social divide between Christian and non-Christian citizens. It was an attempt to limit all contact while promoting a sense of Christian moral and social "purity." Over time, these laws became more regulated and specific, and in 1217 CE, "King Henry III ordered male Jews to wear a badge on the front of their outer garments."[4] Fifty-eight years later, in 1275 CE, "King Edward I of England specified the color and size of

the badge. Jews over seven years old had to wear a yellow taffeta badge, six fingers long and three fingers wide, on the left chest of their outer garment."[5] Similar policies emerged globally as Italy introduced yellow badges and hats during the Renaissance, France adopted yellow wheels, and Germany implemented yellow pointed hats. Three hundred and thirty-nine years later, in 1939, the Nazis seized upon this long history of discrimination, using it as a tool for social control and degradation. By reinstating the yellow badge, Nazis reinforced the continuity of antisemitism and linked their policies to centuries-old practices of marginalization. The Nazis did not invent this form of oppression— they revived and weaponized it, exploiting its sinister history to further their genocidal agenda.

The Nazis implemented these visual markers to identify, humiliate, and ultimately dehumanize Jews, culminating in the widespread mandatory wearing of the yellow star. This process began with the marking of prisoners within concentration camps and eventually expanded to encompass the entire Jewish population under Nazi control. Starting in 1937–1938, the SS implemented a system in concentration camps to categorize prisoners using color-coded badges sewn onto their uniforms. These badges indicated the reason for a prisoner's detention, though the symbols varied between camps. An example of this system is a chart used in the Dachau concentration camp to represent the markings (Figure 1). These badges served a dual purpose: they allowed camp authorities to visually categorize and control inmates while creating division among prisoners by emphasizing differences in religion, political affiliation, or perceived moral deviance. This systematic labeling dehumanized prisoners and reinforced Nazi propaganda, portraying those marked as unhuman or criminal, justifying their mistreatment.

Outside the camps, the Nazis extended the use of identifying markers to Jews living under Nazi occupation. After the German invasion of Poland in September 1939, local authorities began requiring Jews to wear white armbands with a blue Star of David, signifying their Jewish identity. This measure served multiple purposes. It made Jews immediately identifiable, further isolating them from non-Jewish society, while enabling the German authorities and the public to enforce discriminatory policies, including segregation, forced labor, and relocation to ghettos. In the Polish town of Wloclawek, Nazis issued the first Jewish badge decree on October 29, 1939.[6] The white armbands preceded the yellow star and gradually eroded the rights and autonomy of Jewish communities while instilling fear and submission. In a particularly moving testimony, Anna Molnár Hegedűs recalls how the yellow star deeply affected her husband:

> One morning, we turned on the radio. This didn't happen often, since listening to the radio did not give us much pleasure anymore. All we heard was castigation of the Jewish people, to prepare public opinion for future actions. Now, ashen and silent, we listened to the government decree that obliged every Jew, or anyone deemed to be Jewish, to wear a yellow star. This news had an especially devastating effect on my husband. I kept consoling him that everybody knew we were Jewish long before this and that it really didn't mean anything that from then on we'd be wearing a sign to that effect. But he could see beyond that. "This is the beginning of atrocities to come," he said. "This will be followed by decrees that will stipulate what those wearing yellow stars are 'not allowed' to do. A visible sign will unleash people's most despicable emotions and will subject those who wear it to the most brutal insults. This act

> has moved the Jews outside the protection of the law, and we will become free prey to our persecutors.[7]

Her husband's insight captured the grim reality that the yellow star not only marked Jews for persecution but also removed their legal protections, ultimately foreshadowing the horrific fate that awaited so many others.

The yellow star's impact went beyond just a means to identify; it inflicted a profound psychological and physical harm on Jewish individuals and families, robbing them of their dignity, identity, and sense of belonging. Holocaust survivor Edward Lessing, in an interview with the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum, recalled being verbally and physically assaulted by a German soldier while wearing the yellow star. He highlighted the immediate danger it posed to Jewish individuals. The yellow star marked him as an easy target for aggression, stripping him of his humanity and exposing him to violence. Similarly, George Stern, another survivor, refused to wear the star as an act of defiance against the Nazi regime. He "couldn't bear the discrimination" associated with the symbol and lamented how it led to the forced closure of synagogues and the disruption of religious practices, including the cancellation of his Bar.[8] These testimonies make clear that the yellow star served not only as a means of identification but also as a psychological weapon that cut community ties and enabled social control by the Nazi party. By branding Jews with a visible badge of their "otherness," the Nazis produced an environment in which they dehumanized and shunned the Jews, enabling their isolation from their communities and depriving them of their rights. The yellow star was at the core of tearing the social fabric apart, making citizens willingly participate in the persecution by underpinning the idea that Jews were less than human and undeserving of protection.

The yellow star had serious implications besides physical violence. To many, it meant the loss of identity, dignity, and belongings. It symbolized public humiliation that made the Jews live in fear of discrimination and assault. This public labeling also enabled the Nazis to carry out their policies of exclusion, stripping Jews of their legal rights, and subjecting them to ever- increasing measures of control and oppression. As evidenced in the testimonies, such as Anna Molnár Hegedűs's husband, the yellow star signaled the beginning of more violent and discriminatory decrees. It was a clear marker of persecution that removed Jews from the protection of the law, leaving them vulnerable to systemic violence and dehumanization.

The yellow star, rooted in centuries of antisemitic practices, was used as a powerful symbol of dehumanization, aligning with the Nazi regime's agenda to systematically marginalize and eliminate Jews from society. In resurrecting this centuries-old practice, the Nazis tapped into deeply ingrained antisemitism to further their genocidal agenda. The history of the yellow star stands as a powerful reminder of what unchecked hate and prejudice can lead to. It highlights the catastrophic consequences of systemic discrimination and serves as a warning of the immense harm that can result when intolerance is allowed to grow unchecked. For millions of Jewish people, the yellow star was not just a symbol; it was a mark of persecution and a precursor to the unimaginable suffering of the Holocaust. Honoring the memory of those who suffered and perished under the Nazi regime requires more than passive reflection. It calls for a commitment to actively preserve their stories and ensure the lessons of the Holocaust remain alive in the hearts and minds of future generations. Through education, remembrance, and dialogue, these narratives can help build a world that values justice, equality, and human dignity.

ENDNOTES

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HUGUENOT INVOLVEMENT IN THE ECONOMIC AFFAIRS OF EUROPE IN THE 17TH AND 18TH CENTURIES

by Patrick Henckell

This paper focuses on the economic activity of the Huguenots within Europe. "Huguenot" is a term which refers to members of the Calvinist Protestant minority living within France at any time from the early 1500s up to the 1700s or 1800s. The same term can be applied to these individuals' Protestant descendants who resided outside of France. In this paper, I will argue that the Huguenot refugees who escaped, in the late 1600s, from France to other European countries contributed heavily to the economies of the countries in which they resided. Indeed, the evidence appears to suggest that many Huguenots enjoyed a far greater standard of living in their new areas of residence than they would have ever been able to acquire inside of France. For instance, several Huguenots were able to make a considerable living in the British Isles, especially in England and to some extent within Ireland. There were also a number of Huguenot merchants in the Netherlands and in Germany who assisted in the growth or development of those countries' economies. Understanding the scope of Huguenot involvement in the European economy is useful to anyone researching the economic development of Europe in the modern age, especially the changes which occurred in the 17th and 18th centuries.

After the Protestant Reformation took root in the 1510s, brought about by the teachings of the German theologian Martin Luther, Protestant thought and writing quickly spread to France. The Protestant population within France grew steadily over the next century and a half, even though Protestants faced fierce opposition from the Catholic majority in France. In early modern France, the principle of the divine right of kings held sway over French political and social structures, and this was particularly apparent during the reign of King Louis XIV. During this era, the French king was considered to be an ambassador representing God in the mortal realm, and he was tasked with protecting France's Gallican Catholic Church.[1] Louis XIV saw plurality in religious matters as a threat to the country's monarchical form of government. As explained by Raymond Beik, "If Louis XIV was God's representative on earth, then surely it was his duty, as he promised in his coronation oath, to extirpate heresy." Under the French monarchy, the Catholic Church and the state were closely intertwined. French Protestants, who were viewed as rebelling against the Catholic faith, could also be viewed by government officers as rebelling against the government. From this point of view developed the widespread fear within France that a religious minority presented a serious danger to the monarchy. Outrage was not limited to officials, but might also be felt by the general Catholic population, if the king permitted Protestants to continue practicing their religious beliefs.[2] In the late 1500s, under the government of the queen regent Catherine de Medici, the Huguenots had come into conflict with France's Catholic majority. Aristocrats of both Christian persuasions attempted to take charge of the government from Queen Catherine, who was widely disliked by the French people. The year 1589 saw the ascension of Henry IV to the French throne. The new monarch attempted to seize authority from the nobility. Henry IV had been Protestant before ascending the throne, but later converted to Roman Catholicism. He saw the recognition of Protestants by the French government as an important step in restoring peace to the kingdom and taking back power for himself, as king. In 1598, Henry introduced the Edict of Nantes, which extended this recognition to the Protestant minority in France and permitted the Huguenots a certain degree of religious liberty.[3] Beik states that although the Huguenots never

made up more than one tenth of the French population, "[T]hey were strategically concentrated in certain provinces and enjoyed strong support from powerful noble families there."[4] The Edict of Nantes permitted Protestant churches to continue operating within France, but such churches could not exist within Paris according to the edict. Other concessions which the edict made to the Huguenots included the guarantee that the Protestant religious hierarchy would be respected, the right to "run schools and charitable organizations," the right to will their own property as they saw fit, and a trial system which enabled Huguenots to have their trials decided by courts with an equal number of Catholic and Protestant judges. King Henry IV did not wish for the provisions of the Edict of Nantes to be in place for decades after his demise. Rather, the edict was a way for the king to recover his power over the government. However, continued insurgencies by Protestants, along with "the difficulties of the Fronde" and wars between France and other European nations, required the French government to seek an appropriate way to satisfy its Protestant subjects.[5]

The situation for the Huguenots began to change in the 1660s. French Catholics, who made up the bulk of the kingdom's population, saw the provisions of the Edict of Nantes as "a procedural nightmare and a doctrinal insult."[6] Catholic subjects, including representatives of churches, complained in writing to Louis XIV that the protections provided to Protestants by the Edict of Nantes were unnecessary and harmful to the mostly Catholic population. These complaints focused on all aspects of Protestant organization and religious practices, discussing issues as broad as the "residence of ministers, upkeep of hospitals and schools, ... [and] nature of representation." The French government took notice of these concerns and introduced new requirements which limited Huguenot involvement within guilds, outlawed shifts in religious affiliation from Catholicism to Protestantism, expressed a preference for Catholic chaplains over Protestant ones, ensured that French cities were controlled mostly or entirely by Catholic officials, and shut down a large number of Protestant churches within the country. This eventually led, in 1685, to Louis XIV revoking the Edict of Nantes, meaning that Protestants could no longer worship in France.[7] In October 1685, Louis XIV issued a declaration which stated that, while his grandfather Henry IV had wanted the edict to be in effect only for a short while, "The intentions of the king, our grandfather, could not be realized because of his premature death, and the execution of the said edict was interrupted during the minority of the late king, [Louis XIII,] ... by new schemes on the part of [the Huguenots.] ... We now see, with proper acknowledgment to God, that ... the better and greater part of our subjects of the R.P.R. [Protestant faith] have embraced the Catholic Church."[8] Louis XIV's edict goes on to state that owing to some Protestants returning to Catholicism, it was now appropriate for the French government to ban Protestantism entirely. Under this new edict, every Protestant church existing within France was to be destroyed. Nobles who allowed Protestants to continue worshipping risked losing their property, while Protestant clergy who continued to deliver sermons might be punished with imprisonment. The 1685 edict did not directly require Protestant laymen to convert to Catholicism, even though they were no longer able to worship as Protestants. But those Huguenots who attempted to evacuate France and were found out were also to be imprisoned.[9]

Decades before the Edict of Nantes was revoked, some Huguenots, who evidently felt threatened within France, began to flee into Protestant-majority England. During the early 17th century, a number of native Englishmen came to fear that the French refugees were threatening the economic liberty of the English. In the 1600s, English

citizens sent numerous appeals to the royal government stating that the French were a danger to the country. According to Bernard Cottret, these appeals were especially likely to come in at times when the English economy was not doing well.[11] Cottret indicates that, in the first three months of 1622 alone, "Sir Robert Heath, who then acted as solicitor-general, received several complaints from the Goldsmiths' Company[,] ... from the Coopers of London, from the Clockmakers, from the Leatherdresses of Southwark [and] from the Company of Joiners." The Huguenots felt as though they were being harassed by the English. However, as Cottret notes, the situation concerning the Huguenots is complicated by the diverse set of identities expressed by the Huguenots living in England and by the native guild officials working alongside them. Some Huguenots were not formally affiliated with the French Church in England, and the members of the Huguenot community in England worked in a variety of industries. Not every Englishman regarded the French as anathema, and many of the Huguenots saw their living conditions improve as the 17th century went on. For instance, while various workers' guilds required immigrants and refugees to live in England for a specified period of time before they could become members of the guild, some guilds eased these requirements placed on foreigners. The weavers' guild in London did so in the 1660s. Affiliation with the Dutch Church or the French Church in England was seen as a factor which ensured that a foreigner would be allowed to join the weavers' guild, provided that said foreigners had obtained the needed training either in England or somewhere else.[12] Cottret notes that "the elders of the French and Dutch congregations" themselves would, in many cases, ask guild officials to receive their fellow refugees into the guild.[13] In 1669, members of a French congregation in London asked the weavers' guild to look into the case of two French Church parishioners, who were being prosecuted, along with two French Catholics, for practicing as weavers without having gone through the period of training expected of weavers. The congregation sent their case to be looked at by the royal council. The two Huguenots in this case appear to have received a fairly lenient settlement, although they remained imprisoned for a period of two months. The royal council ordered the weaver's guild to explain what their requirements were for foreigners seeking to join the guild. This indicated, at least in the eyes of the French Church, that the government would grant the Huguenots some support. However, tensions between the French Church and the London weavers' guild continued to persist after this 1669 case. Still, it appears that some kind of agreement had been reached between these two parties between June and September 1672, as in September of that year the weavers' guild issued a new set of instructions for the reception of Huguenots into the guild. But despite this agreement, it is discernible that some guild members continued to distrust the foreigners, and further limitations were introduced in 1676 and 1677. From this point onwards, foreigners could not become masters within the weavers' guild "'but upon some weighty grounds or reasons.'"[14] Despite these restrictions, many Huguenots were able to enjoy a comfortable living in the late 1600s and the early 1700s. Cottret states that, "One might possibly argue that the fear of competition was at its highest down the social scale," and there is evidence "suggest[ing] that master weavers tended to be more hospitable than journeymen, as they valued the acquisition of new skills."[15] Certain French weavers continued to be well-regarded within England, and it cannot be assumed that resentment against foreigners was the only reason Englishmen might petition the government with regard to Huguenots. Cottret mentions that, "In 1696, the consistory of the French Church in the City [of London] urged its members to observe the regulations of the Weavers' Company, and

not to forswear their oaths of loyalty – as became good Protestants." Such a request from the French Church in London might be a result of drastic changes in the English economy during the later 1600s which made the guilds struggle to "'apply[] an ancient policy to a changed structure of output.'"[16] The guilds, therefore, had to make a heavier effort to keep their members in check, both those born in England and those of foreign origin.

During the 1690s, at which point William III and Mary II were reigning over the kingdom, England set up a national bank. At this point, the number of people investing in English stocks began to increase, and a higher number of people began to provide money to the English government so that the government could pay off its debts. The first half of this decade in particular saw rapid economic growth. From the individuals sponsoring the English government, Alice Clare Carter notes that there clearly existed "a fairly considerable Huguenot element."[17] There were many Huguenots present in various major English cities including London, Norwich, and Canterbury. These Huguenots "were investing fairly readily in English public funds at a time when their English equivalents might perhaps more readily put their surpluses into land or mortgages."[18] Some Huguenots in England would purchase stock and then sell the same stock only a few days later. Others "display[ed] considerable financial acumen, buying at just above the minimum and selling out just before the fall, re-investing to obtain a good yield and probably ploughing back the dividend." On the other hand, most investors from the native population were not able to make such large gains through investments, and only a small number of prominent English investors during this period started off with little income. Carter states that this aptitude in economics employed by some Huguenots may have resulted from their economic dealings in France. In the first few years after the Glorious Revolution, there was already a great deal of Huguenot activity within the English National Bank. According to Carter, "In the first available dividend list for Bank stock, that of December 1697, are the names of … rather over 2,000 [investors.] … It was easy to pick out the French names from the dividend list, including such names as Bernard, or Lambert."[19] In the 1690s, England's Million Bank was providing annuities to more than 100 individuals of Huguenot background.[20] Carter mentions that the Huguenots who migrated from France to England were generally quite well-off: "Hilary Reneu, himself a far from indigent migrant, was at pains, in his introduction to Claude's *Plaintes des Protestants*[,] … to rebut the idea that the migrants were poor."[21]

French diplomats during the 1680s believed that the Huguenots had taken large sums of money out of France and into England. A 1709 record of the British Parliament notes that the Huguenots had introduced hundreds of thousands of pounds into the National Bank and the Treasury. There were certainly a number of wealthy Huguenots present in England, and individuals belonging to the Rambouilet, Bernard, Aufrère, and Girardot families were among the wealthy living in England. These individuals took part in English stocks, and a number of them were active in the banking and wood industries. Of these figures, Jean Girardot was especially wealthy.[22] In discussing the wealth of the Aufrère family, Carter states that they "seem[] to typify the *rentier* and moneyedmen class," especially considering the example of Georges Aufrère. Georges Aufrère became a "famous merchant and London Assurance director. … The Aufrères, with other Huguenots, … were of very great power and importance in eighteenth-century London finance."[23] Carter also discusses the wealthy Theodore Janssen, an investor of Flemish origin. Janssen's net worth was at least £26,000, and based on the details it is likely that his net worth far outnumbered that amount. Some of his

investments were in the National Bank and the South Sea Company. The Gohier family made investments in both the London Orphans' Fund and the National Bank. The English Huguenots also conducted their economic affairs outside of England.[24] As Carter writes, "The effects [of Huguenot financial activity] can be seen on our funded debt … through [the Huguenots'] branches in England, in Bank Stock, Million Bank Annuities, East India Stock, or in some of the lotteries and short-term loans. The international connections of, for instance, the Bernards and the Janssens were of obvious importance." During the 1700s, Huguenot businessmen living in England secured stocks in English banks for individuals living in the Netherlands.[25] Carter goes on to name Daniel Oliver as one of the Huguenots who provided stock to the Dutch. Several others were likewise involved in trade outside England. Carter makes it clear that her mentions of various Huguenots living in England are not meant to suggest that there were not successful figures in the English economy who were born in England. However, she wishes to state that the Huguenots had an important part in the country's economic development in the late 1600s which continued into the 1700s.[26] According to Carter, "The Huguenot contribution to the rapid developments which took place in English public finance in the years between 1694 and 1714 … was of the order of 10%."[27] This figure indicates the ingenuity and innovation displayed by the Huguenots, who were a small minority within England during this time.

Alice Carter mentions that the Huguenots also played a significant role in the Dutch economy during the 1700s, especially in Amsterdam. She finds it challenging to write about the role of the Huguenots in the Dutch economy, stating that, "[I]t is almost impossible to get enough material that can be used statistically" to determine just how involved they were in the financial sphere in the Netherlands.[28] The Dutch government archives are useful in determining the scope of the Huguenots' involvement. Despite the generally limited amount of statistical data available on the 18th-century Dutch economy, there are a good deal of records available from the first decade of the century, and these records indicate that Huguenots and Englishmen were constantly conducting business with the Dutch. Taking note of rejected financial bills filed by London's residents which dealt with dwellings in Amsterdam, Carter found that, "[N]early 70% were [filed by] English or Huguenot."[29] Out of all these bills, a little over one-fifth were filed by Huguenots. One government record from 1742 lists every Amsterdammer "whose declared income was 600f. [florins] or more per annum."[30] According to Carter's calculations, Huguenots represented approximately one in ten people from Amsterdam's middle class. Of the craftsmen living in Amsterdam, more than one-tenth were Huguenots. However, a much smaller proportion of Huguenots existed in other occupations, among medical practitioners and merchants for instance. It appears that not many of Amsterdam's notaries were Huguenots. And while a handful of wealthier Huguenot individuals lived in Amsterdam, the total number of middle-class Huguenots within the area was smaller than the number within the London area. Carter states that it might also be useful to take note of the proportion of bankrupt individuals within Amsterdam, during the 1700s, who were Huguenots. Looking through lists of these individuals, she found, "Out of a sample of 287, … 73% were Dutch, 19% French, 11% Jews, and 7% 'other.'"[31] The proportion of French bankrupts appears too large. Another record, from the first decade of the 1700s, indicates that of the Amsterdam businessmen trading with London, about three out of ten were Huguenots. It is possible that the higher percentage of Huguenots who fell into bankruptcy reflects the Huguenots maintaining a greater involvement in trade outside the Netherlands than did other ethnic

groups living within Amsterdam. Notably, and somewhat paradoxically, the Huguenots in both England and the Netherlands performed a significant amount of trade with France. Carter states that, "The Huguenot merchants in Amsterdam were trading with Nantes, with Bordeaux, with Marseilles," purchasing and providing a variety of products. Family connections between the expatriate Huguenots and their cousins in France help to explain much of this selling of goods. Joseph Belesaigne was among the Dutch Huguenots who carried out economic relations with France. Belesaigne was business partners with a member of the Blacquière family. Both the Blacquières and Belesaignes were notable for their economic activity within the Netherlands, and in other places such as England, Italy, and Germany. One member of the Blacquière family had a role during the middle of the 18th century "in London, as one of the busiest of the attorney-dealer-transferor type of financier."[33] This individual was also an active investor within English stock. It is known that relatives of this man had lived in England since the 1630s, if not before then. In *Letters of Denization and Acts of Naturalization*, William Arthur Shaw has produced a long list of individuals, Huguenots and non-Huguenots, who were naturalized in England from the 16th century until the 18th century. According to Shaw's list, between 1730 and 1760, more than 60 individuals belonging to the economically prominent French families naturalized in England. Religious affiliation is not known for each of these figures, although it is known that a number of them were Protestant.[34]

The descendants of Pierre Belesaigne living in Amsterdam played a significant role in the local and international economy throughout the 1700s. Their economic activities "began with the retail of drugs, perfume and snuff" and expanded over time into widespread investment and overseas economic activity. Pierre Belesaigne had been born in Languedoc,[35] an area which until the late 17th century was inhabited by a large number of Protestants (as attested by the writings of the French official Henri d'Aguesseau, a contemporary of Louis XIV).[36] After Pierre's death, the Belesaignes' economic affairs were overseen by a son and a grandson of Pierre's, who were both named Josias.[37] Another son of Pierre Belesaigne was involved in the sale of wine, while a third son was a merchant in the East India Company. Pierre's daughter and several of his grandchildren were active in the textile industry. His eldest son, Josias Belesaigne I, was married to "the daughter of an apothecary."[38] From the mid-1710s onwards, Josias was involved in the family's business dealings along with his father, Pierre. In the late 1720s, both Pierre Belesaigne and his daughter-in-law died, and Josias remarried to his mother's niece, who was much younger than himself. He retained the money accrued by his first wife.[39] Carter describes Pierre Belesaigne as "a good man of business … [whose] retail perfumery produced 8,000 [florins] for the partnership in 1717 with his son."[40] Josias Belesaigne I likewise had a talent in economic affairs, although his detailed book of financial records indicates that at times he saw unpleasant deficits in his investments. Later on in his father's life, Josias Belesaigne II worked under a Dutch notary and was also involved in his aunt's textile business, as is testified by Josias I's writings. The younger Josias would eventually take over his aunt's business altogether. Later in life, Josias II became especially miserly with his finances, providing money for various services in return for high rates. For instance, he gave one of his household staff "a small sum of money[.] … She repaid it only after eighteen months, with an additional sum representing a rate of interest of 14%."[41] Josias Belesaigne II had no children, so following his death his wealth was divided among various relatives. Among the relatives who inherited from him were "several well-known Huguenot names, such as Palairet, Vercueil,

Granpré, Molinère and Changion, and some that have English connections like Olivier and Thomas."[42] The Belesaigne family's finances performed especially well in the middle of the 18th century. The family is known to have engaged in the slave trade, and they had several plantations in what is now Suriname. During Josias Belesaigne I's lifetime, the family's retail store supplying drugs and perfume generated the majority of their income. After the 1770s, Josias II received large profits from his New World plantations, which were involved in the chocolate industry.[43] The family "developed into half-way merchant bankers, and provided discount facilities for merchants in France." [44] The Belesaignes' retail items also led them to do business across much of Europe. They continued to profit from their retail shop until sometime in the 1780s, and from their plantations for a few decades afterwards.[45] Josias II died in 1809, at which point his "investments alone were worth about 350,000 [florins]."[46]

There were also many individuals of Huguenot background living in Prussia during the 18th century. In the 1500s, machine-powered production became a growing focus in the economies of Europe. European monarchs made an effort to get foreign men of talent to migrate to their domains, hoping that this migration would bring about increased commerce and awareness about new industrial methods. Economic scholars have recognized the significant role which Calvinists played in "the diffusion of technological knowledge during this period." A number of Huguenots fled to Brandenburg-Prussia in Germany during the late 1680s.[47] The elector (ruler) of this area, Frederick William, was especially eager to bring Protestant refugees into his realm. In the immediate aftermath of Louis XIV's 1685 decree which canceled the Edict of Nantes, almost 45,000 Huguenots settled in what is now Germany. Somewhere between a third and a half of these individuals made their homes in Brandenburg-Prussia. Erik Hornung states that, "[T]he rich and powerful Huguenots mostly fled to England and the Netherlands."[48] However, although there were some poor Huguenots living in Germany, there were also a considerable amount of aristocrats who fled to the region,[49] and according to Jürgen Wilke, the Huguenots in Germany were largely middle class. Even within France, many Huguenots had obtained high levels of learning. The large number of middle-class individuals was also affected by Brandenburg-Prussia's policy of rejecting many unskilled laborers from France. Several decades before the Edict of Nantes was done away with, many residents of Brandenburg had fled due to warfare with the surrounding areas. In response to this mass evacuation, Elector Frederick William had looked for ways to grow back the population. Inviting Huguenots to Brandenburg-Prussia allowed him to enlarge his government's treasury. The sources available for determining the economic role of the Huguenots within Germany are not completely impartial. Nevertheless, many 18th-century German sources do indicate that the Huguenots generally caused growth in the local economy. Information on their economic involvement can be taken from various contemporary government records detailing the economic occurrences in mainly French-speaking areas. Some scholars believe that, for the vast majority of the 18th century, the Huguenots caused economic improvements in the areas where they resided. Ingrid Mittenzwei largely agrees with this assessment, but finds that Huguenot-majority areas within Germany generally saw economic activity falling between the mid-1730s and the mid-1760s.[50] Mittenzwei reaches her findings by considering "the number of looms for silk and cotton employed by members of the French colony in Berlin," a figure which was growing at an especially fast rate during the late 1700s and the early 1800s.[51] A Prussian government record dating to 1797 notes that many manufacturing centers are in poor condition in the French-speaking areas.

Some of the Huguenots in Prussia intermarried with the native population, and this may have brought about the deterioration of the factories. Stefi Jersch-Wenzel notes that the influence of Huguenots over the Prussian economy was not limited to the production and selling of goods, but could also be seen in the spread of ideas from the Huguenots to the native population. Prussia was able to industrialize because of Huguenots' "knowledge regarding production in centralized and decentralized manufactories," which they shared with the native Germans.[52] The economic changes introduced by Huguenots are especially notable when it comes to the production of textiles. In Germany, "One Huguenot carried with him the secret of dyeing fabrics in a special way, another brought the art of printing on cotton."[53] However, economic dealings between Huguenots and non-Huguenots may have been limited by Huguenots forming separate communities within Germany distanced from those of the native population, and by an unwillingness of non-Calvinist Germans to do business with Calvinists. Regardless, it is clear that Huguenots trained Germans in a variety of industries. Frederick William was a notable supporter of Huguenot manufacturing businesses, and the government of Saxony likewise urged that young natives be trained by Huguenot tradesmen.[54] Although the data does not fully take into consideration fluctuations in the local economy, research from Hornung found that the percentage of Huguenots within a given German city at the start of the 18th century was directly and positively correlated to the economic outturn at the end of the century. In Hornung's own words, "[T]extile manufactories in towns hosting a higher share of Huguenot refugees in 1700 achieved higher levels of output and employed more technology in 1802." [55] This finding substantiates the idea that Huguenot migrants altered the local economy in the regions where they settled.

Memoirs of a Huguenot Family contains various writings from the Huguenot minister James Fontaine and his descendants. James Fontaine was forced to leave France at the time the Edict of Nantes was revoked in 1685.[56] Deprived by the edict of his belongings, he at first fled to Barnstaple, England, where he was provided shelter by a family surnamed Downe.[57] Eventually, he was able to secure a yearly profit of £20 by doing work for a man named Halsewell Tynte who lived in Bridgewater, England.[58] Fontaine states that during this time, "Poverty stared us in the face, and exertion of some kind was absolutely necessary. We tried to keep a small shop in Bridgewater, but our efforts were not crowned with success."[59] Some of Fontaine's friends attempted to secure for him a portion of the money which the English government was providing to select Huguenots at this time. Some of the officials placed in charge of the money thought Fontaine a suitable choice. However, Calvinist ministers who received this money were required to convert to Anglicanism. Fontaine associated this coercion to convert with that carried out by the French government towards its Protestant subjects, and he refused to fulfill this requirement.[60] Fontaine himself notes that he was in such a great deal of despair that he told a relative of his to forge a false document transferring ownership of Fontaine's house to this relative. Fontaine had hoped that this transfer would bring him some money, but the relative to whom he had given these instructions betrayed Fontaine and did not give him any money. Thereafter, Fontaine fled to the city of Taunton, where he saw his fortunes start to recover. He spent some time educating local children in the French language. He also operated a store in Taunton. The money made from this store, combined with Fontaine's salary as a minister and as an educator, ensured that his family "was never again so poor as to require charity."[61] He applied for various investments and then sold these investments immediately. This process of purchasing and selling stock

led to Fontaine accumulating £400 in investments in a short period of time. He still gained an additional profit by employing some individuals who specialized in the textile industry. This led him to quickly learn the trade himself.[62] Fontaine claims that he soon "knew much more than the workmen did" about textiles.[63] He set up a textile store which generated a great deal of business for himself. He writes that his wife soon also found herself occupied. To carry out the execution of his business, Fontaine obtained various items from the Netherlands and from France. He "sold French brandy, pure and unadulterated."[64] The items the Fontaines sold were not expensive, but the frequent sale of these items made them prosperous. The success of Fontaine's ventures brought him the distrust of the other business owners in Taunton. This eventually led to a lawsuit being brought against Fontaine in the city courthouse on the grounds that his business practices were dishonest.[65] During Fontaine's hearing, the city's record keeper spoke in defense of Fontaine, and this led to the charges against Fontaine being dismissed. However, many people within Taunton, including several of the city's officials, were still infuriated with Fontaine.[66] According to Fontaine, these officials "exaggerated my profits very much, ... and consequently I was taxed to the utmost."[67] In 1688, during the Glorious Revolution, Fontaine found his home being broken into by a group of English soldiers. Fontaine spoke to the mayor of Taunton about the soldiers intruding on his home, and while the officials present promised Fontaine that they would look into the matter, this did not solve the problem.[68] Fontaine found himself "ha[ving] to support [the soldiers] for three whole weeks."[69] At this time, he worried about his finances, and the challenges brought about by the Glorious Revolution led him to close his store.[70] After a few months, he began to involve himself in the production of calimanco fabric. He records that he was not familiar with the process which brought about this fabric, but he insisted on taking up this trade. He was soon able to find a worker to assist him in this trade. Although this worker had difficulty with the thread at first, he soon progressed until "he was able to turn out ten or twelve yards in a day."[71] Fontaine got several additional workers to weave calimanco for him, and according to Fontaine this led to a business which was just as prosperous as his previous store. This led to a great deal of jealousy among the companies which were producing serge thread rather than calimanco. Fontaine states that the mayor of Taunton's son was among those individuals who sought to outperform him in this craft. However, other textile producers had difficulty replicating Fontaine's method, and as a result Fontaine worked without disruption between 1690 and 1693. But other individuals eventually caught on to making calimanco, and due to this Fontaine saw his profits diminished in 1693 and 1694. While Fontaine's textile activity had brought him a great deal of profit in the span of a few years, he eventually grew tired of textile production and decided to turn his attention to preaching. Some associates of Fontaine advised him to look for a church in Cork, Ireland, where a number of Huguenots had settled.[72]

Fontaine and his family arrived in Cork at the end of 1694.[73] Along with his clerical duties, Fontaine continued to produce textiles. He writes that he "soon succeeded in making good broadcloth."[74] Fontaine's religious activity was essentially a form of volunteer work, as he obtained no money from his sermons. He hired several Huguenots to assist with his textile work, and he claims that knowledge about his Huguenot church only brought more Huguenots to Cork.[75] However, one Huguenot individual in Cork disapproved of Fontaine and sought to remove him from the pulpit. At some time in 1698, this man penned a letter to Henri, Earl of Galway, a nobleman who was serving in the British government. He told Galway that Fontaine did not possess

the proper credentials to serve as a Calvinist minister. Faced with this threat, and wishing to avoid conflict within the church, Fontaine decided to relinquish his clerical post.[76] In summer 1698, Fontaine saw reductions in his finances. A Frenchman who discovered Fontaine's presence in Cork demanded payment from him. Fontaine complied with this request, "pay[ing] the freight and duties."[77] At roughly the same time, the British Parliament had introduced a law which prohibited people in Ireland from exporting items made from wool.[78] Fontaine depended upon the export of these items for his profit. In response to this new law, he turned away entirely from the textile industry. He directed his attention towards fishing as a way to support himself and his family. He determined that he could not make much of a living from fishing without ownership of a farm and other individuals who would fish on his behalf. He relinquished his house in Cork, a decision which brought him £100, and resettled in the port city of Bear Haven, Ireland. He purchased some boats for the purpose of fishing, and constructed some additional ones himself.[79] Fontaine writes that in the fishing trade, "I went into partnership with my cousin, John Arnauld, and Messrs. Renue, Thomas and Gourbould, all merchants in London."[80] He purchased a large ship known as the Robert, and his partners likewise purchased two ships of similar size. Fontaine lent the Robert to an Irish merchant, who subsequently crashed the ship. Making use of the remaining two ships, Fontaine and his partners encountered mixed results. The fishers they hired did not catch as many fish as Fontaine had hoped for. The fishermen had one of their ships, the Goodwill, sail to the island of Madeira off the coast of mainland Portugal, while the remaining ship, known as the Judith, sailed to Spain.[81] Several months later, the Goodwill arrived in Virginia. Fontaine writes that the Goodwill's captain "did so well with his half cargo, that he got in exchange a full cargo of tobacco."[82] Roughly a year after leaving Bear Haven, the ship returned to the same destination. However, the Goodwill did not remain there long, as the tobacco collected in Virginia was required by British law to be taken to England. Fontaine expected to receive a total profit of £1500 from the tobacco and the fish collected, and he grew quite worried about the ship's continued absence from Bear Haven. Fontaine's associates requested that he sell the collected fish in the absence of the Goldwill. At first, no one would buy the fish. Finally, Fontaine was compelled to sell the fish at a lower price than he had wanted. After an accident caused flooding within the spare ship which he was expecting, Fontaine, in despair, ordered the men aboard to fix the damages.[83] Finally, the crew "sailed for Leghorn[, Italy,] and there sold the fish."[84] Fontaine notes that he did not obtain any profit from this sale, as the quality of the fish had deteriorated from being on the ship for several months.[85] Whereas many of Fontaine's previous ventures had proven successful, this one had resulted in complete failure. Fontaine greatly distrusted the Irish Catholics in Bear Haven (whom he calls papists), especially when it came to court proceedings, because they excluded Protestants from participation in the courtroom. He also distrusted his fellow Protestants who were longtime residents of Bear Haven, feeling that they had been corrupted by the Catholics. Nevertheless, he was able to find work as a justice of the peace.[86] As a justice of the peace, he sought to curb the harm done to his community by "Irish robbers" and "French privateersmen."[87] Eventually, in 1705, the British government granted him a pension equating to roughly £90 per year.[88]

As shown by the evidence provided above, the industry and the ingenuity of the Huguenots brought about noticeable and significant developments to the economy of Europe (not to mention that of the Americas). I do not attempt to claim that all of the Huguenots living in England, Ireland, or Germany were wealthy or were talented businessmen, but

innovations in economic matters were apparent in each of the locations I researched which had a substantial number of Huguenot residents. In Great Britain, despite the feelings of distrust some natives had towards foreigners, there were a number of influential families of Huguenot background whose activity could be seen in various bank investments and in trade across the Atlantic. The experiences of James Fontaine in Great Britain, until his retirement, provide a case in point for the ingenuity of the Huguenots when it came to economic dealings. Similarly, in the Netherlands, several Huguenots had a prominent role in the Dutch economy. Dutch Huguenots carried out trade in Northern and Southern Europe, including in England and France, and in the various European colonies in the Americas. This extensive trade can notably be seen in the example of the Belesaigne family. During the 1700s, the Huguenots also had a significant role in developing the German economy, perhaps most notably in Brandenburg-Prussia, where there was a large concentration of Huguenots. The introduction of technological information provided by Huguenots to the native German population paved the way for Germany's industrialization. As summarized by Hornung, the Huguenots helped to transform Germany over the course of the 18th century from "a backward country" to one which was marked by "a great variety of advanced skills and new technologies."[89]

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THE VIETNAM WAR, PROTESTS, AND THE IMPACT ON THE FILM INDUSTRY

by Sam Wise

Vietnam War-themed films helped Americans understand the complicated conflict, their feelings towards the war, and the soldiers as a collective. Many Americans held strong opinions about the Vietnam War, the draft, and those who went to Vietnam willingly or drafted. Protests broke out nationwide, both against the war and in support of it. Most of the people who went to Vietnam were from middle-class, working families, while many of those who did not go were from upper-class families or college students who found a way around the draft or deferred. Those who went to Vietnam faced many challenges with going from graduating high school to immediately being in a warzone. The underreporting of the war and independent journalism fueled the anti-war protests back home. Upon the soldiers' return after serving in Vietnam, many found that adjusting back to the quiet United States had some difficulty. Some soldiers found themselves in conflicts with those who did not go to Vietnam but felt as if the United States and the soldiers did not do enough or did too much. Shortly after the return of the soldiers, Hollywood began making movies to capture the mood of both the United States and the soldiers. The films explore different aspects of the Vietnam War, showing the soldiers' viewpoint and targeting the different demographics surrounding the conversation of the war. Studios and directors made these films to help tell people's stories and help people understand the complex feelings towards the Vietnam War.

The lead up to the Vietnam War

At the end of World War II, the United States emerged with the image of being a powerhouse nation that brought democracy to any nation that needed help. After the end of the war, Vietnam, which fought for independence from Japan, had a new fight for independence from the French. Before the war, Vietnam had been a part of a French colony called French Indochina. The founder of the Indochina Communist Party and the Viet Minh, Ho Chi Mihn, who led the first fight for independence from Japan, would go on to lead the fight against the French. The Indochina War between the Viet Mihn and the French happened during the same time as the Communist Revolution in China, and the Korean War, aided by the United States. The Truman administration in the United States recognized that French Indochina would be a front in the global war against communism. To help stop the spread of communism, the United States paid for half of the cost of France's war.[1] President Eisenhower's solution had been to continue giving France weapons and money to fight the communists, determined to stay out of the war. He did not want American soldiers to get involved in the conflict.[2] By the spring of 1954, the French forces struggled to fight the Communist forces and requested the United States for more aid and air support to bomb the Communists. Advisors around President Eisenhower wanted to intervene militarily, but President Eisenhower said entering the war would cause a "falling domino," meaning that neighboring countries would also fall to communism.[3]

In May of 1954, the Indochina War ended after the Vietnamese defeated the French forces in the battle of Dien Bien Phu. After the defeat, the French, Vietnamese, and representatives from the United States and China met at the Geneva Convention in mid-1954. They reached two agreements, a ceasefire and a temporary division of the country at the 17th parallel. The first agreement stated that French forces would remain in the South, and Ho Chi Minh's forces would control the North. The second agreement

stated neither side would join an alliance with outside forces. Laos and Cambodia were to remain neutral. The United States did not sign the second agreement and established a government in South Vietnam, appointing an unpopular choice, Ngo Dinh Diem, to lead South Vietnam. The North and the South were to have a fair general election in 1956 to determine the country's will on reunification.[4]

In 1956, the election to unify Vietnam did not take place. South Vietnam held its elections, which allowed Ngo Dinh Diem to remain in power. By late 1957, Diem, with help from the American Central Intelligence Agency, began striking against those who opposed him in favor of communism. In December 1960, the Indochina Communist Party formed a new united front called the National Liberation Front (NLF), which allowed anyone who opposed Diem to join.[5] By late September 1963, protests led by Buddhists created further instability in South Vietnam, leading generals in the Army of the Republic of Vietnam (ARVN) to approach the American embassy for help to overthrow Diem.[6] With approval from Washington, the ARVN captured and assassinated Diem. Back in the United States, Lyndon B. Johnson took over the presidency due to the assassination of President Kennedy. Before the assassination, sixteen thousand military advisors were in Vietnam under orders from the Kennedy administration. The Kennedy administration avoided tactics that would escalate the war, but President Johnson took a different approach.

In early August 1964, North Vietnamese forces attacked two U.S. destroyers stationed in the Gulf of Tonkin, located off the coast of Vietnam.[7] In response, Congress, upon request from President Johnson, increased the U.S. military presence in the Vietnam area. On August 7th, 1964, Congress passed the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution, allowing President Johnson to increase the U.S. involvement in the feud between North and South Vietnam.[8] In early 1965, two U.S. army installations in South Vietnam suffered an attack from the NLF.[9] In response, the U.S. issued a continuous bombing campaign known as Operation Rolling Thunder, and afterward, American combat troops deployed to Vietnam by July 1965.[10]

Figure 1. President Lyndon B. Johnson and General William Westmoreland greeting the fighting men, Cam Ranh Bay, Vietnam. Source: National Archives Catalog, 1996.

Operation Rolling Thunder lasted from 1965 to 1968. More and more troops deployed overseas to aid South Vietnam in the fight against the Viet Cong. As the war escalated, the number of members in service dwindled. President Johnson, elected in 1964, made a campaign promise not to escalate the war he inherited from President Kennedy. In October 1964, during the presidential race, at a campaign event in Akron, Ohio, Johnson told voters, "We are not about to send American boys 9 or 10,000 miles away from home to do what Asian boys ought to be doing for themselves."[11] Johnson did not keep this promise. By the end of 1965, the U.S. stationed about 184,000 in Vietnam.[12] Johnson tried to justify sending ground forces and told the American people it would only last six months. The Viet Cong and the North Vietnamese Army had enough manpower to keep up and match the number of American troops.[13] President Johnson

broke another promise and had to rely on the Select Service System, also known as the Draft, to meet the needs of the military that volunteers could not fill. Draft calls doubled to 35,000 by orders under Johnson in 1965.[14] To save face, President Johnson tried to keep Americans in the dark about the war by employing a policy of minimum candor. This policy would damage American's trust in government and create a credibility gap.[15] As the war and protest continued, Americans began educating themselves about the war as much as they could.

Americans Protest the War

Americans became dissatisfied with the government and the war. In the 1960s, racial protests occurred nationwide, and with the growing disapproval, Vietnam War protests followed. Protests the war began in 1964, starting at the University of Michigan with students who were a part of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), hosting teach-ins giving seminars about the Vietnam War. The first extreme opposition to the war took place on November 6, 1965, when five men burned their draft cards in New York City.[16] The five men burned their draft cards as an act of solidarity with Catholic pacifist David Miller, the first protester to publicly burn his draft card on October 15, 1965.[17] In January 1966, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) wrote a statement on Vietnam, expressing their dissent towards the war, writing, "We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself."[18] In early August 1966, the SNCC's Atlanta Project confronted military personnel by picketing the Twelfth Army Corps Headquarters induction center. The efforts of the SNCC and the Atlanta Project inspired other groups in the U.S. to stage anti-war protests and demonstrations.[19]

Due to the credibility gap between the government and the news about the Vietnam War, independent journalists took to publishing information about the war. In January 1967, the Ramparts Magazine issued "The Children of Vietnam" by William Pepper. In this issue, photographs of Vietnamese children who are victims of the use of napalm and white phosphorus by the U.S. Military describe their conditions. The editors of this magazine issue wrote about and added graphic images of the children burned, injured, and starving to show Americans the results of the Johnson Administration's policy of unrestricted bombing in Vietnam's countryside. In an interview with Murray Polner, Steve Harper, who fought in Vietnam, recalled an operation led by the Third Battalion Fifth Marines where the commander did not care about their actions and ordered his thirty-five gunners to use "Willie Peters" or white phosphorus rounds to "wipe off" a village. Harper also claimed that the war protesters who objected to the use of napalm did not know anything about that kind of war.[20] In October 1967, the Pentagon riot became the first national protest against the Vietnam War. The Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam organized a march in Washington, D.C., starting with a peaceful picnic, and many speeches and demonstrations throughout the day. By the evening, a full-scale riot broke out and lasted through the night, ending with many arrests but few injuries.[21]

In 1968, the year of the next presidential race, President Johnson dropped out of the race due to the Vietnam War lowering his polling with voters. In August, at the Democratic National Convention (DNC) in Chicago, Illinois, protesters who opposed the war gathered outside the convention. Chicago police, backed by the National Guard, beat, tear-gassed, and arrested hundreds of protesters.[22] The protest included civil rights activists, feminist activists, SDS college

students, and anti-war veterans who fought in Vietnam. John Durant, a Vietnam veteran interviewed by Murray Polner, attended the DNC protests with a group of Vietnam veterans hoping to persuade delegates to support the anti-war candidate, Sen. Eugene McCarthy. Durant recalls the violence from the police officers towards the protester, quoting the cops attacking a Black cameraman: "You Black motherf—, we'll kill you before the night is over."[23] Despite the protesters' efforts, the incumbent Vice President Hubert Humphrey secured enough delegates to earn the presidential nominee in 1968. On the other side of the political aisle, the Republican party nominated former U.S. Representative, Senator, and Vice President Richard Nixon. Nixon aimed to appeal to the American collective with his 1968 Republican National Convention speech. Nixon ran as the anti-war candidate in the 1968 presidential election, promising to end the war in Vietnam; "And I pledge to you tonight that the priority foreign policy objective of our next Administration will be to bring an honorable end to the war in Vietnam."[24] On election day, November 5, 1968, Richard Nixon won by 301 electoral votes.

In November 1969, journalist Seymour Hersh published a piece about a U.S. soldier leading a massacre of Vietnamese civilians and the U.S. Army's attempt to cover it up. Twenty-six-year-old Lieutenant William L. Calley led the murder of twenty-two unarmed South Vietnamese civilians in the My Lai massacre in 1968. On March 16, 1968, a unit of the American Division's 11th Infantry Brigade, known as Charlie Company, arrived at the village of My Lai in northern South Vietnam on a search and destroy mission. The people in the village did not show any resistance to the Americans, but for the next three hours, Charlie Company killed about 504 people in the village. The Charlie Company Vietnamese civilians were killed Vietnamese civilians in extremely graphic ways, and assaulted the women were assaulted. The ages ranged from three years old to eighty years old. Some victims had a C Company carved into their chests. The soldiers who participated in the massacre claimed they were just following orders, and some claimed leadership and other members pressured them into committing gruesome acts. Members of the 11th Brigade tried to cover up the massacre by claiming to have killed 128 Viet Cong. One year later, Ron Ridenhour, a helicopter gunner from another unit, wrote a letter to Congress and military officials detailing what happened on March 16, 1968.[25] On November 12, 1969, the St. Louis Daily published Seymour Hersh's story on the My Lai massacre. On November 20, The Plain Dealer, Cleveland, Ohio's newspaper, published photos of the murdered South Vietnamese civilians.[26] The information about the massacre and the Army's attempt to hide it fueled the continuous protests the war in the United States.

In May 1970, a pro-war social movement occurred in New York City. President Nixon announced the invasion of Cambodia at the end of April 1970, which led to the Kent State shooting.[27] After the announcement, college students across the United States began to host anti-war rallies on the college campuses starting on the first weekend of May. At Kent State University, a student-led, peaceful anti-war protest started at noon on campus. Later that evening, the protest moved to downtown Kent, at the bars. The then peaceful demonstrations turned violent due to confrontation between police and protesters. Demonstrators' bonfire in the streets, stop traffic and smash windows of businesses and police cars. The mayor of Kent, Leroy Satrom, declared a state of emergency and ordered the closure of all bars in downtown Kent. The following Saturday night, the Ohio National Guards arrived in Kent. The protest became more radical at this time, with protesters burning buildings and interfering with the firefighter's efforts to extinguish the flames. In response to the chaos, the Guardsmen tear-

gassed the protesters, which continued into Sunday's demonstrations. On Monday, May 4, 1970, students gathered for another peaceful protest on campus. About 3,000 people joined the protest, with 500 at the core by the Victory Bell, 1,000 in support, and 1,500 spectators at the perimeter. By noon, high-ranking officials in both the Guard and the Ohio government declared the protest banned. General Canterbury, the highest-ranking Guardsmen, decided to disperse the rally. In response, the protesters grew angry and began to throw things at the Guardsmen. General Canterbury then ordered the Guardsman to load their weapons and use tear gas to move protesters. The Guardsmen moved protesters through campus, trapping them in the practice football field. After cornering the protesters, the Guardsmen retreated, pointing their weapons at the crowd. After reaching the top of the hill, twenty-eight out of seventy Guardsmen fired their guns. Most of the men fired their weapons into the air or the ground, but a small portion fired into the crowd, leaving four dead and nine students wounded.[28] In the wake of the shooting, protests erupted in New York City, agitating construction workers on Wall Street on May 8, 1970. College students led the protest, and supporters nearby joined. The participants held a rally and memorial and demanded an end to the war. The construction workers began their counter-protest, waving American Flags and chanting "All the Way U.S.A."[29] The workers started to beat the anti-war protesters with their hard hats and kick them with their steel-toe boots. Other nearby workers joined the construction workers. After beating the anti-war protesters, the construction workers, who were named the hardhat rioters, marched to City Hall to raise the American flag.[30] This event further divided the nation's complicated feelings about the war.

Soldier's Perspective

In the 1970s, the war began to slow down, and more and more people were trying to sort out their feelings, including the soldiers. Most soldiers interviewed by Murray Polner felt they needed to serve their country or felt indifferent about the war. When they returned, they had different feelings about the war. The soldiers who still supported the war after their return home ran into issues with other veterans from the Korean War or World War II. The other veterans would tell them that the other wars were real wars compared to Vietnam or that the soldiers in Vietnam did not do enough to win the war. The soldiers who came back and joined the anti-war movement faced issues with anti-war protesters criticizing the soldiers' actions while they never served in Vietnam.[31]

One common problem among the soldiers interviewed is the view of those who deferred their draft. Many people criticizing the war would defer their draft or not go. Berkeley, California, became one of the prominent places in the United States where people fought the draft or went to jail for not showing up to the draft board. In an underground newspaper based out of Berkeley, protesters found a legal loophole to get those arrested for not answering their draft.[32] Other Vietnam veterans who shared similar stories wrote to answer a newspaper column written by Bob Green asking, "If you are a reader of this column, and you are a Vietnam veteran, were you ever spat upon when you returned to the United States?"[33] The soldiers who came back and faced horrible experiences usually experienced them in liberal places, such as Oakland and San Francisco, California, and Chicago, Illinois. Soldiers with good or neutral return experience usually experienced them in more conservative-leaning states such as Alabama and Indiana. Some veterans joined anti-war groups for veterans, such as Vietnam Veterans Against the War, a non-membership organization that started in 1967.[34]

Throughout the draft, many soldiers felt as if class played a

Figure 2. Anti-Vietnam War protestors and protest signs at the March on the Pentagon, Washington, District of Columbia. Source: National Archives Catalog, 1996.

significant role in who had to go to Vietnam and who got to defer. All nine veterans interviewed by Murry Polner came from working-class backgrounds. A few of the interviewees spoke about their frustration with those who deferred, feeling as if they were able to defer due to their class status. James Fallows's work, "What Did You Do in the Class War, Daddy?", Fallows gives more insight about the type of men drafted. In his writing, Fallows, at the time a senior at Harvard, recalls how he and his classmates avoided the draft. He and his classmates used the resources awarded to them by their status to get dismissed from the medical assessment. After their dismissals, Fallows notes that the next set of men to get medical exams were recent high school graduates from working-class families in Boston who likely did not know they could avoid going to Vietnam.[35]

The War Goes to Hollywood

During and after the war, Hollywood began to make films related to the Vietnam War, or following a fictional soldier's point of view. Hollywood previously made films about World War II to help Americans better understand of the importance of the sacrifices made for the war and the impact of the win on society. Vietnam War-themed movies approached the topic of the war differently. Hollywood took the opportunity to focus on the individual soldier, usually in a combat setting.[36] The war's divisiveness is why Hollywood did not focus on explaining the sensitive and political aspects of the war, as well as the long-term consequences or alternatives. Individually, each movie about the war has some of the plot focus on one or two social issues at a time. The films cover gender and sexuality, the working class, and racism. These films are not to be used as snapshots of a historical event because they do not explain why the war happened. The purpose of the films is to show a snapshot of the culture during the time of the war.

Most of the Vietnam films made by Hollywood abandoned realism, and directors made certain choices to appeal to what Americans admire. The actors in the films playing the role of combat infantrymen did not match the actual age range of real combat infantrymen. In the movie, *The Deer Hunter* (1978), director Michael Cimino cast thirty-four-year-old Robert DeNiro to play the role of what usually would be a teenager.[37] Directors cast older actors to convey to the audience that real men had been the ones to go to war and not teenagers, despite the average age of the G.I. being nineteen. Another way directors played to the audience's fantasy was by having a storyline about a solo hero saving the day. American fiction has a history of portraying strength by having a character fit the classic lone cowboy archetype. Americans, in general, seem to admire lone heroes. Writers and directors used this trait to their advantage to help rewrite the history and perception of the war to audiences. Most military operations and modern war are usually group events and leave little space for the solo missions portrayed in films like *Rambo* (1982), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), and *The*

Deer Hunter (1978).[38] Directors also had control over how they portrayed the enemy. Much like World War II-themed films, the enemy is shown as inhuman and cruel.[39] Directors make choices like these for the films to have a pro-America narrative, for audiences to not feel sympathy for what the United States did to others and to change the narrative surrounding the Vietnam War.

The production of anti-war-themed films did not become as common as the pro-war or neutral opinion films. If studios wanted to make an anti-war film, they would face government intervention, or must face political and economic problems, or controversy.[40] Films that took the neutral approach, the topic with the message of war is violent and brutal made it through the rigorous screening process and gained approval from the government. The film *Platoon* (1986) takes a critical stance about the war, but does not directly address the U.S. government and military's actions.[41] In Stanley Kubrick's *Full Metal Jacket* (1978), he offers a cultural critique of how soldiers trained and socialized before they are sent off to war.[42] Critics did not seem to like these style of films that did not paint the United States in a great light in regard to the war. A portion of the Vietnam-themed films had right-wing undertones by making the idea of war something exciting and fun and having a main character that is seen as a very strong and cool. Sylvester Stallone, cast as John Rambo and *Rambo* (1982) eliminates the historical context that the film should be about. The *Rambo* (1982-2019) series represent an alternative reality where hypermasculine American G.I.s won the war. Stallone's muscular physique, the costume design of John Rambo, optionally wearing a tank top, and often equipped with a weapon played into what Newsweek said in a 1985 December article, "Sylvester Stallone has brought the hero back to the forefront of American mythology."[43]

Though many Vietnam War-themed films did not accurately portray the event from a historical standpoint, the films still influenced the public. Fictional films that pained the United States in the best light and had a lone hero plotline have had the best influence on society, changing how the public thought about the war despite not having participated. Films like *Rambo* and similar glamourized the war and military for many young Americans who did not have to go to a battle zone. **The Vietnam War and the films based on it, such as *Platoon* (1986), *Apocalypse Now* (1979), and *Full Metal Jacket* (1978) made it hard to recruit for the military, unlike World War II-themed films**. The horrific images from the Vietnam War could not be used as recruitment posters at public film events.[44] The image and success of *Rambo* (1986) helped bring back military recruitment because of how audiences perceived the film and the character.

Conclusion

The Vietnam war era brought many challenges to Americans. High tensions across the United States from many social issues and the war led to many protests across America. The government promised not to escalate the war but swiftly broke their promises. When the war escalated, the government turned to increasing draft numbers, causing a conflict between the public and the government. Young people protested the draft, and some deferred if they knew how. Most of the young men who answered their draft call came from working-class families, which made the conflict back home seem like it had been a conflict of the social classes. The Johnson administration left Americans in the dark about the escalation of the war and news about the war in general. Many independent journalists and teach-in to learn more about the war. As soldiers returned home, they faced challenges upon re-entry into American society. Overall, Americans had held, conflicting feelings about the war and Hollywood studios, writers, and directors looked to making films to help Americans better digest their feelings

about the war. The films about the Vietnam War covered many different topics and showcased many different perspectives through the lens of a soldier, or a group of soldiers. Filmmakers took an ahistorical approach to their films, but the purpose of the films were not to make people hate the United States, but to help people understand the perspective of the G.I. who, despite everything back home, served their country.

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SEMINAL MOMENT? THE 2017 U.S. SENATE CAMPAIGN IN ALABAMA

by Beau Bowden

During a Special Election for a U.S. Senate seat in 2017, Alabama erupted into a defining battle between the constraints of its history and the opportunity of its future. Even for people like me, who worked directly on Democrat candidate Doug Jones's campaign, his win felt far from inevitable. The campaign faced an uphill climb from the beginning, and no amount of hope could cure the uncertainty of Election Day, December 12, 2017. Momentum built over the summer and fall. First, Jones proved formidable in the Democratic primary. With his civil rights credentials and aptitude for national fundraising, he proved Alabama's most capable Democratic candidate in a decade. Then, when former Alabama Chief Justice Roy Moore won the Republican nomination, Alabamians confronted a choice between two very different narratives about their state and its representation. Finally, as the election neared, brave women alleged that Moore sexually assaulted them as minors in the 1970s. In 2017, Alabama attracted intense media attention as voters contemplated starkly different choices of who to elect as their next U.S. senator. Each man represented a distinct point along the intersection of past and future that would define Alabamians, if only for a brief historical episode.

Striking While the Iron is Hot

On Thursday, January 21, 2017, Doug Jones piddled around the law office he shared with Greg Hawley on an upper floor of Park Place Tower in the heart of Birmingham, Alabama. At the same time, down the street at the historic Kelly Ingram Park, crowds gathered to hear passionate speakers chant inspiring slogans and voice their vehement discontent at the election and inauguration of Donald J. Trump as president of the United States. The event unfolding below was known as the Women's March. The crowd swelled throughout the afternoon before they took to marching through the streets of Birmingham. Thousands made their way down Fifth Avenue North before turning up treelined Twentieth Street and again down Park Place. Jones moved from window to window to view marchers on three sides of his building. Waves of Alabamians, primarily women but not exclusively, demanded that their disgust go acknowledged. Jones later wrote of this moment as one of the pivotal events that drew his attention back to seeking elected office.[1]

Political engagement skyrocketed nationwide after the election of Donald Trump. For Alabama, where Trump beat Democrat Hillary Clinton by nearly 30%, protests against his election seemed futile. However, their importance lies in their sizable and diverse demographics rather than their transferability into electoral victories. Alabama is in the Solid South, once known for its reliable Democratic election results. But, like the rest of the region, the state shifted solidly Republican in the 1990s, when the last vestiges of conservatism left the Democratic Party. Historian Glenn Feldman argues that the "acute racialization of Southern politics has clearly kept pace with the strides of the modern-day civil rights movement. It manifests itself in the ascendance of a once-odious Republican Party in the South whose popularity has run a rough parallel to Southern white disgust with the steadily increasing racial liberalism of the national Democratic Party since the New Deal."[2] Historically, the Alabama Democratic Party's voting block consists of Black leaders with connections to the civil rights movement, a few floundering special interest groups such as unions, gaming, and trial lawyers, and young people unable to step into the dwindling bench of candidates the party manages to attract in urban areas and racially drawn districts. With little

foundation to build upon, a potential Democratic campaign in Alabama had to be self-sustainable. It could not rely on the state party's infrastructure like is possible in more politically competitive states. Other states, in similar predicaments, showed promise for Democrats. Virginia had already made the transition from red to purple to blue. In 2017, Democrats held the governorships of North Carolina and Louisiana, and the future Senator from Georgia, Jon Ossoff, undertook an impressive campaign for a competitive U.S. House seat in suburban Atlanta. These scenarios all pointed to Democratic candidates being able to compete across the South under the right conditions.[3] Alabama may have been the toughest to conquer, but the wave of anti-Trump activism Jones saw during the Women's March signaled renewed opportunity.

Alabama Republicans, on the other hand, wielded complete power in 2017, controlling the governorship, both houses of the state legislature with super majorities, and the state supreme court. However, before the year ended, every leader in the Republican trifecta had left office within a short span, all in disgrace. First, House Speaker Mike Hubbard of Auburn became the latest member of the State-House-to-Prison Pipeline when a jury convicted him of violating the state ethics laws he helped pass. Upon his conviction on June 10, 2016, a state law prohibiting lawbreakers from serving as lawmakers automatically removed him from office.[4]

The second collapse in the trifecta played out through the spring of 2017 as salacious details of the governor's personal life came to light. Robert Bentley earned the nickname "Luv Guv" for his affair with a female staffer. Legal questions surrounding the use of state funds to conduct and hide the affair led to ethics and later criminal investigations. Bentley controversially appointed Alabama Attorney General Luther Strange, the chief prosecutor for the State, to the U.S. Senate seat vacated by Jeff Sessions when Sessions accepted a position in President Trump's cabinet.[5] While the legislature contemplated impeaching Bentley, a process murkily spelled out in Alabama's famously long constitution, the Governor decided to plead guilty to a lesser crime and avoid dragging this very personal turned-public ordeal out further. He, like Hubbard, was automatically removed from office on April 10, 2017. Bentley's removal catapulted then Lieutenant Governor Kay Ivey to the Governor's Office.[6]

Watching fellow Republicans topple from their pedestals, Chief Justice Roy Moore fought his own scandals. Moore's fixture within Alabama politics dates to his 1992 appointment as an Etowah County Circuit Judge, where he previously served in the district attorney's office. Moore built his judicial reputation on defending Christian conservativism. **Best known before his eventual senate run as the "Ten Commandments Judge," Moore recited prayers before judicial procedures and installed a wooden plaque of the Ten Commandments in his courtroom.**[7] Lawsuits followed Moore's tenure, with plaintiffs seeking injunctions on the grounds of Moore violating the Establishment Clause of the U.S. Constitution. Moore's book *So Help Me God* explains how he used the controversy as a platform for his eventual election as Chief Justice of the Alabama Supreme Court in 2000. He quickly turned his attention to erecting a grandiose granite monument of the Ten Commandments in the rotunda of the Alabama Judicial Building. A circus ensued, pitting Moore against Black state legislators who sought to include a display featuring Martin Luther King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech nearby, fellow court justices from whom Moore did not seek counsel regarding his plans, and liberal activists with the American Civil Liberties Union and Southern Poverty Law Center calling for a separation between church and state. Moore lost the fight when a federal judge ruled his actions unconstitutional. Moore refused to remove the monument, so the court removed him from office in November 2003 for violating its order.

Moore writes that he anticipated the possibility of removal, but it still shocked him.[8] He thought himself invincible. Moore proudly held responsibility for forcing Alabamians to question the role of religion in public decision-making. His obstinance grew his fame, his base, and his enemies. He'd lost this round but would not cease to give Alabamians a reprise from ideological turmoil. Moore's intensely reactive posturing yielded hesitation and hate among his friends and foes.

Moore lost his second round, too. After a series of failed gubernatorial runs, Alabamians returned him to the office of Chief Justice in 2013. His policies, again, drew ire for their divisiveness, and Moore wallowed in the pleasure of antagonizing his critics. When the U.S. Supreme Court legalized same-sex marriage in the 2015 *Obergefell v. Hodges* ruling, Moore challenged the decision by telling county probate offices not to issue licenses to couples of the same sex.[9] The Alabama Court of the Judiciary again found Moore had violated his oath of office and suspended him for the remainder of his term. Moore resigned from office a few weeks after exhausting appeals to mount a campaign for the U.S. Senate in the 2017 Special Election.

Newly sworn in after Governor Bentley's removal, Kay Ivey made two career-defining decisions during her first weeks in office. First, to lessen accusations of impropriety, she reversed course and called for a special election for the U.S. Senate seat Bentley had promised Strange. Ivey could not have known the election's eventual outcome. Considering the results of recent elections and the non-competitive nature of statewide elections in Alabama, it is likely that Ivey did not think the seat would fall to the Democrats. Even if she had considered the possibility of a Republican losing the election, she showed no signs that it impacted her decision to call the election. This action, however, proved consequential in the events of 2017 as it opened a window to opportunity for the Democrats. Moore announced his run for Senate on April 26th. Jones declared two weeks after him.

Ivey made her other consequential decision in signing the Alabama Memorial Preservation Act into law, better known as the "Confederate Monument Bill." The law protects statues, monuments, and other public displays erected over 40 years prior from local governments' removal. The reactionary piece of legislation prevented the dismantling of Confederate memorials across the state. Movements to remove Confederate monuments, memorials, and flags from the public sphere has steadily grown since at least the 1990s. In 2015, a White nationalist shot and killed congregants of the Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal Church in Charleston, South Carolina, sparking renewed calls for flag and monument removal.[10] At this junction in 2017, the Alabama state government asserted its position that Confederate iconography merited preservation instead of removal or even recontextualization. The rhetoric surrounding the issue fell along the traditional arguments of "heritage versus hate" that Alabamians have continuously failed to resolve since the conclusion of the Civil War. As the famous William Faulkner quote goes, "The past is never dead. It's not even past!"[11] Republicans in Alabama, more than anything Doug Jones had done up to this point, forced Alabamians to question their history's place in contemporary life while underestimating the consequences of this introspection.

The Two Choices on the Ballot

Surprisingly, Alabama voters also questioned what constitutes a family and who deserves dignity under the law. Whereas Moore had long rallied against the LGBTQ community, Jones embraced it by speaking about his own family. The national legalization of same-sex marriage in 2015 led Jones's son Carson to come out as gay.[12] Carson

prominently served as an advisor and fixture on Jones's political campaigns. Doug Jones spoke at Birmingham's Pride celebrations and unveiled a campaign logo featuring a rainbow stripe at what was one of the first campaign stops after announcing his run for Senate.[13] Despite facing an openly gay opponent in the Democratic primary, many members of Alabama's LGBTQ community grew to give Jones the same support he showed them. For an issue previously taboo in Alabama politics, Jones adamantly defended the LGBTQ community's right to personal freedoms, privacy, and protection under the law. While Jones's support grew organically, his opponent, Moore, also pushed LGBTQ voters toward Jones. Madison Faile, an artist from Montgomery, remembers attending a Moore rally in Troy, where Faile attended college with Moore's son Caleb. "It was just an anti-gay rant," Faile said of Moore's speech." That's all it was. His entire platform was never about building the State of Alabama. It wasn't about what he would do for people in the rural Black Belt who don't have running water. It was about, 'These are the people we don't like.' It was tribalism at its worst."[14] Psychologists who have studied Moore's campaigns for various political offices in Alabama refer to Moore's actions as the "Pharisee Effect," when candidates tout a religious message that voters determine is too far from acceptable norms and reject it at the polls.[15] For the first time in Alabama history, LGBTQ dignity was on a statewide ballot and had a chance of winning because Roy Moore miscalculated public opinion regarding his extremities and this population of Alabamians.

Fundamentally, Jones and Moore approached criminal justice differently. As a judge, Moore offered edicts entrenched with interpretations of the Bible to further his extremist doctrine. Jones, on the other hand, used the judicial system as a tool for ensuring justice. In 1963, members of the Ku Klux Klan bombed the 16th Street Baptist Church in downtown Birmingham, killing four young Black children while injuring dozens of other churchgoers. The case went cold through the 1960s as witnesses refused to come forward to identify the suspected bombers, and prosecutors questioned the strength of the physical evidence they gathered. In 1971, Alabama Attorney General Bill Baxley reopened the case. Baxley's prosecution secured a guilty verdict for one of the bombers, Robert Chambliss, but prosecutors and the public knew there were other culprits. In 2000, a grand jury indicted Thomas Blanton and Bobby Frank Cherry for their involvement in the bombing. Jones prosecuted their cases and secured guilty verdicts for both men. Jones's book, *Bending Towards Justice,* depicts this episode in his life.[16]

In the 1980s, while Jones and Moore embarked on their parallel political careers, Tarana Burke, a native of New York, came to Alabama to work for civil rights related non-profits, unaware of the consequential role she would play in the 2017 faceoff. Burke stayed in Alabama and, in 2005, kicked off a campaign to draw awareness to victims of sexual assault in Selma, Alabama. It was the first "Me Too" campaign of its kind. The phrase gained national attention on October 17, 2017, when actress Alyssa Milano tweeted, "If you've been sexually harassed or assaulted, write 'Me Too."[17] Less than a month later, the *Washington Post* published a story chronicling four accusations of sexual abuse by Moore during his time as Assistant District Attorney in Etowah County. The women alleged that Moore, then in his 30s, pursued them as teenagers.[18] Moore denied the allegations and unsuccessfully sued the accusers for defamation of character.[19] He disappeared from the campaign trail for the last month of the election as Republicans retracted their endorsements, hoping the clock would run out before Jones won the election. Jones racked up millions of dollars in fundraising, as reports indicated that his campaign had

raised $250,000 daily in the aftermath of the *Post* article.[20] The brave women came forward in a moment like no other, when accusers had more support than at any point in recent memory. For his part, Jones says his campaign did not involve themselves in the pursuit of allegations against Moore, and their polling indicated a chance of winning long before the allegations went public.[21]

Jones previewed the slogan "Right Side of History" for a few weeks before launching it at a rally with then-former Vice President Joe Biden in early October. **Jones positioned his campaign messaging to reflect a struggle along the moral arch of history, not the realization of a promise but the pursuit of it.** In contrast, Roy Moore stood as a symbol of the past, of remorselessness and divisiveness.[22] On his decision to invoke historical consciousness as a tenant of his campaign, Jones said, "The wrong side of history was celebrating the Confederacy and the Lost Cause. It was time somebody started talking about that and not worrying that we were going to lose the folks that are in Daughters of Confederate America, or whatever the hell they are."[23] The Daughters of the Confederacy commissioned many Confederate memorials erected throughout the early twentieth century, now protected by law.

The Jones campaign also did not shy away from challenging the discourse of contextualizing Alabama's Confederate past. Jones released an ad titled "Honor" in October 2017. The ad features the story of two Civil War soldiers fighting at the Battle of Gettysburg. One soldier is from Maine, while the other is from Alabama. In a voiceover, Jones says, "I want to go to Washington and meet the representatives from Maine, and those from every other state not on a battlefield, but to find common ground because there is honor in compromise and civility."[24] Some on the left criticized Jones for referring to the Confederate soldier as brave as if calling him such condoned the cause for which he fought.[25] Jones disagrees with the criticism, calling the ad effective messaging and saying its purpose was to show his campaign "wanted people to come together to do the right thing for the people of the state and not continue to fight the Civil War that was fought in the past."[26] Doug Jones saw the special election as an impetus to drive conversations forward on what it meant to care for neighbors and all fellow citizens alike, regardless of differences, partisan or otherwise. Alabamians had no choice but to confront not only the demons of its past but Moore's as well, while Jones dared try a platform of dignity and civility.

Campaign Strategies

Jones's message resonated with supporters looking for ways to declare their allegiance to the right side of history. Every campaign staffer hears their managers say, "Yard signs don't win elections" at one point or another, but the Jones campaign reinvigorated the tactic. After Barack Obama rewrote the playbook on campaigning in the digital age with his first presidential election in 2008, politicos began viewing yard signs as an obsolete and costly form of campaigning with little reward on investment. However, in 2017, Jones's team developed a plan to exchange yard signs for updated contact information unavailable through traditional political party apparatuses where voter data often lag months or years behind reality, thus justifying their cost. The signs became a phenomenon of their own. Wade Perry, Jones's Campaign Manager, gave strict orders to supporters that yard signs belonged in yards where they would be safer from city crews keeping rights-of-way clear. They would not, however, be safe from thieves. Moore supporters audaciously stole signs from yards, angering Jones's supporters, who would return to the Jones headquarters to pick up a replacement.[27] One day during the campaign, Perry and I smoked cigarettes outside the office while waiting for the next truckload of signs. He told me he had bought a

small car worth of yard signs. A month later, he upped that estimate to a house.

Beyond data collection, the campaign argued that the signs, more importantly, legitimized Jones's run from neighbor to neighbor. A Democrat had not won statewide in Alabama since Lucy Baxley won a seat on the Public Service Commission in 2008. A Jones sign planted in a yard sparked curiosity from neighbors who wondered if a Democrat should win the election and then wondered if one could win. Perry remembers, "I could drive down the street and think, 'Goodness, I haven't seen a Democratic yard sign in that yard in a long, long time." But for Faile, it was not the typical Jones signs that caught his eye. Instead, Jones supporters in Montgomery and elsewhere added their twist by creating "GOP for Jones" materials. Faile recalls, "I was in a very old-school red part of Montgomery. These are the Emory Folmar era voters, the Reagan Republicans, the [George] Wallace people - late Wallace, and I saw a 'GOP for Jones' sign. It was eye-opening because a lot of people in Montgomery keep politics to themselves."[28] Jones's team understood the need to keep the campaign local, and neighbor-to-neighbor persuasion is as local as it gets on a campaign. However, many cars worth of signs Perry bought, the election's closeness proved every mechanism utilized to reach voters was worth its price. Ultimately, the campaign's robust field efforts included knocking on 300,000 doors and making 1.2 million phone calls.[29]

Politicians go where the voters are, which is an obvious description of any in-person campaign stop, but determining where to chase voters makes all the difference in reaching them. For his part, Moore campaigned to Republican audiences. Republicans typically outperform Democrats in Alabama by wide margins, so it was not a poor decision at face value. Going to churches, GOP club events, and the occasional Chamber of Commerce luncheon can be enough to propel aspiring politicians into office if they are down-ballot and tug onto the coattails of others. Moore, however, sat alone on the Republican ticket. Before the allegations of sexual abuse of minors, Moore's most noteworthy campaign event occurred on the eve of securing the Republican nomination. Posing as a cowboy, hat and all, he pulled a tiny revolver out of his pocket while speaking to an audience in Fairhope, a town in South Alabama on the shores of Mobile Bay.[30] He meant to galvanize voters by showing his support for the Second Amendment, but the schtick made Moore appear as a grown man playing dress-up with his pew-pew gun.

On the other hand, Jones followed what Heath Carpenter called "roots ethic" in his book *The Philosopher King: T Bone Burnett and the Ethic of a Southern Cultural Renaissance.*[31] Roots ethic in the South refers to commonalities that unite people from the region, such as shared traditions, values, and tastes in food, art, music, and the like. It challenges the false dichotomy of Black and White, left versus right. A few days after securing his own nomination, Jones ventured to North Birmingham to meet potential voters at a popular meat-and-three restaurant, Niki's West.[32] Technically a steak and seafood restaurant, Niki's exists because of the cultural infusions within working-class Birmingham. Black and White people come together to eat Southern culinary staples prepared by second-generation Greek owners. It is a place where the South is at its best.

Down in Montgomery, Faile described how artists created "Never Moore" campaign pins. Referencing the famous lines in Edgar Allen Poe's poem, the raven became a symbol within anti-Roy Moore imagery.[33] Then, musicians Jason Isbell and St. Paul and the Broken Bones, all from Alabama, held get-out-the-vote concerts for Jones in Huntsville and Birmingham ahead of the December 12th election. Jones described the intentionality of campaigning with roots

ethic in mind: "You go where people are not just because they're numbers or voters, but you try to incorporate what you're saying into those events and with those people. With folks like Jason Isbell, people sat up and took notice. Sometimes, we would go where we weren't expected to be, and that's an important way to relate to people, listen to people, and hear their cares and concerns."[34] However, Jones had to balance campaigning for crossover voters with turning out a predominantly Black Democratic base. It was not as much about the types of events he held in Black communities but that he was having significant events in them. The unexpected places Jones referred to could as easily be interpreted as upper-class White neighborhoods in the Birmingham suburbs as they can be small towns in Alabama's Black Belt. The media presence Jones brought with him everywhere he went allowed rural Black voters to speak to the national press and have their concerns amplified. Not only was Jones showing up, but he also brought a worldwide audience in the form of journalists covering the race.

As much as Jones attempted to keep the rhetoric and issues focused on Alabama, a significant presence of out-of-state actors emerged throughout the election. Jones and Moore received donations and support from individuals nationwide, not just from shadowy political action committees trying to sway voters. They each had volunteers and campaign staffers not native to Alabama making critical decisions, working phones, and knocking on doors. They each invited national surrogates to come stump on their behalf. Celebrities loved Doug Jones and despised Roy Moore, especially after the allegations against Moore became a chapter in the evolving #MeToo movement.[35] It was Jones, however, who cheekily called Conservative politico Steve Bannon an "outside agitator … carpetbagging in Alabama" on Twitter.[36] In an interview with *Slate* after Jones's tweet, University of Alabama history professor Joshua Rothman elaborated on the term, "It's a descriptor that historically has been applied by people on the reactionary side of politics to dismiss people who are not from a place coming in and stirring up trouble."[37] Rothman understood the ironic use of the word by Jones more than his interviewer, who accused Jones of invoking dog-whistle politics. The affair speaks to Southerners' wariness of outsiders telling them what they should do, how they should live, and, in 2017, how they should vote. Jones is skilled in media relations from his time prosecuting the church bombers, but it was Moore who attracted national attention to Alabama. Moore's reputation preceded him, and the allegations against him were too salacious for national media not to scrutinize him further. The media's attention, in turn, caused donations and out-of-state volunteers to flock to the state. Jones kept to his message and, in an attempt to keep the story local, would always call on local reporters at press gaggles, giving them the quotes for their articles to run in towns across Alabama before letting the national outlets get their soundbites.[38]

By taking the message neighbor-to-neighbor, Jones's campaign ingrained itself in the fabric of Alabama. When he won the election, he declared that he "always knew the people of Alabama had more in common than that which divides us." An NBC News exit poll showed Jones winning 96% of Black voters, but less than 20,000 votes ultimately separated Jones's victory from Moore's defeat. Neither man received over fifty percent of the vote. Jones became the first Democrat to represent Alabama in the U.S. Senate since his former boss, Howell Heflin, left office twenty years earlier.

Seminal Moment

A few weeks before election day, the Jones campaign released a television ad called "Daphne." Speaking from the

pulpit of a historically Black church in the ad, Jones asks, "50 years from now, will they say this race was one of those seminal moments where everything changed?"[39] For a brief moment in 2017, Alabamians dared declare themselves better than their past says they should be. An unexpectedly competitive special election for a U.S. Senate seat allowed Alabamians to consider questions beyond governmental policy and self-reflect on who best represented their vision of themselves and their values. The pendulum swung in the opposite direction three years later during the election to a full term for the same senate seat. Instead of facing an accused pedophile, Republican voters pitted Jones against a popular college football coach.[40] Instead of the media frenzy following him from one campaign stop to the next, the COVID-19 pandemic infringed upon conventional politicking techniques.[41] Years of Democratic Party infighting bruised his once solid political relationships within parts of Alabama's Black community.[42] Jones lost his bid for reelection in 2020. When asked if he still believes 2017 was a seminal moment, Jones says, "I think it was, but it was, ultimately, not the moment that I hoped it would be. I hoped there would be faster change. The campaign gave people hope, but it also gave people permission to step out and talk about these issues. We know that change comes slowly. We did not flip Alabama blue, and I didn't believe we did with that election at the time, but we started a dialog."[43] The 2017 Special Election, with all its intersecting themes of past, present, and future, stands separate from its immediate aftermath. Jones's campaign may have lasted less than a year, but it proved consequential in pushing Alabamians to reckon with how their past divisions shaped their contemporary identity. Alabamians gazed into the past to see a different path to a peaceful future where their divisions could finally just live in history.

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CHANGES IN RESPONSE AND RECOVERY: 2004-2005 AND 2020-2021 HURRICANE SEASONS

by Tyler Hargrave

Introduction

Gulf Coast states ("Gulf States") like Louisiana have changed their response and recovery efforts to natural disasters since Hurricane Katrina made landfall in 2005, and they have also adapted to the most recent challenge of COVID-19 during the 2020-2021 hurricane seasons. In dealing with hurricanes and other natural disasters, Gulf State officials and residents have a long history of resilience, so when the destructive hurricane seasons of 2020 and 2021 hit the region, it was no surprise that they were able to adjust to a never-before-seen challenge posed by the pandemic. Throughout these two hurricane seasons, government officials in Louisiana felt prepared to handle this new variable and were able to use their past experiences of dealing with unexpected problems to solve them with "out-of-the-box" solutions. The stories that will be mentioned highlight how those who lived near Louisiana and along the Gulf Coast of Alabama experienced these storms in 2020 and how they compare to past storms this region has weathered. Lastly, these experiences, both past and recent, have helped prepare a Gulf State like Louisiana in to deal with similar natural disasters that they may encounter in the near future.

Growing up in south-central Louisiana, my family and I have endured many hurricanes and other natural disasters. As a child, I watched our local news during the first days of school each year wondering whether we would have to go to classes or not for a few days because of a potential hurricane or tropical storm that was brewing in the Gulf. We "road out" several storms at my childhood home in Carencro, LA with one of the first ones I remember being Hurricane Lili in 2002 which made landfall only about an hour south of us in Intracoastal City, LA.[1] Though I was only 6 years old, I still recall the widespread flooding this storm caused around my home from the torrential downpour that came along with the winds from this Category 1 hurricane. Since then, I have lost track of how many tropical storms, low category hurricanes, high category hurricanes, or other natural disasters I have seen hit Louisiana and the other Gulf States, but one thing that has stuck with me throughout these years is how much this region along the Gulf Coast must prepare each year for the possibility of a major storm that could significantly impact their way of life. With this interest in mind, I decided to study and conduct interviews with individuals on how states like Louisiana prepare, respond, and recover from natural disasters. First-hand accounts show how the past has helped change the way in which the Gulf States conduct these operations even while adapting to the more recent challenges these states face.

2004-2005 Hurricane Season

Hurricane Ivan hit Baldwin County, Alabama in 2004. Jay and Vicky Gunn, parents of a close friend of mine, say it was one of the most memorable hurricanes they've experienced as residents of the area since 1988. When asked why they remember this specific storm the most, Jay Gunn said:

Ivan was the first hurricane that we actually witnessed as homeowners. Before that, we'd always been renting or living in Vicky's parent's house at Fort Morgan, which is where we live now. When a storm was coming, and you have to get ready to leave. There was no thought about it. You just put what you wanted to keep in the car and leave. Well, all of a sudden it was an entirely different thought process [now that they were homeowners]. We told the boys put whatever you want in two totes, and we literally gathered every picture off the wall that we had, our photo albums, and the duck

calls. That was it. With the dog and the boys, we went to Thomasville. It was pretty scary. Pretty scary coming back too.[2]

This process of gathering belongings and evacuating out of town is something that Vicky Gunn describes as being a very emotional undertaking. There is certainly stress created by not knowing what you might return home to. When the Gunn's did return home, Jay, who had been a biologist for the Conservation of the Marine Resources Division of the Alabama Department of Conservation, was reassigned to multiple agencies to assist in the recovery efforts after Hurricane Ivan. Vicky remembers Jay taking their son, Kelley, with him to supply the Bayou La Batre area of Alabama with ice and water, displaying how the state was utilizing all departments along the coast to help in its relief and recovery effort.

The widespread damage from this Category 3 storm also significantly impacted Jay's wife Vicky.[3] The storm made landfall just west of Gulf Shores, Alabama, near the Gunn's home. Vicky recalls the disaster's effects it had on her job as an elementary school teacher:

> When you have hurricanes, it closes down schools. The first thing they have to find out after the storm has passed is if the buildings are damaged and taking care of people's basic needs. It has an impact on the educational processes of the child as well because basic needs come first. After their basic needs are met, we can get back to school. With this storm we were out of school. I can't even remember at that point if we at home had been out of power for 15 days. I'm sure we (the school district) were out longer than that because the northern part of our county is much more rural than the southern part and the county works as a whole.[4]

With this being years before "distance learning" options would become available for students, something that would not become a common terminology until the 2020-2021 school year, Vicky shows the challenges that many educators along the Gulf Coast face during hurricane season. They think first about their own families before turning their attention and concern to their students. Her concern in making sure her students received their "basic needs" before returning to schoolwork exemplifies another essential part of the recovery process and the importance of schools in providing those basic needs in the community. Ensuring those in the community have their "basic needs" met during and after a storm will be an essential part of the response and recovery efforts that is the focus of this paper. To be able to do this along the Gulf Coast of Alabama is one thing, but to achieve this in a major population center like New Orleans, Louisiana brings with it whole new obstacles state agencies have to overcome in order to provide its citizens with what they need and be able to evacuate as many as they can out before (and in this next case after) the storm gets there.

The 2005 hurricane season arguably reshaped how the Gulf States, specifically Louisiana, and more broadly, the entire United States responds and recovers from natural disasters today. Hurricane Katrina was one of the most devastating and impactful hurricanes of the 21st Century. Making landfall southeast of New Orleans, Louisiana as a strong Category 3 hurricane, it slammed the Gulf Coast of Mississippi while rain hammered the city of New Orleans for hours. As I recall, it seemed as if most believed Louisiana was spared the worst of the storm since Katrina was a Category 5 hurricane at one time before making landfall and narrowly missed hitting

New Orleans directly. Maj. Neil Fudge, the Deputy Director of the Governor's Office of Homeland Security and Emergency Preparedness (GOHSEP) for the State of Louisiana, has been a part of the Louisiana National Guard for the last 32 years. He was on the frontlines of the response and recovery efforts and remembers the moment everything changed. Maj. Fudge recalls how residents in New Orleans had "ridden out" many previous storms, and that "not everybody believed that they needed to actually evacuate, and we really thought we had skated through a major disaster until the levees busted. Once the levees busted, we realized, how serious it was."[5]

I asked Maj. Fudge earlier in our conversation about the state's response to Hurricane Katrina specifically relating to the city's evacuation. He mentioned that as he worked with the Emergency Operation Center (EOC), they developed a plan to use 1000 buses to transport as many residents as they could to other places in Louisiana, Texas, and even Arkansas. Their plan included establishing fueling and rest spots and ensuring the people had dry clothes, food, and water for their trip. However, when it came to the execution of the plan, the difficulties of this operation became evident. Confusion mounted over each shelter's buses' destination. Some shelters continued to receive more buses after reaching their maximum capacity. Maj. Fudge recalls the lessons learned from this part of their response efforts:

The challenging part is when you start evacuating that many people that fast. We ended up sending buses to different shelters and a lot of times we were filling those shelters up before I could send the buses for which I had accounted for. So, we had buses that I hadn't accounted for were showing up at these shelters that were already full, and the local governments were sending them to different places. It was a challenge we have learned to take better accountability for when it comes to evacuations. Nowadays, we are putting wristbands on people and identifying some of the shelters that are for the general population where we will send those people to.[6]

This example of a lesson learned is something that Maj. Fudge believes better prepares the state to respond to natural disasters that may require the evacuation of entire cities or areas in the state going forward. When discussing the challenges Katrina posed by evacuating the city, Maj. Fudge had this to say:

You know, there's never been a time we evacuated all the jails and prisons in an area. There's never been a time where we have evacuated all the people in that area. Nobody looks at the pros to it. They always look at the cons. The pro is we evacuated more people ever in the United States at one time faster than anyone else. No one ever looks at that piece of it, but it was done.[7]

Maj. Fudge even admits that there were "numerous disasters within that disaster" which made it more difficult than previous hurricanes.[8] However, he points out something rarely mentioned when discussing this specific storm, which is that there were some significant successes that occurred during this disaster. Authors Christopher Cooper and Robert Block, correspondents for *The Wall Street Journal* during Katrina, reported in their book *Disaster: Hurricane Katrina and the Failure of Homeland Security* that "city and state officials had managed to evacuate some 90 percent of the city in advance of the storm – a rate unprecedented in the annals of disaster response" corroborating Maj. Fudge's recount of their evacuation of the city.[9]

Maj. Fudge described to me how this disaster required a different type of response. One that saw what he called an "outside of the box" approach. He remembers receiving an email one night while working at the EOC location in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, about an hour west of New Orleans. The email directed him to send assistance to a specific location

or else he would "have people dead in the morning." So, following the usual chain of command, he as a Lieutenant at the time told his General that he needed divert assets to a specific location to pick up an estimated number of people. However, when they got there, there were not as many people as Maj. Fudge had been told, which angered his superior officer. Maj. Fudge then proceeded to tell me of a valuable lesson he learned from that experience that would impact how he responds to future natural disasters.

Because he was upset that we had diverted those assets, I started utilizing the Civil Air Patrol at the time. Whenever I was given a location where people were and how many there were, I would ask them to fly over and take a picture and they'll fly over and take a picture and send it to my desk. I would then go to the back and say, 'hey, here's a picture of how many people we have at this location. I need you to divert enough assets to pick them up and move them to safety.'[10]

Maj. Fudge as the Lieutenant giving orders to the General in command, he realized, was not the appropriate or normal way of conducting operations. However, Maj. Fudge goes on to explain how these were not normal times nor circumstances.

The General works very well with me, but we did learn that a Lieutenant telling the General what to do didn't work really well. So, Colonel Smith of the U.S. Army made the call to take us all out of uniform. Since we fell under the command of the military at the time, we all went out of uniform and actually went to civilian clothes just so that nobody looked at rank anymore, and it didn't cloud anyone's judgment.[11]

I will mention later how Maj. Fudge's use of the Civil Air Patrol here during Katrina will be something he takes with him in responding to future disasters. He also stated that they worked as a team saying, "I emphasized, along with our federal partners, because there was a lot of political stuff, 'one team, one fight.' Every time we started a meeting, we started it that way and we ended it that way."[12] However, the previous part of this is interesting to someone like me who grew up in a military household and who understands the importance the chain of command plays in making sure things get done and that proper communication takes place. So, to hear that they disregarded this idea of rank and were in civilian clothes to assure the job got done seemed very "out of the box" thinking as Maj. Fudge put it. In the next section, we will see what the recovery effort looked like during the 2020-2021 hurricane season for those along the Gulf Coast of Alabama while also seeing how the response efforts changed in comparison to the 2005 hurricane season in south Louisiana.

2020-2021 Hurricane Season

For the Gunns, Hurricane Sally in 2020 was the next most memorable storm they experienced after Hurricane Ivan. They described their fear while rain came sideways into their home in Fort Morgan, and hundred-year-old trees snapped and crashed down all around them. With a slow moving yet powerful storm like this, I asked them why they chose to stay this time instead of evacuating like last time. Vicky had this to say, "We didn't see a reason that we would have to leave. If we can be safe and be here, I would stay because the emotional turmoil coming back and not knowing what's gonna be here when you get back right? That was what was so bad in 2004, we were driving home, and we were very fearful that there was nothing left but at the same time, you have to make the decision whether to stay or to leave."[13] So, in the end, as I imagined for many along the Gulf Coast, it depends on past experiences and whether you believe your home can withstand these storms – that determines if you stay or leave. It is interesting to see the emotional aspect that plays a role in their decision making here, but the Gunns

also talk about the extensive recovery effort that began after the storm passed over them.

Vicky describes the difficulties of being able to do her job of as a school bus driver for the county to pick up students after Sally knocked down lots of trees in the area.

For Sally, we were out for at least two to three weeks and at that time I was driving the bus, and it was very dangerous because of the amount of debris that was on the side of the road trying to pick up children. It stayed like that for months. I'm not talking about little piles of stuff. These piles were as tall as the bus or more going down roads. Some of these roads were not passable to begin with. I remember on one road I didn't even go down. The kids had to meet me at another place in order to get on. That experience, of course, was different than in 2004. The kids were glad to get back in school because they were able to get something to eat.[14]

Vicky's description of the dangers when it came to picking up the pieces of what was left behind from Hurricane Sally speaks to not only how dangerous the recovery effort was, but also, the resiliency of the people that live along the Gulf Coast. The Gunns went on to talk about how one of the downsides to the recovery effort during Sally was the fact that their area has only a Volunteer Fire Department to help with emergencies or natural disasters and that they experienced a significant amount of looting taking place with this storm unlike during Hurricane Ivan. This was something they never had to deal with before this storm, which they contribute partly to the growing number of new and younger homeowners that have built their homes in the area since Hurricane Ivan but have never experienced riding out a major storm.

Jay spent some time discussing how, over the years, the cost of insurance to live on the Gulf Coast has increased so significantly that it has made it difficult once a storm comes through to rebuild if you need to. He describes how, even four years after the storm, blue tarps still cover the houses that homeowners have yet to repair. Jay blames the lack of progress on restrictive insurance company payouts. However, he also remembers how there were volunteers willing to come clear debris and fix shingles on people's homes and relief organizations that people could apply for to get their homes fixed up for almost free. Because of these various forms of help, Jay could not understand why the people down the road from them still had not fixed up their own homes.

The Gunns considered themselves lucky to have come out of a storm like Sally with minimal damage to their surrounding property and home. Since the Gunns do not own wind damage insurance, they understand that they would end up having to pay full price if their home were to suffer from that kind of damage in the future. Both Vicky and Jay attribute this out-of-control pricing for that type of coverage on homes like theirs to the insurance companies. The high cost for this particular coverage, they believe, is made possible because only a small number of companies will offer insurance in the area, something the Gunns think the government, be it local or otherwise, needs to step in and change to better help with the recovery process after storms.[15]

Maj. Fudge's experience from Katrina and from other natural disasters; like heavy flooding in south Louisiana in 2016, helped prepare him and his office to respond to the unique challenges they would face during the 2020-2021 hurricane season. In talking about how tracking and being able to prepare for these newer storms, Maj. Fudge described how they have a certain window of time that they can put into action their plans to evacuate certain areas of Louisiana, something he believes the state has gotten better at in the years since Katrina. He says the new problems they

faced with these new storms during the 2020-2021 hurricane season was that "instead of having the time frame that we have had with most storms, these new storms are spinning up in the Gulf and you only have about 72 hours to actually respond. This affects our evacuation plans and all kind of different things. It changes the way that we respond at this time."[16]

One of the ways Maj. Fudge says they can help with evacuations before storms make landfall in the future is using the new pieces of technology that he describes can better predict the amount of water coming in from storm surges and the amount of potential rainfall a given area might receive. He told me that with these new pieces of equipment and models he hopes that they "will be able to predict how much water [from the storm they will receive and] at what levels it will be in certain areas so that we know where to stage our equipment for a better response."[17] Comparing how the state prepared to respond to past hurricanes, Maj. Fudge said "you know, a lot of people weren't thinking about that during Katrina [referring to the staging of equipment and use of technology]. There were quite a few people that died in their attics, and we didn't know that they were in their attics."[18]

The challenge of not knowing where people were during Katrina is something Maj. Fudge has thought a lot about since then. He describes how he has used new pieces of technology and advocated for newer equipment to better locate people trapped by flood waters today. "I have been pushing for drones with flair capabilities. We'll put drones in the air and fly over houses, so we can search for heat seeking things. Once that is detected, we will actually go into houses when some people go into the attic. Technology is definitely a tool that we gotta continue to utilize because it will continue to assist us in every response."[19] In a time where technology is constantly evolving quicker than we can learn to use them, Maj. Fudge sees this as a call to action by local and state officials, both military and government, to utilize these resources for response and recovery efforts. "Even though change is a challenge, we need to make sure we have leadership in place that's willing to make that change and continue to make things better."[20] Similar to Maj. Fudge's experience using the Civil Air Patrol during Katrina to more accurately locate civilians trapped in their homes, his use of drones shows the innovative ways state agencies are working towards implementing newer recovery methods in how they respond to natural disasters today. Along with these new tools, they have also started using other ways to track stranded families as seen in his experience with the 2016 Floods that hit Louisiana.

Maj. Fudge recalls using Louisiana State University's resources to help in the response and recovery efforts during the 2016 Floods, something that would aid them during the 2020-2021 hurricane season. With the floods that took place in 2016, he remembers how they "had places on the Interstate where people were stuck. We had houses that we had to evacuate and sometimes we evacuated the people to a safe place. And then, we ended up having to evacuate them again. It was very challenging because we had to change the way we did operations and a little bit on the response side as well."[21] Realizing the state needed help tracking down who needed help and where, Maj. Fudge explains the role the state university played in assisting their response and recovery efforts through the use of new technology."Social media has gotten so big now that we had to utilize Louisiana State University, and they actually monitor social media for us. They use keywords to track on social media for if anyone said 'hey, I need help, I'm stranded. I need rescue' we could follow up and send people to those locations where they were identifying where they were."[22] This unique and modern

way of being able to track where people were who needed to be rescued using social media is a new tool that the state can now use in their response efforts that was not available to them prior to Katrina. The 2020-2021 hurricane season was still a challenging one, as Maj. Fudge points out, due to the enormous effort to evacuate people into what are called "non-congruent shelters," which are places where individual families can evacuate to a hotel room or portable trailer homes. This was due to the COVID-19 virus still present in Louisiana in both the 2020 and 2021 seasons. Protocols were still in place to keep large groups of people separated from each other in order to prevent the spread of this disease The continued presence of the virus brought on a whole new set of challenges for the state when it came to executing their evacuation plans for natural disasters as it now had to account for providing new means of sheltering large amounts of people.

One of the most challenging issues that Maj. Fudge says he faced in his decades of working natural disaster has been the most recent issue of "non-congruent sheltering" due initially to the COVID-19 virus that was present during the 2020-2021 hurricane seasons which did not allow for large shelter operations the state was used to setting up. Maj. Fudge details the issues of having to acquire and pay for these individual housing units:

We purchased over 5000 travel trailers following Hurricane Ida (2021) and in addition to us doing that, FEMA has been doing direct housing, which is another at least 1500 homes. At this time, I can tell you for us we had purchased over 5000 travel trailers and in doing that we were putting people in as fast as we could trying to shelter them and get them as close as we could to their homes. But in doing that, we didn't have policies and procedures in place to be able to do this. So, you figure that was in 2021. We're in 2024 as of today, March 14th. I have 711 people still in travel trailers and it's costing me over $1,000,000 a month to be able to run the program. The Federal government has stopped paying for it and the state is continuing to pay for it, but the problem I'm running into is this last amount of 700 and something people.[23]

With several hundred people living in these trailers for years after the storms of 2021, Maj. Fudge realized that during the process of assigning these trailers to the families impacted by the hurricanes there was a lack of background checks into some these families. It was hard to determine whether these families truly had been made homeless by the hurricane itself or were homeless prior to these storms coming ashore.

Whenever we were putting people in the trailers, we didn't do a good job evaluating the people. I don't know if how many prior to the event were already homeless. I personally think I have several hundred people that were already homeless prior to Hurricane Ida, and I've been housing them. It is hard to get out of business this way and get out of the trailer business because none of them wanna live or none of them wanna leave their trailer since they've been living free and don't have anywhere to go. So, it has all kinds of challenges which I am pushing now for April 30th to be the deadline for us to be out of the trailer business.[24]

This particular issue of people living in these trailers years after the storms had passed is something that obviously weighed heavily on Maj. Fudge. Trying to get out of being responsible and paying for these many homes and families while trying to find a solution to this issue was extremely hard for him to grapple with. However, he stated as well that the state was starting to see this not as a sheltering program anymore but a housing program. It has been 3 years now since Hurricane Ida made landfall, and this situation that Maj. Fudge and the state of Louisiana face highlights the many challenges brought on by the combined impact of both

COVID-19 and the hurricane season of 2021.[25]

In looking to the future, Maj. Fudge has shown that the state is thinking ahead in preparing and planning for future storms. He has shown this in his use of new technologies like drones and social media to better respond to civilians trapped by floodwaters, and he is also planning on keeping a few of the "travel trailers" to be able to deploy later if "non-congruent shelters" are need once again. In describing what he thinks about the state of Louisiana's response and preparedness compared to other states, Maj. Fudge had this to say, "I think that Louisiana as a state, is probably one of the leading Emergency Management states because of all the experience with all the different disasters that we have so. I think the unfortunate part is that we have a lot of disasters, but the good part is this we have so many people that are very experienced and we knew exactly what to ask and how to prepare, even during Covid so that we could have a successful response during the hurricane."[26] Considering Louisiana ended up having to deal with five named storms making landfall in 2020 alone, the ability of the state to be able to respond and house as many individual families as they did while also battling COVID-19 was not an easy task, but I believe like Maj. Fudge that the experiences gained from handling these multiple different types of disasters will help prepare the state and other Gulf States in their response and recovery efforts for any future storms or disasters that may come their way.[27]

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HOW THE CONVICT-LEASE SYSTEM AFFECTED INDUSTRIALIZATION AND RESHAPED THE ECONOMY IN THE SOUTH

by Robert Powell

How the Convict-Lease System Affected Industrialization and Reshaped the Economy in the South

The Convict-Lease System played a direct link in the speed of industrialization and the reshaping of the economy in the South. The industrialization of the South has always been tied to the poor treatment and enslavement of African Americans. Even after the end of slavery, the torture of African American people got worse in the guise of the new Convict-Lease System. In using the Convict-Lease System, the rise of the negligible cost of renting a person contributed to the boom of industrialization in Birmingham and the entire South. The ending of this system caused a restructuring of the economy and a shift in the formation of unions and fair wages in the workplace.

Slavery in America, which was at the forefront of the South, was first documented in 1619 and would experience a significant step to ending in 1863. A group of people who, in this oppression, were considered less than people. African Americans were valued like cattle to be bought and sold at auction. The fact that African Americans were considered tools gave them an intrinsic value to the slave-owners. Like a farming tool, when the farmer invested in it, they hoped to get the most out of it so they would ensure it functioned properly. It would not be advantageous to the slave-owners to beat their slaves to the point they could not work or keep them in such horrible conditions that they could not function. The slaveowners would not want their slaves to die before they had either used them or had them breed so the investment could be increased.

Convict-Leasing has been around since the mid-1800s, coming to maturity after the Civil War. This system spawned from a legal loophole that was found in the Thirteenth Amendment which says, "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction".[1] This loophole spawned a system that lasted in Alabama until 1928 when it was finally be made illegal. Another law was passed to help enforce this amendment: The Peonage Act of 1867. Under this law, people in the United States cannot be forced to work against their will, even if one person is indebted to another.[2] This law did very little to stop the South from using convict leasing. Before the end of slavery and the widespread use of the Convict-Lease System, the South had forced labor. This was slavery, and it was the most important workforce in the South. However, most slaves were not used in mines; they worked in agriculture. On January 1, 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation went into effect, and a group of people considered the value of cattle were now considered people. People who were born into slavery now got to wake up as free men or women. They wanted to work on their own accord and buy their land. They now had access to education and eventually voting. By 1870, about a quarter of a million black children and adults attended school where they could learn how to read and write.[3]

Andrew Johnson, taking up the mantle after the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, helped form the Freedmen's Bureau. The Freedman Bureau was passed by Congress on March 3, 1865, and was to operate "during the present war of rebellion, and for one year thereafter," It also established schools, supervised contracts between freedmen and employers, and managed confiscated or abandoned lands.[4] This bureau provided food, shelter,

clothing, medical services, and land to displaced Southerners, including newly freed African Americans, during this time of transition. However, this free transition was a short-lived one within the next 40 years with white southerners almost reinventing the idea of slavery for the African Americans. According to the former white slave owners, slaves that were freed by the Thirteenth Amendment in 1865 were both a threat to social relations and considered a helpful resource. They were a dangerous population that needed control and a welcomed source of manpower.[5] True freedom was brief for these recently freed people. Soon after they could walk around freely in the South, many restrictions were put on them that would not only limit their movement but also place them back in chains. A legalized slavery that the South would then take advantage of.

Many white people and former slave owners who were dependent on slavery now felt threatened. They were afraid that the people they previously owned would now seek retaliation. That is why during the years following the Emancipation Proclamation, the Black Codes were passed to restrict the movement and progression of African American people. The Black Codes brought back a form of the hiring-out system that had existed under slavery. Blacks without visible means of support were obliged by law to hire themselves out during the first 10 days of January.[6] The black codes were strictly local and state laws that detailed when, where, and how formerly enslaved people could work and for how much compensation. Those without labor contracts or who broke their contracts were prosecuted as vagrants and sentenced to hard labor on plantations. Also, local communities restricted the movement of the ex-slave population by requiring them to obtain travel passes.[7] The codes appeared throughout the South as a legal way to put Black citizens into forced labor, to take voting rights away, to control where they lived and how they traveled, and to seize children for labor purposes.[8] Alabama passed the Penal Codes of 1866, which started what we know as the Convict Lease System.[9] One of the many of these laws was the vagrancy laws, which were taken advantage of and used to incarcerate African American men and women. This law dictated that a person could be arrested if they could not prove at any time that they had a means of support or a job. If they were found guilty of vagrancy, they would be arrested and receive fines. The majority of sentences given for vagrancy were about six weeks, but because the fees would build it could be stretched out to six months of hard labor. After being put into prison, the convict would then be rented (essentially bought) by a company and forced to work for them. The majority of these businesses were in mining.

Although the abolition of slavery led to several significant changes in state criminal justice systems, there was also considerable continuity in how white and black offenders were treated and controlled.[10] Convict leasing appealed to the government not simply because of its fiscal utility. Hiring out convicts to planters, mining companies, and railroad contractors on a long-term basis was not designed solely to rid the state of a prison problem. The convict lease system was a functional replacement for slavery; it provided an economic source of cheap labor and a political means to re-establish white supremacy in the South.[11]

In most southern states, county sheriffs and deputies received no regular salaries. Instead, the law enforcement officers, justices of the peace, certain court officials, and witnesses who testified against a defendant were compensated primarily from specific fees charged to those who voluntarily or involuntarily came into the court system.[12] This is where the local government exercised the majority of its power in enforcing the payment of debts. Before the county's full use of convict leasing, the sheriff had only dabbled in leasing black convicts out to farmers

and public works. However, once the value of convict labor was realized and the county sheriff knew they would heavily profit off the renting of these convicts, the use of it took off. During this time, the south began to see labor agents, who worked for these mining companies, and went to the sheriff and discussed convict laborers. During the late 1890s, the fluctuation of black people being arrested would depend on when the labor agents were coming around looking for convicts to put into the mines. Local newspapers argued that black people were to blame because they were the ones who were committing more crimes, and the convict lease system just exposed those who were not getting caught. However, an arrest log of Shelby County in 1878 only shows twenty-one prisoners brought to jail for the year. Once Shelby County fully instituted the Convict-Lease System by the beginning of the 1880s, the amount went up over six hundred percent per year.[13] Something that was seen was instead of slaveowners having control of these African American men and women, it was the sheriff who would lease them out to the highest bidder.[14] Control of those convicts was lucrative, for both the companies who acquired them and the sheriffs who supplied them. In addition to the fees they received from defendants, sheriffs also kept any amount left over from daily feeding fees paid for each prisoner by the state.[15] This influx of funds incentivized the Sheriff to make as many arrests as possible. On top of the vagrancy laws, petty misdemeanors, which would only carry a fine, now carry hard labor. This misdemeanor convict leasing system solved two critical problems for southern whites. It terrorized the larger black population into compliance with a social order in which they willingly submitted to complete domination by whites, and it significantly funded the operations of government by converting black forced labor into funds for the counties and state.[16] Many of the African Americans who were arrested were given fines to pay and if they could not pay them, they would be moved to prison. Lancaster Le Conte was a victim of this type of punishment. Le Conte was arrested for taking stolen goods but according to Le Conte, once he found out the items were stolen, he gave them back. Because of the stories he had been told of the prison, he wrote to his former slave owner for help and this is what he wrote, "trubles I hav allways tryd hard to do what I thought was just and rite you no I allwys tryd to do what you asked of me and now I ask you to please send me 65 Dollars to imploy me a lawyer to get me out of hear for I am in hear for nothing."[17] He knew that he was at an older age and would not last in the mines.

Although crime control both during and after slavery fell more heavily on black males, women felons would be found in state lease camps and most black female misdemeanants were farmed out as field hands and domestics.[18] While men were being arrested for vagrancy, women would be mostly arrested for arguing or using profane language in public. Female prisoners were doubly burdened, performing domestic duties in prison camps and in the homes of white families in addition to strenuous manual labor alongside male prisoners.[19] They cooked, cleaned, and washed, and mended clothes. Even while performing demanding and dangerous tasks like breaking rock, shoveling, hauling wet clay, and baking brick near extremely hot kilns, female prisoners were expected to wear "female clothing."[20] George was the first state to create an all-female convict camp in 1885.[21] The women in these camps were in constant fear of being sexually assaulted. They were often chained together with other men at night in their bunks. The fear was not only of black men but of white men. The wardens of the prisons would both molest and rape the women. The turn of the century saw reform, but it was not for the benefit of African American women.[22] In a September 1908 special session of the Georgia General Assembly, legislators passed two major penal reform laws, ostensibly creating a more enlightened

system of punishment, yet the laws did not reduce the number of black women imprisoned in Georgia, nor did they alleviate the harm of imprisonment.[23] To reduce competition between free labor and convict labor, the legislature eliminated the convict lease system, replacing it with the chain gang.[24]

At the prison, these convicts were under the warden. Many of the wardens of these were former slaveowners, it was thought that people who had previous experience handling the blacks would be able to control them best. One such warden was J.W. Comer who was warden over the Eureka mines. He is not known for his compassion for the convicts but for his torture of them. He in all respects was a smart businessman and knew how to control blacks. However, Jonathon D. Goode, a witness of the Convict-Lease System, testified that Comer ordered a recaptured black escapee to lie "on the ground and the dogs were biting him. He begged piteously to have the dogs taken off of him... then Comer took a stirrup strap and whipped him for a half an hour... he died within a few hours."[25] In addition to Comer and his mines, we also have the Milner mines, and those mines were examined in the spring of 1883. It was said that the prison did not have a floor or toilets, that prisoners were only fed meat and bread, and that several men were being held long past the expiration of their ostensible sentences.[26] An investigating committee of the Tennessee House reported in 1885 that "convicts are whipped for various causes, the most common of which is for not getting their tasks done each day These horrible conditions and treatment were seen in every mine, and logic would dictate that if this was getting out that people would try to stop this from happening. The reason people tolerated this system was because of the amount of money it brought into the state. Reginald Dawson became the chief convict inspector. In one of his findings from a mine in Lee County, which was headed by Comer, he found a convict who, in his findings, was not listed on the official records as a prisoner.[27] He also found multiple county prisoners who had never been paid by the company and were never listed on the rolls of the prisoners. The reason this would happen is if there was no record of the fines being paid, the company could hold the convict indefinitely. More convicts like this would be found, but because of the blind eye turned by the state, not much could be done about this. Using convicts in mining became a norm that would continue in Alabama up until the late 1920s.

Several businesses would bid on the convicts and normally the highest bidder would come out victorious. For the 1899 leases, the state accepted bids from eight individuals or corporations at rates that varied from $98 to $102 per convict per year.[28] These are certainly bargain prices, especially when one considers the fact the 1897 legislation permitted subleasing. Still, these bids were a ninefold increase over those of 1874.[29] This bid was for the lease period of 5 years, and then in 1904, the bids were reexamined again, and the price paid per year for the average convict was up to $225.52, which was much higher than the previous years.

The Convict-Lease System fueled the mining industry the most and caused it to boom in the 1880s and years to come. One of the major mining companies in Birmingham (originally Elyton) would be Sloss Furnace. Birmingham is historically known for its rich resources of supplies that can make iron and coal. A man by the name of Colonel James Withers Sloss, who was a North Alabama railroad man and merchant, convinced the L&N Railroad to capitalize completion of the South and North rail lines through Jones Valley.[30] Construction of Sloss's new furnace (City Furnaces) began in June 1881, when the ground was broken on a fifty-acre site that had been donated by the Elyton Land Company.[31] By 1886 the furnace was sold to a group of investors who changed the name to Sloss-Sheffield Steel and Iron

Company, however, it would never make steel.

Sloss Furnace, like many of the mining companies in the area, would use the newly realized inexpensive system that was convict leasing. However, the convicts were never used at the furnaces themselves but in the mines. These mines were not normally close to the blast furnaces. Many of the mines were around the Bessemer, Alabama area, and this is also where the leased convicts were held. These mines were not regulated mines, where they would have regulations that would make sure that the tools being used were efficient. These mines were considered death traps to the fullest, and not only that, but the stagnant water that would be around the ankles of the convict would spread disease.

The use of convict labor at Sloss furnace was blatant, but it was also seen at Pratt Mines, that the powerful utility of convict labor was used as a weapon against the unionization of free laborers. This was blatantly seen in 1882 when hundreds of skilled and unskilled workers refused to continue to work at the Pratt mines. The miners objected to a sharp wage reduction and the company's growing reliance on convict laborers.[32] Instead of Pratt Mines giving the workers what they wanted in wages, they leased the mines to Comer, and he filled them with convict laborers.

The economy both grew and was damaged by the convict lease system. The people benefiting were the businesses and the state, which was supplying the convicts. On the other hand, many free workers were hurting since there was a monopoly of forced workers who worked in the mines. Many states in the South post-Civil War were now faced with a new struggle — poverty. Many states such as Tennessee, Alabama, Mississippi, and Florida struggled to maintain the state's budgets. In addition to the convict leasing system's social utility, leasing had numerous and very obvious economic advantages as well. Convict leasing took the care and expense of thousands of prisoners out of the direct purview of the state, it provided a large pool of extremely cheap labor, it permitted the easy exploitation of natural resources, and it helped attract northern capital with which business leaders in the postbellum South were so obsessed. In 1880, Enoch Cobb Wines, the outstanding crusader for prison reform, reported that barring the states in which convict leasing was practiced, about one-half of the expenses of penal administration came from prison income. That is, taxpayers were paying part of the burden of incarceration in most states. In states where leasing was practiced, by contrast, the average proceeds constituted 372% of costs. These figures represent only the expenses saved by the state governments; they do not begin to tell the story of the profits amassed by mine owners, railroad builders, lumber merchants, and other capitalists in the impoverished South.[33] Convict leasing became an easy way for the state to make money without having to put large quantities into it first.

The lease system guaranteed not only a large and reliable labor force but also a labor force composed of those most fitted for maximum productivity in the work camps.[34] This also became the greatest single source of personal wealth for many of the politicians and businessmen of the South. In 1897, as the twenty-year lease was drawing to a close, the Principal Physician characterized the lease as "a veritable slavery."[35] But by this time criticism and doubt had begun to emanate from the business community, too. The years of the long lease had been ones of erratic economic change. Toward the end of the convict lease system, and with the bidding prices going up and up, this system started to become less and less advantageous for the business owners, however, the state was making a parallel discovery of the cost-effectiveness of the chain gang. Such gangs, composed of misdemeanants, were used with increasing frequency by

the counties on road building and maintenance projects.[36]

While the convict lease system was an indirect cause of industrialization, it afforded the companies that participated the ability to take greater profits, which led to them being able to open more mines and furnaces quicker. At Sloss Furnace, in particular, operators installed eight steam-driven blower engines that provided air for combustion in the furnaces. These were very expensive for the time, and though it is impossible to determine whether the money that was being saved by using convict labor was used to purchase these engines, we can determine that the ability of Sloss Furnace to expand as quickly as they did can be connected to them making a profit. With the states and several businesses not having to pay their bottom workers, they were able to direct funds to other ventures that would then in turn make them even more money. In the 1880s the mining companies grew rapidly in Birmingham, and they included the formation of the Sloss Furnace Company, Tennessee Coal, Iron, and Railroad Company (TCI), Woodward Iron Company, Pioneer Mining, and Manufacturing Company, and the DeBardeleben Coal and Iron Company. If not for convict leasing, the growth of these companies would have been slowed since the amount of profit would not have been as massive as it was.

The use of the convict lease system ended in Alabama in 1928. The close of the system proved a big hit in funds that would be available to the states, and they would eventually find the funds elsewhere. Alabama had discussed ending convict leasing in 1899, but because of the lack of funds, the state was collecting, Alabama legislators had to put the issue of convict leasing on the back burner. In an interview with Ty Malugani, an educator at Sloss Furnace Historic Landmark, he said "At the root of everything is greed and racism. Money was a great motivator for delaying the process of getting rid of the convict lease system."[37] Perhaps, then, if the twenty-year leases had expired in 1895 the system would have been abolished; but this is speculation. The leases expired in 1899, and in the intervening few years, the economic and political situation had made an about-face.[38] In 1911, an explosion at the Banner Mine in Jefferson County killed 123 African American county prisoners, increasing calls to end the system. During the era of leasing, many striking patterns emerged. The composition of the convict population was altered radically as sentences grew longer, the population became younger and almost entirely black, and the number of people sentenced soared. But after the high tide, 1879-1899, profits diminished, and private citizens had less of an incentive to manage so unsavory a population.[39] The number of people who became more and more against this form of peonage was growing. We see it stem from the 1880s, and that would be around 40 years from the time it was finally ended in the South.

The convict-leasing system was kept in use in the South from the 1860s to 1928. The convict-lease system was useful in spreading industrialization in the South, but it also dehumanized African Americans and caused the death of thousands of African Americans. The effects of the convict lease system can still be seen today. Though it is not considered peonage, some people are in prison in 2022 who are still being rented out to businesses and get paid sometimes very little to nothing. Hopefully, the education of people about the convict-lease system and its effects on the community will continue to help form and change current laws and practice.

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WHITE SUPREMACY FOR LABOR: AN EXAMINATION OF WHITE RESIDENTS' PERSPECTIVES ON RACE AND LABOR IN ANTEBELLUM AMERICA

by D. Mark Ledlow

Introduction

The subject of race played an integral role in how historians and the public at large understood history throughout American history. From the introduction of the first African American slaves to the Jamestown Colony in 1619 and the founding of the nation in the 1770s through the Civil Rights movement during the 1960s and through to the 2020s, the subject of race is unavoidable when seeking to understand history. Race influenced all areas of American life from, national politics to the local culture. Often, local leaders built policies on a held understanding of race like that of the Jim Crow era laws, which sought to keep Black Americans under the thumb of white Americans. Furthermore, white Americans used race to culturally oppress another group like the Irish by equating the term to describe their people, "Irishman," to a race slur during the Antebellum Era.[1]

Racial relationships extend beyond just culture since white Americans often practiced race-based slavery. American slavery stripped rights away from Black people and forced them into the unpaid service of white Americans. American colonists established slave labor before the founding of the United States, which left many to question its validity in a country founded on the concepts of liberty. Furthermore, some Americans — like the Quakers — began to oppose slavery. Quakers believed the kingdom of God could be found in the individual lives of each person, which influenced early Quakers denounced slavery. Additionally, the Quakers made their distaste of slavery evident through the anti-slavery reform efforts by individuals like Joshua Evans.[2] Early reformers against slavery highlighted the question of how white Americans should treat other people from different races like Black Americans.

Despite this early reform movement, slavery continued to persist. After the Revolutionary War, Southern whites continued to practice slavery while Northern whites phased out slavery for free white labor. With just this understanding of the United States, it has become common knowledge that the Northern states did not continue to practice slavery going into the Antebellum Era, which led many Americans to assume that the anti-slavery movement succeeded only in the Northern states. Despite the significant presence of the anti-slavery movement in the North, the South also contained some citizens who were sympathetic to the anti-slavery movement. A Southern example of the existence of the anti-slavery movement can be found in Darien, Georgia. A small group of Georgia citizens attempted to submit a state resolution to outlaw slavery within Georgia as the concept of slavery conflicted with the ideals of liberty for all.[3] The soon-to-be state of Georgia's government rejected the Darien resolution as the state continued to practice slavery through to the ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment. Though rejected, the Darien resolution suggests that the anti-slavery movement did not exclusively exist in the North, and the South contained a small anti-slavery movement of its own. The existence of a national anti-slavery movement demonstrated a shared perception of race in the early United States as citizens of both the North and the South shared concerns due to the existence of race-based slavery. The conversation of race and slavery continued beyond the Colonial Era and the Early Republic into the Antebellum Era.

During the Antebellum Era (1820-1861), race became a vital component of United States history through systems like race-based slavery as it continued to exist throughout

this period and fueled the economy. Furthermore, modern media often depicted the separation between those who supported slavery and those who opposed slavery among white Antebellum-Era Americans into the Southern slave states and the Northern free states. This division was not a truly binary one, as seen between the white Americans of the North and the white Americans of the South, for much of the North rejected the ideals of racial equality. Similarities in perspectives occurred across the two regions of the United States as the white population of the Antebellum North and the South shared the belief of white racial superiority. However, the two regions differed in their accepted source of labor as the South maintained a system of race-based slave labor, and the North prioritized a system based on free white labor.

The South

An overwhelming majority of white Southerners, from the highest levels of the planter to the lowest levels of poverty, accepted the race-based slave system and the idea of white supremacy. To best understand the Southern view on race towards Black Americans, one must be aware of the different classes of white Americans within the South that contributed to their perspective. Historians often divided the white classes of the Antebellum South into the planter upper class, the middle class of mostly yeoman farmers, and the poor whites of the working class, with each class possessing an inherently higher status than Black Americans.[4] The perspectives on race of the South slightly differed depending on what class the people were, whether someone was a planter who owned twenty enslaved people or a slaveless yeoman farmer. Even the poor, landless whites contained their views on race that mostly aligned with those of the other classes.[5]

Southern whites held the idea of racial superiority over Black Americans due to the Southern system of race-based slavery. For example, in a letter to General John H. Howard, on November 20, 1851, a self-titled "Southern Lady" expressed her opinion that "The Black race are really inferior in their mental organization to the white race." Furthermore, she also expanded on her belief that, according to her, God ordained the "inferiority" of Blacks to whites, which justified the use of race-based slave labor.[6] The "Southern Lady" viewed enslaved Black Americans as a lesser race that was predetermined by God to serve white Americans. This "Southern Lady" also equated the state of an enslaved Black American in the South to that of a free Black American in Philadelphia, arguing that both the free and enslaved Black American "accumulates the same comforts for his wife and children."[7] In another letter, the "Southern Lady" asserted that slavery benefited Black Americans. From her perspective, slavery provided Black Americans with a master who "protected" the slave in addition to keeping Black slaves from committing sinful acts like "idleness and drunkenness."[8] Undoubtedly, the "Southern Lady" viewed Black Americans as more prone to sin than white Americans and implied that Blacks were inherently immoral due to her assertion that a slave owner prevents sinful acts from occurring among his slaves.

Meanwhile, in a third letter, the "Southern Lady" accentuated the idea that slave masters were benevolent to their slaves through her own story about a slave named Binah. In this story, the "Southern Lady" claimed that Binah was one of her family's slaves and that Binah lost her husband to an unnamed cause. After this event, Binah's in-laws took all her husband's property which her with almost nothing. Upon hearing this, the "lady's" father ordered the protection of only Binah's essential belongings for living on the plantation. The "Southern Lady" saw this act of protecting Binah's belongings as a benevolent act

Figure 1. Edward Williams Clay (artist) and Arthur Donnelly, *America / E.W.C. Southern States*, ca. 1841 (New York: Publ. by A. Donnelly). Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2003690759/.[9]

on the part of her father, and she claimed that her father "rescued" Binah from the greed of her in-laws.[10] The story of Binah demonstrated that the "Southern Lady" held such a low expectation of Black Americans and viewed the bare minimum of help to be a great service to a slave. Additionally, the "Southern Lady" asserted that slave owners sometimes cared more about an infant slave than their mother. As evidence, the "Southern Lady" used a story of a slave mother sleeping soundly by the bed of her dying infant where she did nothing to soothe the infant's pains. However, the slave owner, the "lady's" father, provided a nurse and allegedly "administered [a slave's] medicine with his own hands."[11] This story also provided the perception of a benevolent master; however, more importantly, this story alluded to the "Southern Lady" not viewing Black women as having strong maternal instincts.

These letters are just from one of many perspectives concerning the Black race within the Antebellum South. Only about nineteen percent of the Southern population owned slaves while about forty-two percent were non-slave-owning whites.[12] The perception of race — as seen by the letters of the "Southern Lady" — was not an uncommon stance. Many Southerners considered the black laboring class to be an inferior race and suitable for servitude.[13] For example, Alexander Stephens claimed that God and natural law intended for the superiority of whites over Blacks and that a failure to recognize this fact would lead to the downfall of republican ideals.[14] Furthermore, every class level throughout the Antebellum South held this ideal of white racial superiority over Blacks with very few exceptions.

The vast majority of Southerners detested the idea that Black Americans could be considered equal to white Americans. In 1860, Superior Court Justice Iverson L. Harris declared that the equalization of white and Black Americans — whether passive or active — is a threat if white men "wish to perpetuate the institution." Additionally, Harris sought to catalog all possible laws that had the potential to make enslaved Black men equal to their white masters to maintain the institution of slavery.[15] Meanwhile, in the same year, secessionist commissioners successfully convinced several political leaders of the South of the idea that the Republican party intended to equate Black Americans to white Americans.[16] White Antebellum Southerners detested the idea of racial equality. They held to a firm belief that the white race was superior to the Black race.

The protection of racial inequality was not the extent of successionist commissioners' fearmongering as they spread the idea that if racial equality was reached then a race war would occur.[17] This idea of racial violence is seen earlier in the Antebellum Era as Henry Clay stated that if Black slaves were freed then in a struggle for equality, a race war would break out.[18] This fear of a race war indicates that

white Antebellum Southerners believed that the Black race was inherently violent and their rebellious actions were influenced by the Haitian Revolution. During the Haitian Revolution from 1791 to 1804, enslaved Blacks overthrew their white owners which created an air of discomfort for the slave owners of the U.S. South.[19] Additionally, in 1831, the Black revolutionary religious leader Nat Turner led a violent slave rebellion in southern Virginia and created terror throughout the South.[20] Upon Turner's capture, *Atkinson's Saturday Evening Post* published an article praising Mr. Phipps for his actions in the capture, stating that Mr. Phipps was "a very deserving individual" who should receive monetary compensation for his actions.[21] Southern white Antebellum-era Americans linked the Haitian Revolution to slave rebellions within the United States as they believed that the Haitian Revolution directly influenced the actions of Turner and others.[22] These instances of violence only solidified the white American views of a naturally violent Black race. According to the secessionist commissioner of Alabama, Stephen F. Hale, the Haitian revolution accentuated the eventuality of "amalgamation or extermination," which highlighted the Southern desire to keep a separation of the races.[23]

Despite Southern whites' overwhelmingly negative opinion of Black people, slavery went beyond the belief that Black people were a lesser race, becoming an integral part of Southern society.[24] Slavery was the economic engine for the Antebellum South as it propped up the Southern cotton industry. For example, in 1800, before Abbeville, South Carolina, experienced the Cotton Revolution, the total number of slave-owning households was 603 — only 33 percent of households. However, in 1820 and after the Cotton Revolution, 1148 households in Abbeville owned slaves, which increased the percentage to 47 percent. This increase in slave-owning households coincided with the surge of local planters in Abbeville from 33 to 107.[25] Slavery provided Southern slave owners with a convenient source of labor that allowed them to plant more crops besides cotton. Additionally, slavery provided an alternative to the need to find farm hands during different seasons, which is common in the free labor economy.[26] Furthermore, the Southern white non-farming middle class saw slavery as a tool for the industrialization of the South.[27] Slavery generated great wealth in the Antebellum South and became the cornerstone of Southern interests in areas of philosophy, religion, and politics.

In 1860, T. W. Holt of the St. Louis Literary and Philosophy Association laid out the Southern philosophy of American slavery in "The Right of American Slavery." Most of his defense centered around the idea that "The African race is a race of barbarians" that was "not intended for freedom" due to God not freeing them. Holt's argument hinges on the belief that the white race is a civilized race; therefore, the white race possessed the right to force any race deemed inferior into servitude. Additionally, Holt also emphasized the economic impact of the anti-slavery movement of colonization and claimed that the "barbarous" Black Americans owed "civilized" white Americans for their "transition from barbarism to civilization."[28] Holt's maintaining the right of slavery as a form of servitude emphasized the idea that the South relied on slavery as its source of labor. Holt's philosophy of the Antebellum South and its slave system reinforced notions of an inferior Black American race and a superior race of white Americans. Furthermore, other Southerners adopted perspectives of race similar to Holt's in their individual religious views.

As seen prior in the letters of the "Southern Lady," many Southerners saw slavery as an institution ordained by God, and Southerners commonly shared this belief. Southern theologians often used the Bible to solidify their beliefs

Figure 2. J.M. Moon Collection of Lincolniana, between 1809–1865 Photograph of a Drawing of Slaves[29]

and saw slavery as a defense against an immoral society.[30] In 1860, Judge Alexander Hamilton Handy of Mississippi claimed this belief in his defense against the ideals of slavery being a sin in the eyes of a "black republican."[31] The idea of slavery being ordained by God fueled the Southern ideals of white racial superiority over Black Americans and solidified race-based slavery into the Antebellum South's system of morals.

The "Southern Lady" also raised the idea that the slave owners made their slaves live a Christian life by keeping them from sin — as mentioned previously. This religious view of slavery went beyond keeping slaves in a Christian lifestyle, as Church ministers in the Antebellum South became increasingly accepting of the Southern slave-system and began to evangelize enslaved Black Americans. Church ministers, like those from the Methodist and Baptist denominations, preached more on individual salvation than on social constructs that they once thought of as blemishes on society like, slavery. However, many slave owners viewed this preaching as a means of social control.[32] Despite planters viewing slave evangelism as social control, the entire idea of spreading Christianity among the slaves of the Antebellum South demonstrates a general acceptance of slavery as even local religious leaders accepted slavery. Even if a Southern paster viewed slavery as an evil in society, they rarely spoke or acted out against the institution due to the fear of retribution.

At the same time, as many Antebellum Southerners justified religiously ordained race-based slavery, many planters advocated for racial unity to defend slavery against anti-slavery movements. The Antebellum Southerners relied on the idea that all whites were equal in society. From the highest levels of planter society to the poorest levels of destitution, all whites were supposedly considered equals.[33] The idea of racial unity created a social structure in which the poorest white was considered better than a wealthy Black business owner; furthermore, the ideal of racial unity encouraged poor whites to vote with the yeoman and planter class due to their skin color.[34] Upon first glance, racial unity seemed to greatly benefit all whites equally and offer many whites the same opportunities, yet this simply was not the case. The idea of racial unity instead created a rift in the Antebellum South, and the question then became, "Who is white?"

The idea of whiteness varied across the South, with some communities being flexible in how they defined it and others excluding everyone except for the Anglo-Saxon race, as in the case of the "Southern Lady."[35] More importantly, this idea served to further divide the races as an ununiformed concept of whiteness, creating another level that separated Black Americans from white Americans. Additionally, the ideal of racial unity among whites only exacerbated the separation between white and Black Americans in the Antebellum South. White Southerners often used their whiteness to justify the South's system of race-based slavery

and to create a racial divide among the lower classes. Some historians like William B. Hesseltine and Eugene Genovese pushed back on this notion of white equality, arguing that the planter class manufactured racism in order to preserve the status quo.[36] This idea can be seen in the actions of poor whites as they often interacted with Black Americans, yet they still aligned themselves with the planters and yeomen farmers.[37]

This stance of racial superiority contained notable exceptions since some Southerners opposed slavery despite the ideal of racial unity. For example, Hinton Rowan Helper condemned slavery despite being the son of a North Carolinian Farmer.[38] Helper gathered the arguments against slavery in his book *The Impending Crisis of the South*.[39] Helper attempted to appeal to his fellow Southerners through various means including describing slavery as a blemish on the American ideals that the founding fathers allowed.[40] However, Helper does lend evidence towards the idea that planters manufactured racism as he admitted that the planters in places of power led him to be unable to publish his book in Maryland. [41] Despite this instance of antislavery suppression, some planters were more sympathetic to ending slavery. For instance, Henry Clay did not fully approve of slavery, but he still maintained slavery as an institution due to its entrenchment in the Southern economy and the possibility of a race war — as previously mentioned.[42]

Despite the ideal of racial unity, the Antebellum South contained differing views on slavery and race. Southerners held views both for and against slavery; however, much of the South still agreed that white Americans possessed racial superiority over Black Americans. Many white Southerners agreed that Black Americans were to be servants and should exist as second-class citizens — if that — throughout the United States. These views of Black Americans in the South conflicted with the popular perception of the North because many Americans associated the North with abolitionism and free labor.

The North

Anti-slavery movements continued to persist throughout the Antebellum North due to societies like the New York Manumission Society and the American Colonization Society. For example, the New York Manumission Society's mission was to free enslaved Black Americans — often through the use of the American court system — since the society's founding in 1785.[43] Additionally, the New York Manumission Society assisted Black Americans like the abolitionist Louis Napoleon in their fight to free those who were enslaved.[44] This cooperation with the Black neighbors implied that members of the New York Manumission Society did not outright reject anyone of African descent due to their race.

On the other hand, the American Colonization Society also worked with Black Americans but in lesser numbers compared to the New York Manumission Society as the Black communities often rejected the society's mission, especially in the North.[45] The mission of the American Colonization Society was to remove all Black Americans regardless of their status to colonies in Africa in order to create a nation only for white Americans.[46] Additionally, the mission of the American Colonization Society implied that a peaceful co-existence between white and Black Americans could not exist which also echoed back to the Southern fear of a race war upon the emancipation of their slaves. Often, Black Americans rejected the mission of the American Colonization Society.[47] However, this society still possessed many white Northern supporters as the majority of their funding came from the North in the 1830s as it drew in supporters from the North — like Abraham Lincoln — and

the South — like Herny Clay.[48] Furthermore, this society demonstrated a small fraction of the racism within the North.

When viewing both the New York Manumission Society and the American Colonization Society, a picture of disunity in the overall American emancipation movement begins to form. Not all white Northerners supported these societies. For instance, the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison adamantly fought against the American Colonization Society as he viewed the society as a racist organization that protected slavery in the United States.[49] Garrison demonstrated a desire for some Americans to transcend a goal of merely emancipating Black individuals as he concerned himself with the racist influences of the American Colonization Society.

Historians commonly divide these ideologies between anti-slavery, as seen in the American Colonization Society, and abolition, as seen in the writings and followers of William Lloyd Garrison. However, the differences between anti-slavery and abolitionism contained vague clarifying factors, especially during the Antebellum Era, as Americans of the time often used the terms "anti-slavery," and "abolition" interchangeably. Despite the interchangeability of these terms, some abolitionists still separated the terms "abolitionist" and "anti-slavery" as exemplified by the abolitionist Lewis Tappan's refusal to consider Rev. J. W. Chickering of Portland, Maine, as an abolitionist in his letter to the editor of the British Banner. According to Tappen, Rev. Chickering had not done anything to warrant labeling him as an abolitionist, for Rev. Chickering only belonged to a colonization society. Rev. Chickering's affiliation with that society made him an anti-slavery man, which in turn made him "a man pro-slavery" in the eyes of Tappen.[50] Abolitionism is often characterized by those who supported specifically immediate emancipation while anti-slavery is broader and often advocated for gradual emancipation or the expansion of slavery.[51]

Despite the narrowed view of abolitionism, there were factions within abolitionism since some abolitionists believed that all people should be granted equal rights regardless of race. Meanwhile, other supporters of emancipation advocated that all races were created differently because each race possessed different strengths and weaknesses.[52] An example of these ideas can be seen in the founding of Oberlin College and New York Central College. Both colleges were founded on the belief that integrated education would benefit the United States. However, their missions were different. Oberlin worked towards uplifting Black Americans through integrated education, while New York Central worked towards racial equality.[53] Oberlin implied a racial inferiority of Black Americans as the term "uplift" infers a naturally lower starting point for Black Americans. Meanwhile, for New York Central, their mission implied that there was a discrepancy between the starting point for Black Americans and where that starting point should be. Both colleges demonstrated the acceptance of their ideals. While Oberlin persisted to the current day, New York Central temporarily closed in 1858 due to a lack of investment and permanently closed in 1964 upon being transformed into an academy.[54] This is not to say that Oberlin was totally accepted by the North as it too faced trials as seen by Lyman Beecher's rejection of racial amalgamation directed at Oberlin.[55]

The closing of New York Central denoted a failure of the abolitionist movement. However, New York Central's closure was not the only failure of abolitionism. The American Abolitionist Society grew from the Liberty Party, which ran on a stance for the immediate abolition of slavery and to guarantee equal rights for Black Americans during the 1840s. The Liberty Party argued that the Constitution guaranteed

all rights as it had no racial qualifiers for rights.[56] Through the Liberty Party, the American Abolitionist Society positioned itself against the Republican Party as they viewed the Republican party as a "white man's party," especially after the Dred Scott decision in 1857. William Goodell, a leader of the society, believed that the Dred Scott decision would harm the Republican party and support efforts of the American Abolition Society. Unfortunately, almost the exact opposite happened. The Republican Party remained unharmed, and the efforts of the American Abolitionist Society became harder to achieve.[57]

The American Abolitionist Society's failure and the closing of New York Central College represented a much larger lack of success on the part of the abolitionist movement, which is the failure of "moral suasion" to convince the general public to end slavery. For abolitionists, "moral suasion" involved the peaceful persuasion of Americans against the evils of slavery through non-violent resistance and the fear of God.[58] Additionally, the publication of slave narratives expressed the ideals of "moral suasion" as these narratives provided insight for Northern audiences on the horrors of slavery.[59] However, not all stories to express the plight of the slaves were created the same as Harriet Beecher Stone's *Uncle Tom's Cabin,* which was both an impactful depiction to share the horrors of slavery for the North and a racist depiction of Black Americans.[60] Many abolitionists intended "moral suasion" to reach beyond the North as abolitionist clergymen sought to preach "moral suasion" from Southern pulpits in order to change the minds and morals of Southern slaveholders.[61] Despite the attempt at non-violence, many Black and some white abolitionists resorted to violence in order to fight for abolitionism which, in their minds, violent actions would hasten the death of slavery over "moral suasion."[62]

One such white abolitionist was John Brown. Brown led a wave of violence across the territory of Kansas as he fought to create a new free state in the wake of the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854. In 1859, Brown also led a group of men in a raid on the federal armory at Harper's Ferry to provoke a slave uprising in Virginia. Many white Northerners and white Southerners detested Brown's actions since many whites agreed that violence was not the correct option in protesting slavery except for a few radical abolitions. The majority of white Northerners detested the use of violence whether they advocated for maintaining the status quo or against the continuation of slavery while the majority of white Southerners deemed the cause to be inherently flawed.[63] Citizens of both regions declared that Brown went "mad" in order to make sense of Brown's actions.[64] Even abolitionist leaders like Garrison denounced Brown's action.[65] Brown's actions rejected the established abolitionist stance of "moral suasion" as it employed violent acts across the United States and created fear across the United States of increased violence. White communities across the United States were more concerned with maintaining peace for themselves despite the violence on Black Americans caused by the slave system.

The violence in the North was not exclusively against slavery because it was more of a reaction to the efforts of the abolitionist movement. For example, the Panic of 1837 pitted abolitionists against upper-class and working-class whites in Philadelphia. Upper-class whites felt that their southern trade connections were threatened by the anti-slavery movement. In contrast, working-class whites felt threatened by the abolitionist efforts to create a unified working class across racial divisions. This resentment and a failed convention that advocated for the abolition of slavery led to an attack on Pennsylvania Hall — the abolitionist headquarters in Philadelphia — where a mob of white Americans set the hall on fire in 1838.[66] Additionally,

in 1834, New York suffered through the July Riots after tensions were elevated as New Yorkers faced disease, election fraud, nativist thoughts against the Irish, and more. These tensions reached a boiling point when the *Courier* and the *Enquirer* reported that a Black mob rioted against a white music society while conducting an anti-slavery meeting at the Chatham-Street Chapel and the possibility of another assembly of these abolitionist. When the possible assembly came to fruition, a mob of white New Yorkers rioted and exhibited the worst of their violence against the Black Americans of New York.[67] Both instances of violence demonstrated the length to which Northern white Americans went. Most Northern whites resented the movement to make Black people equal to white people across the whole of the United States as they practiced the same color line where white Americans were inherently higher in society as it was in the South.

Working-class whites abhorred the idea that they could be equal to Black people. In the 1830s and the 1840s, Americans began adopting the terms "white slavery" and "wage slavery." At their inception, Americans used these terms nearly interchangeably. Yet, as time passed, "wage slavery" referred to Americans who earned wages through their labor, and "white slavery" became associated with prostitution. However, working-class Americans — to whom these terms applied — became uneasy due to their association with chattel slavery and outright rejected the use of these terms.[68] The anti-slavery movement also used these ideas in the attacks on the institution of slavery. In a pamphlet titled "The New 'Democratic' Doctrine," the author targeted white working-class men as they spread fears that "SLAVERY not to be confined to the Negro Race, but to be made the universal condition of the Laboring classes of Society."[69] Unlike abolitionist writers who advocated for solidarity across all laborers, this author appealed to the white laborers' fear of being made equal to the Black slaves of the South. (fig. 3)

Figure 3. Strobridge & Co. Lith, Bartley Theodore Campbell, and Matthew Somerville Morgan. The white slave by Bartley Campbell. , 1883. [Cin. ; N.Y.: Strobridge Lith. Co., ?] Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2014635977/.[70]

The use of a negative version of racial equality extended to other writers, as can be seen in the ideals of the Republican Party. As mentioned previously, the American Abolition Society viewed the Republican Party as the white man's party. The core ideals of the Republican Party were to prevent the spread of slavery so that poor whites across the country would not contend with slave labor in the labor markets of the western territories.[71] Republicans also felt threatened by the Southern slave powers as it represented a threat to both a representative democracy and the free-labor economies of the North.[72] Additionally, Republicans developed a colonization plan to send black Americans

to Central America in order to make the United States a nation for white men.[73] Republicans did not fight to end slavery; rather, Republicans fought to preserve the free-labor markets that supported the white workers of the North. Often, Republican stances contrasted with that of abolitionists as outside the party, abolitionists like Garrison argued that slavery poisoned the economy of the South.[74]

Despite Garrison's objection, many white Northerners supported slavery as they understood that slavery supported the cotton economy.[75] Northerners, like the merchants from Philadelphia, believed that the Constitution supported slavery.[76] The Democratic Party of New York echoed these sentiments during their state convention in 1849. During this address, the Democratic Party attacked the Whigs, claiming that the Whigs were supporting the Free-Soil movement.[77] Throughout the Civil War and under the Lincoln administration, Democrats defended slavery as an institution while also advocating for peace with the South.[78] Both the majority of Democrats and Republicans primarily positioned themselves on matters of the economy as their largest divide was to support the Southern slave system or to contain it for the sake of free labor. Apart from radicals, most Northerners did not concern themselves with any other matter of Black Americans, while others outright supported slavery.

John H. Hopkins, the Bishop of the Diocese of Vermont, provided his interpretation, the "Bible['s] view of slavery." Within his writing, Hopkins defended the institution, arguing that "slavery was authorized by the Almighty" within the Ten Commandants and equated slavery to being a servant. Additionally, Hopkins condemned any abolitionist preacher, and he accused these preachers of reading secular writings more than the Bible.[79] Hopkins went further than calling Black Americans inferior and barbarians, echoing T. W. Holt, as he also expressed support for the separation of race that slavery provided.[80] Although some Northerners fought for integration, many more feared racial amalgamation like Hopkins. This fear was rooted in Northern society as it contributed to the violent July Riots in New York and caused many Northerners to be concerned about abolitionist colleges like Oberlin.[81]

In contrast with Hopkins, some Northern men moved to the South, like the Meahers brothers, who moved to Mobile, Alabama, from Maine. These brothers utilized slave labor and supported schemes for gaining slaves, like the voyage of the *Clotilda* in 1860 — the last known slave ship to travel from Africa to the United States. Of these brothers, James Meaher possessed twenty-two slaves, and of these slaves, the majority were known as "prime men." Likewise, Burns Meaher possessed nineteen slaves. Despite not being a registered slaveholder, the third brother, Timothy, hired slaves to work as his cook.[82] Each of these brothers participated in and funded the voyage of the *Clotilda*.[83] Additionally, the crew of the *Clotilda* were also Northern men who were complicit in the illegal trade of Africans into the United States. These men threatened a mutiny against the ship's captain, William Foster when the ship docked for repairs in the Cape Verde Islands. Captain Foster pacified the crew members' attempt with the promise of higher pay upon the completion of the voyage.[84] Although these men might not agreed with slavery, they still were involved in the trade of slaves. More importantly, the voyage of the *Clotilda* denoted the Northern sentiment in passively allowing the Southern slave trade to continue for economic profit like that of the Republican Party and highlighted a minority of Northerners who migrated south to participate in the slave trade system.

In addition to the passive allowance of slavery, Northern whites held firm to the style of white superiority that was common in the South. The value of "whiteness" created immense pressure on any group not deemed "white." For example, the Irish aligned themselves with "whiteness"

and strove to gain the recognition of being white. Many Americans saw the Irish as second-class citizens similar to Black Americans in society, yet the Irish were often the greatest agitators of race-based violence for the whites in order to protect their share of the job market and to prevent racial amalgamation.[85] In the 1860s, the Irish often participated in lynchings against Black Americans to elevate and distinguish themselves in the eyes of society.[86] The Irish saw the difference that the Northern society held between those who were white and those who were Black, and due to this difference, the Irish longed to be considered white to gain the inherent benefits of "whiteness." The Irish held to the superiority of "whiteness" like the poor whites of the South as both groups saw valued "whiteness" like the classes above them.

National entertainment also demonstrated the persuasiveness of "whiteness." In 1836, the renowned entertainer P. T. Barnum created an event where he made an exhibition out of Joice Heth, an elder Black woman. In the show, Barnum depicted Heth as if she were one-hundred-sixty-one years old and claimed that she was a former slave of George Washington's father, who was the first to clothe the infant George Washington. Barnum advertised these claims across the Antebellum North for his "freak shows."[87] The shows exotified Heth's race across the North, and it followed her beyond her death as her remains were studied to prove both the validity of Barnum's claims and for the possibility of discovering any scientific, cultural, and/or commercial value. Additionally, the Penny Presses speculated over the differences between whites and Black people that could be or "were" discovered from Heth's autopsy. The Northern media made Joice Heth's life and death into a form of entertainment and relegated her to the level of a zoo animal. When speaking on Heth's autopsy, historian Benjamin Reiss drew a comparison between the disregard for her death along with to the arguments that followed George Washington's death concerning how best to honor him in his burial.[88] Despite the close link that Barnum made between Joice Heth and George Washington, only Heth was treated with no respect in their death as she was made to fulfill the racial entertainment that was

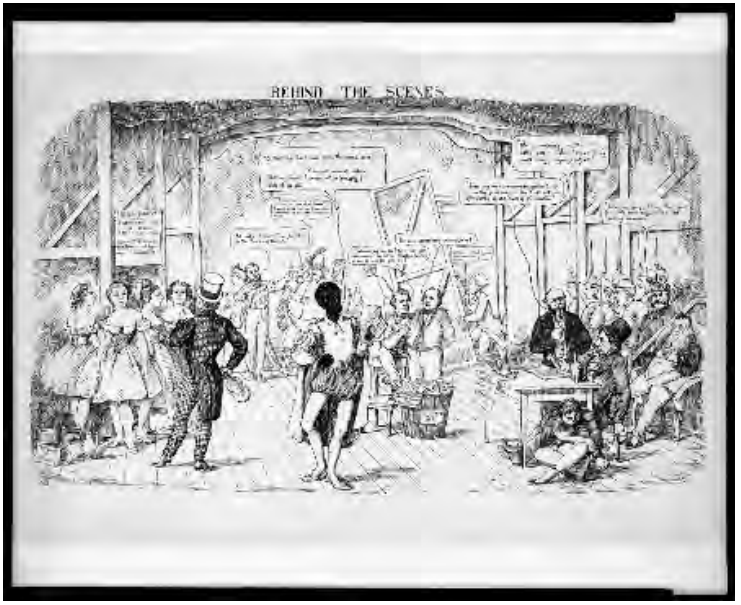

Figure 4. Behind the Scenes. , 1864. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2008661674/.[92]

common for the Antebellum North and across the United States. In addition to "freak show" acts like Joice Heth, the Antebellum-Era white Northerners often enjoyed minstrel shows, which often depicted Black Americans in a negative light. In the Antebellum North, minstrel shows were in-demand entertainment acts that often employed white actors to wear blackface and engage in different acts that expressed the white views of Black Americans.[89] These depictions often included sexually suggestive jokes and acts that implied Black Americans were sexual deviants which only worsened in the wake of the Civil War. Additionally, these shows also commented on the perception of Southern

slaves as being content in their lives, akin to the Southern argument of Black Americans' contentment with slavery.[90] "Freak shows" and minstrel shows demonstrated the North's style of racism as the white Northerners still felt superior to Black Americans just as the South, and in some cases, the North started race-based caricatures before the South. A common character in these shows is named Mose**,** who is commonly portrayed as a tough and rowdy young man. Mose began as a non-race-oriented character, yet New York entertainers began using blackface for the character before Southern cities like Nashville.[91] Entertainers in both the Antebellum North and the South created these race-based caricatures as forms of entertainment.

Conclusion

Despite the vast difference between the Antebellum North and South in terms of their labor sources, the similarities between the two regions extended beyond just their view of race as both areas still relied on the agricultural industry to survive as the only difference primary came from the labor type used and the crops grown.[93] These regions shared much as seen in the minstrel shows that crossed the Mason-Dixon Line or the racial views extended throughout the Antebellum-Era United States. Both regions supported the ideals of a superior white race that existed over any other race, like Black people. Additionally, this racial superiority influenced all areas of life during the Antebellum Era, including terms and phrases. Many Northern white laborers rejected terms like "servant" as opposed to the term "help" because the term "servant" often held an association with slavery.[94] Northern white laborers accepted their separation from Black Americans as they often equated their "whiteness" with a higher position in society, as seen with the Irish community. The white Antebellum-Era perceptions of race existed as a fundamental part of their understanding of the world and shaped the division between the races.

Their view on race was not what separated the Antebellum North and South; rather, it was the desired workforce as the South accepted an enslaved Black workforce, and the North prioritized a free white workforce. For the South, the planter class intended to maintain their slave system and to keep their source of labor. In contrast, the North advocated for a more philanthropic use of free labor that would give rise to a strong middle class and support the poor whites. Racial inequality did not motivate many anti-slavery supporters as their concerns centered on the type of labor being used in the United States. For example, the American Colonization Society sought to create a United States for all white men by ending Black slavery and shipping all Black Americans out of the United States as seen prior. Only a minority of radicals sought racial equality like Garrison. Most Antebellum-Era Americans — whether in the North or South — believed in some form of white racial superiority but disagreed over the foundation on which to build the emerging capitalist economy of the United States.

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A WOMAN'S PLACE IS IN WASHINGTON: SOUTHERN WOMEN AND POLITICAL POWER IN THE 1970S

by Tanner Thornton

History and Origins of Women in Politics

Since the earliest days of colonial America, women have been forced by a patriarchal society into subordinate roles. Nevertheless, women have mounted many forms of resistance to the dominant gender ideology, spanning from the nation's earliest days to an ongoing struggle for true liberation. In the pre-industrial British colonies, women were denied legal and political rights and were considered their husbands' property under the British common law concept of coverture.[1] After the industrial revolution, new factory jobs created a gender order that was vastly different than what preceded it. The economic shift towards wage labor meant that men spent more time away from home than ever before, and middle-class women were increasingly relegated to domestic duties, a gender ideology that became known as the "cult of domesticity."[2] This conception of gender and what constituted "true womanhood" was based in a newly emerging "scientific sexism," which emphasized women's supposed innate nurturing and motherly instincts. Women's weaker biological nature was opposed to men's strength, rationality, and political capacities.[3] Commonly referred to as the ideology of "separate spheres," this set of beliefs saw American women forced into a life of domestic labor and allowed them little room to exercise personal or political agency. Many women, however, began to revolt against this system, and formed advocacy groups to secure more political power, and in particular the right to vote.

After decades of grassroots organizing, the Nineteenth Amendment, which granted women the right to vote, was ratified on August 18, 1920. When the act was ratified by the Tennessee legislature,[4] it meant that enough states had ratified the Amendment for it to go into effect, creating a watershed moment in American women's history. As newly enfranchised women began to exercise their political agency, the visibility of women's issues in national politics continued to grow, with both major parties beginning to center women in their platforms.[5] Simultaneously, the enfranchisement of women led to the increased fracturing of women's groups along lines of race, class, and political ideology. Black women faced the brunt of these fault lines, especially in the Jim Crow South, where white women used their racial privilege in attempts to prevent Black women from registering to vote.[6] Still, there was no question that women had more access to political power once they had secured the right to vote. During the 1920s, for example, many ran for office on the state and federal level, with hundreds of women being elected to political office.[7] But the succeeding decades saw major blows to the women's movement, with the Great Depression and World War II leaving women with "poor organizational substitutes for their earlier club experiences."[8] The lack of organizational power undermined the normalization of women's work outside the home, and the end of World War II saw a renewal of attention to women's domestic responsibilities as the white, middle-class, nuclear family became the suburban ideal in 1950s America.[9] Women's widespread dissatisfaction with a life of domesticity was one factor that fueled the revival of feminism in the 1960s. Organizations like Betty Friedan's National Organization for Women were created to advocate for both social and economic equality for women, and the founding of groups such as the Combahee River Collective emphasized Black and queer women's roles in the renewed fight for equality.[10] A reinvigorated interest in women's liberation coincided with a burgeoning movement for Black

civil rights and gay liberation, with these social movements leaving a mark on American politics, society, and culture.

The 1970s was a particularly significant period in women's political history in America. The era's social movements provided a tailwind for a growing number of women to enter the political arena. These newly emerging female politicians had a diverse range of backgrounds and political leanings that were representative of the diversity within the women's movement at the time. An examination of the careers of two prominent Southern women in politics during this period, Congresswoman Corinne "Lindy" Boggs and Ambassador Anne L. Armstrong, captures how women of different backgrounds capitalized on the political environment of the early 1970s. When these women entered politics, they were revolting against the prevailing gender ideology of the previous century, creating a sea change in the American political landscape that would not be reversed. The number of women in Congress in 1970 was 11, and by 1981 that figure more than doubled to 23 in the 97th Congress. While this number remained miniscule relative to the total 535 seats in the United States Congress, the 1970s witnessed one of the first major expansions in women's participation in electoral politics, with the number steadily rising in successive decades.[11]

Significance of the South

Perhaps the most significant quality that Boggs and Armstrong share is their Southern heritage. The South is continually undervalued and mischaracterized in the dominant historical narrative. Much scholarship on US women's political history focuses on the Northeast, tracing the rise of the suffrage movement in Seneca Falls and later, the establishment of advocacy groups like the National Organization for Women and the rise of women's liberation. Historical biographies of women in politics have focused on figures like Bella Abzug and Shirley Chisholm, both from New York. While the impact of women like Abzug and Chisholm is undeniable, Southern women took on similar roles and faced their own unique obstacles. However, figures like Boggs and Armstrong receive much less recognition for their political contributions. On its own website, the United States Senate credits Southern women for setting the stage for future female representation in Congress.[12] Why, then, have historians overlooked the South in tracing the origins of women's political power? Consider for example a recent reading list celebrating women in politics published by Penguin Random House. Just a single entry on the list highlights a book by a Southern woman: Condoleezza Rice's autobiography, *No Higher Honor*.[13] Only recently has the field of women's history begun to reckon with the place of Southern women in US politics, and only in the last two decades have scholars begun to paint a more nuanced picture of the South as a site of national progress.[14] Undoubtedly, the South's historically paternalistic culture has contributed to the erasure of Southern women's political history, but historians must do more to recognize the ways that Southern women have fought back against prevailing gender constraints.[15] As Southern women's political capital has grown in recent years, it will be crucial to creating a more nuanced version of history that highlights the early influences of powerful Southern women on national progress. The lives and careers of Lindy Boggs and Anne Armstrong serve as powerful case studies of women from two vastly different ideological backgrounds who both expanded women's rights in the 1970s. Their stories place the South back at the center of the story.

Case Studies on 1970s Female Political Leaders

Congresswoman Corinne "Lindy" Boggs

Born on a sugar plantation in Pointe Coupee Parish, Louisiana in 1916, Marie Corrine "Lindy" Claiborne was

the child of a longstanding political dynasty, with four of her ancestors serving in the United States Congress.[16] Claiborne was a student at Tulane University in New Orleans, graduating in 1935.[17] During her time at Tulane, she met her future husband Thomas Hale Boggs, and they married three years after her graduation.[18] Boggs was a schoolteacher and librarian for several years after graduating from Tulane, which turned her into a lifelong, ardent supporter of public education.[19] In 1946, her husband was elected to Congress, and, after moving to Washington D.C., Boggs became well acquainted with her newfound political capital and deeply involved in managing both her husband's re-election campaigns and his congressional office.[20] Throughout her husband's congressional tenure, the Boggs couple earned a reputation as fierce advocates for the Democratic Party, and they maintained close relationships with President Lyndon B. Johnson and his wife, Claudia "Lady Bird" Johnson. This represented a break with many Southern Democrats at the time, who sought to distance themselves from the increasingly liberal national party platform. Their loyalty to Johnson garnered both Hale and Lindy Boggs garnered them national renown as rare progressive Southern leaders.[21] Lindy Boggs was a fierce advocate for women's rights and civil rights for African Americans long before her own election to the House of Representatives. She was flustered by her husband's initial refusal to make a public speech in support of the Voting Rights Act of 1965, noting that she was "so disappointed" that she "didn't go to the House to listen to the debate."[22] Her husband, however, did decide to give a speech on the house floor that day, and his stellar performance boosted the Boggs' reputation as Democratic Party dynamos in the "Great Society" era.[23] As the party headed into the 1972 midterms, the Boggs traveled the country campaigning alongside vulnerable incumbent Democrats. While campaigning alongside Alaska Representative Mark Begich, Hale Boggs' plane disappeared, and he and Begich were never seen again.[24] The tragedy meant that Hale Boggs' House seat was now vacant, and Lindy Boggs soon declared her candidacy for the special election. At a time of mourning, she sought to secure her family's legacy and exercise her own political chops, which had been growing since her husband's first election.

In 1973, Lindy Boggs was elected to her late husband's vacant seat in Louisiana's Second congressional district. Her election was historic, as she was the first woman elected to Congress from the state of Louisiana and was among the few women from the Deep South serving in Congress at the time.[25] Notably, by 1973, there was already a long history of American congresswomen being elected to succeed their late husbands. The figure of the congressional widow was not a new phenomenon, though many of these women quickly lost their seats in future election cycles. They would often be propped up by their husbands' political party, which capitalized on the "grieving widow" narrative to keep the seat within that party's control. But then they but were often quickly abandoned in future cycles in favor of other, often male, candidates.[26] However, Lindy Boggs' position was different. She had a huge name within her party before her husband's death, and she garnered strong support from the national party. She served in Congress for 18 years, bucking the traditional congressional widow story and making a political career in her own right. During her tenure in Congress, Boggs championed women's issues, racial justice, and public education.[27] One of her principal achievements was drafting of the Equal Credit Opportunity Act in 1974. This act made it unlawful for creditors to discriminate against applicants based on race, ethnicity, color, religion, or national origin. Notably, the original version of the bill did not include provisions protecting applicants from discrimination based on sex or marital status, much to

Boggs' chagrin. During the bill's committee markup, Boggs' added this language to the bill. She even created her own photocopies to distribute to other committee members, demonstrating her commitment to protecting women from sexist lending practices. The amended bill was unanimously approved by the committee and became law later that year.[28] Boggs was also incredibly influential in the establishment of the Office of the Historian in the House of Representatives.[29] Throughout her congressional career, Boggs emphasized the importance of teaching and preserving history. Drawing on her experience as a history teacher and librarian, Boggs was deeply invested in the goal of preserving American history so that its lessons could help the nation avoid its past mistakes and flourish. In 1976, Boggs again made history by becoming the first woman to preside over a national party convention, further boosting her name recognition and popularity within the party.[30] She even appeared on Senator Ted Kennedy's vice-presidential shortlist when he challenged President Jimmy Carter in the 1980 presidential election, something remarkable for a woman at the time.[31] Boggs retired from public office in 1991, but briefly returned to civil service from 1997 to 2001, when she served as the U.S. Ambassador to the Holy See during the Clinton Administration.[32] While this marked the end of Boggs' political career, her decades-long involvement in politics and her position in the upper echelon of the Democratic party demonstrated the growing political influence of women in the 1970s.

Ambassador Anne L. Armstrong

Born in New Orleans, Louisiana in 1927, Anne Legendre Armstrong quickly rose to prominence in Republican national politics. Her path to get there, however, was unlikely. Born and raised in Louisiana, Armstrong moved far from the South for college, attending Vassar College in New York.[33] Armstrong described herself as being quite liberal and identified as a Democrat during her college years, even studying with a Marxist study group.[34] Her mother was a Texas native, and these close familial ties to the state led her to move there after graduating from Vassar.[35] Upon moving to Texas, Armstrong's political ideology began to change, and she started organizing Republican women in her county with the goal of activating a Republican voter base in what at the time was a decidedly Democratic Texas. In the 1960s, the political environment of Texas was almost completely dominated by the Democratic party, something that provided her with much greater opportunities for political access to the state's Republicans. Due to a lack of ongoing organizing in the state at the time, the Texas Republican Party had lowered many of the barriers that typically faced women when they sought participation in the political process. In Armstrong notes that they were "just delighted to see any warm body." [36] Her first elected position was as a trustee of the Kennedy County School Board in Kennedy County, Texas. Armstrong tended to shy away from giving too much credence to this modest position, but this early involvement in local politics would lay the groundwork for a bigger political future, not only for Armstrong but for other Republican women throughout the state.[37] Steadily rising through the party ranks, Armstrong became the vice chairman of the Texas Republican Party in 1966. Only a few years later, Armstrong became the Republican national committeewoman for Texas, a position of particular importance to her as a woman. Each state had two national committee members, one male, one female. Armstrong's position as the female committee member essentially designated her spokesperson for all Republican women in Texas.[38]

In 1971, the vice chair position for the Republican National Committee (RNC) became vacant, and Armstrong indicated her interest in filling the position to Bob Dole, who President Nixon had informally designated as the next chairman.

Dole approved, and Armstrong became the RNC vice-chairperson. Along the way, Armstrong's work in Republican politics had further deepened her transition to conservative ideology, and she questioned the effectiveness of federal interference and voiced a growing support for a strong national defense.[39] During Nixon's presidential campaign, Armstrong became a high-profile surrogate, with Nixon and the national Republicans placing high value on her leadership as both a woman and a Southerner. At the time, the South was heavily Democratic, and the Republican strategy moving into the 1970s was to capitalize on many middle-class whites' disdain for the Democratic party's turn to social justice issues. Beyond this, the Nixon campaign saw white women as a key constituency, making Armstrong a valuable ally.[40] Because of her appeal to both white women and disaffected Southern Democrats, Armstrong secured a spot as the keynote speaker at the 1972 Republican National Convention, becoming the first woman to deliver the keynote address at a national convention of either party.[41] This was a major milestone, but it was only the beginning of the work Armstrong would do to further women's influence in American public life.

Elevated by her name recognition and national prominence after the 1972 convention, Armstrong was selected later that year to be a presidential counselor in the Nixon White House. This appointment marked the first time in over a decade that a woman had held a cabinet-level position, and she became the highest-ranking woman in the executive branch since Oveta Hobby was Secretary of Health under Eisenhower.[42] News coverage of her appointment revealed the rampant misogyny and sexism that were still pervasive in American life, even as both parties fought to advance women's rights. One newspaper described Armstrong as an "attractive brunette mother of five," before mentioning any of her political bona fides or previous professional experience.[43] Regrettably, comments such as these, emphasizing a woman's looks over her qualifications, were a common experience for women at the time, especially those who were involved in the "man's world" of politics. For her part, the comments only fueled Armstrong's commitment to advancing women's rights. Shortly after joining the Nixon administration, Armstrong founded the first Office of Women's Programs in the White House.[44] She founded the office after observing the lack of resources for women who wanted to be involved in politics. Women at the top were "very few and far between," she noted, and it was "amazing that there were so few at the local level where it's easier for women with families to serve."[45] Under Armstrong's leadership, the Office of Women's Programs started an Executive Women in Government program in which the highest-ranking women in the executive branch could meet to support women candidates and political staffers nationwide. Armstrong and many of her colleagues were also strong supporters of the Equal Rights Amendment, a support that placed them in opposition to the ERA's most famous detractor, Phyllis Schlafly, highlighting intraparty divisions when it came to women's rights.

Beyond working on women's issues in the West Wing, Armstrong had an illustrious career in foreign policy and diplomacy under the Nixon and Ford Administrations. Her first foreign policy experience came from serving on the Murphy Commission, which she described as the "top foreign policy commission of the day."[46] Her work on that Commission sparked an interest in foreign policy, and she worked closely with Presidents Nixon and Ford on foreign policy issues for several years. In 1976, President Ford appointed Armstrong to serve as the US Ambassador to the United Kingdom, making her the first woman to serve in that role.[47] After serving for just a few months in this capacity, there was an effort to draft Armstrong as Ford's

running mate in the 1976 presidential election. Noting how the country was changing, Armstrong observed that there was a growing appetite to see women in positions such as the vice presidency or as a Supreme Court justice.[48] While Ford ultimately chose Senator Bob Dole as his running mate, the movement to draft Armstrong showed that the cracks were starting to widen when it came to women's access to political power. Armstrong's tenure as Ambassador was cut short due to Ford's loss to Jimmy Carter in 1976, but she continued to serve in several advisory capacities and was active in the Republican party throughout the 1980s and 1990s. Notably, she chaired the President's Intelligence Advisory Board between 1981 and 1990 under Presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush. During this time, Armstrong continued to use her foreign policy work to advance women's issues at home and abroad. She believed that that U.S. leadership on women's rights would encourage both allies and enemies to pursue gender equality in order to keep up with the U.S.[49]

Throughout a long career in both electoral politics and foreign service, Armstrong championed women's rights and the uplifting of minority communities. But it is important to note that she allied herself with politicians whose views were often antithetical to this goal. In 1974, Armstrong delivered a speech at the Kansas State University Landon Lecture Series in which she lamented that "We have labored long and yet women, Blacks, Spanish-surnamed and others in too many instances still do not have an equal opportunity to become a part of the mainstream of American life."[51] This sentiment hints at a paradox. Armstrong worked Nixon, who publicly embraced women's rights but privately held unsavory views on women with ambition. Both President Nixon and Ronald Reagan, who was Governor of California at the time, were caught referring to Black people as "monkeys" in a recorded phone call. Further, Reagan's "War on Drugs" disproportionately affected Black and brown communities and led to the rise of mass incarceration and a marked increase in police brutality against these communities.[52] Armstrong advanced the cause of women's political participation in the Republican Party, but there was a conflict between the personal views she claimed to hold and the material effects of the policies of the presidents she supported.

Conclusion

For centuries, American women have been at the center of a dominant gender ideology that entraps them in a life of domesticity, stifles their personal ambition, and strips them of political agency. Regardless, women and their allies have fought these patriarchal systems through personal, political, and economic means. In the early days of colonial North America, women of higher societal status used their economic connections and limited control over their husband's estates to become important players in the economic and political landscape. In the late 19th century, the suffrage movement gained momentum as women across lines of class, race, and region organized for the right to vote, which would eventually be secured in 1920. During World War II, women worked outside the home in strikingly high numbers compared to the pre-war average, taking up roles left by men who were sent off to war. This small taste of independence led many women to reject the post-war suburban ideal centered around a nuclear family with women as homemakers, eventually culminating in the eruption of a broader women's liberation movement in the 1960s and 1970s. Women were also some of the most important actors in the civil rights movement, organizing key constituencies to bring an end to the cruel policies of the Jim Crow South. Throughout this era, women seized political power when they could and rejected the patriarchal ideology of the time.

The lives and careers of both Boggs and Armstrong show how Southern women took power at a crucial turning point in American politics: the early 1970s. Highlighting their contributions to the women's movement breaks down traditional narratives that exclude the influence of Southern women. Boggs and Armstrong occupied different ends of the political spectrum, they both spent their entire careers expanding women's access to political power, and the fruits of their labor can be seen in full today. At the time that Boggs and Armstrong were in office, there were only 16 women serving in the United States Congress. Since then, that number has ballooned to 151 today, with women now making up roughly 28% of Congress.[53] Much work remains to be done – women comprise roughly half the population and occupy only a little over a quarter of the seats in Congress. Misogynist and sexist attitudes towards women in politics remain invasive in American public life. But as more women leaders take office, they stand on the shoulders of the ones who came before them and hold out the possibility of a better society for all. In the words of Anne Armstrong, "the cock croweth but the hen delivereth the goods."[54] The number of women in office across the ideological spectrum is higher today than at any point in American history and transcends the demarcation of race and region. As women continue to catapult to the greatest heights in American public life, with a woman being a major party nominee in two of the last three presidential elections, Armstrong's words become more salient now than ever before.

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DOCUMENTARY REVIEW - BENDING THE ARC: ORIGINS

by Tanner Thornton

Bending the Arc: Origins. Pam Powell, Director and Producer and *David Brower,* Videographer and Producer. In partnership with the Unitarian Universalist Church of Birmingham, 2023; 1:29:43, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vg3MNIuqldU&t=2739s.

Digital media has become an increasingly important source of historical information as society rapidly transitions into an ever-expanding digital age. A 2021 survey by the American Historical Association (AHA) found that approximately 69% of American citizens utilize TV and documentary film for learning history, higher than any other method of historical education.[1] *Bending the Arc: Origins,* the first film in a six-part miniseries about the history of civil rights and racism in Alabama, expertly capitalizes on this growing appetite for digital history learning. Documentary filmmakers Pam Powell and David Brower spearheaded the project in partnership with the Unitarian Universalist Church of Birmingham. The first film, *Origins,* was released in 2023, and since then, the scope of the project has expanded to include additional media and interviews on the project website. The project aims to uncover the little-known stories of African Americans and white allies throughout the struggle against racism in the state of Alabama to promote a more empathetic and social justice-driven society. *Bending the Arc's* high-quality film, expert storytelling, and ability to elicit deep, emotional connections make it a powerful tool for history teachers and history learners alike.

Bending the Arc: Origins, and the subsequent films, are primarily structured as a series of interviews with historians, community members, and social justice advocates. *Origins* is centrally focused on the origins of racism in Alabama, tracing the history from the transatlantic slave trade to the Civil War and Reconstruction, and then to the Jim Crow South. The documentary relies heavily on information presented by historians and faculty from universities across Alabama, with a diverse cast of historians from public and academic backgrounds alike. The filmmakers adeptly establish somber, emotional connections between the audience and the film's content by including personal anecdotes from the descendants of the enslaved and includes additional perspectives from white allies who are descended from slaveowners. These connections help to establish historical authority and to build audience investment in truly processing the content of the film, helping the project achieve its goal of fostering knowledge and community engagement in social justice.

Two downfalls detract from this otherwise astounding documentary project. The first is the project's ability to reach a wide enough audience to reach its desired impact. Since the project is not shown on TV and is only available on the project website and the Unitarian Universalist Church of Birmingham YouTube channel, it is unlikely that it will reach an expansive audience. The documentary only has 3,276 views on YouTube, which is a staggeringly small number relative to the quality and professionalism displayed by the film. The other issue is the amount of commitment required by the audience to take in the full scope of the project – the film has a runtime of an hour and a half. While this is standard for many documentaries, the nature of the project as a six-part series requires a heavy time commitment that may dissuade engagement from more casual viewers. The time commitment itself is not the primary problem. However, the series begins with a film heavily centered around slavery and the aftermath of the Civil War – according to a YouGov

survey in 2021, 79% of Americans already feel they are well acquainted with this history.[2] While organizationally it is logical to begin the film series with a discussion of the origins of slavery and racism in Alabama, it is potentially ineffective at communicating new information to viewers before they tune out, stifling the project's goal of sharing the little-known stories of Alabama's Black history. The same survey found that 62% of Americans are largely unfamiliar with important events in Black history like Nat Turner's Rebellion. While the series certainly delves much deeper into the lesser-known stories of Black history nationally and in Alabama communities in later films, it may be difficult to communicate this new information through the first film alone.

Despite these setbacks, *Bending the Arc: Origins,* and the project as a whole is a high-quality work of public history that emphasizes the importance of sharing untold stories and collaboration with community members. The documentary has the ability to capitalize on American's growing appetite for learning history through digital platforms, and quality camerawork and production by Powell and Brower make the documentary much more personal and impactful. In the ever-expanding world of digital and collaborative history, this project will prove valuable to professional historians, history students, and members of the public alike, bolstering community involvement in social justice and sharing the untold stories of Black history in Alabama.

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ISLAM IN THE BIBLE BELT

by Iris Beasley

When discussing religion in Alabama, a state situated in the deep south and in the middle of the Bible-Belt, many have the underlying assumption that the word "religion" is a simple substitution for Christianity, specifically Evangelical Protestantism. The American south is often viewed, by non-residents and residents alike, as largely a monolith in terms of religiosity. If one were to venture anywhere outside of the South's more diverse urban centers, they could easily fall victim to this assumption. While these assumptions are typically innocent in nature, they are indicative of something much more insidious, reflecting, perhaps due to subconscious discomfort or ignorance, our unwillingness to engage with this aspect of Southern history with honesty and integrity. In my view, the history of Islam in Alabama serves as a perfect example of this reality. Often discussions of Islam in American society exist primarily alongside discourse surrounding immigration and foreign relations, as if the two are of entirely different worlds. This false conception of American Muslims completely falls apart when one considers that nearly half of them, forty-two percent to be exact, are U.S. natives (born in the United States).[1]

Along with this false perception of who Muslim Americans are, there exists a subconscious denial of how long they have been here. The origins of Islam in Alabama are unfortunately dark, potentially serving as a key reason why the religion is so often misunderstood, and the first followers of the faith did not set foot on American soil on their own accord. In an article published by Wayne State University, author Saeed Ahmed Khan writes, "Scholars estimate that as many as 30% of the African slaves brought to the U.S., from West and Central African countries like Gambia and Cameroon, were Muslim. (...) As a scholar of Muslim communities in the West,

Figure 1. *Elijah Muhammed, a prominent leader of the Nation of Islam, speaks to an audience of followers in 1964. Photographed among the attendees is world-famous boxing champion and Civil Rights advocate Muhammed Ali (top left). Photo courtesy of Stanely Wolfson.*

I know African slaves were forced to abandon their Islamic faith and practices by their owners, both to separate them from their culture and religious roots and also to "civilize" them to Christianity."[2]

While this reality may be uncomfortable for many southerners, especially white southerners, to consider, Islam in America is truly older than America itself. Enslaved Africans in the South, and the subsequent cultural genocide they endured, should not be ignored, and neither should their faith. Despite the conditions of oppression and subjugation they existed under, Islamic traditions survived in many African American communities across the South during the twentieth century and played a pivotal role in the Civil Rights Movement. Many leaders in the movement, such as Malcolm X and Muhammed Ali, were unashamed of their faith and often publicly embraced their Muslim identities, and many others converted (or perhaps "reverted," from Ali and X's perspective) in order to aid themselves in the fight against racial injustice. In the wake of the movement, many Islamic

institutions began to take root in Alabama, such as the founding of the state's first mosque, Masjid Al-Islam, in 1968 in Tuskegee. In the following decades, America's Muslim community began to diversify due to the increased migration of individuals and families hailing from Muslim-majority countries around the world, particularly during the 1980s and 1990s. As a result of this migration, the Birmingham Islamic Society ("BIS") formed in 1990, with its origins lying within a student Muslim organization at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, which formed in the early 1980s.[3] The mosque I attended formed from this organization. To add additional context, the effects of the events of September 11th and the subsequent War on Terror were detrimental to the global Muslim community. American Muslims were increasingly the recipients of hate and racism, as well as being victims of stochastic terror. During this time of uncertainty, many masjids became hubs of community protection for Muslims and acted as a protective sanctuary from the unforgiving outside world.

On Friday, October 4, 2024, I attended a Jummah prayer service at the BIS Homewood Masjid. According to the BIS website, the Homewood masjid was founded in 1996 and served as a successor to the organization's original masjid and the At-Tawheed school. The facility served as the society's main masjid and administrative center until 2007, and it was also home to the Islamic Academy of Alabama ("IAA"), which itself was a successor to the previously mentioned At-Tawheed school. In 2007, the Hoover Crescent Islamic Center was founded, relegating the masjid in Homewood to a secondary meeting place for BIS members. Nonetheless, the masjid retains an active community of worshippers. The building itself was originally a school building operated by Shades Valley, and from a distance, anyone would be forgiven for mistaking it as such. Once up close, visitors are welcomed with a sign reading "Islamic Academy of Alabama" with a translated quote from the Quran reading "O my lord, advance me in knowledge." Regarding the mosque, the BIS website reads, "The facility features a three-story school building, courtyard, playground, and prayer hall with room for up to 250 worshippers." I arrived at the facility around thirty minutes before the service was slated to begin, around 2:00pm, and had a chance to respectfully observe public areas of the mosque. While I mainly stayed outside and in the prayer room, I did notice the recreation area offered an indoor court for basketball and soccer, as well as an outside playground. Along the hallways there remained many remnants of the building's past, including lockers which were now utilized by the masjid's school. The prayer room itself had a small area for socializing and storing one's belongings during the service (mainly shoes). Overshadowing this was the very large red prayer rug, lined with golden trim, and decorated with geometric and mosaic designs. Along the walls there were a few bookshelves containing copies of the Quran, including translations in a variety of languages, and other books of religious scholarship. The prayer area also had a raised portion where the Imam's podium was located on the left side of the wall, along with a stand to hold the Quran and sermon notes. The masjid had moderate levels of modernization, such as microphones, speakers, and a television monitor, however there was a noticeable lack of musical instruments t there were no cameras to record the sermon. As the time of the call to prayer approached, congregants began to remove their shoes and gather in rows on the carpet. There were around thirty to forty attendees, the vast majority of whom were adult men. The few women in attendance were all dressed in modest clothing, including head scarves or hijabs, and long-sleeved shirts with long skirts that completely covered their arms and legs. It is also worth noting that there were very few children present, apart from a handful of teenagers, and the BIS website notes that

while people of all ages are welcome, any children who cause a distraction will be politely asked to leave the room. Most of those who were in attendance were engaging in individual prayer before the main service, and during this time a member of the congregation stood up to recite the *adhan* (call to prayer). The call was done in Arabic and performed through meditative singing. Following the *adhan*, the imam stood up while the rest of the congregation remained seated, and delivered a sermon, primarily in English with occasional Arabic recitations. After this first sermon or "*khutba*" as it is called, the imam briefly sat down to offer silent prayers before once again delivering a sermon which was shorter than the one which preceded it. During the prayers, attendees would often place their hands on the ground in front of them, and while on their knees, bow their head and upper body forward. After the second sermon, the same man who performed the *adhan* performed a shorter version of the *adhan,* known as the *akama.* During the *akama,*everyone stood up in a straight-line, shoulder to shoulder facing the *qibla*, the direction facing Mecca. This prayer, known as the *salah*, was much more ritualized than any of the individual prayers and was recited twice, entirely in Arabic. At the end of the *salah*, the congregation shook hands with those beside them and greeted them by saying, "May Allah accept your prayers." At the end of the service, many congregants offered donations to a box near the exit of the prayer room.

To begin my reflection on this experience, I would like to express how much I enjoyed the service. The people at the masjid were extremely welcoming and non-judgemental of me, which is something that I do not always expect as a queer person visiting a religious institution due to bias and past experiences. The congregants offered assistance to me with a smile, showing me where to go and where to most respectfully observe the service. Unfortunately, I have had a number of negative experiences in my past with houses of worship (mainly evangelical ones), and while I certainly did not expect anything negative to happen during my visit, it was difficult to keep all of my anxiety at bay prior to attending. However, once I arrived, I felt immensely reassured that the masjid was a safe space for me, despite occasional misgendering which happens in most public spaces regardless of affiliation. In regard to the service itself, I found it to be an extraordinary experience in its entirety. It's one thing to read about a religion and its practices, but to actually experience it made my understanding of Islam much more tangible and complete. Particularly, the recitations of prayers in Arabic were a privilege to witness. While I do not consider myself to be a spiritual person, there is no other word I could use to adequately describe the sort of feelings the recitation inspired in myself . It definitely provided me with a deeper understanding of the purpose religious ritual can serve in someone's life. The profound sense of community and the unification of individual identities is not something that can be easily replaced by secular institutions. Another observation I had during the service was its degree of structure and uniformity, which are things that are usually absent from any evangelical Baptist service I have ever attended. At no point did the Imam go off on a tangent about their favorite restaurant or football team, and they had an impressive degree of discipline and a lack of a need for fancy showmanship. One parallel I could draw between this service and another is a Roman Catholic service I attended once as a child. While there are some notable differences, the structured sermons and Latin recitations of the Bible performed at Sunday mass are extremely similar to the rituals of a Friday Jummah. In conclusion, I found the service to be extraordinarily interesting, enlightening, and inspiring, and I feel more confident in analyzing the similarities between Abrahamic religions and their practices having attended the service at the Homewood Masjid.

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ENDNOTES

1. Travis Mitchell, "Muslims in America: Immigrants and Those Born in U.S. See Life Differently in Many Ways," Pew Research Center, April 14, 2018, https://www.pewresearch.org/religion/2018/04/14/muslims-in-america-immigrants-and-those-born-in-u-s-see-life-differently-in-many-ways/.

2. Saeed Ahmed Khan, "Muslims Arrived in America 400 Years Ago as Part of the Slave Trade and Today Are Vastly Diverse," College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, April 12, 2019, https://clas.wayne.edu/news/muslims-arrived-in-america-400-years-ago-as-part-of-the-slave-trade-and-today-are-vastly-diverse-56104#:~:text=Scholars%20estimate%20that%20as%20-many,those%20related%20to%20their%20faith.

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Additional Information:

Facility Attended - BIS Homewood Masjid, 1820 25th Court South Homewood, AL 35209

Service Attended - Friday Afternoon Jummah

Date Attended - October 4, 2024

REVIEW: UAB DENNIS G. PAPPAS HISTORICAL COLLECTIONS GALLERY

by Elizabeth Albrecht

The Dennis G. Pappas Historical Collections Gallery is the current exhibition space for the Alabama Museum of Health Sciences, the Reynolds-Finley Historical Library, and the UAB Archives. The gallery is named after otolaryngologists Dennis G. Pappas Sr. and Dr. Dennis G. Pappas Jr., both of whom have made significant contributions to the study of the ears, nose, and throat. Many of the items in this collection were curated by Dr. Dennis G. Pappas Sr. and Dr. Pappas Jr over the course of their careers as prominent otolaryngologists in Alabama. The inaugural exhibit, Navigating Communications: Breaking Invisible Barriers, opened July 16th, 2024, displaying artifacts and materials related to otolaryngology collected by the Pappas's from as far back as 1958. The opening exhibit was selected to highlight the work of the Pappas in the field of otolaryngology and showcase their connection to the exhibition as key players in the history of medicine and otolaryngology in Alabama.

The exhibit, titled Navigating Communications: Breaking Invisible Barriers, provides a broad look into the decades long history of the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind communities in Alabama. This exhibit was created to help further people's understanding of what it's like to exist in the world as a disabled person, as well as the dark history of ableism they have faced over the years. While the exhibition provides a general overview of Alabama's role in the diagnosis and treatment of hearing and vision loss, it still does a remarkable job of displaying the details of medical instruments, types of procedures, and doctors and patients that have helped build the Deaf and Blind communities of the state. The exhibit displays numerous artifacts surrounding the history of medicine in the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind community. This includes instruments used to improve hearing in people who were hard of hearing, the history of the cochlear implant, and instruments used in surgical procedures. These artifacts help deepen our understanding of what it is like to exist in a world that is centered on hearing and seeing, and the unique challenges faced by those with diminished hearing and sight. One incredibly impactful part of the exhibit is a VR headset that allows viewers to simulate what it is like to slowly go blind. This unique form of technology integration helps further the exhibit's goal of providing viewers with the opportunity to understand the barriers that exist for the Deaf and Blind in our world today. This project is geared towards broadening the public's perspective on the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind communities of Alabama, and the history of diagnosis and treatment in the state. The exhibit aims to help inspire viewers to find ways to eliminate the barriers between our state's communities and fill in knowledge gaps that may exist about disabled communities in Alabama. Another significant subsection of the exhibit is dedicated to the history of the Alabama Institute for the Deaf and Blind. This exhibition case works to acknowledge the harms this school perpetuated at times, like racism and ableism, while still highlighting the institute's positive impact on Alabama's Deaf and Blind communities. Choosing to focus on this institute helps start conversations around what we can be doing to better our education systems and institutes for these communities.

The "Breaking Invisible Barriers" exhibit does a phenomenal job of helping people gain a deeper understanding of the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind communities of Alabama due to its overview of the history of these communities as well as a deeper look into the tools for treatment and diagnosis, institutes of education, and prominent Deaf and Blind people that contributed to this part of the state's medical history.

The clever exhibit design allows for a short perusing or a longer stay to both provide meaningful and important insight into the barriers faced by the Deaf and Blind in Alabama and the ways that education and understanding can help break these barriers down. The only factor the exhibit is lacking is a deeper look into some of the historical artifacts and influential figures. While this could be viewed as a benefit by some, as it allows the exhibit to cover more ground and display more pieces, I often found myself wanting to know more about the individual or instrument while reading the exhibition cards. The hearing aid instruments were especially fascinating, but I felt they lacked adequate explanations on how people used them, who used them, and the range of their uses, and there were several instruments with only naming placards and nothing else. The breadth of the exhibit was great for gaining a surface level understanding, but it would certainly benefit from deeper explanation or greater expounding in certain areas. It also could have benefited from improved storytelling, potentially including first-hand accounts or interviews with doctors and patients in Alabama who experienced these things. Despite its very minor shortcomings, the exhibition gallery achieves its goal without a doubt. I walked out with a far better understanding of the lived experiences of the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind communities than I had beforehand. The artifacts, interactive experiences, and historical papers were all informative and very engaging.

The Dennis G. Pappas Historical Collections Gallery is a beautiful space that houses an exhibition that is incredibly informative about the barriers that people in the Deaf, Blind, and Deaf-Blind community face. The artifacts on display are both intriguing and engaging. The history of the Alabama Institute for the Deaf and Blind is informative and poses poignant historical questions about our treatment of disabled communities in the past and present. The learning experiences provided by the exhibit are entertaining and educational. Losing one's vision or hearing is not an easy process to imagine for hearing and sighted people, so having that placed in front of one's face helps to further our understanding of what it is really like.

Overall, the exhibit is thoughtfully curated, engaging, and deeply impactful in the effort to break down the invisible barriers that still exist for those with hearing and vision loss today.

THE COLUMBINE MASSACRE: WHEN THE DOMINOES BEGAN TO FALL

by Shelby Howard

Before you read this paper, I wanted to write a letter of reflection of some sort. Throughout the research of the Columbine massacre, I learned more than I expected. Some of my characterizations within this paper warrant an explanation. I refer to the shooters of Columbine as Eric and Dylan rather than Harris and Klebold, and while this may seem strange, I feel it humanizes them in a sense, further cementing my arguments. I also refer to Dylan's mother, Sue, as Sue instead of Klebold, as well as Brooks instead of Brown. These people were victims of the attack as well. Reading Dylan's journal entries and poems made me cry because I have felt that same way, but never would I react violently like they did. Gun violence in America, let alone schools, is a growing epidemic that has spanned across decades becoming a multi-generational experience. Twenty-five years later, gun violence in schools is still prominent. This research brought more information to my knowledge and will add even more to my advocacy for gun control. Like most things, educating yourself on topics like mass shootings can help prevent them. I hope others will take from the sad pages of history and learn from them. Like all things, there are pros and cons with every action. Columbine traumatized a nation. However, the shooting also sparked discussions on gun control, mental health, and school safety. Though a violent act happened, there can be light from this darkness.

Beyond the shock and immediate heartbreak, the Columbine High School massacre exposed fatal societal issues surrounding mental health, the influence and responsibility the media holds, and the breakdown of prevention systems that failed to intervene and stop the carnage in time. The Columbine High School massacre on April 20, 1999, marked a turning point in American history and society, as well as American school policies overall. The calculation and scale of the Columbine attack shook the nation, scaring the education system. The public questioned, *how could this have happened? and how do we prevent this again?*

The two seniors who carried out the attack on Columbine High School, Dylan Klebold and Eric Harris, planned for almost two years prior to the shooting.[1] On that fateful morning, Dylan and Eric planted multiple homemade pipe bombs on campus, hoping for them to detonate, but with no luck. When the bombs failed to go off, the two teenagers entered their high school. They killed 13 people, and their brutal acts wounded many others, traumatizing all members of the school. Dylan and Eric killed themselves at the end of the rampage as their "mission" was completed. The events of Columbine have taken and impacted more than just the immediate victims, with one student, Anne-Marie Hochhalter, being paralyzed and later dying, and a lot of Columbine students coping with severe depression and post-traumatic stress disorder.[2] While students and the entire Columbine community began and continue to grapple with the tragedy, it left a lasting impact on the country. Policymakers began discussion regarding zero tolerance policies in schools, as well as the need for the immediate action rapid deployment (IARD) tactic when dealing with school shootings. Debates started soon, prompting reforms in school safety protocols, gun control policies and laws, bullying and cliques in schools, mental health, and violence on the internet and in video games. There are many societal issues surrounding mental health, the influence and responsibility the media holds with tragic events, and the lack of prevention systems that failed to intervene in the Columbine massacre. This paper will discuss these issues using stories from direct family members and victims, newsreels, 911 phone calls, and

articles.

Within the pages of Dave Cullen's *Columbine* is a timeline tracing over more than two years of Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold's plan for the Columbine massacre. Detailed in these pages are different accounts of the massacre. The first perspective is that of Principal Frank DeAngelis, a former football and baseball coach whom the students called "Mr. D," who spoke at an assembly on Friday, April 16, 1999, before the weekend of the senior prom. There, he encouraged his students not to drink and drive following the prom and to make good choices. Remarking on stories of automobile tragedies in his own life, he concluded his speech to his student body: "I do not want to attend another memorial service."[3] Not knowing the Tuesday after prom twenty-four of his students and coworkers would be sent to hospitals in ambulances, fifteen dead, including Eric and Dylan, with the whole student body sharing a distressing experience of becoming a part of the pages of history as the worst school shooting in American history, until 2012 when the Sandy Hook Elementary School shooting happened killing twenty students between two first grade classrooms and six staff members. Sandy Hook is considered the start of the movement for the prevention of gun violence, with parents of two victims of the shooting creating the nonprofit organization *Sandy Hook Promise*.[4]

The societal pressures of being a teenager are difficult for everyone, and everyone handles them and reacts to them in their own ways. Like most teenagers, Dylan and Eric partied, drank, and goofed off. Dylan, who had self-nicknamed himself "voDKa," was a heavy drinker and took pride in being able to down an entire bottle of vodka in a sitting.[5] Dylan was a quiet kid with a patchy beard and curls to his shoulders, an otherwise scrawny guy who hated his features and was not the smoothest with girls.[6] Eric was a handsome young man, a flirt with high cheekbones and slicked-back hair, who did not let his insecurities show. With Eric's natural wit and charming nature, he could get any girl he wanted. Eric was unaccustomed to girls not fawning at his feet, and with the stress and pressure of finding a prom date, when Dylan had a date to senior prom and Eric did not, he felt outcasted from even his closest peer.[7]

Eric and Dylan had always been friends, playing soccer and baseball together, attending football games and dances, and working together backstage at school plays.[8] A few days prior to the massacre, Dylan helped one of his victims, Rachel Scott, when her tape had jammed at the school talent show.[9] Dylan and Eric even worked at the same pizzeria, Blackjack; Eric was put in charge when their boss, Mr. Kirgis, would leave, and Eric loved to be in charge.[10] Cullen identifies Eric as a textbook psychopath who "could have talked his way out with apologies, evasions, or claims of innocence."[11] Eric's drawings and writing also show his lack of empathy and his desire rising almost to a need for dominance. In comparison, the self-loathing Dylan who could not hide his insecurities wanted to disappear; he wrote in his journal, "I don't fit in here thinking of suicide gives me hope."[12] The pages of Dylan's journal reveal a fixation on his own death. He writes a lot about his own death. He authored a poem about his existential pain. These struggling teens exhibited contrasting behaviors, yet this contrast strengthened their compatibility and teamwork to carry out the attack. Dylan was easily moldable and manipulable for Eric. Eric was the mastermind, driven by hatred, control, and dominance.[13] While Dylan saw the attack as a way to end his own suffering. The contrast in both of their mental health paths emphasizes the need for and importance of robust interventions, mental health practices, and resources to address various paths that could lead to violence.

Columbine incessantly challenges the well-known and common myths that shaped the public's perspective of the

Columbine High School shooting. One of the most persistent rumors is that Eric and Dylan were bullied outcasts seeking revenge against popular students that created this pain for them. Cullen writes, "It was a vengeance fantasy, but Eric's vengeance was arbitrary. He didn't hate jocks or those who picked on him. He hated everyone. Eric Harris was not driven by bullying; he was driven by rage and a grandiose desire to assert dominance.

By disclosing that both Eric and Dylan had active social lives, attended prom and various school events, and were not particularly isolated or ostracized from their peers, Cullen deconstructs the narrative of the outsider who is seeking revenge against those on the inside, shifting the focus from bullying prevention to understanding the psychological factors that motivated the Columbine massacre.

Also, within the pages of Cullen's *Columbine*, systemic failures that allowed Columbine to happen are discussed, such as the inaction of the Jefferson County Sheriff's Office. Despite Eric's persistent and long disturbing behavior and his documented threats within his journal, law enforcement failed to urgently (or diligently) respond. Within Eric's journal entries and drawings was an affidavit outlining his plan for the massacre. "If they had pursued the affidavit, Eric Harris would have been in jail on the day of the attack." These threats were not known until afterwards.

Cullen also critiques the lack of communication between schools, guardians, and mental health resources. He notes that while Eric and Dylan exhibited warning signs before the massacre, these were either completely overlooked as normal teenage behavior that was harmless or not communicated effectively with those who could have intervened. The failure to intervene in time shows the need for quick threat assessment systems that integrate school and community resources. Cullen reflects, "Columbine exposed the cracks in a system that wasn't built to handle threats like this." It took twenty-eight minutes for the media to cover the developing story from Columbine High School. Unreliable reports from eyewitnesses jumbled details and spurred misinformation.[14] The local news channels started broadcasting to the fear and misconceptions behind Columbine. Eric marked fourteen out of thirty potential problem areas prior to the attack at Columbine. His parents, Wayne and Kathy, only knew of three problem areas Eric had discussed with them: anger, depression, and suicidal thoughts.[15] Eric was prescribed, and everyone around him agreed it was helping Eric.[16] Wayne and Kathy worried about Eric's intermittent outbursts of anger, but being the master manipulator he was, he would respond to his parent's discipline the way they wanted, writing in his journal, "thank god I can BS so well."[17] Creating a facade that he was just an angsty teen and it was just normal teenage behavior and even fooling a magistrate in a court hearing after breaking into vans.[18]

As the mother of one of the shooters, Sue Klebold wrote her memoir, *A Mother's Reckoning: Living in the Aftermath of Tragedy*. She writes of raising Dylan and all the memories she had with him while also giving insights surrounding the Columbine shooting, especially the mental health struggles of Dylan and the stigmas associated with mental health. Sue blamed herself for a long time for Dylan's actions on April 20, 1999, battling with the realization of the signs of Dylan's mental health struggles that were overlooked. She provides critical insight into Dylan's mental health struggles. She confesses, "I believed that love and understanding were all a child needed to flourish. But I was wrong. Love is not enough. It's possible to love someone with all your heart and still miss signals of distress and misalignment."[19] Sue challenges the stigma surrounding mental health and its role in violent behavior.

Mental health systems in the United States were and are

ill-equipped to address mental health warning signs in adolescents, with angst behavior misdiagnosed as a normal part of puberty. The U.S. Preventative Services Task Force estimates that nearly two million kids go undiagnosed with clinical depression. The detection of mental health issues is considered the hardest part.[20] Within *A Mother's Reckoning*, Sue describes her vivid attempts to piece together Dylan's fragmented mental state leading up to the attack, noting that there were subtle signs of depression and detachment from Dylan's peers. Eric and Dylan's behaviors never conjured the thought in anyone's mind that a violent attack and reaction would occur. The Columbine shooting mirrors broader issues within modern society where mental health struggles, particularly in adolescents, often go overlooked, unnoticed, or untreated. One of the key takeaways Sue took from Columbine is the need for effective, open communication and collaboration between guardians, educators, and healthcare professionals to identify at-risk youth and intervene before a tragedy happens. Sue's experiences underscore the need for changes, such as adaptive and comprehensive mental health education and resources in school systems to identify and assist any at-risk youth behavior.

Columbine also highlighted the media's important influence on the public's perception of violence and events like Columbine. Sue critiques the media's sensationalism following Columbine, which focused predominantly on Eric and Dylan and not the lasting effects of their attack and the lives of the victims lost that day. The intense and rapid media coverage after the attack painted Dylan and Eric as "monsters," focusing on their motives and "lack of social lives," adding to misinformation about the event. Some news coverage stated Dylan and Eric had boobytrapped the school as well as themselves and taken hostages.[21] Sue challenges this narrative of Dylan and Eric being heinous monsters, declaring, "The media's hunger for a story they could sell overpowered their commitment to the truth."[22] Many news stations broadcast misinformation and contribute to "copycat" killers seen in later school shootings, inspired by the infamy of Dylan and Eric, as portrayed by media coverage. The media's role extends beyond reporting news. Media shapes conversations within society. Sue talks about the moral responsibility journalists and media outlets bear in providing ethical and true reports rather than fueling potential future incidents that could take place. In the aftershock of the Columbine shooting, conversations about violent video games and heavy metal music contributing to the shooting were discussed rather than the issues at hand, mental health and gun control in America. When events such as school shootings happen, the public fixates on blaming culture rather than questioning the real motives behind an attack as such. Sue emphasizes, "We should have been asking why these boys felt so hopeless, so desperate, that they saw no alternative but violence."[23]

Being that a school shooting was unimaginable prior to Columbine at the time, there were no proper systems set up for a threat as such, and perhaps the most often asked question from the country after Columbine was why current and existing prevention systems, such as a campus officer, failed with fatal consequences. Eric's journals and violent illustrations were found by officers after the attack. Dylan's isolative behavior also went unnoticed or was dismissed as typical teenage behavior. Sue reflects, "It's unbearable to know that the signs were there, but no one knew how to interpret them—or acted on them."[24]

Around the country following Columbine, the dominoes fell in the school violence debate, with schools and law enforcement adopting more proactive measures such as threat assessment teams and the Immediate Action Rapid Deployment (IARD) tactic in cases of violence in schools.

Unfortunately, these preventative measures came too late to save the victims of Columbine. Sue advocates for better mental health education and resources as well as early intervention programs and suicide awareness.

The Columbine massacre led to significant changes in school safety protocols, including zero-tolerance policies and increased security measures like metal detectors, lockdown drills, bulletproof glass at the front of schools, and school resource officers (SROs). However, these measures have not been without criticism. Zero-tolerance policies are viewed as too harsh on minor infractions and mainly affect marginalized communities. The massacre at Columbine spurred debates on gun control. While some states enacted stricter gun laws, the national conversation remains halted with what Cullen describes as "No leader having the guts to take on the NRA."[25] Sue pleads for more comprehensive measures that adapt with time, arguing that "access to firearms is a critical part of the equation, one that we cannot afford to ignore."[26] By addressing stigmas surrounding mental health, holding the media accountable and responsible, and strengthening intervention and prevention systems, society can work toward ensuring that such a tragedy never happens again. Sue's personal testimony is a crucial perspective on how societal stigmas and cracks in understanding mental health contributed to the tragedy of Columbine and future events. Sue uses her personal tragedy as a call to action to address issues surrounding suicide prevention and mental health.

The perspective of Brooks Brown, an acquaintance of Dylan and Eric, provides an unbiased insider's perspective on the events leading up to the Columbine High School massacre as well as the day of the Columbine massacre. Brooks sheds more light on the common misconceptions and myths surrounding the story behind Columbine and what led to it. Brooks not only addresses the motives of Dylan and Eric but also the systemic failures of those surrounding Eric and Dylan in the wake of their "typical teenage behavior".

Brooks describes Dylan as a "deeply sensitive and intelligent young man whose struggles with depression were often masked by his quiet demeanor."[27] In contrast to Dylan, Eric "exhibited characteristics of narcissism and psychopathy which were often mistaken for teenage bravado."[28]

Brooks's reflections highlight how Dylan and Eric's isolation within the school's social hierarchy fueled mainly Eric's hatred. "Dylan and Eric were not born killers," ... "but years of bullying, alienation, and unchecked mental health struggles created the perfect storm."[29] The shooting emphasized the urgent need for schools to invest in mental health resources, such as intervention and crisis counselors, as well as foster and create better environments where students feel seen and supported in the best way.

The media's role in magnifying the Columbine shooting has also been a significant topic of discussion. In the instant aftermath following Columbine, media outlets labelled Eric and Dylan as members of a goth clique at Columbine called "The Trench Coat Mafia." Brooks explains that the two were not part of any organized group at Columbine but instead used the coats as "personal statements."[30] This misinformation not only distracts from the issues at hand, like gun control and mental health, but also brands goth subcultures as violent and dangerous. Some goths in AOL chats feared they would be harassed for months because of this misinformation.[31]

Being that Columbine was the first act of school violence to this degree, the hype surrounding the Columbine shooting inadvertently glorified Eric and Dylan. Brooks writes, "Eric and Dylan wanted to be remembered, and the media handed them immortality on a silver platter."[32] Thinking their broadcasts that were hyper focused on Eric and Dylan were helpful, the media unintentionally added to "copycat" school

shooters looking for the same infamy as Dylan and Eric.[33] Columbine inspired a cult-like following of those who see the shooting as a blueprint to follow and surpass. Columbine is seen as the origin story for many "copycat" attacks of school violence that people have called the Columbine Effect.[34] Ethical and empathetic reporting with a focus on the victims and their stories rather than the attackers of the event is a crucial step in preventing future tragedies of the same degree. It adds a face to the tragedy. Days after the attack, any information relevant to Columbine was taken off the website AOL and sent to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

One of the most tragic aspects of Columbine is the multitude of warning signs that went so blindly unnoticed, uncared for, and untreated. Brooks describes how Eric's "violent and erratic behavior were evident in his journals and his online posts, where he detailed his hatred and desire for destruction."[35] Law enforcement failed to take Eric's threats seriously; despite receiving multiple complaints and questions from parents and peers of Eric, law enforcement once again dismissed this behavior as teenage angst. The high school's inability to address ostracism in the school through clique behavior and bullying also added to the reasoning behind the shooting. Brooks recalls an incident where Dylan and Eric were humiliated in the cafeteria in front of their classmates, an experience that deepened their feelings of hatred and alienation.[36] The importance of preventive measures and anti-bullying campaigns is underlined through Brooks's perspective.

The events that took place at Columbine High School on April 20, 1999 forced the nation to confront uncomfortable topics and confront them while also pointing out the cracks in school safety and stigmas in mental health. Brooks's firsthand narrative provides a new perspective on Eric and Dylan's lives. Brooks states, "Understanding the why doesn't absolve the what, but it's the only way we can ensure it doesn't happen again."[37]

The Columbine High School massacre was a tragedy that revealed fatal flaws in society's ability to address mental health issues, especially seen in adolescents. Helping to create and improve environments for students to feel supported. Columbine also held the media responsible for its role in future school tragedies and created safe school tactics and efforts to prevent something like this from happening again. Eric Harris and Dylan Klebold's violent actions came from a combination of overlooked and untreated psychological issues and systemic failures. The rapid spread of misinformation spewed onto every headline hazed the public's perspective of the motives and personal lives of Dylan and Eric. The massacre was the first domino to fall in the debates on school safety policies, mental health awareness, gun control, and failures within the school to intervene in time.

By examining and dissecting myths surrounding the Columbine massacre, assessing the failures to intervene, and addressing the stigmas around mental health, America can aim to create and foster a safer school environment where tragedies like Columbine are less likely to occur. However, as time has shown, these preventive measures, as a response to Columbine, remain works in progress. Although the pain of Columbine will always leave a scar in the figurative and literal textbooks of American history, it has left society with the responsibility to honor the victims by taking action to prevent future tragedies.

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12. Dylan Klebold's personal journal entries

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16. Cullen, *Columbine*, 218.

17. Cullen, *Columbine*, 295.

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19. Sue Klebold, *A Mother's Reckoning: Living in the Aftermath of Tragedy*, 47.

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26. Klebold, *A Mother's Reckoning: Living in the Aftermath of Tragedy*, 183.

27. Brooks Brown, and Rob Merritt, *No Easy Answers: The Truth behind Death at Columbine High School*, 56.

28. Brooks Brown, and Rob Merritt, *No Easy Answers: The Truth behind Death at Columbine High School*, 62.

29. Brooks Brown, and Rob Merritt, *No Easy Answers: The Truth behind Death at Columbine High School*, 73.

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33. Adam Lankford and Eric Madfis, "Don't Name Them, Don't Show Them, but Report Everything Else: A Pragmatic Proposal for Denying Mass Killers the Attention They Seek and Deterring Future Offenders."

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35. Brooks Brown, and Rob Merritt, *No Easy Answers: The Truth behind Death at Columbine High School*, 104.

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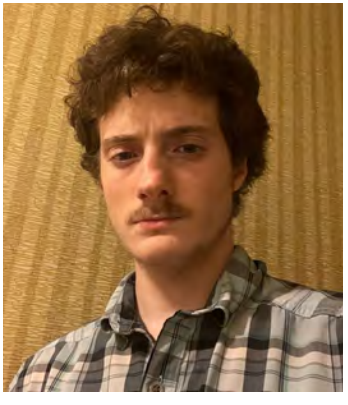
37. Brooks Brown, and Rob Merritt, *No Easy Answers: The Truth behind Death at Columbine High School*, 123.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS, EDITORS, AND ARTISTS

Aurora Tipp is a freshman at the University of Alabama at Birmingham, majoring in Public Health. Originally from Troy, Alabama, she graduated from Charles Henderson High School. At UAB, she serves as a senator for the School of Public Health and is an active member of the Green Team and Freshman Forum. She is also the Director of Communications for Alpha Gamma Delta and a Panhellenic Ambassador, where she helps promote and support the sorority community. Passionate about public health and student advocacy, Aurora is committed to fostering transparency and positive change within her community.

Elizabeth Albrecht is a senior majoring in History and Criminal Justice. Throughout high school, she participated in Mock Trial which pushed her into the world of law. She plans on graduating in May 2025, taking a gap year, then heading to law school in 2026. Elizabeth is the Vice President of the Phi Alpha Theta History Honor Society, a competing attorney for UAB's Mock Trial team, and the recipient of the Most Outstanding Undergraduate Student in Criminal Justice for the 2024-2025 academic year. Elizabeth loves learning about European History; from Ancient Rome into modern day. She is most interested in the religious motivations of many of the wars and conquests throughout Europe, as well as the origins of these religious sects. In law school, she hopes to study how European law shaped America into the legal system we have today. In her free time, Elizabeth loves to bake, read, play Dungeons and Dragons, and embroider.

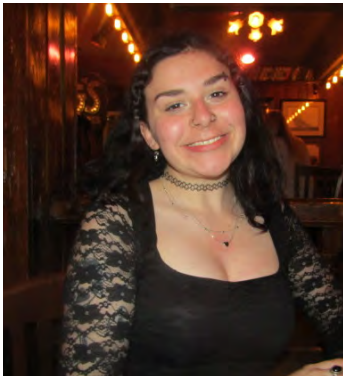


Patrick Henckell is a senior undergraduate History major. He was born here in Birmingham, Alabama, and will be graduating with his bachelor's degree in History in summer 2025. After completing his undergraduate studies, he plans to pursue a master's degree and eventually a PhD in History. He is interested in going into academia someday. History has been very fascinating for him for many years, since he was a small child. While he enjoys reading, studying, and writing about all kinds of history, his greatest interest is in European history. Some of the topics he likes to research are the Hundred Years' War fought between England and France, and Europe in the Age of Enlightenment and during the reigns of such figures as Maria Theresa of Austria, Carlos III of Spain, and Catherine II of Russia. Some of his hobbies are reading, painting, and listening to classical music.

Iris Beasley is a sophomore majoring in history at the University of Alabama at Birmingham. As a high school student, she earned many college credit hours through Advanced Placement courses, scoring a five out of five on the A.P. US History exam, as well as participating in dual enrollment courses at Bevill State Community College, completing a music appreciation course. Throughout her academic career she has always had a keen interest in all humanities and has always been an avid writer with a particular interest in historical writing. Upon completing her undergraduate education, she aims to go on to complete a master's in history and continue working to achieve completion of a PhD program. She has a particular interest in social history, specifically the history of marginalized people groups, including but not limited to, transgender and queer people as well as indigenous peoples. Through her research, she hopes to extensively highlight the experiences of people who have too often been excluded from historical acknowledgement and recognition, from both a sociological and materialistic perspective. Outside of academia, she enjoys writing poetry and is a passionate Mult instrumentalist and enjoys spending her free time exploring herself and the world around her through artistic expression.

Robert Powell is a government and economics teacher, city planning commissioner, and candidate for city council in Hanceville, Alabama. He earned his master's degree at the University of Alabama at Birmingham while balancing a full-time teaching career and family responsibilities, successfully completing the EdTPA certification. Beyond teaching, Powell is dedicated to civic engagement and community development. His role on the City of Hanceville Planning Commission has provided experience in policymaking and city growth. His city council campaign prioritizes government transparency, economic expansion, and sustainable development. As an entrepreneur, Powell has successfully run his own business for three years. His teaching philosophy emphasizes critical thinking over memorization. Passionate about history, philosophy, and film studies, he explores how historical narratives shape society. Despite a lifelong stutter, he has never let it hinder his ability to teach, lead, or speak publicly. Robert Powell is married and a proud father of a young daughter. His experiences as an educator and leader continue to shape his approach to problem-solving and leadership, reinforcing his commitment to making a lasting impact on his community.

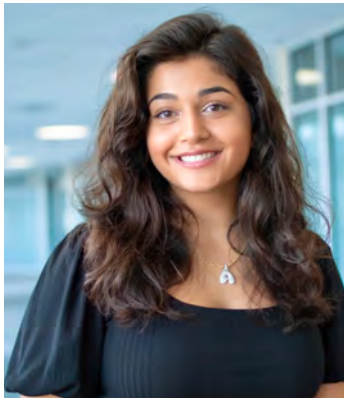
Samantha Wise (Sam) is a senior majoring in History with a minor in African American Studies. She will also receive a certificate in Public History. Sam aims to further her education and obtain a master's in Public History and, eventually, a PhD in History focusing on the intersections of pop culture, politics, race, and gender. She enjoys observing how the political climate influences online comedy culture, fashion, and film/TV. Sam loves to write and hopes to venture into the world of writing books for children.



Shelby Howard I am an imaginative reader; I love doing DIY projects around my house. When I'm not reading or doing a project, I am cuddled up with one of my cats or out on a hike with my dogs. Friends are an important part of my life, and our karaoke parties are unmatched. History has always been a fun topic for me and I'm glad to contribute to a few pages of history.

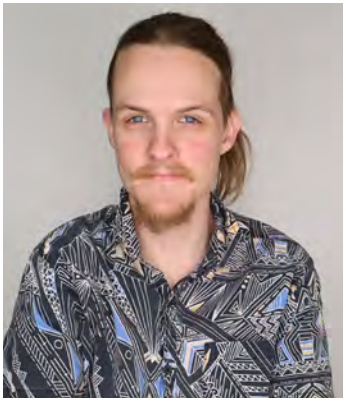
Tyler Hargrave, originally from Lafayette, Louisiana, is a graduate student in the Master's in History program at UAB. Tyler received his undergraduate degree in History from Millsaps College in Jackson, MS and has taught in secondary education (6th-12th) as a certified Social Studies teacher for 7 years. For 5 years after undergrad, Tyler taught at Germantown High School in the Madison County School District. Teaching multiple courses each year, he would go on to teach two Advanced Placement classes, AP European History and AP World History: Modern. Tyler and his wife Casey moved to Birmingham after she was accepted into a dental residency program in 2023 which allowed him to apply for and be accepted into the Master's in History program. While attending classes, Tyler has also continued to teach at R.F. Bumpus Middle School in Hoover City Schools. Tyler has recently been accepted into both The Society for Collegiate Leadership & Achievement (SCLA) and Phi Kappa Phi honor societies, and he has been awarded the Dr. David Hart White Prize which recognizes an outstanding History Graduate Student. With an interest in U.S. Foreign Policy, specifically U.S. and East Asian Relations, Cold War and Post-Cold War, and WWI, Tyler hopes to continue expanding his knowledge in the field of history while also looking for potential career fields that will allow him to utilize the skills he has learned from the Master's program, his classmates, and the professors in the History Department at UAB.

Gabrielle Capellán Gaspar is a senior double major in History and Neuroscience, double minor in Chemistry and Philosophy. She is the 2025 awardee of the Department of History Outstanding Undergraduate Student Award and the Feldman Memorial Writing Award, and her efforts in the humanities have been presented and awarded at multiple conferences across the regional and national level. Her writing takes an interdisciplinary focus, with common themes of war, medicine, and disease with specific emphasis to the Philippines and the Asia-Pacific. Gabrielle also serves on the editorial board of the Inquiro Journal of Undergraduate Research and on the vice-president of the Philosophy Club. She also works as a student assistant in the Willey lab studying the cellular effects of tumor-treating fields for glioblastoma and as a Neuroscience undergraduate teaching assistant. Gabrielle is currently a semi-finalist for a Fulbright research grant to the Philippines and later apply to medical school. In her free time, she enjoys watching horror movies, visiting coffee shops, and playing with her dog Alfredo.



Anahita Maleknia is a first-generation Iranian American from Huntsville, Alabama, who is passionate about investing in children's education. Her passion for this cause was ignited through volunteer work with The National Children's Advocacy Center and the Huntsville Inner City Learning Center, which highlighted the transformative power of literacy, driving her dedication to ensuring that every child has the resources needed to succeed. She has served as a congressional intern in Washington, D.C., and held leadership roles at the University of Alabama at Birmingham (UAB), including Presidential Runoff Candidate and Senator for the College of Arts and Sciences in the Undergraduate Student Government, where she led the Minority Caucus. Additionally, she founded the First Generation Pre-Law Association at UAB. Currently, Anahita is a senior at UAB, pursuing a Bachelor of Science in Political Science through the Honors College, with plans to apply to law schools after graduation and is working as an Intern with the Pittman, Dutton, Hellums, Bradley & Mann, P.C., assisting with legal projects related to data breaches, class actions, and personal injury case.

Beau Bowden After a decade of working in government offices and on political campaigns, Beau returned to his alma mater, UAB, to work in fundraising, striving to make a college education attainable for country kids like himself. He is pursuing a master's degree in history as part of a self-professed journey to find an anchor in this fast-paced and unpredictable world. Between his undergraduate studies and his return to school, his research focus drastically shifted away from the soap operas of nineteenth-century royal courts to the more familiar recent history of the U.S. South. He seeks to better understand the place of the Southerner in contemporary life, including the effects of the Civil Rights Era's achievements, Sunbelt economic growth, and new waves of immigration on this regional identity. He also examines how Southern culture has changed—and not changed—since the 1960s. Novelist Walker Percy once surmised that what captures the Southerner's thoughts "are no longer [Faulkner's] Snopeses or O'Connor's crackers or Wright's black underclasses but their successful grandchildren who are going to nuts in Atlanta condominiums." Beau is the product of generations of Alabamians and lives with his husband, Andrew, in their Birmingham apartment.



Joshua Teasley is a master's student as well as a Graduate Teaching Assistant with the UAB History Department. He graduated Magna Cum Laude with a bachelor's degree in both History and Philosophy in 2023. He is on track to earn his master's in History in the Fall of 2025. He plans on pursuing a PhD and professorship after he earns his master's degree. His passion for History started early in his college career. During his first semester at UAB, he discovered his love for Soviet and post-Soviet Russian history. Since then, the majority of his writing has been on this topic. In his free time, Joshua is an avid outdoorsman who loves anything out in nature. If he isn't working on assignments or research, he is usually out fishing or at home playing video games with his friends.

Luci Harlow is a history student who's proving that it's never too late to hit "pause" on life, go back to school, and then hit "play" again. After starting her undergraduate studies over 20 years ago, Luci is now on track to graduate with her bachelor's degree in history in May of 2025, followed by a Master's in History in May of 2026. Clearly, she has a very long-term view of education! Alongside her academic journey, Luci is the proud mom of four amazing kids and the even prouder grandma to two grandsons. She often jokes that juggling homework, research papers, and spoiling grandkids has given her the best kind of multitasking skills. Her life experiences have given her a rich perspective on history—especially the importance of finding humor even in the toughest moments. Luci is a self-proclaimed history nerd, with a deep love for writing and reading—though she'll happily admit to getting lost in the occasional historical conspiracy theory or medieval drama. She believes that understanding the past through both scholarly research and storytelling is crucial to navigating today's world. When she's not immersed in her studies or family life, Luci enjoys making history come alive in everyday conversations (and yes, she's probably the only one at the family dinner table who will casually drop a fun fact about the ancient Greeks). She is passionate about community involvement and hopes to inspire others to pursue their educational dreams, regardless of how long it takes to get there.

Tanner Thornton is a senior undergraduate history and political science major. He initially planned to major only in political science but fell in love with the field of history after taking an LGBT history course taught by Dr. Natasha Zaretsky at UAB. Tanner's areas of interest include contemporary U.S. history, with a strong focus on the history of women and gender and political history. Tanner's love of history and politics is motivated by his experience as a queer person living in the South, and he hopes to educate others about the histories of marginalized groups to help open minds about the diversity that exists in communities around us. Tanner's proudest accomplishment as a young historian is his participation in the Sharing Stories from 1977 project based out of the University of Houston. This nationwide collaborative public history project allows students to uncover the stories of little-known women who participated in the National Women's Conference in 1977. As part of this project, Tanner researched the life and legacy of community leader and women's rights champion Consuello "Connie" Harper, of Montgomery, Alabama, and wrote a short biography that will eventually be published through the Sharing Stories project. When he isn't focused on his education, Tanner enjoys cooking, playing video games with his roommate, and watching RuPaul's Drag Race. Be careful with that last one though, because he will go on a tangent about every season of the show, how good last week's lip-sync was, and why his favorite queen should have won the season!

Mark Ledlow is a graduate student of history at the University of Alabama at Birmingham [UAB] after graduating with a bachelor's in history education from the University of Mobile [UM]. At the UM, Mark was the student archivist of the school's archives and started the long overdue process cataloging and organizing the archives. Currently, Mark is a graduate teaching assistant at UAB and an officer for Phi Alpha Theta. Mark focuses on the overlap of religion and politics in early US history as his focus area, and for his thesis, he is exploring the relationship of the Quakers and the abolitionist movement. He is set to graduate this summer and is looking for a job in history education.

Cover art by Izabella Janush-Hernandez

2025 VULCAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

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University of Alabama at Birmingham