Knighted

An Interdisciplinary Journal of Undergraduate Research

Middle Georgia State University

Undergraduate Rese@rch

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Welcome:
Welcome back to *Knighted: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Undergraduate Research*. Our fourth annual edition brings together student scholarship from a variety of disciplines, including English, American and world history, and film studies. *Knighted* showcases the breadth and depth of undergraduate research at Middle Georgia State University. The Council for Undergraduate Research says that student research should make "an original intellectual or creative contribution to the discipline." Our students' scholarship, assembled in the pages that follow, unquestionably makes such a contribution as the scholars featured here engage with topics ranging from Shakespeare to *Blade Runner*. Each year, we continue to be impressed by these students' intellectual mastery, critical thinking, and outstanding writing, and we hope you will be too. This year's scholars perhaps merit particular admiration for their willingness and ability to complete challenging research projects in the midst of a global pandemic. We appreciate their perseverance and positivity.

Laura Thomason, Professor of English, Provost Fellow for International Programs
Matt Jennings, Professor of History
Managing Editors

Mission:
Knighted: An Interdisciplinary Journal of Undergraduate Research seeks to highlight the diverse array of fine undergraduate work being done across a wide variety of disciplines at Middle Georgia State University. The University's mission statement calls attention to "lifelong learners whose scholarship and careers enhance the region," and we believe that *Knighted* does precisely that by providing a public venue for students to demonstrate their research skills. *Knighted* is one among many initiatives at Middle Georgia State that fosters an academic environment and provides students opportunities to engage in exploration and application beyond the classroom. By going through the process of submission and peer review, students get an in-depth feel for the craft of scholarly research.

Submission Guidelines:
The 2021 call for papers is active. Students may submit original work that was completed during their undergraduate studies at Middle Georgia State University. Original research projects, including those developed in collaboration with faculty mentors, are welcome from all departments and disciplines. Faculty in the appropriate discipline will review all submissions. The best papers from the Undergraduate Conference are automatically accepted, and submissions to the conference are eligible for faculty review for possible inclusion. Typed manuscripts should be submitted as MSWord documents to **knighted@mga.edu**. They should be double-spaced, with one-inch margins, and in 12 point Times New Roman font. Illustrations, tables, and figure legends should be embedded within the text at the locations preferred by the authors. Citations should be formatted in the most recent editions of the citation style appropriate to their academic disciplines, e.g. MLA, Chicago, APA, etc. The chosen format must be used consistently throughout the manuscript. Each submission to the journal requires a faculty endorsement. The endorsing faculty member should email the managing editors at knighted@mga.edu.

Shakespeare's Socioeconomics of Sack: Elizabethan vs. Jacobean as depicted by Falstaff

in *Henry IV, Part I*, Christopher Sly in *The Taming of the Shrew*, and Stephano in *The Tempest*

Sierra Stark Stevens

The courts of Queen Elizabeth I and King James I of England viewed alcohol consumption quite differently. For Elizabeth I and her courtiers, "prodigious, conspicuous consumption was viewed as a symbol of rank and status" (Austin 171). James I, on the other hand, described drunkenness as "the roote of all sinnes" in a 1604 royal edict (196) and called his court's overconsumption a "great wasteful expense" (197). Shakespeare wrote for each of these courts, and his troupe's livelihood depended on their plays' ability to please their current patron. Accordingly, Shakespeare affectionately depicts Falstaff's upper-class drunken profligacy in *1 Henry IV* because the play is the product of Elizabethan patronage, while Shakespeare criminalizes lower-class Stephano's inebriety because *The Tempest* is a Jacobean production; as a poor tinker made to believe *by a lord* that he is a lord, Christopher Sly singularly characterizes the discrepancy concerning inebriety between the upper and lower social classes of his time—a prejudice that continued throughout both Elizabeth I and James I's reigns; therefore, each of these characters represents Shakespeare's "socioeconomics of sack" in Elizabethan or Jacobean early modern England.

Before 1603, Shakespeare's entourage were called "The Chamberlain's Men" because their patron was the Lord Chamberlain, "the member of [Elizabeth's] Privy Council in charge of the royal household." The Privy Council members were no strangers to drink. The "'cautious' Lord Burghley [William Cecil, Elizabeth's chief advisor on the Council] supplied a *thousand gallons* of wine for the celebration of his daughter's marriage in 1582" (172). An affectionate depiction of a soused aristocrat (such as Falstaff) would have caused no splash in the barrel.

Their attitudes become relevant because the Lord Chamberlain was the censurer and licenser of Elizabethan drama. His censorship led to the fat, drunk man's name being Falstaff rather than Oldstaff (the Lord Chamberlain's family name [Howard *Henry]*). His drinking habits presented no problem. With little change to the character's person or name, the Lord Chamberlain allowed *Falstaff's* dramatic debut (although the name was perhaps transformed into something lewder by alluding to a drunken man's stereotypical sexual dysfunction). Like Prince Hal and Falstaff's mutual ribbing (they mutually refer to each other as thou "sweet wag" and thou "rogue" (Shakespeare 1H4, 1.2.14, 20, and 163)), a bit of drunken fun at court was all in good "humour."

1 Henry IV was explicitly designed for courtly production. Indeed, court audiences may have been the only class of audience to see the piece performed by The Chamberlain's Men (Goff), although "judging by its [manuscript] publication history, in its own time *1 Henry IV* was one of Shakespeare's most popular plays" (Howard *Henry*). However, public opinion is not here the concern. Herein, we court the royal opinion. For Elizabethans, the Shakespearean "socioeconomics of sack" reflected alcohol's ability to unify the classes and promote good-timing loyalty. Elizabeth's court saw promoting aristocratic drunkenness as desirable and inebriating their lessers as a way to earn their goodwill; it opted to continue the "medieval tradition of noble openhandedness and moral obligation, which puts generosity and display before thrift and economy" (171).

Because alcohol consumption was seen as a status symbol in Elizabeth's court, and *1 Henry IV* was written no later than 1597 and performed in 1600 by The Chamberlain's Men, court audiences likely responded to Falstaff by appreciating him as a lovable and comic, yea—a nobly intelligent (if flawed) character. Falstaff, drama's most famous sack-drinker, however

insolvent, retains the love of the uppermost aristocrat: the future Henry V. Twice in the play, Hal pays Falstaff's bar tab with Mistress Quickly; once in Act 2, Scene 4 and again in Act 3, Scene 3. In Act 2, Scene 4, Hal not only affectionately allows Falstaff to "sleep til day," before they inform Falstaff of his conscription, Hal chooses, unasked, to pay for the items Peto enumerates from a bill in Falstaff's pocket, which lists two gallons of sack and a mere halfpenny of bread. Hal says, "Oh, monstrous! But one halfpennyworth of bread to / this intolerable deal of sack?" (2.4.491–492). Yet, he adds, "the money shall be paid back again with / advantage" (2.4.498–499) because Falstaff has chosen to accompany the Lancasters to war. In Act 3, Scene 3, when Falstaff again cannot pay his tab at the Boar's Head, Hal pretends that he has, indeed, pick-pocketed Falstaff when Falstaff so lies to Mistress Quickly. Hal says, "O my sweet beef, I must still be a good angel to thee. / The money is paid back again [to Mistress Quickly]" (3.3.163–164). Falstaff goes on to admit he shall never pay it back to Hal; Hal does not mind. Hal's lordly generosity is on display.

While Falstaff may be a thief, his actions are condoned by his country's chief lawmaker to-be. The chief lawmaker even joins in his escapades. Falstaff, Prince Hal, Poins, and Gadshill (all members of Falstaff's barroom "court") co-planned a robbery of wealthy pilgrims. Hal asks, "Where shall we take a purse tomorrow, Jack [referring to Falstaff—Jack is a nickname for John]?" (1.2.86). Falstaff replies that thievery "is my vocation, Hal. 'Tis no sin for a man to labor in his vocation," falsely alluding to "Ephesians 4:1" in order to justify his plans for robbery; even mild sacrilege is permitted between the crown prince and this knave-knight. Poins goes on to tell them both about the pilgrim purse-snatching scheme. Falstaff exits, and Poins and Falstaff concoct a plan to trick Falstaff during the robbery. At this point in the play, perhaps Prince Hal is more mischievous than even Falstaff. When Falstaff wheedles Hal, "Do not thou, when thou art

king, hang a thief" (1.2.54), Hal effectively agrees by extending the jest to pretend Falstaff (a thief) would be the judge of thieves during Hal's reign (1.2.55–65). Falstaff, though he is a nobleman, is the social glue of an ersatz tavern "court" composed of everything from prostitutes (1.1.41–45) to princes. By nature of Hal's membership in this "court," however calculated his reasoning for that membership may be, he grants approval to all their actions, including the criminal ones. Clearly, while King Henry IV disdains the company his son keeps (1.1.80–85), Hal looks on Falstaff's habits with indulgence as a part of this fun, free-wheeling, carnivalesque "court" Falstaff keeps at the Boar's Head Tavern.

The Elizabethan and Jacobean courts were equally drunken (though its monarchs differed in their tippling preferences); it was not the level of drunkenness that varied, but the respective social mores of inebriety. For both Elizabethan and Stuart royal households, "the normal aristocratic diet consisted of huge quantities of meat and bread washed down with oceans of beer and wine…Aristocratic household accounts for the Elizabethan and Stuart periods indicate a beer allowance of 5–8 pints per person per day, and 750–1,250 gallons of wine a year for a household" (Austin 172). However, the proof is in the "pudding," so they say, and the laws of each court go a long way towards "putting" their social norms in perspective. The harshest alcohol-related law Elizabeth established was a limit on the production of "double-double" beers, the production of which had exponentially increased in the 1570s; the brewers competed to produce the most potent drink to appeal to customers. Elizabeth required them to make as much "single" beer as "double" to curb public drunkenness and to increase the money she earned from taxes by the barrel (Austin 174). On the other hand, James I *criminalized drunkenness* in 1606, legislating fines and jail time for public intoxication that would remain in effect until 1872 (Austin 196). Falstaff's habitual drunkenness was an unabashed, wonted state among

Elizabethans; boozy Stephano—a Jacobean dramatic invention—was a foul, usurping thief. In every age of man, money talks, and King James was paying for *The Tempest*.

In 1603, the patronage of Shakespeare's troupe shifted from Elizabeth I's court to that of James I. When King James took the throne in 1603, the troupe came under direct royal patent, "formally serving the King." Henceforth, the corps were known as "The King's Men" (Syme). With the advent of a less-libatiously-liberal leadership, drunken characters had to be seen as scheming, lazy, lowly, and ultimately shamed: enter Stephano from *The Tempest*. *The Tempest* "was one of fourteen plays provided as part of the elaborate festivities in honor of the betrothal and marriage of King James's daughter Elizabeth to Frederick" on Hallowmas Night, 1611 (Greenblatt). The Hallowmas dramas represented England's international image as Elizabeth Stuart's diplomatic wedding was staged (note the lack of inebriety at the meta-wedding of Miranda and Ferdinand). In *The Tempest*, we see no lords the worse for drink. Shakespeare only lays waste to the villains (villains in both the modern and early-modern senses—both evil and common).

The alcoholic legislation of James I was mostly aimed at controlling the lower classes as they became poorer throughout his reign. King James said of sack:

> Whereas in the times past Spanish wines, called Sacke, were little or no whit used in our Court, and in late years though not of ordinary allowance, it was thought convenient that such noblemen and women, and other of account, as had diet in the Court, upon their necessities of sickness or otherwise, might have a bowle or glass of Sacke •••• He understand that within these late years it is used as a common drinke and served at meals as an ordinary to every mean officer, contrary to all order, using it rather for wantonnesse and surfeitting than for necessity to a great wasteful expense. (Austin 197)

King James did not approve of even officers in the military, much less servants, jesters, and sub-humans, using sack for "wantonnessee." King James I did not put "generosity and display before thrift and economy" (171).

For Jacobeans, drunkenness was regarded as a lower-class issue, to be overlooked within the court (Austin 195). Stephano, unlike Sir John Falstaff, is a non-aristocratic drunkard. Stephano's description in *The Tempest's* "Persons of the Play" is "Stephano, a drunken butler;" he is a decidedly lower-class character. As he enters the play, swilling sack from a bottle made of bark, singing a dirty ditty, his speech is stunted and ignoble. He encounters what he foolishly believes to be a four-legged and two-voiced monster (actually Caliban and Trinculo attempting to stay dry under Caliban's filthy gaberdine), Stephano slurs:

> What's the matter? Have we devils here? Do you
>
> put tricks upon's with savages and men of Ind? Ha? I have
>
> not scaped drowning to be afeared now of your four legs; for
>
> it hath been said, "As proper a man as ever went on four
>
> legs cannot make him give ground"; and it shall be said so
>
> again, while Stefano breathes at' nostrils. (Shakespeare *Tempest* 2.2.54–60)

Stephano's limited-syllable vocabulary indicates a lack of education—"as proper a man as ever went on four legs cannot make him give ground" (imagine how Prospero would have waxed poetic on this sentiment) as well as Stephano's use of "afeared," a contemporary plebian pronunciation of afraid, indicate his lower class. His dropping of syllables, as in "tricks upon's" instead of "us," and "at' nostrils" instead of "out of his nostrils" indicate stoned, sluggardly slurring.

Stephano's associates are no more socially refined. When Caliban (a "most perfidious and drunken monster" [Shakespeare Tempest 2.2. 142], the lowliest of low classes, a sub-human) asks Stephano, "prithee, be my god" (2.2.140). Trinculo, a lewd and foul-mouthed jester, says Caliban is "a most ridiculous monster, to make a wonder of a poor drunkard" (2.2.156–7). Not only is Stephano a lower-class servant, both his associates throughout the play are lowly and monstrous.

As the economic status of their persons is ignoble, so, too, is the provenance of their quaff. The "butt of sack which the sailors heaved o'erboard" (2.2.112), upon which Stephano floated to the island from the shipwreck, was essentially stolen goods. No aristocrat condoned the sack's insalubrious usage; Alonso, Sebastian, Gonzalo, Adrian, and Francisco knew nothing of its new ownership. Whereas Prince Hal actively indulged Falstaff's overconsumption, Stephano's drunkenness is hidden from his superiors and is seen as a mark of his low class and incapability to perform his economic function—his employment as a lord's butler.

Stephano is further criminalized through his involvement with the plot Caliban devises: a "conspiracy to murder Prospero in his sleep" (Greenblatt). Presumably, because all sins (including those of upper-class characters like Antonio and Sebastian) are forgiven at the end of *The Tempest*, Stephano is not prosecuted for his crimes nor intended crimes. However, there is an analogous relationship between the villain who started all the troubles of which *The Tempest* tells, Prospero's dukedom-stealing brother, Antonio, and Stephano. Not only has Antonio usurped Prospero, but he also incites Sebastian's ploy to usurp his brother, King Alonso of Naples. Simultaneously, the other most obvious villain of the story, Caliban the monster, incites Stephano's ploy to usurp Prospero as lord of the island. Tellingly, neither Antonio nor Sebastian are drunkards in the play (this is, after all, a Jacobean production). But the lowest of

the low—Caliban the monster and Stephano the drunken lordship-stealing butler—are drunk, stupid, and selfish. Their drunkenness adds another layer of villainy to their courtly-analogous crimes.

Stephano further fails to uphold Elizabethan "open-handedness" by being stingy with his sack—by only sharing it as long as it serves his aims to do so. He tricks Caliban by getting him drunk. He ensures Trinculo's loyalty by keeping him in wine. For example, during Stephano, Caliban, and Trinculo's conspiracy, as they ransack Prospero's rooms, Stephano commands Caliban to carry things for him by plying him with sack: "Monster … Help to bear this away / where my hogshead of wine is, or I'll turn you out of my / kingdom" (4.1.247–249). On the other hand, an Elizabethan example of drunkenness, Falstaff, is kept in wine for the love his companions hold for him. Falstaff is not the keeper of the sack, unlike Stephano, so Falstaff's social status does not rely on his ability to inebriate his fellows. Stephano's entire assay at power is based on his proprietorship of what King James would call a vice.

"Vice characters" and the cultural importance of "Carnival" are other important considerations when analyzing Stephano and Falstaff—and Christopher Sly. Falstaff "resembles the irreverent Vice figure from the medieval morality plays…Falstaff also conjures up the topsy-turvy world of Carnival in which rulers were temporarily displaced and the body's pleasures (eating, drinking, breaking wind, having sex) were celebrated before the arrival of abstemious Lent" (Howard *Henry*). Sir Falstaff and Prince Hal's existence in the "court" assembled at The Boar's Head in Eastcheap represent the topsy-turvy world in which the future king and a knight pretend to be low-born drunkards by participating in the commoners' lifestyle. Stephano's topsy-turvy attempt went in the opposite direction. A butler gaining a lordship would have "topsied" class expectations on the island. One of Stephano's two partners in crime, Trinculo, is a jester—

one of the cornerstone characters of the Carnival cast. Carnival is a celebration of exaggerated grotesqueness, so Caliban's allyship creates another layer of the carnivalesque among the *Tempest* tippling trio. Christopher Sly represents two sides of the king/commoner carnival coin. He is a commoner fooled into believing he is a lord at an actual lord's behest. Falstaff and Prince Hal represent the lord-to-commoner swap. Stephano, Trinculo, and Caliban represent the commoner-to-lord swap. Christopher Sly's experience during the "Induction" represents both.

King James, perhaps realizing that it was not realistic to enforce sobriety and order at every moment, writes to his son, Prince Henry, "… certaine dayes in the yeare would be appointed, for delighting the people with publicke spectacles of all honest games, & exercise of armes: as also for conveening of neighbours, for entertaining friendship and hartlinesse, by honest feasting and merrinesse." James sees no harm "in making plaies and lawfull games in Maie, and good cheere at Christmasse." Such practices, he says, "hath beene vsed in all well gouerned Republicks" (Bergeron 34). However, In King James' commissioned play, *The Tempest*, there was no way to tell what was "merrinesse" and what was reality; the entire world of the play was make-believe. In the realism of Henry IV, Elizabethans knew who wound up topsy in the turvy: Henry V went on to become a successful king. In the imaginary world of magic, monsters, and make-believe that *The Tempest* represents, there was no safe way to make the lower-class character, Stephano, king of Prospero's island—history could not disprove his rise to eminence, so Stephano had to be unsuccessful in his attempt at power.

The Taming of the Shrew, an Elizabethan production written in 1592 or earlier, is a mishmash of make-believe and realism; as such, its preeminent drunkard, Christopher Sly, represents an ambivalent attitude towards carnivalesque, drunken "topsy-turvyness." Christopher Sly appears only in a frame tale for the play, which editors would later call "The Induction"

(Howard *Shrew*), during which a lord, returning with his entourage from a hunt, happens upon a drunkard passed out outside an inn. In the Lord's still-sportive mind, it amuses him to imagine playing with the poor man's psyche, so he hatches a prank. They transport the sleeping Sly to luxuriously appointed chambers, clothe him in finery, and anoint him in precious rosewater. The Lord commands his page to dress and act as the simpering Lady of her Lord Sly, who has been "lunatic" these fifteen years. The Lord dresses as a servant and participates in the jest. By the time Sly comes to, all is in order. Servants surround him, offering appurtenances galore. Sly responds as a poor, alcoholic tinker would do. He asks, first thing, "For God's sake, a pot of small ale!" (IND.2.1). Just as Stephano speaks in lowly language, Christopher Sly fails to replicate the iambic speech of the Lord and his attendants (Seronsy 27) by speaking in irregularly accented patterns (both "God's sake" and "small ale" are pairs of accented syllables).

In his malformed syllabic speech, he also asks for the wrong drink; lords and ladies drink sack, not ale. The first servant asks, "Will't please your lordship drink a cup of sack?" (IND.2.3). Sly responds, "I am Christophero Sly. Call not me 'honor' nor 'lordship.'" (IND.2.5-6). As they insist on his high birth, he continues, "What, would you make me mad? / Am not I Christo-/ pher Sly, old Sly's son of Barton Heath, by birth a peddler, / by education a cardmaker, by transmutation a bear-herd, / and now by present profession a tinker? Ask Marian Hackett, / the fat alewife of Wincot, if she know me not. If she say / I am not fourteen pence on the score for sheer ale, score / me up for the lying'st knave in Christendom. / I ne'er drank sack in my life" (IND.2.16-23). As the induction progresses, Sly begins to enjoy "playing the part of a nobleman, [but] he doesn't do it very well" (Howard *Shrew*).

Part of what turns him on to the idea of acting the lord is the prospect of a youthful wife (even if she is secretly Bartholomew the pageboy). "His language, especially, betrays him"

(Howard *Shrew*). For example, when the page addresses Sly as "noble lord," Sly asks, "are you my wife and will not call me 'husband?' / My men should call me 'lord,' I am your goodman" (IND.2.101-102). If Goodman Sly had a woman of his own, she would be a Goodwife, or even a Goody. "Wife" was not something one would call a lady and the title "Madam wife" (IND.2.106) upon which Sly settled was absolutely "absurd" (Howard *Shrew).* Between the "ale" and the "wife" blunders, Sly has proven his social incompetence at acting the part of the lord; his lack of social niceties stems from his impoverished background. By pointing out Sly's ale-wifery, Shakespeare marks him as an ever-underdog in his "socioeconomics of sack."

However, Sly's impertinent social masquerading was not censored by Elizabeth I's Lord Chamberlain. It is partly because Sly's flipping (topsy turvying) of the social hierarchy was designed by the Lord in the play, and throughout the Induction, his fellow players and the audience are in on the trick—Shakespeare intended that Sly be a comic character. Furthermore, the entirety of *The Taming of the Shrew* is based on what Seronsy calls "supposes," or the idea that all the characters in the play are partaking in play-acting and topsy-turvy roles. While Sly seems to be based in contemporary England (he names towns near Stratford-upon-Avon as his stomping grounds and lists very English-sounding names for his friends), the rest of the play-within-the-play—the part with Bianca, Kate, Petruchio, etc.—is set in faraway Italy, in make-believe. While Queen Elizabeth's court did not criminalize drunkenness as King James' did, excessive consumption was seen as a status symbol. The lower classes could not overconsume, then, and be respected. Respectable drunkenness was reserved for the upper classes; this is why Sly's consumption for most of the Induction had to be (a) sponsored by the Lord and (b) made absurd.

Had *The Taming of the Shrew* been performed by The King's Men and not The Chamberlain's Men, Sly might not have gotten by with being just the ambivalent butt-end of a prank. He might have ended up like Stephano—a lousy criminal, not to be permitted such fineries as sack. Falstaff, on the other hand, was able to carouse with the lower classes because while one can pretend to be lower than oneself, one can never pretend to be higher than oneself without being made a fool because topsy-turvy day is quickly over.

Shakespeare's "socioeconomics of sack" encapsulated class struggles, the carnivalesque, real-life royal attitudes, international trade policy, domestic legislation, and complex social roles. As Shakespeare's treatment of Falstaff, Sly, and Stephano proves, what the courts honor in one age, they may dishonor in another. However, as Falstaff would say, "honor is a mere scutcheon" (Shakespeare *1H4* 5.1.138); but the chivalric code says that Honor is Truth—yet *in vino veritas*—and "in the street, too!" (1.2.76). This author agrees with Falstaff: "If sack and sugar be a fault, God help the wicked!"

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The Devil Inside

Sarah Istambouli

In 1692, the little community of Salem Village, Massachusetts was thrown into a state of chaos by a series of events that would later come to be known as the Salem witch crisis. While the Salem crisis is regarded as one of the most renowned historical events of early colonial New England, the actual events themselves—the belief in witchcraft and the subsequent accusations and executions of those individuals deemed to be witches—were not unusual, but rather, quite common during this historical period.[1] Cotton Mather demonstrates this theology by proclaiming, "There is both a God, and a Devil, and Witchcraft: There is not out-ward Affliction, but what God may (and sometimes doth) permit Satan to trouble His people withal..."[2] As a pious community, the Puritans approached all cases of witchcraft, and thus the Devil's work, by turning their attention to prayer and their ministers' guidance: Mather continues, "Thus, Prayer is a powerful and effectual Remedy against the malicious practices of Devils and those in Covenant with them."[3] What happens then, when prayer does nothing to quell the wicked ways of the Devil? This was precisely the case when the first afflictions began in the Parris household and was often a sign of witchcraft itself.[4] Four years prior, Cotton Mather observed this in the Goodwin household when he stated, "A further Demonstration of Witchcraft in these horrid Effects, when I went to Prayer by one of them, that was very desireous to hear what I said, the Child utterly lost her Hearing till our Prayer was over."[5]

Within the course of a year from the Parris girls' first "fits," there progressed a frenzied storm of accusations and executions. While various hypotheses have been proposed to explain the events that occurred, such as the hypothesis of ergot poisoning, it seems more apt to consider the historical context surrounding Salem in order to identify where things may have gone awry.[6]

As Salem was a highly pious community, it was also hierarchically patriarchal, and power was enforced through the subordination of individuals, namely women and children.[7] In such a hierarchical society, the heads of households were responsible for enforcing the "discipline" and teachings of the Lord.[8] As this dynamic prevailed, it brings into suspicion certain aspects of the Salem crisis, particularly revolving around the legitimacy of the accusers, who were none other than children, ranging in ages from "twelve to nineteen."[9] In a patriarchal society such as Salem, it seems peculiar, then, that children, who were often viewed as evil and corrupt from the time of birth, would be so influential in the ultimate decisions of eliminating someone's life.[10] This begs the question, then: why were these accusations considered legitimate, and what circumstances may have influenced these behaviors? In seeking to answer this, factors of social life within the community must be considered, for as pious as the community appeared, Salem Village and Town were replete with dark forces of political corruption. It therefore seems logical that the youth of Salem were highly susceptible to these forces, and as such, they would have been undoubtedly subjected to ongoing adult discussions of the social inner workings of the community. Would the unconscious infiltration of information into these young and impressionable minds ultimately result in the cascade of calamity that ensued, or would the children be mere cogs in a larger and more complex destructive environment?

While the children's accusations may have initiated the cascade of events that led to the onslaught of numerous prosecutions, imprisonment, and hangings, to place blame on the children for the Salem crisis would be erroneous, for their behavior can be seen as an expression of a much larger and complex social landscape. To understand the Salem crisis, to even a small degree, requires a retrospective look at the dynamics that had been developing within the community for quite some time.

The site of the Salem crisis, a community known as Salem Village (originally, Salem Farms), was a subset of Salem Town that developed as individuals moved inland to take advantage of the viable land which lay on the outskirts of town.[11] Despite the distance, villagers, who were first referred to as "Farmers," were still expected to come into Salem Town to attend church services and meetings, provide services, and pay taxes, which led to a growing conflict between the two groups.[12] The following petition concerns the Farmers' discontent about their continuing roles in town (this petition addresses the Military Watch, 1667):

Whereas your petitioners have been required by our Commanders to attend the military watch at Salem Town, which (considering how remote our dwellings are from the Town) we did and do still conceive law doth not require it of us. But because we are men, subject to be partial in our own case, and might not be acquainted with all the laws, we did present or request to the County Court at Salem last June to give us their judgment therein: namely, whether it were our duty by law to attend the said watch or not. And the judgment of the said Court, as far as we perceived, was that we were neither bound by law nor reason to attend the said watch, except in case of an exigency . . . Yet notwithstanding the judgment of the Court, they did again require us (by express warrant in his Majesty's name and per order of the Militia) to attend the watch . . . Some of us live ten miles . . . from the meeting-house, and both horse-and foot-[men] required to go with arms and ammunition, every way fixed according to law . . . And yet [we are] not excused from paying our part to all charges, both ecclesiastical and civil.[13]

Petitions such as this were not uncommon, as the villagers were trying to establish some autonomy from Salem Town.[14] In response to the petition, the general court ordered that "henceforth all Farmers dwelling four miles from the meeting-house shall be exempt from the

constable-watches, any law or custom notwithstanding."[15] However, despite the court's

exemption, "two Salem Farmers were brought to court for refusing to participate in the watch

and 'for highly affronting and abusing' the officers and the Salem militia committee."[16] When

Salem Town decided to build a new meeting-house and required villagers to pay taxes on it, the

villagers presented the following petition (1670):

> Taking into consideration the motion that is now on foot concerning the building of a
>
> new meeting-house now at Salem, have with one consent agreed not to contribute to the
>
> same at all (not knowing how long it may be beneficial to us), unless you likewise of the
>
> Town will share with us when we shall build one for ourselves.[17]

This petition was finally granted in 1672, two years after it was originally submitted, and

Salem Village was given permission to build their own meeting-house, assign a five-person

committee to oversee meetings, and later, hire a minister.[18] Even though it seemed as if Salem

Village might be gaining independent ground, their gains were superficial at best, as the meeting-

house was not considered a true church, they did not have the ability to offer communion, and

they lacked governance over legal matters.[19] While the petitions illustrated above were granted,

the process was anything but straightforward, and often, petitions would be ignored, dismissed,

or downplayed, demonstrating the level of control and power that Salem Town exerted over

Salem Village.[20] Furthermore, land seizures or arrests often occurred to assert the town's

dominance, as was demonstrated in the seizure of Nathaniel Putnam's property for "his refusal to

pay such a meetinghouse tax imposed by the Town."[21] Frustrations and conflict grew, leading to

divisions within the village community, as some inhabitants closer to the border of Salem Town

continued to support and identify with the town, while those farther away from the town desired

their own independence.[22] Court records demonstrate bickering and quarrels concerning such

issues as being "fined 20s. each for fighting," or "for absence from worship on Lord's day."[23] As

frustrations grew, it was also not uncommon for an argument to result in the labeling of "witch"

onto a rival for feelings of personal wrongdoing.[24] Additionally, anything that happened within

the community, such as a storm or a crop failure could be used as a reason to direct blame onto

someone for being a witch.[25] Labeling someone as a witch was essentially sealing the

individual's fate, for the label remained in the memory of the individual who cast the accusation,

as well as there was always the possibility that the accusation may be overheard by other

community members, so that when a new and perhaps more dire situation arose, it was easy to

cast forth the accusation that was already familiar.[26] Additionally, once an accusation was made,

there was a tendency for it to "spill over" onto other immediate family members.[27]

Community discord became a predominant tone within Salem Village in the following

years, mounting with each minister the village would hire and ultimately drive off as was the

case with James Bayley, Deodat Lawson, and George Burroughs.[28] In fact, George Burroughs,

the second minister to be hired, and subsequently to leave Salem Village, was accused of

witchcraft by Abigail Williams and then Ann Putnam on the 20th of April, 1692: (Ann Putnam's

testimony):

> What, are ministers witches, too? . . . For I will complain of you, though be a minister, if
>
> you be a wizard. And immediately I was tortured by him, being racked and almost
>
> choked by him. And he tempted me to write in his book, which I refused with loud
>
> outcries . . . [29]

As George Burroughs' trial commenced, a proponent of his sentencing was Cotton

Mather, who claimed that Burroughs "had the promise of being a King in Satan's Kingdom, now

going to be Erected."[30] Interestingly, one of the indicators of witchcraft in the seventeenth

century was the inability of the accused to recite the Lord's Prayer; however, George Burroughs had no difficulty in this task, perfectly reciting the Lord's Prayer on his execution day.[31] Burroughs' recitation brought tears to many members of the audience who gathered at his execution ceremony, causing them to question his guilty sentence.[32] Upon seeing the doubt in the crowd, Mather quickly intervened by reminding the audience that "he was no ordained Minister, and ... the Devil has often been transformed into an Angel of Light."[33] Mather's words were enough to reassure the crowd, and George Burroughs was hanged that August day of 1692.[34]

George Burroughs' case offers an interesting perspective about the Salem trials. In early 1683, the inhabitants of Salem Village began to withhold Burroughs' ministerial pay.[35] After leaving town abruptly, Burroughs returned to settle the dispute, only to find a charge placed upon him by Captain John Putnam for a previous debt that had not been repaid.[36] The debt in question was loaned at an earlier time between the gentlemen with an acknowledgment that it would be repaid out of the minister's salary, yet when Burroughs' salary was withheld, he was not able to repay the Captain.[37] Based on how tensions mounted in Salem, it could be speculated that this earlier dispute may have been what propagated Burroughs' later accusation. In fact, wrongdoings, deviant, or unrespectable behavior were often underlying reasons for witchcraft accusations, as can be demonstrated in the accusation against Sarah Bibber (Vibber):[38]

> John Porter testified that Sarah Bibber to be a woman of an unruly turbulent spirit . . .
> Goodwife Bibber and her husband would often quarrel & in their quarrels she would call
> him, very bad names.[39]

The community discord would continue to progress leading up to the trials, reaching a climax with the arrival of the fourth minister in Salem Village, Samuel Parris. Parris was sought out by the Salem Village committee in 1689, and after confirming that his lengthy and specific

requirements would be met, Parris joined the small community and shortly thereafter, came to be ordained.[40] However, there soon grew two dissident factions within the community: a group who supported Parris and was eager to see Salem Village become autonomous from Salem Town, and those who opposed Parris and continued to identify with the Town.[41] These two factions would come to be known as the pro-Parris faction and the anti-Parris faction, respectively.[42] These factional divisions would additionally be reflected in distinct geographic divisions of the region.[43]

As discontentment grew, the same fate that befell the other ministers in the Village befell Parris, as his salary, too, began to be withheld.[44] Withholding a minister's salary demonstrated a blatant dislike for and opposition to the minister, as well as being a means of antagonizing an opponent, which, in this case, was the pro-Parris faction. Witchcraft accusations were additionally means of lashing out at an opponent, as was demonstrated in the Putnam accusations of Martha Corey and Rebecca Nurse: (Ann Putnam, Sr. accuses Martha Corey and Rebecca Nurse of witchcraft):

> I being wearied out in helping to tend my poor afflicted child and maid, ... I lay down on the bed to take a little rest; and immediately I was almost pressed and choked to death, ... and presently I saw the apparition of Martha Corey, who did torture me so as I cannot express, ready to tear me all to pieces ... And on the 19th March, Martha Corey again appeared to me; and also Rebecca Nurse ... and they both did torture me a great many times this day with such tortures as no tongue can express ...[45]

Not only was this particular accusation a result of long-held resentments surrounding a land dispute between the Putnam and Nurse families, but it was also a way for the Putnam family, who were part of the pro-Parris faction, to lash out at the Nurse family, who were part of

the anti-Parris faction.[46] These squabbles were much more than superficial attacks and represented deeply held resentments concerning levels of political subversion, as members of the anti-Parris faction represented those who actively suppressed Salem Village from gaining ground as an independent community.

Resentful of his salary being withheld, Parris began using his sermons to manipulate the congregation in trying to serve his needs, which only added to the hostile dynamics within the community:

Because sentence against an evil work—sinners see no hell, & therefore they fear none. Oh Sinners! time enough, time enough, have but a little patience, & you shall see an hell time enough, wrath will overtake you time enough, if you prevent it not by true Repentance.[47]

In demonstrating his sense of betrayal by the community, Parris incorporated Judas's betrayal of his Master for money in his January 12, 1690 sermon:

Judas betrayed him and sold him to the Chief Priests ... for thirty pieces of silver ... a poor and mean price. For it was the common and known set price of a base slave ..., a female slave.[48]

Once the episodes began, it seems logical that the levels of dissension within the community played a heavy role in what transpired. It is interesting to note that the first "afflictions" appeared in Parris's household, evidenced in his daughter Betty Parris and her eleven-year-old cousin, Abigail Williams.[49] After calling a doctor to attend to the ailing girls, in whom no malady was found, Parris sought prayers for the girls from the religious community.[50] However, shortly thereafter, Parris began to direct the trajectory of the girls' physical expressions onto a course that would ultimately result in mass tragedy. It was only after Parris's

"urgent questioning— 'Who is it that afflicts you?' —did the girls point their fingers at others in the community."[51] The question then becomes, why did things progress as they did? Boyer and Nissenbaum offer a comparison of Salem to the community of Northampton, in which similar physical expressions were exhibited by the children in 1735.[52] However, in contrast to Salem, Northampton viewed the girls' physical manifestations as a sign of spiritual exuberance.[53] Therefore, it seems that Salem's fate rested on the trajectory that Parris set forth, which was ultimately guided by underlying resentment, suspicion, and above all else, a precedent of religious scrupulosity.

While the current research could not identify whether adult discussions in the community influenced the children's accusations, it does not mean they were not a factor. Additionally, research for the legitimacy of the children's testimonies could not be identified, other than literature confirming the use of spectral evidence as "proof" of witchcraft during the seventeenth century.[54] However, in looking at the events that did occur, it could be suggested that the entire Salem crisis began with innocent child's play: the originally "afflicted" girls had been engaging in "fortune telling" sessions, and things quickly began to get out of control.[55] While children often play games, fantasizing about who they may marry and what their future may hold, the situation in Salem must be placed into context of the environment. Perhaps their "fits" were not fits at all, but were simply kids having fun and maybe even experimenting with what they thought it would look like to be *possessed* by the Devil. After all, it is said that Tituba, the Parris' slave, would tell the girls stories of voodoo folklore.[56] However, placing the children's actions in an expressly pious community such as Salem, innocent child's play may have been directly interpreted as the Devil's work. This is highly probable given a setting like Salem, where children were perceived to be "corrupt from the time of birth."[57]

As the children's behavior began to incite more alarm in Samuel Parris, his interrogation may have been driven by an internalization of fear that God had set his sights on him. This hypothesis seems probable given the betrayal Parris likely felt in Salem. Additionally, Parris's interrogation likely produced the answers that the children thought he wanted to hear. After all, the Puritans were an authoritarian community and subordination was just part of life. Furthermore, Parris's interrogation likely produced the result that he was, perhaps, seeking on an unconscious level: that the Devil *was*, in fact, conspiring against him and was now in none other than his own house.

The misinterpretation of innocent child's play is but one hypothesis for the events that occurred in Salem Village in 1692, and the environmental turbulence must be acutely accounted for. For, it cannot be said that one isolated incident led to the events that culminated in the mass hangings, but rather, many factors combined to result in the tragedy that became known as the Salem witch crisis.

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Blade Runner: The Film that Keeps on Giving

Reid Vinson

In these modern times, one could turn on Netflix, Hulu, or any other streaming service and choose from an abundance of sci-fi films. *The Matrix, Total Recall,* and *The Fifth Element* are some of my personal favorites. Of course, these films are merely the children of sci-fi's Grand Poobah: *Blade Runner.* Ridley Scott's 1982 film, adapted from Phillip K. Dick's novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?*, has inspired more than a generation of filmmakers, but not without a few kinks in the hose first. Besides delivering a compelling science fiction narrative, Scott's film represented the increasing struggle of the 1980s, while allowing today's viewers to look back and realize how accurate his futuristic depiction was. To better understand the impact *Blade Runner* made, it is important to understand its cultural context, artistic style, and depictions of the future and technology.

The years preceding *Blade Runner* were filled with struggle. The years following the economic boom of the 1970s suffered from a global recession, which meant job loss and inflation here in America and around the world. Other issues like racial discrimination, drug use, unemployment, and the AIDS crisis were finding their way into the news and plaguing many. Larger cities suffered through these issues the most, especially New York, Chicago, and Los Angeles. *Blade Runner,* being set in Los Angeles, incorporates these problems, or representations of these problems, into its story and setting. As the protagonist Deckard walks through the futuristic L.A. streets, he is surrounded by prostitutes, drug addicts, and the homeless. This would be a scene unfamiliar to the sci-fi audiences of the time, but these same scenes would not be unfamiliar to audiences living within these conditions. Though it is not

uncommon to dream of a futuristic world where advanced technology provides an easier life for everyone, *Blade Runner* would have shattered these dreams with its gritty realism.

The economic crisis of the early 1980s only furthered the divide between the wealthy and the poor. The conflict of class systems plays an important role within the film. Certainly, today the class clash issue is something everyone can relate to or has knowledge of, but those living in early eighties America at a time when Reaganomics was being introduced would take closer notice of this. Robert Yeates draws the comparison between Deckard and J. F. Sebastian. Deckard lives in a nice apartment and drives a flying car. Any struggles outside of fighting replicants are not presented, except for the pursuit of a love life. Contrast this lifestyle with Sebastian's, a handyman who lives in an apartment full of garbage, robotic parts, and other knick-knacks. In fact, there's garbage surrounding the entrance to his building. To further push this idea, Sebastian's loneliness is hyperbolized through his creativity. His closest friends are his own creations, living dolls if you will. These important details show audiences how Sebastian "is a character whose low status is demonstrated spatially" (Yeates 77). Not to mention Sebastian's character. He is timid and cowers when danger arises. Sebastian is far from what many would view as the ideal male "type," especially when compared to Deckard's rough, yet noble personality.

Blade Runner makes a bold statement about love through the relationships between Deckard and Rachel. The film is much less clear on the mentality regarding replicant and human relations; however, its source material addresses it directly in a conversation between Deckard and fellow blade runner Phil Resch. Resch comments on the android mistresses found in the colonies to which Deckard simply replies, "It's illegal" (Dick 123). Relations between humans and androids are illegal and even shamed within society. It is "unnatural." The sexual revolution

from the 1960s through the 1980s was a time where traditional, societal values were being challenged and sexuality liberated. This movement obviously encountered clash, much like the clash of the classes, but instead with social stigma and bigotry. Therefore, when *Blade Runner* puts one of Hollywood's biggest stars on the screen as a badass detective pursuing a taboo relationship with an android, it represents that liberation's message. Love breaks through the barriers of stigma, and in the end Deckard and Rachel run away together. This is a powerful statement coming from a big Hollywood production. A statement powerful enough to influence its audience and make them really think about the issues at hand.

The artistic style of this film is most noteworthy. *Blade Runner* has influenced more filmmakers and movies than any other film. Really, it was the first film to combine film noir and science fiction, and it did so brilliantly. Traditionally, these two genres were enjoyed separately and the idea of combining them seemed, well, blasphemous to some. However, as Doll and Faller explain, "These motifs in themselves do not contradict the film noir code, but work in conjunction with the more complex elements of character and theme in science fiction, deconstructing the process of signification regarding film noir while simultaneously constructing the process of signification regarding science fiction" (94). The opening scene establishes the sci-fi aspect: a dystopian future surrounded by technology, but as the scenes transition to the streets, the noir style can be seen in every nook and cranny. The futuristic streets of Los Angeles are covered in puddles of water that reflect the streetlights. There are shadows in most every scene, most of the time covering half or more of Deckard's face. The scene is always focused on the room and the objects in the scene. There is close attention to detail, such as the rooms in the Tyrell Corporation building. The objects in the scene have just as much spotlight as the actors do

(Schrader 11). These are all traditional characteristics of noir that can be found within *Blade Runner*'s dystopian universe.

Surprisingly, *Blade Runner* received mixed reviews when it opened, but developed a cult following and is now regarded by all as a classic. Its themes have puzzled everyone from the die-hard filmmaker to the academic philosopher. "As a cultural catalyst, the influence of *Blade Runner* is hard to overstate," says Stephen Dalton. Understanding what it means to be human in a world of advanced, seemingly living technology is an issue that people were beginning to face as it improved in the 1980s, and it's certainly an issue we face now. Ridley Scott's attempt in bringing Phillip K. Dick's work to the big screen proved to be successful, and it set off a domino effect leading to classics like *Total Recall, Minority Report* and *A Scanner Darkly.* Not only that, but it essentially made sci-fi movies what they are today. Movies like *The Matrix* draw heavily from the noir/sci-fi mashup seen in *Blade Runner.* Not just film but shows like *Ghost in Shell* and many other magna animations. (Dalton). The style of this film can be seen just about everywhere now as our reality begins to resemble the fiction within the works of Scott and Dick.

Some would say that *Blade Runner* is the godfather of postmodern film. Its religious themes and concept of death have sparked debate and caused countless papers, essays, and scholarly articles to be written about it. Certainly, everyone struggles with the concept of death. It is unavoidable, and the uncertainty of what comes next, if anything, can shake people to their core. *Blade Runner* presents its audience a scenario in which a living creature confronts his maker, an idea that would be much more unorthodox in the 1980s. In the scene, replicant Batty confronts Tyrell, his creator. When asked what he wants, Batty explains he wants "more life, father." Or, depending on which version of the film, "more life, fucker." As Tyrell does his best to explain how this is impossible, Batty stares at the floor in sorrow. His sorrow quickly turns to

anger as he squeezes Tyrell's eyes into his head, killing him. (*Blade Runner*). This scene makes you question traditional views of God or a creator. If God exists, can He be all good? Why create life if it will ultimately destroyed? Will Brooker notes that there is a pattern in which the authors of fictions such as *Blade Runner* or *Screamers* side with the artificial creations rather than the human creators. (61). The replicants, as evil as they might act, appear to show more love and compassion for each other than their human rivals. After all, the very humans that created these replicants are seeking to destroy them.

Finally, *Blade Runner* addresses, in the best way possible, what a future with artificial intelligence will look like. Besides the replicant hunting, *Blade Runner* connects viewers to the androids, because they act so much like us. Though they are fake, and their memories implanted, they resemble humans far too well to be unrelatable. For audiences in 1982 this concept would be foreign, but today it is not so outlandish to think human-like androids will one day walk the earth. We tend to model artificial intelligence after our own image. The main issue is that the 2019 of reality did not line up with the fictional 2019 of *Blade Runner*. We do not have flying cars or androids that realistically resemble humans. Yes, there are things in *Blade Runner* we may never have, but there is a vision of the future found within the dystopian Los Angeles streets that is very real to us and the audience watching in the early 80s. In an article called "Legacies of Blade Runner," Sarah Hamblin and Hugh O'Connell explain that "What established the film as the aesthetic precedent for cyberpunk was not its portrayal of abstraction-the invisible ones and zeros of an emerging cyberspace-but instead the way that it consolidated a set of experiences already undergirding the material reality of everyday life". There are no glamorous space battles or laser fights that many of the 80s audiences would have been familiar with. It is a more realistic depiction of the future where technology has evolved, but human life is no easier. In

fact, many of the scenes shot on the streets have a primitive feel to them, not that of an advanced society.

Ridley Scott's vision of the future was designed to make audiences feel uneasy because it represented much of what people were experiencing in the present. "Scott was trying to make a film which would make his audience feel uncomfortable…he thus has aesthetic reasons for building his 'tangible' future by brutally honest extrapolation." (Kerman 18). His vision of the future is something we can relate to, especially those people living in larger cities suffering from crime, recession, and discrimination. This technique is something filmmakers use frequently, notably in *The Fifth Element.* This film was released 15 years after *Blade Runner* and has similar characteristics. Bruce Willis's character lives in a futuristic apartment, but not one most people would fancy. He drives a beat-up flying taxi that looks no different than a modern one. The cityscape resembles *Blade Runner*'s but in a futuristic New York City. A scene shows bumbling cops waiting in a McDonald's drive thru in their flying car. Like Scott's depiction of the future, Luc Besson presents us with a realistic picture of people waiting in line for fast food, honking at other flying cars on their way to work. This artistic style has a heavier impact on audiences that normally imagine a future with lightsabers and teleporters.

Through understanding the cultural context, artistic style, and futuristic predictions of *Blade Runner,* it is easier to see the impact the film made on not only the film business, but also the academic and philosophical world as well. What seemed to be a mediocre science fiction film eventually became the most well-known narrative in human history. It is a film that has inspired countless other directors and changed the science-fiction genre for good. Without it, we wouldn't have other classics like *The Matrix* or *Total Recall*, not to mention many animated movies and shows. There are so many layers of meaning surrounding this film that one can discover new

ideas and revere the artistic choices with every viewing. *Blade Runner* will be looked back on, in the distant future, as a commentary on the human condition, or a narrative as classic as *The Odyssey.*

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Hiroshima and Nagasaki: A Necessary Evil

Peter Chon

The revelation of nuclear weaponry to mankind was more disruptive than the introduction of firearms. Nuclear arms have permanently changed foreign policy. Due to the concept of Mutually Assured Destruction (M.A.D.), the world powers favor economic war, not traditional war, with one another. If ignoring puppet wars and regional conflicts, M.A.D. is more effective at keeping global peace than any organization or creation of mankind. While nuclear arms increased the power gap between countries like the Soviet Union and the United States and countries like Belgium, their only modern use is to defend.

The bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki were the results of the deployment of the nuclear bombs Little Boy and Fat Man on August 1945, near the end of the Pacific Theater in World War II. My exploration promises to introduce the main views and synthesize them. The bombings happened because a) the United States wished to end the war quickly, b) an invasion of Japan would have resulted in more American soldiers dying, c) an invasion of Japan would result in more Japanese citizens needlessly dying, d) the Soviet Union could get involved with the reconstruction of Japan after the war, and e) the United States wanted to broadcast her power to the world. While the negative consequences—tens of thousands incinerated, generations mutated, and the planet trashed—are significant, they are simply outweighed by the purposes. The purposes outweigh the main criticisms of the atomic bombs: that the death count was too high, that civilians should not have been killed, that the United States could have caused fewer civilian deaths in the attempt to intimidate imperial Japan to unconditionally surrender, and that the surviving unborn were stripped of a normal life.

Douglas J. MacEachin wrote, "By mid-1944 a consensus had begun to develop on the need at least to plan and prepare for an invasion, even though some officials evidently continued to believe there was a good chance it would not have to be carried out…This report [a report from the Joint Chiefs of Staff (JCS) and the Joint Planning Staff (JPS)] became the basis for an agreed statement at the Roosevelt-Churchill meetings in Quebec during September 1944. That pronouncement defined Allied military objectives in the Pacific as 'invading and seizing objectives in the heart of Japan,' after 'establishing [a] sea and air blockade, conducting intensive air bombardment, and destroying Japanese air and naval strength.' The U.S. military leadership did not treat the situation as an 'either-or' choice of invasion versus blockade and bombardment, but rather as a melding of the two strategic concepts."[1] For the most part, the army believed the Quebec report and the JCS/JPS report could be summarized as "a commitment to plan, prepare, and ultimately carry out the actions they believed would be necessary to gain Japan's surrender on the 'unconditional' terms demanded by the Allies."[2] On the other hand, the navy saw the declaration as "a commitment to continue and even intensify their campaign of aerial destruction and naval strangulation."[3] Essentially, they "saw an invasion of Kyushu—if it should prove necessary—as a means of gaining bases from which to launch an even more devastating air and sea campaign and thereby produce a surrender without having to mount a ground invasion of the Tokyo Plain."[4] The Joint Chiefs accepted that Kyushu was to be the site for an initial invasion, and after debate the invasion of Kyushu was taken as a must. Out of the limited options, the

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[1] Douglas J., MacEachin, *The Final Months of the War with Japan: Signals Intelligence, U.S. Invasion Planning, and the A-Bomb Decision*, (Washington, D.C.: Central Intelligence Agency, Center for the Study of Intelligence, 1998).
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Ibid.

commanders debated and pondered. With the goal of a successful invasion, the United States was preparing for a dearly costing route that would ensure imperial Japan's unconditional surrender.

American military officers were not looking forward to the following months. General MacArthur's staff, assuming a Japanese force of 300,000, estimated 23,000 U.S. casualties within 30 days of Operation Olympic and 125,000 U.S. casualties within 120 days. [5] Later, the estimate was changed to 105,000 crippling casualties, casualties that would not allow a return to battle.[6] Because there were 917,000 Japanese troops on Kyushu, the estimate was probably off by 215,000, for a total of 320,000.[7] A month later, MacArthur's intelligence chief, Major General Charles A. Willoughby, warned of between 210,000 and 280,000 battle casualties in the push to the "stop line" one-third of the way up Kyushu. Even when rounded down to a conservative 200,000, this figure implied a total of nearly 500,000 all-causes losses, of whom perhaps 50,000 might return to duty after light to moderate care.[8] In contrast to MacArthur's estimate, Admiral Nimitz's staff estimated 49,000 U.S. casualties within 30 days of Operation Olympic.[9] As shown, it was widely accepted that there would be at least a hundred thousand casualties under Operation Olympic. Also, the estimates were growing as intelligence services tapped and tracked Japanese movements and information. Alongside the estimates, the sense of urgency grew. The U.S. Sixth Army was chosen to bear most of the brunt in Operation Olympic. An estimated 394,859 casualties would permanently remove soldiers during the first 120 days on Kyushu. The planned replacements would barely be able to keep up with the loss.[10] Lieutenant General Brehon B. Somervell was working with a projected need of 720,000 replacements for

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[5] Richard, Frank, *Downfall: The End of the Imperial Japanese Empire*, (Penguin, 2011), 137-138.
[6] Richard, Frank, *Downfall*, 138.
[7] Richard, Frank, *Downfall*, 93.
[8] Dennis M., Giangreco, *Hell to Pay: Operation DOWNFALL and the Invasion of Japan, 1945–1947*, (Annapolis, MD: Naval Institute Press, 2009), 47.
[9] Richard, Frank, *Downfall*, 137.
[10] Dennis M., Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 104.

until December 31, 1946. This figure was for Army and Air personnel only.[11] Major General

Graves B. Erskine, commanding general, 3rd Marine Division captured the sentiments of the

officers: "Victory was never in doubt. Its cost was. . . . What was in doubt, in all our minds, was

whether there would be any of us left to dedicate our cemetery at the end, or whether the last

Marine would die knocking out the last Japanese gun and gunner."[12] One thing to consider is the

fact that the citizens of the United States elect the president, the commander-in-chief of the

Armed Forces. If military officers were hesitant, not because of uncertainty of victory, but

because of body count, the public would not simply be hesitant; they'd be livid. Whether his

intentions were from his want of popularity, and thus political power, or his sense of duty as the

leader of the United States, the high cost on the United States was probably the main factor

behind Truman's decision.

Accepting the premise that all human lives, no matter nationality, are equal, then the

deployment of the atomic bombs would cost less. The number of casualties of Hiroshima was

135,000; the number of casualties of Nagasaki was 64,000.[13] Together, they would not even

come close to conservative estimates of the American casualties or the Japanese casualties in the

first phases of a ground invasion.

Both the Allies and the Japanese accepted the fact that Japan could not win the war.

Therefore, the Japanese decided to play a game of attrition. A propaganda campaign titled "The

Glorious Death of One Hundred Million" started. The campaign called for every able Japanese to

die with glory for the emperor. Karl T. Compton wrote, "About a week after V-J Day, I was one

of a small group of scientists and engineers interrogating an intelligent, well-informed Japanese

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[11] Dennis M., Giangreco, *Hell to Pay*, 53.
[12] "Graves B. Erskine Quote." Accessed November 29, 2020, https://www.azquotes.com/quote/580697.
[13] *The Atomic Bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki*, United States: Manhattan Engineer District, 1945.

Army officer in Yokohama. We asked him what, in his opinion, would have been the next major move if the war had continued. He replied: 'You would probably have tried to invade our homeland with a landing operation on Kyushu about November 1. I think the attack would have been made on such and such beaches.' 'Could you have repelled this landing?' we asked, and he answered: 'It would have been a very desperate fight, but I do not think we could have stopped you.' 'What would have happened then?' we asked. He replied: 'We would have kept on fighting until all Japanese were killed, but we would not have been defeated,' by which he meant that they would not have been disgraced by surrender."[14] The strong concepts of honor and shame are still rampant in modern Japan. "In Japanese society, the group takes precedent as the most important social unit over the individual. Maintaining group harmony, even at the expense of personal freedom, is considered virtuous and generally Japanese are very conscious of how they are viewed by their peers. Shame and social isolation are the primary means used to maintain social cohesion and can also extend beyond the offending individual to family and associates. Therefore, restoring one's social standing is a responsibility to family and friends as well as oneself. Historically, the most extreme form of restoring social order has been suicide, the ultimate form of self-sacrifice. This kind of suicide that has traditionally been seen as a rational and willful act has been referred to as *kakugo no jisatsu* (suicide of resolve)." [15] While imperial Japan industrialized during the Meiji Restoration, it only "westernized" in order to avoid the fate of China in the 19th century: becoming a laughingstock. Modern Japan was reconstructed under American authority. Therefore, it is safe to assume that self-sacrifice was very prevalent in the minds of the average 20th century Japanese. Also, Emperor Hirohito took advantage of the image

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[14] Karl T. Compton, "If the Atomic Bomb Had Not Been Used." The Atlantic, Atlantic Media Company, February 19, 2018, https://www.theatlantic.com/magazine/archive/1946/12/if-the-atomic-bomb-had-not-been-used/376238/.
[15] Russell, Roxanne, Daniel Metraux, and Mauricio Tohen, "Cultural Influences on Suicide in Japan." Psychiatry and Clinical Neurosciences 71, no. 1 (2016): 2–5, https://doi.org/10.1111/pcn.12428.

crafted by his predecessors to shape himself as divine. Self-sacrifice for a deity is very attractive

because of the implication that one is significant (i.e., that one is meaningful) to a divine being.[16]

The Japanese did not need well-trained soldiers. They needed meat-shields, and they had

millions.

While Vietnam and Japan are different, they bear striking similarities. In both, the use of

chemical weapons was considered. Though mass deployment of chemicals to directly kill was

not seriously debated,[17] the Army tested hundreds of chemicals intended to wipe out crops,

resulting in mass starvation. In fact, one of the promising chemicals, LN-8, directly inspired

Agent Orange. Most importantly, one could not know if a person was a civilian or a soldier. For

the soldiers to be as safe as possible, they would have to either slaughter every Japanese within

range or painstakingly search and contain every Japanese who demonstrated a surrender. In the

Vietnam war, South Korean forces committed war crimes. While they did provide humanitarian

aid and resources to civilians, they, in response to a hint of fire, massacred villages in areas with

high Viet Cong activity. Combined with the results of resource and infrastructure loss, an

invasion would result in much more than the 199,000 civilian deaths of Hiroshima and

Nagasaki.

On the night of 9–10 March 1945, Operation Meetinghouse saw 279 B-29s drop 1,665

tons of bombs on Tokyo, focusing particularly on Tokyo's densely populated working class

center.[18] This caused an estimated 100,000 deaths.[19] Operation Meetinghouse is credited with

most of the casualties from the bombing of Tokyo, which started from 17 November 1944 and

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[16] Becker, Ernest. *Escape from Evil*, (New York: Free Press), 1975.
[17] "Online Forum." PBS, Public Broadcasting Service, Accessed November 30, 2020,
https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/online-forum/.
[18] Crane, Conrad C. *The War: Firebombing (Germany & Japan)*. PBS. Accessed 24 August 2014.
[19] McNeill, David, "The Night Hell Fell from the Sky (Korean Translation Available)." The Asia-Pacific Journal:
Japan Focus, March 2005, https://apjjf.org/-David-McNeill/1581/article.html.

ended on 15 August 1945, the date of Japan's surrender. Imperial Japan did not bow down from

a hundred thousand of her people burned. She was willing to fight until her last breath.

Therefore, it was not the high number of civilian casualties that prompted imperial Japan's

surrender. As Jeff Kingston, notes, "it was the Soviet entry into the war [in Manchuria] and the

atomic bombings that precipitated a hasty surrender. But it was overdue because the signs of

defeat, including a devastating series of setbacks on the home front, had been gathering for some

time: endless fire bombings, growing shortages of food due to the U.S. blockade 'Operation

Starvation,' bereaved families and the subversion of people voting with their feet. There was no

appetite for suffering the fate of the Nazis [throwing their people onto the enemies' swords] or

subjecting the nation to more nightmarish ruination. As the public—no longer willing to

endure—soured on the war, what choice did the Emperor and his advisers have if the Imperial

Household was to survive?" [20] This does imply the possibility of victory by blockades alone.

However, the Japanese would have been starved of resources that they would have siphoned

from their colonies. Also, wars of attrition may result in a conditional surrender, which was what

the Japanese wanted and what the Allies could not accept.

    Dozens of babies were born with microcephaly. However, dozens are not worth more

than millions, including thousands of pregnant women.

    The United States did not deploy the nuclear arms because they only had the greater good

in mind. Truman, in fact, was very nervous that the atomic weapons were not ready before the

entrance of Russia into the Pacific Theater. [21] Whether it was purely motivated by good

intentions or not, not deploying was not better by any metric, thus it was as justified as it would

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[20] Kingston, Jeff, "Why Did Japan Surrender in World War II?" The Japan Times, August 2016, https://www.japantimes.co.jp/opinion/2016/08/06/commentary/japan-surrender-world-war-ii/.
[21] Alperovitz, Gar, and Sanho Tree, *The Decision to Use the Atomic Bomb and the Architecture of an American Myth*, London: Fontana, 1996.

have been if the United States's decision was "pure." The main criticisms of the use of the atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki are valid. However, they are not enough to outweigh the benefits of the deployment. Truman's orders destroyed 199,000 lives, most if not all of which being those of civilians. The United States could have dropped only one atomic bomb, or none. The United States could have demonstrated her power to the world by deploying one on an uninhabited island, not on vibrant cities. Unfortunately, President Truman could not and did not know the results of each decision. He ordered with good intentions, and he got a better outcome than he would have with an invasion. Therefore, the deployment of the atomic weapons by the United States on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was justified by purposes that outweigh the horrendous consequences.

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When Sharing Isn't Caring: The Spread of Misinformation Post-Retweet/Share Button

Johnathan Allen

Abstract: In 2009, the Retweet button was created at Twitter, followed in 2012 by the Share button on Facebook. Prior to that, sharing something from someone else was a slightly different process that required more engagement and extra steps. Once these buttons were introduced, hate and misinformation began to spread rapidly within short periods of time. There are numerous reasons that could explain the phenomenon of misinformation sharing on social media. These reasons include but are not limited to conspiratorial aspects, political identity, social capital, the Dunning-Kruger effect and confirmation bias. Steps can be taken to impede the spread of misinformation and with any luck, stop the spread of misinformation altogether. Implementing social programs such as the Pro-Truth Pledge, which encourages users to follow a set of tenets that promote truth and disregard biases, as well as promoting media literacy can help from the consumer or user side of social media. Meanwhile, the business or operator side of social media can help take steps to hinder the spread of fake news, such as updating their fact-checking standards and protocols or suggesting that users read the articles that they share before they actually share them. Fake news is not a new phenomenon and has existed for centuries, but the propagation of misinformation has spread like wildfire with new advances. We may never be able to return to normal and stop misinformation spreading but it can be impeded at the very least, and it will require the combined efforts of the social media users and the social media companies themselves.

Technology has rapidly been changing over the last hundred years. From commercial radio and film to television, black and white to color, cell phones, internet and wi-fi, all of it changing lives so fast that there is often no time to consider the potential issues that arise from the new technology. Few safeguards are put into place with the thought process seeming to be, "We can deal with that once it comes up." As of the time of writing, one of the bigger problems of social media has become the wide spread of misinformation or "fake news." While Facebook has been around since 2004 and Twitter since 2006, fake news has become a larger problem since 2016. The term was cemented in popular culture by the repeated use of the phrase by then-President Donald Trump, who frequently accused any news critical of him as fake news, causing the phrase to permeate into society. Additionally, the use of social media bots and little to no fact-checking compounded this problem, but this paper will explore the rise of social media

misinformation starting from the invention of the Retweet button in 2009. Could the problem be solved by taking away the Retweet/Share button? Do people spread misinformation maliciously or unintentionally? Is there anything that can be done to stop or curb the spread of misinformation at its source? Over the course of this paper, I hope to examine the history of the Retweet/Share button, the reasons behind misinformation and potential solutions to save us from drowning in a sea of fake news.

It is crucial to have an understanding of what constitutes fake news. Is a white lie that you tell your neighbor considered fake news? Surely what you are saying is not true but it is not news. Should such satirical shows as *The Daily Show* or *The Onion* be considered fake news? They claim to be news, but they report for comedic effect. We will use the following definitions of fake news: "(1) an ostensibly "real" news report, which aims to mimic the style and presentation of ordinary news, but which reports on things that did not happen; and (2) an allegation levelled against legitimate media, usually by a politician, aiming to discredit a report that portrays their actions in a negative light" (Alibašić and Rose 463). The issue of how misinformation spreads comes largely from the fact of how news is shared. From handwritten notes and messenger pigeons, the printing press and newspapers, telegraphs and televisions, society has always tried to improve on news delivery and the reach of how far that news goes. With the advent of the internet, it seemed that news would be available to travel the world instantly and freely, with facts reaching the masses more than ever before. However, with so many differing views and demographics, it was inevitable that conflicting news reports would arise, compounded by the creation of personalization algorithms now prevalent in internet browsers, search engines, and websites. These algorithms mean that individuals can get completely different results despite searching the same keywords, depending on personal

information. The idea that facts now become relative to the individual is what causes the danger of the situation. In an editorial regarding fake news, Haris Alibašić and Jonathan Rose acknowledge that "fake news can undermine the accountability of politicians, and potentially make it harder for citizens to know what is true. On its own, this is a serious concern, but perhaps the most serious concern is the ability of fake news to create an artificial worldview for specific groups of citizens that systematically distorts reality" (Alibašić and Rose 466). With the addition of Retweet and Share buttons, it was now easier than ever to share news, whether it was real or fake news.

Of course, fake news is not new. Many attribute the use of the phrase to President Trump, who first used the term on Twitter on Dec 10, 2016, tweeting "Reports by @CNN that I will be working on The Apprentice during my Presidency, even part time, are ridiculous & untrue - FAKE NEWS!" and has since, as of this writing, used the term "fake news" on Twitter 928 more times. Once, Trump speaking to President Niinistö of the Republic of Finland said, "I don't even 'fake' anymore; I call the fake news now, 'corrupt news.' Because 'fake' isn't tough enough, and I'm the one that came up with the term—I'm very proud of it—but I think I'm going to switch it largely to 'corrupt news.'" (House). Despite the claim from the former president that he created it in 2016 and another claim from BuzzFeed News media editor Craig Silverman that he was the one who created it in 2014, the phrase has been in use since 1890, according to Merriam-Webster. The concept of misinformation as a political tool has been around as far back as the 13th century BCE. According to recent archeological finds by Dr. Nicky Nielsen, we now know that the Egyptian pharaoh Rameses the Great, once thought to be a great general given the monuments attributed to his battle prowess, may not have been as skilled at leading as once thought. Dr. Nielsen claims:

When you realise that Ramses re-inscribed monuments dedicated to others—so that it appeared they were celebrating his achievements, you realise what a peddler of fake news he was. His name was often carved so deeply, it was impossible to remove it—thus preserving his legacy. And as he fathered 162 children and ruled Egypt for 69 years, his propaganda had plenty of opportunity to take root. (Addelman).

We often think about fake news as being an invention of the internet, but this shows that fake news is not new, but rather old news.

At the time of this writing, we have almost reached the 11th anniversary of the Retweet button. 11 years does not seem like much normally, but in the Digital Age, things move so fast that 11 years can feel like an eon. 2009 saw the creation of the cryptocurrency Bitcoin and the best-selling video game Minecraft, as well as the release of the first Samsung Galaxy phone, and the iPhone 3GS. To this day, Minecraft, Bitcoin, and the iPhone and Galaxy series are still going strong and have permeated the realm of pop culture. The same year, Twitter developer Chris Wetherell created the Retweet button, allowing people to tweet something from someone else's feed onto their own feed, with or without their own input. According to the Kantrowitz interview with Chris Wetherell, it was noted that

Before Wetherell joined Twitter, people had to manually retweet each other—copying text, pasting it into a new compose window, typing "RT" and the original tweeter's handle, and hitting send. With the Retweet button, Twitter wanted to build this behavior into its product—a standard practice in tech that, at the time, was performed without much thought.

The Retweet button was seemingly innocuous, making social media even easier for users to spread messages without having to copy, paste, and type. If a user did not want to write their

own message, it was just a simple click and it was retweeted. Although it went unacknowledged at the time, the retweet affordance was the digital equivalent of jumping from gunpowder and muskets to magazines and semi-automatic pistols. This gun analogy is one Wetherell made in an interview with Kantrowitz, when Wetherell recalled thinking "We might have just handed a 4-year-old a loaded weapon," as he watched the first Twitter mob use the tool he created. Wetherell did not initially feel this way about the creation of the Retweet button, but that would change in 2014.

That year, Wetherell would find his Twitter search for the keyword "journalism" inundated with the phrase "ethics in game journalism," a phrase frequently used by proponents of Gamergate, a virtual harassment campaign of women in the video game industry. Gamergate started after the release of Depression Quest, a game about depression, by indie game developer Zoë Quinn. An ex-boyfriend of Quinn's had erroneously implied that Quinn had developed a relationship with a journalist in exchange for a favorable review of the game. After interviewing Wetherell, Alex Kantrowitz noted that

> as Gamergate unfolded, Wetherell noticed its participants were using retweets to "brigade," or coordinate their attacks against their targets, disseminating misinformation and outrage at a pace that made it difficult to fight back. The Retweet button propelled Gamergate, according to an analysis by the technologist and blogger Andy Baio. In his study of 316,669 Gamergate tweets sent over 72 hours, 217,384 were retweets, or about 69%.
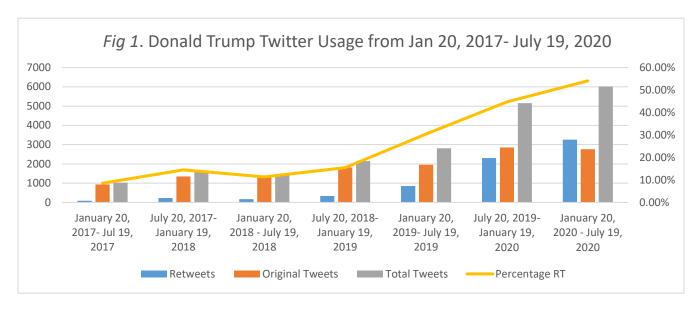
Wetherell could see that his invention was no longer harmless and was causing problems. He related, "It was very easy for them [the Gamergaters] to brigade reputational harm on someone they didn't like, […]Ask any of the people who were targets at that time, retweeting

helped them get a false picture of a person out there faster than they could respond. We didn't build a defense for that. We only built an offensive conduit." Gamergate was a "creeping horror story for me," Wetherell said, adding "It dawned on me that this was not some small subset of people acting aberrantly. This might be how people behave. And that scared me to death" (Kantrowitz).

Enter the 2016 election. Described by Fox News as the "most negative, nasty presidential campaign in modern American history" and by CNN as "the worst election ever," the election was plagued with retweets and shares of such news as the Pizzagate conspiracy theory, which claimed that the Democratic Party used coded emails to arrange human trafficking and a child sex ring through a pizza parlor, and the Russian interference with the 2016 election. These stories would be precursors to the QAnon movement and the Mueller investigation, respectively. The Mueller investigation consisted of a government probe into potential collusion with the Russian government and the Trump campaign and concluded on March 22, 2019. The QAnon movement was built on cryptic messages from an anonymous individual or individuals named Q, who was suggested to be a high-ranking government official with Q clearance. The messages led people to build up a narrative of conspiracies, cover-ups, and cults. The movement grew rapidly due to the ability to quickly spread misinformation and intriguing but false narratives, bolstered by an implicit approval from Trump's retweets of QAnon supporters.

It is important to note that Donald Trump is not the first U.S. president to be on Twitter in office. That distinction goes to Barack Obama, but Trump's presidency has been seemingly defined by his Twitter usage. Using Trump Twitter Archive, I was able to gather raw data and generate a chart (*Fig 1*.) pertaining to the number of tweets and retweets generated by President Trump starting from the morning of January 20, 2017, which was Trump's inauguration, to July

19, 2020. To keep consistency in the data, any tweets/retweets during the final 6-month period of the Trump presidency were not included, as it was not a full 6-month period, due to Twitter permanently suspending Trump's account on January 8, 2021. While Trump did not start out tweeting frequently and retweeting even less, in the 6-month period from January 20, 2020 to June 19, 2020, he retweeted more than he actually tweeted. A number of the retweets have included questionable sources or information, including the October 16, 2020 sharing of an article from the satire site, Babylon Bee, and treating it as fact. The idea of a sitting U.S. president who grew to retweet more and more without looking into what was retweeting unfortunately lent a feeling of legitimacy to people blindly retweeting without research.

Fig 1. Donald Trump Twitter Usage from Jan 20, 2017- July 19, 2020

Let us ask ourselves, why is it so common for this kind of misinformation sharing to occur? There are several reasons that may give us an explanation of this behavior. To be clear, the question is not why a person initially creates misinformation. Whoever created the misinformation is looking to fulfill an agenda. The question considered here is why people choose to share information in the first place. According to a study in 2017, "social capital can be broadly defined as the value derived from resources embedded in social ties with others" (de

Zúñiga, Homero Gil, et al. 45). According to Xiaolin Lin, Saonee Sarker, and Mauricio

Featherman, "social capital can also motivate users to participate in online information-sharing

activities and capture individual psychological perceptions of information-sharing behaviors"

(458). After they received 405 valid responses from an online survey with questions about their

perceptions of social media usage, information-sharing intentions, and self-reported frequency of

sharing information on social media, Lin, Sarker, and Featherman designed a proposed

comprehensive model, which was successful in predicting users' behavior on social media in

correlation with their social presence, perceived privacy risk and commitment. What they found

was that "With a stronger relationship between one actor and another, individuals are more likely

to share and exchange information about them. Therefore, increased levels of social interactions

help users get to know one another better and increase the likelihood that they will share

important information and knowledge" (Lin, Sarker, and Featherman 470). Generally speaking,

human beings are social beings. They want to share information to build networks and protect

themselves from dangers. It is hard to fault that as it is an intrinsic value for surviving, but

misinformation is something that does not enable survivability, but can rather risk it.

Another theory for the abundant sharing of misinformation is psychological in nature. A

cognitive bias is a systematic pattern in which one deviates from the norm or errs in rationality of

a judgement. It is important to note that cognitive biases are not the same as logical fallacies.

While it is hard to say everyone is guilty of something, it is common sense that everyone has had

a cognitive bias at some point in their life. There are numerous types of cognitive bias but for the

sake of brevity, I will only be discussing a few. Firstly, one of the most common forms of

cognitive bias is confirmation bias. This exists when a person favors any material that confirms

their existing belief(s) and ignore any evidence that conflicts with the existing belief(s). An

example of someone with this bias may be a person who is against vaccines, commonly referred to as an anti-vaxxer. Frequently, anti-vaxxers will cite a paper by Andrew Wakefield from 1998, which claimed that the measles, mumps, rubella (MMR) vaccine caused autism in children. Since then, several studies have been published disproving the linkage between the MMR vaccine and autism, with suggestions that Wakefield used flawed and unethical methods for his research to support his hypothesis. Despite more data disproving a linkage between MMR vaccine and autism, a person suffering from a confirmation bias is likely to cling to the data that supports their belief and ignore those that diminish the belief. A less known form of cognitive bias is known as the Dunning-Kruger effect. Named for the social psychologists David Dunning and Justin Kruger, the principle of this theory is that people overestimate their knowledge or ability in a specific area. Dunning was inspired after reading about a criminal case in which a bank robber covered his face in lemon juice, erroneously believing that it would make him invisible to the bank's security cameras. The criminal knew that lemon juice was an ingredient in invisible ink and assumed it would work the same on cameras. While the bias was identified as such in 1999, the idea is nothing new (Kruger and Dunning 1121). Charles Darwin is attributed the quote "Ignorance more frequently begets confidence than does knowledge." Another example of this may be a person arguing against the CDC or WHO guidelines for a disease, despite that person lacking any background in health or science but having read a few articles online and watched a couple of YouTube videos related to the disease.

Without going into more of the cognitive biases, we turn our attention to a study by Angela Anthony and Richard Moulding, who found consistently that political beliefs were a predictor of fake news belief, as well as conspiratorial worldviews and schizotypal personalities. Other predictors were weaker or more erratic like dangerous worldview, normlessness and

randomness beliefs. In the *Australian Journal of Psychology*, Anthony and Moulding suggest that "the content of fake news (FN) often has a conspiratorial aspect: the belief that the explanation for events (or their concealment) is that powerful forces are secretly at work to realise their sinister plans (cf. Swami, Chamorro-Premuzic, and Furnham, 2010; Zonis and Joseph, 1994)" (154). It is understandable how this would appeal to someone. The human brain enjoys order and patterns and abhors chaos. It is reassuring for the brain to believe that there is a rhyme and reason to everything. Additionally, the pair suggested "that political identity predicted belief in FN could be attributable to a phenomenon known as motivated reasoning, or motivated partisan reasoning" (Anthony and Moulding 159). Motivated reasoning is similar to confirmation bias. Rather than clinging to the information that supports one's beliefs and ignoring those that do not, motivated reasoning accepts new information that supports those beliefs and tries to discredit anything that does not.

How to move past this? Is it even possible? Isn't it only natural to want to be right? Can the bell be unrung? Just like there is no singular reason behind the sharing of misinformation, there is no singular solution. No, we cannot unring the bell. Misinformation will spread regardless but the behavior behind it can be curbed. Alibašić and Rose suggest that

> education and enhanced media literacy will undoubtedly be part of the solution, but it is a long-term solution to a current crisis. Moreover, asking for such a critical approach will undoubtedly also mean asking citizens to accept that sometimes information that they have come to believe is untrue, and what reinforces their sincerely held beliefs is not factual and should be disregarded. (467)

From personal experience, I have seen at least two posts from two different people on Facebook who stated they copied and pasted the post to their wall but suggested that the user should do

their own research. Unfortunately for both posts, less than 2 minutes of research debunked the posts. It is not enough for people to suggest others do their own research. Research should be a standard for everyone. Currently, there is a campaign to promote truth and curb misinformation, called the Pro-Truth Pledge, which operates on the use of twelve behaviors: Verify, Balance, Cite, Clarify, Acknowledge, Reevaluate, Defend, Align, Fix, Educate, Defer, and Celebrate. Gleb Tsipursky and Zachary Morford interviewed 25 pledge-takers and conducted follow-up conversations to find their reasons behind joining and any impact on behavior. In regard to the Dunning-Kruger effect, "To address this problem, the pledge calls on signees to defer to those with expertise" (Tsipursky and Morford AA8). The study also finds that pledge-takers tended to hold each other accountable for any missteps with things like validity or reliability of sources. As found by Tsipursky and Morford, "case study evidence from both private citizens and public figures show a self-reported impact on behavior and instances of external observed changes in behavior" (AA9). The onus of stopping the spread of misinformation is not solely on the users. The sites need to also take their share of responsibility and Twitter has recently stepped up to attempt addressing the problem. A new update from Twitter (since released on Android) prompts users who have not opened the article on their Android mobile devices to click on it and read the article before sharing. Twitter product chief Kayvon Beykpour tweeted, "It's easy for links/articles to go viral on Twitter. This can be powerful but sometimes dangerous, especially if people haven't read the content they're spreading. This feature (on Android for now) encourages people to read a linked article prior to Retweeting it." (Hutchinson). Hutchinson is hopeful this change will bring some results, stating "Maybe, simply by prompting a moment of consideration, people will re-think such, reducing inflammatory argument" ("Twitter Is Adding a New Prompt").

Why do ostensibly well-meaning people share misinformation? The simplest answer is that they do not realize it is misinformation in the first place. These people share misinformation while acting in good faith. It can be reasoned that most people sharing the misinformation are not acting with malice. Whether it is failing to recognize an untrustworthy source or failing to listen to an authority on a subject, many people want to share to increase their feeling of community or their social capital. Unfortunately, the retweet button has the potential for dangerous outcomes, as evidenced by the misinformation surrounding the 2020 U.S. election and the popularity of conspiracy theory movements such as QAnon which culminated in the 2021 storming of the U.S. Capitol on January 6. Admittedly, I have fallen into these kinds of pitfalls and biases when I was younger. It was fun to believe that there is some hidden society or conspiracy moving things behind the scenes, and somehow at the tender age of 12, I was fully aware of this, despite the society's best efforts to stay hidden. Over time, I grew out of this phase, but remain fully aware of its appeal to others. I was not the first to have this fascination and I certainly will not be the last. Now, it is even harder to resist the allure of misinformation. Daily, news is delivered to users tailored to their likes and dislikes. The more one reads articles that are misinformation, the more likely one is to receive more misinformation in the future. It is no wonder that rarely is seen the person who consumes one story of misinformation but ignores all others. It frequently seems to drive people to go down the rabbit hole and do a deep dive into more conspiracies and narratives that conveniently fit someone's pre-existing views. Social media and the filter bubble have driven misinformation to new heights. Barring some catastrophic event, social media is here to stay and so is the capability to share stories at exponential rates. The most crucial step to fixing this problem will be reflecting on ourselves. It's easy to say "you are wrong and I am right," but it is much harder to say, "I'm wrong," or to admit that an article that supports one's

belief may not be the most honest. It is a matter of integrity, one of those annoyingly intangible things that is so much easier to say you have than actually having. Will everyone have integrity? Of course not. There will always be someone spreading misinformation to instigate or to gather clicks, likes, retweets, shares, or whatever metric they value. Before worrying about those people, let us look at our own posts and retweet our values.

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Invisible Terror: How Continuity Editing Techniques Create Suspense

in *The Silence of the Lambs*

Garrentt Duffey

Director Jonathan Demme's *The Silence of the Lambs* (1991) is known for the growing suspense and ominous tension that envelops the audience throughout the length of the film. From the very first scene, *The Silence of the Lambs* immerses the audience into the film and uneasiness hits them immediately. Richard Allen writes in his book *Hitchcock's Romantic Irony,* "Anxious uncertainty about what is going to happen next lies at the core of suspense. How is this anxious uncertainty created" (39)? Is it the dramatic sounds or performances of the actors that causes this immediate terror in the audience? While the sounds and performances are undoubtedly important, editing is the primary cause of the growing fear the audience feels creeping in on them. In particular, continuity editing harvests this suspense and tension from the audience. Continuity editing, the editing techniques that directors use to make scenes feel like one continuous take, acts as an invisible terror in *The Silence of the Lambs*. The use of the POV cut, in which the camera enters into a character's eyeballs and line of sight, especially immerses the audience into the film, creating a better understanding of the characters as well as a device for forming greater tension. In *The Silence of the Lambs,* director Jonathan Demme uses continuity editing techniques masterfully to foment terrifying tension within the audience, and to provide superior understanding of the characters in the film.

The first scene of *The Silence of the Lambs* establishes the importance of the use of continuity editing in creating foreboding tension. The scene features the main protagonist, FBI agent Clarice Starling, running through a training course in the early morning hours. Demme uses the match on action continuity editing technique to make the scene feel continuous, thereby

immersing the audience into the film immediately. Consecutive shots feature medium close-ups of Clarice's front and several shots of her running with her back to the camera. The shots of Clarice running away from the camera resemble that of a predator stalking its prey and cause suspense and anxiety in the audience. The foggy, dark forest adds to an element of uneasiness in these first shots in the film. In his article "The Practice and Politics of 'Freeing the Look': Jonathan Demme's *The Silence of the Lambs*," Andrew Schopp writes that "From the film's opening shots, in which a predatory gaze follows Clarice Starling, this film posits sight, seeing, and the gaze as the greatest threats to safety and self" (126). The editing makes it seem as if Clarice is running from a dark and threatening fate, which shows itself to be an FBI agent telling her that Jack Crawford wishes to see her, thereby setting Clarice onto her dangerous mission and traumatic future.

The scene in Crawford's office uses continuity editing techniques to further the ominous tension in the film. As Clarice waits in the office, she notices a board with newspaper clippings of Buffalo Bill's gruesome murders and numerous victims. Demme uses the POV cut for the first time, as the camera, and therefore the audience, sees what Clarice is seeing on the board. The audience and Clarice both share the shock and horror of the pictures, thereby creating more sympathy for Clarice and creating an invisible intimate connection between Clarice and the audience. The POV cut introduces the viewers, and also Clarice, to the character of Buffalo Bill, and immediately distinguishes him as the monstrous antagonist of the film. Clarice acts as a stand-in for the audience as the viewers increasingly see what she sees and feel what she feels.

When Crawford enters the office, the axis of action is immediately set up with the establishing shot, placing Crawford on the left side of the axis, and Clarice on the right. The shot/reverse shot technique is on display here, as the camera switches to over-the-shoulder shots

of both characters throughout the scene, making the scene feel continuous, and immersing the audience further into the dialogue being spoken. The continuity editing techniques Demme uses in this scene encourage the audience to pay close attention to the dialogue as the editing shots make the scene feel important and intimate. Soon the shots turn back to POV cuts into both Clarice and Crawford as they stare at each other and talk, creating even greater emphasis on the dialogue being spoken. The POV cut into Clarice's eyes creates uneasiness in the audience when Crawford stares straight at Clarice, and warns her, "Believe me, you do not want Hannibal Lecter inside your head" (*The Silence of the Lambs* 08:12-14). Danilo Castro writes in his article "How *The Silence of the Lambs* revolutionized the POV shot" that "Because of Demme's camera placement, it appears as though Crawford is not just saying this to Starling, but to the audience as well. Taken by itself, the shot could just have easily broken the tension of the scene and been distracting, but the fluidity with which Demme uses it ensures that we never leave the realm of the story" (Castro). The POV cut Demme uses in this scene greatly heightens the suspense and tension of the film as well as forms greater audience anticipation for the introduction of the mysterious Hannibal Lecter.

In the incredibly important scene where Clarice and Hannibal Lecter meet for the first time, Demme uses continuity techniques superbly to raise the tension and suspense in the audience. The scene starts with Clarice walking slowly towards Lecter's cell at the end of the hall. Demme uses a POV cut into Clarice's eyes so that the audience can sense her tentativeness and fear as she walks to meet Lecter. The POV cut of Clarice's walk to Lecter's cell builds anticipation and tension for the introduction of Lecter's character, and suspense grows within the audience every step closer Clarice gets. The crazed and dirty prisoners Clarice sees before

getting to Lecter's cell create yet more tension as Clarice and the audience anxiously wonder what this crazy cannibal will look like.

The first time the audience sees Lecter, he is staring straight into the camera, shocking and terrifying the audience immediately. Demme is able to achieve this spine-tingling effect thanks to the POV cut into Clarice's eyes, further showcasing the invisible terror that is continuity editing. Lecter's character and personality are instantly made knowable to the audience. Lector appears captivating, intense, knowing, clean-cut, and extremely dangerous. His gaze on Clarice is searing and searching, and unease sweeps through the audience who sees through Clarice's eyes. Hannibal's and Clarice's interaction begins with the establishing shot of the axis of action with Hannibal on the left of the axis and Clarice on the right. The shot/reverse shot technique, along with over-the-shoulder shots, are once again shown to emphasize the importance of the dialogue. However, the over-the-shoulder shot of Lecter looking down on Clarice makes the audience uncomfortable as he appears to be almost leering down at the much smaller and vulnerable-looking Clarice and seems ready to spring on her any second.

As their dialogue becomes more important and substantive, the tension is further built using continuity editing. David Bordwell, in *Film Art: An Introduction*, writes that "As their conversations become more intense and intimate, the camera positions move closer to each character and shift subtly toward the axis of action until each person is looking directly into the lens" (308). Continuity editing makes the shots closer and closer to the character's faces, increasing tension in the nervous audience, as the invisible terror works its magic on their minds. Soon, the audience enters into Clarice's eyes again with the POV cut, as she and the audience stare directly at Lector's piercing eyes as he demands her to come "closer" (*The Silence of the*

Lambs 12:50-13:20). A close-up of Clarice's face as she walks forward highlights a dark shadow that passes over her face, symbolizing that she is walking towards evil and darkness.

As Lecter walks forward to meet her, the POV cut into Clarice's eyes causes the audience to tense up as Lecter menacingly stalks forward until he completely overwhelms the entire screen. Castro writes that "It gets to the point where the only way one can break free of his gaze is to look away from the screen. In doing this, the film quite literally traps its audience, as the simple act of viewing means that we succumb—as Starling does—to Lecter's psychological games." The use of continuity editing in this scene causes the audience immense suspense and fear, as well as captivates them. The audience feels sympathy for Clarice and wants to protect her from the brilliant but insane monster that is Hannibal Lecter. Demme's use of continuity editing makes Lecter extremely captivating and terrifying, creating instantly a memorable villain and character.

Demme uses the continuity editing technique of crosscutting to create great suspense and heart-pounding tension towards the climax of the film. Crawford and his SWAT team are preparing to break into what they believe is Buffalo Bill's house, ready to capture the serial killer, while at the same time, Demme shows us Bill inside his underground chamber in his house. A SWAT member presses the doorbell of Bill's door, and the audience sees Bill react to his doorbell being rung. The audience now thinks that the SWAT team has found Bill's house, as the crosscutting has led them to believe that. Suspense and tension grow in the audience as they watch Bill clamber up the steps to open the front door. As Bill opens the front door, the audience expects the SWAT team to grab him, but instead, it's Clarice asking questions. This is incredibly shocking and stunning to the audience, and they realize with dawning horror that she is alone with Bill. The use of the crosscutting technique surprises the audience and ominous tension

courses through them as they can only watch helplessly as Clarice unknowingly talks with the murderous main antagonist.

Perhaps Demme's best use of continuity editing to create suspense and tension within the audience is when he uses the POV cut to enter Buffalo Bill's eyeballs. The audience first encounters Bill through a POV cut as he looks through night vision goggles at his future victim. He is unidentifiable at first, although the audience gradually realizes who he is as the scene goes on. Suspense in this scene is key here, as the audience knows Bill has been watching his victim, but his victim does not know. The audience wants to scream out to warn the victim (Catherine Martin), but they are helpless before the screen. In his article, "Killer POV: First-Person Camera and Sympathetic Identification in Modern Horror," Charles Hart writes, "that our helplessness to combat their control of the image is itself a source of horror" (83). Tension rises as Bill lures Martin into his car, presumably for help lifting a couch into his van. But the audience knows that he has been stalking her with the night vision goggles and are full of suspense wondering what will happen next. As Martin disappears into the darkness of the van, representing the dark side of humanity, Bill knocks her out and drives away. Suspense is the cause of the audience's fear in this scene as they are helpless to help Martin and anxious about what Bill will do. The use of the POV cut into Bill's eyes watching Martin in the beginning of the scene is brilliant as it creates suspense and ominous tension throughout the sequence.

Bill's fight with Clarice in Bill's house, near the end of the film, is another example of POV cut into the main antagonist's eyes. Bill cuts the lights in his house, and the audience is once more seeing through his eyes thanks to his night vision goggles. The tension and suspense are at its highest point in this scene, as the audience watches powerlessly as Bill slowly creeps towards the blind and vulnerable Clarice. The audience is anxious, shouting at Clarice that Bill is

right there, begging her to see and shoot him. But Bill just creeps closer. An interesting moment is when Bill reaches a single hand out to Clarice, almost like he is either attempting to stroke her face lovingly or strangle her. This rare moment causes the audience to feel a tinge of sympathy for Bill as he appears to not want to do his evil deeds, but is helplessly drawn to killing Clarice nonetheless. This insight into the character of Bill shows how continuity editing techniques can create dramatic and heart-rending tension, but also can provide a better understanding of a film's characters, and a rare sympathetic look at its antagonists.

In *The Silence of the Lambs*, director Jonathan Demme uses continuity editing techniques such as the POV cut, crosscutting, and shot/reverse shot, to create dramatic tension and suspense throughout the film. In consequence, the audience is never sure what is going to happen next as the film tricks them time and time again, and danger seems to be lurking everywhere. Thanks to continuity editing, Hannibal Lecter stands out in the film, and the audience is drawn to him from the first moment he lays eyes on them through the screen. Buffalo Bill is even more terrifying in the film as the audience feels helpless as they enter his eyes to watch him hunt his victims, powerless to stop him. In contrast, the POV cut inside Clarice's eyes causes the audience to form an intimate connection with the character, as they actively relate to her fear or anger and wish to protect her from the various monsters in the film. Continuity editing, the invisible terror of *The Silence of the Lambs*, causes horror in the audience, yet also greater understanding of the film's characters, and without Demme's superior use of the editing techniques, the film would not have been as intriguing or as engaging as it stands in the present day.

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The Morality of Science in "Rappaccini's Daughter" and Nineteenth-Century America

Eunice Chon

Nathaniel Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter" continues to be an enigma for many readers of Hawthorne's work. A complex narrative featuring a mad doctor whose obsession with scientific development trumps morality and human empathy, "Rappaccini's Daughter" is a classic example of a nineteenth-century science fiction containing Romanticist elements (Boon 13). The most palpable Romanticist trait depicted in the short story is the primitive, or anti-progress, school of thought. Hawthorne cautions against the dangers of prioritizing science over ethics, a topic of debate that continues to be salient today. The victim of Rappaccini's experiments is Beatrice, his one and only daughter. Beatrice is immune to the poisonous plants in her father's garden because her body is poisonous as well. However, the sinister effects of Rappaccini's scientific endeavor do not end with physical harm. Beatrice is unable to function as a normal member of society and is feared by people for her poisonous breath. She is confined by her father's science, which eventually drives her to her death. Rappaccini's experiments and obsession with scientific progress costs him his one and only daughter's life. Hawthorne's conspicuous reservation with scientific development is a clear theme in "Rappaccini's Daughter."

However, a complex allegory such as "Rappaccini's Daughter" is open to interpretations across various disciplines outside literature such as biology, theology, history, engineering, and more. Many critics interpret Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter" as a dark foreshadowing of modern medical developments such as DNA recombination and genetic experimentation due to the unrealistic plot of the story and the issue of ethics in medicine. However, the numerous slave women who have been unwillingly forced to contribute their bodies for gynecologic experiments

in nineteenth-century America were not hypothetical victims of a future setting. "Rappaccini's Daughter" is more than a mere prediction when taking into account the long-suppressed voices of victims of unethical scientific experiments in Hawthorne's time; it is also a reflection.

Born in 1804, Nathaniel Hawthorne lived during and after the Industrial Revolution, a time of radical technological, social, and cultural change ("A New Series" 157). A founding member of a Transcendentalist cooperative and a peer of Emerson, Thoreau, and Fuller, Hawthorne shared Transcendentalist sentiments of suspicion and rejection regarding scientific progress ("A New Series" 159). However, there was a limit to his negative reaction against the Industrial Revolution. Because he was aware of the evils in human hearts, he could not bring himself to embrace his Transcendentalist contemporaries' naïve ideals, making him a Dark Romantic ("A New Series" 159). According to biographer Henry James:

> Nothing is more curious and interesting than this almost exclusively *imported* character of the sense of sin in Hawthorne's mind; it seems to exist there merely for an artistic or literary purpose. . . .He was not discomposed, disturbed, haunted by it, in the manner of its usual and regular victims. . . .It was indeed, to his imaginative vision, the great fact of man's nature ("A New Series" 159–160).

Hawthorne's fascination with human evil provides a sharp contrast to most of the American people's optimism for scientific and especially medical progress. Hawthorne's criticism of scientific progress does not pertain to just artificial modification of nature, but his works such as "The Birth-Mark" and "Rappaccini's Daughter" warn about science not restrained by moral and ethical boundaries.

Due to the relevance of the issue of morality in science in twenty-first-century America,

scholars interpret "Rappaccini's Daughter" as a warning for scientists today. "Rappaccini's Daughter" is deemed as a foreshadowing of man's thwarted nature sacrificing people like Beatrice in the story (Ringel 67). According to Ringel, "'Rappaccini's Daughter' anticipates hybridizing experiments with recombinant DNA in plants" (67). Other scholars take a similar approach in interpreting Hawthorne's allegory of science. Some biology students take an inter-disciplinary bioethics workshop, reading literary works such as Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* and "Rappaccini's Daughter" in order to strive for medical developments without compromising their morals (Singleton and Brock 285). According to Singleton and Brock, "Rappaccini's Daughter" is an excellent example "in which there is no resemblance to reality in current science" (285). However, this short story transcends this shortcoming by presenting a hypothetical scenario in which a scientist, so preoccupied with his work, "disregards the dignity and worth of people" (285). This bioethics workshop aims to incorporate ethics into discussions of recombination of DNA in fetuses, euthanasia, and other controversial issues. Previous scholarship has provided much insight on the modern salience of ethics in scientific progress, but it has inappropriately narrowed the scope of the issue to the fictitious plot of DNA recombination and has not taken into account the instances of unethical experimentation that happened during Hawthorne's time.

For scientists to conduct unethical medical procedures, there needs to be a vulnerable population of subjects. In Rappaccini's case, Beatrice is his vulnerable subject (until she is not). Not only is she a woman, but Rappaccini has parental authority over her. For male gynecologists in the nineteenth century, their subjects were slave women. Throughout history, male doctors and scientists considered all women as intellectually and physically inferior. Black women were even more inferior in their eyes. Black women were especially marginalized as stronger and more

overtly sexual than their white counterparts, making them the obvious pick for gynecological

experiments (Owens 21). To these scientists, slave women were easy to replace, cheap and easy

to gain access to, and did not need any anesthesia. In the budding field of gynecology, black

women were lab rats, not individuals. Even abolitionists accepted the misconception that black

women feel no pain during childbirth due to such racist scientific theories (Owens 21). While

these male scientists are credited for their contributions to gynecology, "[black women's] bodies

enabled the research that yielded the data for white doctors to write medical articles about

gynecological illnesses, pharmacology, treatments, and cures" including "abdominal surgeries

that removed diseased ovaries, delivered babies via cesarean section, and repaired vesico-vaginal

fistulae" (Owens 25). In 1835, a group of doctors and medical students performed an ovariotomy

on a thirty-five-year-old slave woman in order to remove her ovarian tumor (Owens 46). While

the procedure rendered her infertile, to her doctors, displaying her diseased ovary in a museum

mattered more (Owens 47). What should have been a solemn evidence for a woman's loss of the

ability to have children was a mere teaching tool and source of medical curiosity for her doctors.

A decade later, when a woman died shortly after consuming medicine prescribed to her, her

doctor rushed to request permission to open her body (Owens 47). His only regret was the fact

that he did not save and preserve her reproductive parts for future study (Owens 47). Even during

the nineteenth century, scientists placed scientific progress over people's lives and well-being. In

the eyes of the white male gynecologists in Hawthorne's time, a black woman's worth was

determined solely by her reproductive organs. She was not an individual who felt pain and could

think for herself. She was the set of reproductive organs she contained. Even when Hawthorne

was alive, scientists took advantage of vulnerable people and used them as subjects for their

experiments, dismissing moral boundaries. Even in nineteenth-century America, medical

breakthroughs trumped ethics.

"Rappaccini's Daughter" expresses Hawthorne's reservation with science. Hawthorne presents an "anti-science warning in this allegory of an overreaching, overmentalized, depersonalized 'mad scientist' who, sacrificing all human feelings because of an obsession to rearrange old systems and create new anatomies, produces a 'discord in Nature . . . to curse'" (Coleman 365). "Rappaccini's Daughter" features a mad doctor who cultivates poisonous plants for science. His daughter Beatrice tends the garden and is resistant to the poison in the plants because she is poisonous herself. Rappaccini poisons his daughter to protect her from society, but instead, her poisonous breath and eccentric lifestyle shun her from people. In the end, his endeavor and obsession with science cost him his daughter's life. By demonstrating the negative influences of science unrestrained by ethics, "Rappaccini's Daughter" bemoans scientific developments made while disregarding human life. "Rappaccini's Daughter" displays scientific projects that are becoming more and more feasible in modern America and a currently popular topic of debate. We have the ability to genetically modify human embryos and fetuses through genome manipulation. There are technologies that allow recombination of DNA. We genetically modify plants to maximize size, taste, yield, duration of freshness, and more. As technology becomes more advanced, the question of whether a scientific or medical procedure is ethical or not is a prevalent dilemma in twenty-first-century America. This leads scholars to interpret Hawthorne's warning as a dark foreshadowing of current times. While it is important to take away any lessons we can apply to our lives when reading Hawthorne's cautionary tale, scholars oversimplify and inappropriately narrow the scope of the story when deeming "Rappaccini's Daughter" as only a prediction. Not only are they neglecting the two other scientists in the story, but they are also dismissing the experience of victims of unethical science during Hawthorne's

time.

  In Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter," there are three scientists, excluding Beatrice. While Beatrice's scientific work should be acknowledged, she is not a scientist in the nature Hawthorne is attributing to the other three. Rappaccini and Baglioni are both established doctors, and Giovanni is a medical student. According to Baglioni, Rappaccini "cares infinitely more for science than for mankind. His patients are interesting to him only as subjects for some new experiment. He would sacrifice human life . . . for the sake of adding . . . to the great heap of his accumulated knowledge" (435). While Rappaccini does prove to be a sinister mad scientist rather than a physician concocting medicine that heals, it is Baglioni who initially drives the wedge between Rappaccini and Giovanni. In the beginning, Baglioni seems more human, with his criticisms of Rappaccini and his sociable persona (Rosenberry 42). He seems like a doctor with morals. However, it would be too Transcendentalist for a human like Baglioni to be the perfect protagonist. As much as Baglioni is human, he is just as flawed as well. His ulterior motive based on jealousy and rivalry that Hawthorne subtly mentions helps readers make sense of his morals later in the story. Although Giovanni tries to prioritize reason over intuition when deciding to avoid the topic of Rappaccini's garden, he meets Baglioni, who tells him that "You are the subject of one of Rappaccini's experiments!" (439). He also adds that Giovanni "should not come to any harm from which the arcana of medical science can preserve him" (439). While Baglioni's intentions seem good willed on the outside, in truth, his rivalry overshadows his concern for his protégé, making him no different from Rappaccini in the end. While Rappaccini's dehumanized character causes him to make moral transgressions, Baglioni's human qualities of jealousy lead him to do the same. This truth depicts the Dark Romanticism of Hawthorne. Baglioni is the same as Rappaccini when he places priority on taking down a rival

(scientific success) over human life. Giovanni arrives at the conclusion that Beatrice is evil for her poisonous nature and takes Baglioni's "antidote" to cure Beatrice. Even when he realizes that he is also poisonous, his focus is on fixing her. When Beatrice is dying from the "antidote," she asks Giovanni, "Oh, was there not, from the first, more poison in thy nature than mine?" (450). While he believed that he was in love with Beatrice, in actuality he was just another self-centered scientist. His focus on Beatrice's supposed evil prevented him from acting morally. Beatrice uses her final moments to condemn her father's experiments, for his supposed defenses kept her from love, which she values more. The story ends when Baglioni, who observes these events, exclaims, "Rappaccini! Rappaccini! And is *this* the upshot of your experiment?" (450). Baglioni becomes the most evil scientist in "Rappaccini's Daughter" because he is the only scientist who intentionally murders someone and rejoices after her death. Rappaccini did not kill anyone in the story. Therefore, to interpret the story as Rappaccini being the main antagonist and narrow down the scope of the text to DNA recombination would provide inappropriate evaluations of Hawthorne's message.

Hawthorne cautions against a broader topic of moral transgressions that arise from scientific endeavors and procedures. Being more human does not save anyone from making unethical decisions. Human nature contains innate evil. Therefore, while it is crucial for modern Americans to apply Hawthorne's warning to present situations in order to make moral judgements regarding scientific progress, Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's Daughter" is less of a prediction of the future and more of a reflection of the immorality of human nature. Even during Hawthorne's time, gynecologists used black women as their specimens for unethical medical experiments. They did not view nor treat these slave women as patients and human beings but rather experimental subjects. They used a seemingly good-willed purpose like medical or

scientific development in order to justify and desensitize themselves from the evils they were

committing. All they cared about was their scientific goal, not the people involved. This was

Hawthorne's nightmare, not science. To Hawthorne, it was not the science that was evil. It was

human nature. Unethical scientific procedures are not limited to DNA recombination and are not

limited to twenty-first-century America. Therefore, interpretations of Hawthorne's "Rappaccini's

Daughter" should not be limited to those two confines. Hawthorne's message transcends such

unfitting barriers because "Rappaccini's Daughter" is not a prediction or foreshadowing of the

present. It is a reflection of morality and human nature's tendencies when met with an obsession

with scientific progress.

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Frederick Douglass: The Past, Present, and Future

Brenley Gunter

"I am your fellow-man, but not your slave": these words proclaimed by Frederick

Douglass in his letter to his former master are the epitome of his lifelong stance on the issue of

slavery (Douglass 237). Unfortunately, today, racial tensions and prolonged hatred reside in

America. Even after over 150 years since the 13th Amendment was added to the U.S.

Constitution, racism thrives on the grounds of freedom. Undoubtedly, racism cannot be wholly

eradicated from the planet. However, African Americans suffer greatly at the hand of inequality

and injustice. After progressive reform, America still has not achieved a level playing field for

all peoples. While Frederick Douglass is considered "...the most influential African American

leader of the nineteenth century," his influence continues today, yet his writings are downplayed

by the majority and overlooked for their greater potential impact on Americans (Baym 1170).

The question is what can be done to ease the pain of African Americans still suffering from the

past? America most definitely needs further change; however, some form of progression can be

found, not by looking into the future but looking into the past. More specifically, the writings of

Frederick Douglass should be prescribed in bibliotherapy for African American historical trauma

as seen through its historical significance, therapeutic correspondence, psychological relatability,

and mental metamorphosis.

Historical Significance:

Many Americans today have read Frederick Douglass' autobiography and clearly see he

was a monumental figure in American freedom. The beginnings of African American chattel

slavery are traced back to the early 1600s in Jamestown and continued for nearly 200 years on

American soil (Marsico 13). The Revolutionary War especially assisted and overwhelmingly

supported slavery in America as it weakened the authority the national government had on

slavery and gave prodigious power to slaveholders (Van Cleve 19). States started taking steps

toward abolition in America, freeing, "...about 11 percent of the total American black population

by 1800"; however, "during the period from 1770 to 1800 alone, the North American slave

population nearly doubled, growing from about 470,000 in 1770 to nearly 900,000 by 1800"

(Van Cleve 4). The American republic soon became increasingly divided on the moral grounds

of slavery, resulting in an additional geographical divide of the North and South. The split was

most significantly caused by the Missouri Compromise of 1820, creating 12 free states and 12

slave states (Marsico 37). The 1830s marked the substantial growth of the abolitionist movement

(Marsico 24). Support for the abolitionist movement immensely catapulted through religious,

humanitarian, and economic shifts (Van Cleve 60). As a result of numerous runaway slaves,

Congress created the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850 which mandated that those in the North must

assist in finding and bringing back runaway slaves to the South (Arneson). Consequently,

Frederick Douglass prolonged his tour traveling to Great Britain (1845–46), believing that he too

would be taken back to his former master (Baym 1172). Frederick Douglass' first notable

appearance within the abolitionist movement was in 1841 when he gave his speech at an anti-

slavery convention in Nantucket, Massachusetts (Baym 1170). His subscription to William

Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* (Garrison later hired him as a speaker), began his interest in the

abolitionist movement. His first autobiography, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, *an*

American Slave was widely accepted, as it sold 30,000 copies its first 5 years (Baym 1171–72).

He wanted to tell his life story to prove he was a fugitive slave; despite this truth, his first

autobiography was prefaced by William Lloyd Garrison. It was accepted at that time a white man

would have to attest "to the moral character and literacy" of African American authors (Baym

1174). His second autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, was also a best-seller, as it sold 18,000 copies its first 2 years (Baym 1172). His second autobiography also includes an additional 10 years of his life, his work as an abolitionist, and most distinctively, a preface written by James McCune Smith, a black physician and abolitionist (Baym 1172). Upon Elizabeth Cady Stanton's first encounter with Frederick Douglass in 1842, she wrote, "He stood there like an African prince...He...described the bitterness of slavery... I wondered that any mortal man should have ever tried to subjugate a being with such talents..." (Cain 2). Booker T. Washington praised him describing him as "a single human experience" which "epitomized American slavery. He saw it all, lived it all, and overcame it all" (Cain 2). Many commend his rhetorical theory and style, his echoing voice throughout America, and his lifelong message for equality. While these attitudes and appreciations toward Douglass are certainly accurate, he is capable of transcending beyond these merits. He is adored for his perseverance that inspired both peoples during the 19th century, yet he is not fully contemplated. Douglass' time may have passed but that doesn't equal ineptitude in palliating African American suffering today. Precisely, the majority has failed to consider his works healing abilities of African American slave descendants suffering from historical trauma today.

Psychological Relatability:

Some people may have never heard of the term "Historical Trauma", and many ignorantly refuse its existence. The concept of historical trauma was developed in the 1980s as the intergenerational emotional and psychological injuring from past catastrophic circumstances (Williams et al. 2). A definition of historical trauma that applies to African Americans specifically is "the collective spiritual, psychological, emotional, and cognitive distress perpetuated intergenerationally deriving from multiple denigrating experiences originating with

slavery and continuing with pattern forms of racism and discrimination to the present day"
(Williams et al. 2). Historical trauma is also found in the Jewish descendants of Holocaust
survivors and Native Americans. Trauma has been known to be passed down through several
generations creating exponential rates of "...child and domestic violence, alcoholism, increased
symptoms of mood- and trauma-related disorders, a variety of health disparities, and countless
other physiological and psychological problems" (Williams et al. 2). Just as anyone who has
experienced trauma needs time to mourn and recover, so do African Americans, despite little
acknowledgment from the American population. As a result of historical trauma, African
Americans struggle with "...feelings of inferiority, powerlessness, and problems with self-
identity" (Williams et al. 3). Sadly, since it is a considerably new development, there are no
practiced treatments for historical trauma, but some research does support the administration of
culturally aware therapies as beneficial (Williams et al. 12). Historical trauma is the elephant in
the room, desperately pleading to be addressed. Historical trauma is a very real experience
continuing to thwart African American happiness. A glimpse of the past shows that science has
not always treated African Americans humanely or ethically. Therefore, providing a probable
reason of why healing methods of African American historical trauma are not researched enough
today. Nevertheless, historical trauma is a sensitive issue which must be carefully researched.
One method of treating and improving mental health is through books, called bibliotherapy.
Bibliotherapy uses books to heal through reading. Additionally, research proves that
bibliotherapy aids in treating those who suffer from major depressive disorders, anxiety
disorders, grief, and trauma (Sevinç 1). There are diverse types of bibliotherapy: "Clinical
bibliotherapy is 'prescribed' for people who have emotional or behavioral problems"; it is easier
to prescribe as it requires "...limited or no therapist involvement at all" (Sevinç 3). Bibliotherapy

aids those with mental health issues to "actively seek a solution" and persevere to attain it (Sevinç 4). Reading books can transform harmful mindsets of those in turmoil with the past, hurting their present livelihoods. Studies show that clinical bibliotherapy produces a new viewpoint of the world and helps to reinvent those in anguish from grief and trauma; also, bibliotherapy provides the ability for people to discover their feelings, acknowledge others, and better their coping skills (Sevinç 7). Reading books can have a profound impact on people with trauma, enabling them to reinvent themselves and have an overall better view of the world. Frederick Douglass relied heavily upon his ability to read and write to spread his message. Books affected his thoughts, and his own writings can positively affect the thinking processes of people today.

Therapeutic Correspondence:

As stated before, Frederick Douglass is still popular in American studies and acknowledged as a defining character of the abolitionist movement. However, his autobiographies and speeches not only give insight into his rhetoric, but he also stands as an icon of forgiveness, personal growth, and perseverance. Without effective historical trauma treatment/therapy and limited use of Frederick Douglass literature, African Americans have suffered quietly from the echoed horrors of the past. Bibliotherapists need to prescribe books based on the specific struggles of their patients and stories that mirror the patient's issues. In the case of historical trauma reading, Frederick Douglass' autobiography portrays the strength that overcomes. For example, in his second autobiography, *My Bondage and My Freedom*, Douglass also includes a letter to his former master, Thomas Auld. Douglass begins the letter by stating Auld may come to a "disagreeable surprise" as his name and Douglass' are no longer found together on papers for his arrest, but now "coupled" again for entirely different reasons

(Douglass 231). He knows that this letter could cost him: "I shall probably be charged with... a reckless disregard of the rights and properties of private life." He argues that "...the public have a right...to bring their conduct...for investigation" (Douglass 231). He knows that he must write this letter no matter the consequences; he must confront his past to move forward. Within his confrontation, he refuses to call Auld harshly. This is a man whom Douglass saw first-hand starve and beat slaves, refusing them their gatherings of prayer and the ability to read and write. He ends his letter with a powerful statement, discussing no intentional malice toward Auld, even saying that "There is no roof under which you would be more safe than mine, and there is nothing in my house which you might need for your comfort, which I would not readily grant" (237). This is after his disquisition including his longing for his sisters and grandmother, their ongoing abuse, yet he still yields perfect civility all at the same time. He also incorporated an example of the effects of slavery by addressing Auld's daughter Amanda, summarized by the question "How would it make you feel if your daughter was taken away and beaten like an animal?" (236). As conveyed earlier, African Americans who suffer from historical trauma are, as a result, affected by feelings of inferiority, loss of self-identity, and powerlessness. Douglass struggled too with each of these cruelly negative sentiments and overcame them in triumph. It's not that reading Frederick Douglass will automatically cause historical trauma in African Americans to disappear. It still is such a sensitive and unresearched issue. However, reading Frederick Douglass in first person, a man who felt as African Americans do today, and knowing he left those feelings aside and won, will aid in alleviating some historical trauma.

Mental Metamorphosis:

Douglass was taught that he was degradation to human society, but he also doesn't stay within a confined mental state. He expressed his feeling of inferiority when he pondered the

definition of a slave which was incomprehensible to him, only that it "conveyed to" his "mind a sense of...entire dependence on the will of somebody" and that he "had been made to fear this somebody above all else on earth" (8). Further evidence of his determination to gain independence from his former master was his recollection of an incident which Auld had taken the several dollars Douglas made a week and told him that Douglass and his money "belonged to" him (233–234). While he may have felt inferior at a young age, he never accepted it as he grew older. Douglass goes from declaring that "I was...born a slave" to "I am your fellow-man, but not your slave" (8, 237). He sets the model of triumph and perseverance that led him to become a voice demanding freedom and equality for his people. Not only did he once suffer from inferiority, but issues with self-identity also arose when he was 6, asking himself, "Why am I a slave?" He felt it "pressing...more heavily at times than others" (232). Even at an early age, he questioned his status as a human being in the world, feeling an abundant amount of confusion. He was torn between his feeling of inferiority, fear, and his rejection of the forced idea that he was less than. After discussing his fears of a doubtful escape, his trials, and tribulations, he says he "embraced the golden opportunity, took the morning tide at the flood, and a free man, young, active, and strong, is the result" (232). Douglass began fearfully and unbeknownst to the world, able to define what a slave was yet unable to define himself. Once he found the courage to escape the chains of enslavement, he knew who he was and his purpose in the world. He celebrated his freedom by reflecting on his growth: "Just ten years ago... beheld me a slave—a poor degraded chattel—trembling at the sound of your voice, lamenting that I was a man, and wishing myself a brute" (232). Before he was "lamenting that" he "was a man"; now, he defines himself as a "free" and "strong" man (232). On the use of the word "brute," it is unknown as to whether he meant he wished he was an animal or wished he was a savagely violent human, as

there are two different meanings of the word. Nevertheless, it still portrays a wide expanse of his personal growth and achievement. Lastly, feelings of powerlessness also accompanied Douglass. However, he proves that he can overcome anything, determined to improve his mental state and find his calling in life. He disclosed that "The transition from degradation to respectability was indeed great" and that living life without "marks of one's former condition, is truly a difficult matter" (234–35). He views his ability to read and write as powerful, saying he "would write to" his sisters, but Auld through his "unrighteous conduct" has refused any possibility of education for his sisters (236). He details evil and dark accounts in the letter's climax: "I remember the chain, the gag, the bloody whip; the death-like gloom overshadowing the broken spirit of the fettered bondman...sold like a beast in the market...we were brothers in the same church" (235). He uses a particular chronology, first discussing the atrocities committed against him and others, secondly, the fact Auld was a self-proclaimed Christian, yet disregarded the belief of being one in the Messiah. Douglass points out the level of cognitive dissonance that Auld holds. Even after such abominably inhumane acts that Auld enacted, Douglass proves that in the end, he truly wields the power over Auld. Douglass didn't reflect hatred at Auld as virtually any other human would do. He won a fight fought by all slaves. In the last sentence of the letter, he rings out, "Indeed, I should esteem it a privilege to set you an example as to how mankind ought to treat each other" (237). Undoubtedly, Douglass undergoes a mental metamorphosis which allows him transform into a vocally righteous freedom fighter.

In summation, Frederick Douglass's life story should be prescribed in bibliotherapy for African American historical trauma as seen through its historical significance, therapeutic correspondence, psychological relatability, and mental metamorphosis. While African Americans today have not experienced slavery firsthand, America's dark past still directly

affects them. Historical trauma needs to be addressed and a term that is not so hidden and tossed aside as if it were fictitious. Douglass confronted his haunted past: the morally corrupted man who saw him as an animal and proved him entirely wrong. Clinical bibliotherapy doesn't always require a psychologist and no harm is inflicted by reading Douglass. Frederick Douglass' second autobiography published in 1855 includes 10 years lived as a free man, a preface written by a black physician and abolitionist, a letter to his former master, and his abolitionist speeches. Many people would like to dissect his use of rhetorical theory and admire him as a man of the past, but he is a man of the present and future. Has America fixed the past? Has it made enough reprimands on the diabolical institution of slavery? America still has a long way to go; therefore, continual reform is required. One thing is for sure: the writings of Frederick Douglass empower and ignites a fight for additional growth in all its readers.

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Identity and Color Motifs in *Moonlight*

Anjunita Davis

Moonlight (2016), directed by Barry Jenkins, centralizes the trials of Chiron, a young

black man, as he navigates the complexities of his identity. Following him from his childhood

into his early adulthood, the film is divided into three chapters, all of which detail a distinctly

significant aspect and time of Chiron's life. Throughout these three chapters, Chiron's identity is

both threatened and nurtured by his community, especially regarding his sexuality and his self-

concept. From his youth, this journey to attaining a definite sense of identity is inflected by his

community's perceptions of his life, namely his sexuality. As the world around Chiron grows

even more influential on his conception of his identity, filmmakers employ nuanced visual cues

to relay the uncertainty of identity that is pervasive throughout Chiron's life and his community.

Clothing, environment, and lighting all become revelatory of character relationships and

perceptions, allowing audiences to realize thematic conclusions regarding specific moments of

the film's narrative when juxtaposed with cinematic devices. It is through the manipulations of

theatrical elements, such as costuming, setting, and lighting, that audiences can perceive the

inner workings of Chiron's world, especially the significance of perception on the realities within

the film. The strategies of mise en scene within *Moonlight* work to convey the significance of

ambiguous identity within self and community through Juan and Chiron's older persona Black,

while also invoking color as a means to establish audiences' perceptions of the characters and

communities portrayed within the film.

    Moonlight is critically acclaimed for its refined representations of poverty, addiction, and

sexuality in the Black community. Along with communal relations, addiction, and poverty,

heteronormative masculinity is deeply ingrained throughout the film, emphasizing the adherence

to strict sociocultural codes that define acceptable behavior for men and boys in the Black community. The film is transformative, using the experiences of Chiron, who grapples with poverty, sexuality, and addiction all at the same time, to produce a counternarrative, which reduces the stigma surrounding gay identities in the Black community. The film is a multifaceted approach to incorporating the stories of Black men as members of the LGBT+ community and as valid portraits of masculinity. As E. Patrick Johnson writes in his essay, "In the Quare Light of the Moon: Poverty, Sexuality and Makeshift Masculinity in *Moonlight*," "The story that unfolds in *Moonlight* provides a space to reconsider prescribed gender and sexual roles as they relate to race and class. As we learn through the relationship between Kevin and Chiron, intimacy might be the salve for the wound of poverty" (71). The film is instrumental in shifting the stereotypical narratives of black manhood toward a more realistic and sustainable way of performing masculinity within intimate spaces.

Not only does the film create a voice for minorities in larger discussions of race and sexuality in society, it is also numbered among a new and growing body of Black cinema. Films such as *Moonlight* are appreciated for creating new avenues outside of "Hood cinema" to increase tolerance and empathy for Black and brown identities. John Paul Ricco relays in "Mourning, Melancholia, and *Moonlight*," "The film narrative simply does not operate with the standard measures—be they symbolic or imaginary—by which black subjectivity is judged to be successful or not" (27). The film attempts to relay minority realities with a focus on artistic conveyance in conjunction with the need to garner empathetic reactions from non-minorities. Dan Flory relays the film's goals in a new era of Black cinema, writing in "*Moonlight*, Film Noir, and Melodrama," "Moonlight constitutes yet another advance in the ongoing struggle to fairly and accurately portray African American characters in dramaturgical spaces, especially

insofar as this film amounts to a further step away from the stereotypes riveted into melodrama by post-Civil War versions of Uncle Tom's Cabin and other works" (107). Flory and Johnson's works both glorify *Moonlight* as a striking validation of Black narratives, relating the film's artistic value to its significance to social justice and cultural diversity in the American cinematic canon.

The film opens to a light blue 70s model Chevrolet Impala driving towards the camera shown in hard, high-key lighting. The surrounding area contains several houses and cars as well as green foliage. As the car consumes the frame, it becomes evident that there is a crown ornamenting the top of the dashboard and a man wearing a black durag driving. Before exiting the vehicle, this man places a cigarette in his mouth, throwing the pack onto the dashboard. Upon exiting the vehicle, the camera's medium shot reveals that this man, later introduced as Juan, is wearing a colorful patterned shirt, white pants, and several pieces of gold jewelry. The camera pans, following Juan's gaze to reveal two men, a building, and a white car further off in the frame. As the scene progresses, an arc shot captures the two men as they converse, providing a holistic view of the surroundings. The scene ends as a group of kids run through the street crossing paths with Juan, only appearing as a swift blur across the screen.

The opening scene of the film introduces Juan as a drug dealer through his interactions with the minor characters in the scene and his persona. As Juan exits his car, the other two men in the scene begin their minor dispute about drugs—one of them is a drug addict and the other is a drug dealer. Juan comfortably approaches the men and watches the situation closely and seems to have influence. The drug addict turns to him in an attempt to gain alliance in order to convince the young drug dealer to fulfill his request for drugs, though to no avail. Juan's status is

confirmed when he has a one-on-one "business" conversation with the young drug dealer about his productivity.

The elements of mise en scene of great significance within this scene are costuming and props. For instance, the baby blue Impala Juan drives is representative of his distinct masculinity. The crown sitting atop his dashboard represents his humanity. This crown denies the stigma surrounding his involvement in drug activity; it humanizes and glorifies his minority status as an Afro-Latino man. On the other hand, the cigarette Juan places in his mouth represents deviance, especially for viewers in 2016 (when the film was released). Smoking may not have been as deviant in the film's 1980s setting, but audiences today would recognize smoking as a deviant behavior with many negative connotations. Furthermore, the color of Juan's car is significant, as blue in western societies represents traditional ideas of masculinity. However, the shade of blue implies that Juan's masculinity may be tinged by certain empathetic tendencies, contrasting with the connotations of his hypermasculine dress and persona.

Additionally, Juan's fashionable dress is a contrast to that of the characters throughout the scene. Juan wears a patterned shirt with white pants. While the drug dealer and the addict wear a black t-shirt and denim shorts, and a patterned button-up and blue sweat pants, respectively, Juan wears his gold chain tucked into his shirt, unlike the young drug dealer. He also wears white pants and is neatly groomed unlike the drug addict who also wears a patterned shirt. Juan becomes a middle ground between these two characters. His dress contrasts with those in his surroundings but is also comprised of the many colors seen in the background. This conveys that Juan's character's purpose and identity are not to be taken in the light of a stereotypical drug dealer; Juan is a pillar of his community. However, at this point, the audience is ignorant of the ways Juan influences his community, leaving the audience desiring depth and

development for Juan's character. In addition to this, the hard, high-key lighting shining down on the scene emphasizes the stark realities of the characters in the scene. The light, in this case, also relays how masculinity is solidified through the heteronormativity maintained throughout this community.

These opening moments are momentous, as they introduce the audience to the heteronormative masculinity that is valued within this community. This scene also provides the first encounter with the drug culture looming over the community in the film. While the lines may be well drawn and defined as it pertains to Juan's significance in the drug market and the significance of drugs in the film altogether, Juan's presence and identity are not solidified by this one encounter. Instead, the colors and juxtaposition of his character and the others in the scene are designed to relay an air of ambiguity for his character, necessitating Juan's consistent presence and influence on the narrative throughout the film.

This significance of color and light persists throughout the film with different characters and symbols being integrated and realized through visual motifs. Chiron's personal growth and attainment of identity is revealed by the colors and lighting of his environment. From Juan bringing light into the dark and dreary dope hole at the beginning of the film to the touching moment of intimacy between Juan and Chiron as he establishes his allyship while teaching Chiron how to swim, the most monumental scenes of this film are marked by their distinct lighting and color patterns. Scenes throughout "Little" and "Chiron," the first two chapters of the film, invoke solid colors, such as white, pink, and black to relay significant themes. Solid colors, in general represent identity and purpose even if this identity or purpose is incomplete or inadequately defined.

White, like the color of Juan's pants in the opening scene and Chiron's shirt in the second scene, represents safety and innocence. Though Chiron is not safe while he is being chased by the group of boys, the shirt conveys his innocence. When Chiron and Juan interact for the first time, the white within their outfits suggests that they are connected in some way beyond the initial moments of their meeting. The color pink is often present in Chiron's interactions with women, especially his mother and Juan's girlfriend Teresa. Pink represents ideas of femininity and maternity within the film. Teresa's pink walls coupled with Juan's presence represent a safe haven in which Chiron has access to a mother figure at no expense. On the contrary, Paula is often emotionally unavailable to Chiron as a result of her battle with addiction. Paula's femininity is often seen in the form of a pink light. As she is foregrounded, the bright pink light illuminates her features, showing signs of her addiction. Paula's disgust with her addiction is often projected onto Chiron, just as it is in the moments when the door symbolically and literally closes on her potential to nurture Chiron's growth and acceptance of his identity. Byrd et al write in "Eclipsed: Darkness, Light, and Motherhood in the Sexualized Drug Economy of *Moonlight,"* "We see Paula often bathed in a hot pink light, a fierce femininity that also frames her rage directed at Chiron. Given the need for additional currency beyond the relatively limited amount of cash available to her in their community, Paula is depicted using sex to access drugs and cash" (83). This lack of opportunity, which allows Paula to further immerse herself in her addiction, presents conflict between Paula, Chiron, and Juan—who happens to be the source of Paula's drugs. In this case, Chiron's inaccessibility to his mother alienates him from his only present biological connection, fueling his anger and need to conceal his true identity. This anger and insecure development fuel the conflict surrounding Black's identity. Black is especially relevant to the film's trajectory, as Chiron's third persona is derived from the color and its symbolism.

The third chapter of the film, "Black," brings the film full circle, relaying Chiron's emulation of Juan.

Just beyond the half way point of the film, the audience is introduced to Black, Chiron's third self. The sections begins with a series of red lights flashing on a black screen. This image transitions to an earlier scene involving Paula and Chiron, as she expresses the anger and shame fueled by her drug addiction. The film swiftly cuts to Chiron awakening from a nightmare in which these images appeared. Chiron is lit by what would appear to be soft low-key lighting. He wears a black durag and earrings. The scene ends as he dunks his face into a sink full of ice water and looks into the mirror. The next scene begins similarly to Juan's introduction with Chiron driving his black Impala with a crown mounted on the dashboard and gold grills covering his teeth. Chiron later picks up a lower level drug dealer with whom he counts his profits, attempting to show him the ropes.

In this light, Chiron has transformed a great deal from the younger, more vulnerable stages of his life. Chiron has begun to subscribe to the hypermasculine norms of his upbringing. His upbringing in the impoverished Miami neighborhood Liberty City during the American drug crisis of the 1980s, coupled with his mother's abuse and addiction, forces Chiron into a state of ambiguity and conflict, as his affinity for black suggests. This persona is crucial to his survival within his social group, and he must leave behind the pieces of his identity that are unaccepted or misunderstood by his community. Seeking to grow into an identity that will not be ridiculed or questioned, Chiron turns to the stark realities of street life, selling the same substances that led to his mother's ineptitude as a parent. Chiron's lifestyle is noticeably similar to Juan's. Just as in Juan's introduction, Chiron is shown as a drug dealer, wearing a black durag. Chiron has turned to imitating Juan as a way to garner respect and acceptance. Critics suggest that Chiron's

assimilation was essential for him to achieve his longing for a sense of self that would not be subject to judgment and ridicule. George Yancy notes in "*Moonlight*: The Weight of 'Intimacy'" the strength of Chiron's connection with Juan in defining Black:

> After all, it was Juan who possessed a strong presence, sold drugs, had street cred, and was respected. Yet, we mustn't forget that it was also Juan, as far as we know, who was the only Black adult male who showed Chiron kindness, love, and paternal affection and tenderness. It is uncontroversial to say that Black has "turned into" (reflects?) the man that cared for him (68).

Chiron's assimilation of Juan's lifestyle and rejection of his past encounters with homophobia play an integral role in the film's resolution, as Juan's acceptance and nurturing of Chiron's true self allows him to accept the kindness and intimacy his only friend and love, Kevin, offers.

Moonlight uses nuanced visual cues in order to validate the voices and stories of impoverished Black communities. In conveying the detriment of falsifying identities for the sake of achieving normalcy, the film denies the use of heteronormative ideas of masculinity and sexuality to determine the validity of any individual. Through Juan and Chiron, the film conceives notions of nuanced masculinity that are negotiated largely by the community. However, Chiron, the protagonist of *Moonlight*, eventually reaches a consensus with his masculinity and identity that is formed intrinsically, renouncing the communal construction and determination of identities as the only means of acceptance and freedom. Chiron and Juan's relationship—even after his death—throughout the three chapters of the film serves as the impetus for dispelling notions of homophobia. The sensitivity and intimacy of Chiron's interactions with Juan are noted through several cinematic motifs. The use of color within the film is instrumental as it inflects audiences' perceptions in a nuanced and sensitive fashion,

garnering empathy and understanding not only for Chiron within the film but also within the

social and political climates.

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Queerness as a *Rebel*'s Cause

Sierra Stark Stevens

Between the bombastic score, the eye-popping cinematography shot in vivid, mosaic

Warner Color, the balletic movement of the characters, and Jim Stark melodiously wailing,

"You're tearing me apart!" it might seem that Nicholas Ray's 1955 *Rebel Without a Cause* has

little to offer in the way of subtlety. Its grandiosity and self-conscious quest to manipulate its

audience's emotions mark it as a textbook Hollywood melodrama, but its cultural perseverance

lies in the quiet thread of queerness that binds its characters and creators. Because the Motion

Picture Production Code of 1930 was still in effect in 1955 (and would be until the late 1960s),

non-normative gender performativity or sexual expression was forbidden onscreen unless

coupled with negative consequences. Queerness had to be "coded" in ways that could be

overlooked by the censors and by audience members committed to a cis-heterosexual, patriarchal

worldview. Nestled into *Rebel*'s melodrama are "codes" of queerness, and the most poignant

oppressor of these young rebels is not causeless; its cause is ill-fitting heteronormativity.

Queerness in its modern sense did not necessarily exist with a *name* in the midcentury

cultural landscape. Although queerness has always existed and queer coding was often a

deliberate creative choice, uncovering "queer coding" to the world may have been viewed as

nothing but gossip (Russo xi) before queer cinema became an established academic field.

Despite its historically pejorative use, the word "queer" has been embraced recently, particularly

by younger members of the LGBTQIA+ community. Its use is especially appropriate in regard to

Rebel Without a Cause because *Rebel* is a story about nonconforming youth. "Queer" is an

umbrella term that does not require a person to choose a specific label, but it is also a specifically

socially and politically charged idea. American academic and social justice activist sj Miller defines "queer" with several important nuances:

> Queer also refers to a suspension of rigid gendered and sexual orientation categories and is underscored by attempts to interrogate and interrupt heteronormativity, reinforced by acknowledging diverse people across gender, sex, and desire. […] It embraces the freedom to move beyond, between, or even away from, yet even to later return to, myriad identity categories. Queer is […] inclusive of any variety of experience that transcends what has been socially and politically accepted as normative categories for gender and sexual orientation. (Miller 307)

With this definition of "queer" in mind, the relatively new term "queer coding" is "a set of signals—words, forms, behaviors, signifiers of some kind— that protect the creator from the consequences of openly expressing particular messages. Coding occurs in the context of complex audiences in which some members may be competent and willing to decode the message, but others are not" (Greenhill 111). Queer coding is also an essential underground corollary to the rigid, traditional religiopolitical Motion Picture Production Code followed by contemporaneous Hollywood censors in 1955. Although the term "queer coding" is a recent term, hindsight allows modern viewers to see it in *Rebel*.

For four decades, Hollywood clung tightly to its codes. The Motion Picture Production Code of 1930 is more colloquially known as the "Hays Code" after its spokesman, William Hays (Sklar 174). The Hays Code was created by the Production Code Administration, a body of censors appointed by Hollywood studio heads in a political maneuver to sidestep direct federal regulation of the film industry. The Production Code Administration (PCA) had a purely religious precursor: the Roman Catholic clergy-led Legion of Decency. Hollywood had a loose

moral reputation since its inception. In fact, some of the first films were black-box, single 10-second reels of racy vaudeville acts designed to titillate factory workers in nickelodeons (Sklar 18). The Great Depression and plummeting ticket sales incited a leap in "lewdness" designed to generate ticket sales despite viewers' decimated incomes. In response to this increase in depictions of murder; gang violence; skimpy, sparkling dancing costumes; and cross-dressing, the Legion of Decency began forbidding members of its diocese from seeing pictures unless the film had been granted the Legion's seal of approval. Middle-class Protestant moral outrage increased as well, and as ticket sales continued to crash with the markets, and as those outraged citizens called for federal regulation, the PCA was formed to quell Christian concern and recapture audiences (173).

In keeping with its religious origin, the Hays Code included proscriptions for items and ideas not in keeping with "divine law or the law of man" (Doherty 354). These laws included limits on LGBTQIA+ representation. For perspective on the historic blanket illegality of same-sex relationships in the United States, it should be noted that same-sex marriages were only legalized in all states in 2015 (Georgetown Law). Because the gay rights movement has experienced both leaps forward and jumps back, it will not be constructive to identify specific laws. For the purposes of this study, only the language of the Hays Code will be used. This language is clear. In Section 5, Article B, the Hays Code states, "*pure love,* the love of a man for a woman permitted by the law of God and man, is the rightful subject of plots. The passion arising from this love is not the subject for plots. […] *But in the case of impure love*, the love which has been banned by divine law, […] It must not be presented as attractive or beautiful; it must not be made to seem right and permissible; it must not be detailed in method or manner" (Doherty 354–355). One of the most critical elements of modern queerness is that, though

sexuality is an essential aspect, queerness encompasses the radical idea that "interrogating and interrupting heteronormativity" (Miller 307) can teach us about ourselves, our loved ones, and even our enemies. If the Hays Code focus was to ensure that entertainment upheld its special "Moral Obligations" to uphold society-at-large's values (Doherty 349), then *Rebel* managed to play a very subversive hand.

LGBT activist and film historian Vito Russo explains, "It was not as American as apple pie to be queer, and the closeted visions of countless gay screenwriters, directors, actors and technicians were submerged into the heterosexual, all-American fantasies of the majority. Gay characters and references to the existence of homosexuality were routinely laundered off the screen for the better part of half a century" (63). However, *Rebel* got away with its queer coding because to the un-queer eye, it could read as a morality play: three teens with unmet parental needs will become juvenile delinquents.

When *Rebel*'s script was submitted to the PCA for approval, the PCA director himself, Geoffrey Shurlock, was unable to decode specific incidences of queerness: "At one point Shurlock expressed concern that the script contained the "inference of a questionable or homosexual relationship between Plato (Sal Mineo) and Jim (James Dean)" (Simmons). He "was never able to determine exactly what part of the script contained that inference, and when pressed, Shurlock dropped the matter" (Simmons). Perhaps because LGBTQIA+ folks were forced to scour films for gay traces, they developed what Vito Russo, writer of the seminal LGBT film studies work, *The Celluloid Closet,* calls a "gay sensibility" (92). That gay sensibility allowed "the simple recognition of difference" in "the tone in James Dean's voice as he zip[s] up the jacket of the dead Sal Mineo and mutter[s], 'Poor kid…he was always cold'" (92). As we

will see, director Nicholas Ray and actors James Dean and Sal Mineo were very much attuned to expressions of queerness.

The film's content is not so much centered on outright sexuality as it is on the broader context of heteronormativity. It interrogates gender roles. It challenges what constitutes a family (many LGBTQIA+ youth identify with choosing a family when rejected or mistreated by their own). It studies homoromantic interaction (romantic feelings between same-sex persons, but not necessarily connected to sexual desire) and clarifies the destruction that rigid cultural norms can wreak. It managed to do so by a mix of coding, negative consequences for nonnormative behavior, and by a trope modern queer critics refer to as "Bury Your Gays" (Ennis). *SYFY Wire* writer Tricia Ennis describes this phenomenon: "While depictions of LGBTQIA+ characters were frowned upon, depictions of them in this specifically negative light were not. You were not endorsing an 'alternative lifestyle' if your gay characters always met an untimely demise. Instead, they were merely paying for their poor choices. This trope would eventually give way to what we now refer to as 'Bury Your Gays.'"

To evaluate how *Rebel* sympathetically represented, then "buried its gays," the gay coding must be decrypted. Evidence exists in the scenes themselves and in behind-the-scenes stories. In the film, firstly, there is John "Plato" Crawford, played by Sal Mineo, who came out in the early seventies as one of Hollywood's first openly gay actors. Mineo stated that "in Plato he had created the first gay teenager in films" (Kashner and MacNair 102). Plato's queer coding includes his name itself (the ancient, famous gay Greek, Plato). Plato has a glamour shot of Alan Ladd in his locker where a "normal" fifties boy would have had a pin-up girl. When Plato is forced to fight the gang members in the dry mansion pool, he swings a Freudian hose from

the hip to fight with. When Crunch reads from Plato's little black book of names, all the entries are traditionally male names. These are surface-level codes.

On a deeper level, Plato is queering the traditional friendship construct by seeking a more intimate emotional connection with Jim. Plato's father is absent, and *Rebel* screenwriter Stewart Stern says, "Plato is the mama's boy, brought up by a smothering maid in the absence of his father. In his adoration of Dean, he seeks a father more than a lover" (Russo 109). Plato's dialogue clearly reflects Stern's idea. After driving home from the chicken run, Plato offers Jim a starry-eyed invitation: "Hey, you wanna come home with me? There's nobody home at my house, and heck, I'm not tired, are you? If you wanna come, we can talk, and you can stay and have breakfast like my dad used to. Gee, if only you could've been my dad…" Jim rebuffs Plato gently, with a sultry "See you tomorrow." Plato is seeking more than a friend, and that "more" is not simply sex, but a complex web of emotions and unmet needs that were inappropriate for men to experience—much less express—in the American postwar era. In the dialogue above, Jim does not react to Plato's invitation with anger or disgust. He reacts with gentleness, and this gentleness establishes him as a compassionate surrogate father figure for Plato.

Coding often necessitates simplification and exaggeration, so queering characters by utilizing Freudian pop psychology was a Code-workaround that allowed some level of representation and was not necessarily intended to read as true to life. However, this pop-psychology, absent-father-means-aberrant-teen concept cycles back to the working definition of "queerness." While sexuality can be central to queer identity, queerness is often more about interrogating heteronormativity and the roles it asks us to play. Queerness advocates for a variety of love-expressions in which desires, however unusual, are allowed to find common ground. Stern further explains: because Jim returns Plato's familial "feelings so blatantly, sparks fly.

Dean's rebellious youth in crisis, a tender and courageous figure, is as loving toward Plato as he is toward Natalie Wood, and the three form a family relationship" (Russo 109). The "tender and courageous" love the teens share undermines the Hays Code by presenting the trio's affection for each other as both "attractive" and "beautiful," an outlook definitively banned by Section 5 of the Hays Code (Doherty 354).

Part of what makes their form of love beautiful is the whimsical playfulness they share in the mansion. Judy and Jim play-act a couple buying the mansion with Plato as their real estate agent giving them a lovely home tour. Plato says the empty pool is the nursery. Jim affably jokes, "Ah yes, a sunken nursery." The three jump in and play with childlike abandon. Next they sashay across the pool patio to the gazebo. In the gazebo, they flop into a cuddle-puddle like a trio of contented puppies. With his patent sincerity, Plato says he wishes they could stay forever while he sweetly cuddles his head onto Jim's stomach. Jim's head is on Judy's lap. Soothed, Plato then lies down to sleep while Judy sings him a lullaby and runs her fingers through his hair. Jim tucks him in under his coat. While this may seem childlike and heteronormative, and beautiful and permissible by Hays Code standards, these characters are not quite children anymore. They are seeking to have their fundamental emotional and grown-up romantic needs met simultaneously. The possibility of same-sex sexual desire was not nonexistent; in a *Vanity Fair* exposé on Ray and Dean's sexualities, Dean is quoted as having told Mineo, "Look at me the way I look at Natalie" during the gazebo scene (Kashner). Film studies professor Claudia Springer notes, "contemporary knowledge of Sal Mineo's gay sexuality and James Dean's

bisexuality lend their scenes together a poignant sexual frisson" (Springer 239)[22]. So, the beauty of—and fulfillment in—queer love is present in the Getty mansion scene.

To get the mansion scene by the PCA, there had to be negative origins for this case of "impure love" (Doherty 354). As Russo notes, "pop psychoanalysis was rampant in the Forties and Fifties, and gays were increasingly being defined in psychiatric jargon both onscreen and off. Suddenly people began talking about dominant mothers and weak, passive fathers" (99). Plato's desire for an alternate father figure (especially one to whom he was physically attracted) would be viewed as psychologically suspect. American Studies professor Jon Mitchell notes, "upon his introduction in the film Plato is, like the other main characters, in the juvenile section of the police station for having shot a couple of puppies with his mother's gun […] From his very conception in the film Plato is presented as a morally as well as sexually suspect (and the two were most often linked) character" (138). At the chicken run, Jim jokes to Plato that he would attend hangings if he could. Plato responds, "I guess it's just my morbid personality." In midcentury psychoanalysis, morbid personality was the purported cause of homosexuality—an idea conceived by Freud and supported by Jung (Geyskens 13). In a film so interested in masculine gender expression, the popular Freudian psychoanalysis of the fifties cannot be ignored. Their queerness is their brokenness in the eyes of the PCA, and it is the motivation for their delinquency and subsequent punishment.

Jim is also a Freudian case study with his "dominant mother and weak, passive father." One of the main points of tension in the film is Jim's dissatisfaction with his father's brand of masculinity. The film's pop-psych Freudian leanings exhibit the idea that without macho fathers,

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[22] Springer fails to note that LGBTQIA+ audiences recognized this frisson without necessarily being privy to that knowledge. *Rebel* has long been a gay cult classic (Brathwhite).

boys turn wayward. Russo remarks, "Men of action and strength were the embodiment of our culture, and a vast mythology was created to keep the dream in constant repair. Real men were strong, silent, and ostentatiously unemotional. They acted quickly and never intellectualized" (6). About halfway through the film, Jim discovers his father, kneeling on the ground and wearing his wife's apron. Jim's mother has taken herself to bed sick, and Mr. Stark is frantically cleaning up a mess he made by tripping and spilling the tray of food he had made for Mrs. Stark, worried that she will see the mess and be angry. Jim, stammering, asks his father, "What *are* you?" Jim is clearly questioning whether his father is even a man. Jim begs him to stand up and then shares the story of the chicken run and Buzz's death. "His father, still wearing the apron, mumbles some inadequate response" (Mitchell 140), so Jim pleads, "What can you do when you have to be a man?" Still wearing the apron, Jim's father *intellectualizes* the issue, urging him to "make a list of pros and cons" (140). His father is unable to stop Jim when he later storms out of the house toward his fate at the mansion and observatory.

Part of the motivation for the apron scene was Jim's torment over Buzz, the high school gang leader's, death during the chicken run. In a test of "honor," two young men race their cars off a cliff. The first one to jump out of the car before it plummets to a fiery death is the "chicken." Before the race begins, Jim and Buzz share a moment. Looking out over the cliff they're meant to drive the cars off, and sharing a cigarette, Buzz says, "You know, I like you." Jim asks, "So why do we do this?" Buzz: "Well, we've got to do something, don't we?" Screenwriter Stewart Stern used his experience with the homoromantic "buddy system" in WWII to inform the gang behavior in *Rebel,* including the actions of the gang leader, Buzz: "the choice of buddy was as or more critical than that of a bride. You'd be living in a kind of physical

intimacy which was unlike any other" (Russo 109). The connection Jim and Buzz create, and

Jim's refusal to deny his grief over Buzz's death, echoes that homoromanticism. Stern continues:

> One of the things I wanted to show in *Rebel* is that underneath all the bullshit macho
>
> defense, there was the pure drive for affection, and it didn't matter who the recipient
>
> might be. There was a longer time in those days for young men to be in the warrior phase,
>
> where a lot of romantic attachments were formed before heterosexual encounters. [The
>
> death of Buzz] was tender and loving, and it […] motivated the entire last half of the
>
> film. […] I realized that it was necessary to get through the barriers and redefine
>
> masculine behavior so that it was all right for a man to see tenderness as strength. The
>
> real power of Jim in *Rebel* was the opportunity he gave himself to choose and take the
>
> public consequences for an unpopular choice. He was willing not to dump all over Plato
>
> as a scapegoat (Russo 110).

Intentional queerness, then, saturated the onscreen interactions of Jim with both Plato and Buzz.

At this point in the film, Nicholas Ray and the PCA have buried one gay love interest, but

there's still one gay character left to bury in order to free Jim, our young American hero. Plato

must be eradicated so that Jim can pursue traditional patriarchal love with Judy. As the Hays

Code decrees, "the love which has been banned by divine law […] must not be made to seem

right and permissible" (Doherty 355). If we accept the traditional PCA take on the story, Jim's

transition to patriarchal normative life begins when Jim and Judy sneak away from sleeping Plato

at the mansion. They sequester themselves upstairs and profess their love for each other, sharing

a passionate kiss. Plato is awoken by hypermasculine gang members intent on hurting him. He

runs in search of Jim and Judy but is cornered by one of the gang members. Plato shoots him.

When Jim and Judy burst out into the hall to ascertain what the trouble is, Plato accuses them,

"Why did you abandon me?" Plato's foundling trust in them, the belief that he is a part of their relationship unit, is broken, and an earlier line of his comes to mind. "When earlier the lecturer at the planetarium finished his talk, Plato rose from behind the auditorium seats where he had hidden in fear and asked disdainfully, 'What does he know about *man alone*?'" (Wilson 126). Without a shared queer identity, Jim, Judy, and Plato begin to disentangle their adult selves from their adolescent rebellion.

When Plato flees from the police into the observatory with his mother's gun, Plato's estrangement from—and Jim's transition into—the patriarchal mindset begins solidifying. Plato is depicted as deranged, paranoid, and in need of fatherly guidance. With the intent of protecting him, Jim decides he must manage Plato and hand him over to the (all-male) authorities. Jim tricks Plato by removing the bullets from the gun, effectively taking the actual power from Plato's belief in his own rebellion (Mitchell 142). The removal of the bullets could be seen as a kind of emasculation, further queering Plato.

Oddly, Jim's participation in the policing of Plato is arguably their most romantic interaction. When Jim hands Plato the symbolic red jacket, Plato fondles it against his face and chest, deeply breathing in Jim's scent. In the glowing planetarium light, Plato's eyes shine with adoration and he stares at Jim with parted lips and soft assent. Jim speaks gently, with deep yearning, holding out his hands to Plato. In this moment of heightened arousal—this adrenaline-soaked fearful flight-and-fight—both men/boys are quivering and on the verge of tears. If ever there was a moment when their feelings for each other outweighed the dire consequences of their queerness, this would be it. Sequestered in the dark planetarium with all the world against them, bursting with emotion, haloed by the swirling lights, how could Plato fail to be seduced? How could Jim fail to seduce him?

Jim coaxes Plato out of the front doors of the observatory, promising Plato soft lighting and kind police. Instead, the police exhibit a masculinity rooted in violence. They gun Plato down. UC Davis Philosophy professor George M. Wilson notes that, being gay, Plato "is set outside those operations that assimilate Jim and Judy back into the established structures of family and society […] It is because there is no social space for him to occupy that he is eventually destroyed" (126). In order for Jim to become the man the PCA desires him to be, "Jim is left safely in the arms of Natalie Wood. Adult responsibility clearly includes settling down to a heterosexual relationship following the adolescent fantasies of youth" (Russo 110). This parent-relieving, assimilationist perspective of the ending assuaged pro-Hays Code audiences and studio executives. What those pro-assimilationists lacked, though, is Russo's aforementioned "gay sensibility."

The film leaves us with a few powerful ideas if we enlist a gay sensibility. As film historian Tim Stanley explains, "the Code has no power to stop gays, women, poor people or ethnic minorities from drawing subversive interpretations from movies constructed to reflect a conservative view of the world." Even if Nicholas Ray knew how to play his cards right in the PCA's eyes, he was still "in fact, bisexual[23]" (Kashner) and a cultural rebel outcast by nature. Although Ray never spoke about it, we can discuss him as a queer filmmaker because he fostered a queer creative environment.

Like the onscreen, chosen family he created in *Rebel,* Ray fostered an offscreen family of cast and crew from his Chateau Marmont Hotel poolside bungalow. This offscreen "family," too, held questionable sexual entanglements and troubled psychologies. Still, an actress who played a

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[23] Ray made no official statement concerning his sexuality. Kashner is quoting Ray's daughter, Nicca Ray.

girl in the gang remembers, "Nick's whole thing was to make us a family, to make the movie come from us rather than from his direction" (Kashner and MacNair 113). Kashner writes, "the young actors adored Ray for his belief in them, for his trust in their abilities, the way he'd sacrifice an idea of his for one of theirs. They admired his own rebelliousness, his boss-hating attitude, even the way he wore blue jeans and went barefoot. Ray, in turn, worshiped their beauty and passion, their very youth. He broke down the barriers between them, encouraging the actors to spend a lot of time together, so that they would act 'as one'" (113). Rather than acting in a paternalistic, authoritarian, traditional director's role, Ray encouraged collectivism and emotional expression in all his actors, male and female. Ray's collaborative directing style, then, fundamentally marks him as a queer filmmaker. Film scholar Pauline Greenhill avers, "although some film theories identify the director as the most significant individual creator or auteur, coding can arguably enter a movie at almost any level. Not only directors, but also writers, […] and actors (to give only a few examples) may participate in coding a film for multiple interpretations" (112). Ray allowed rebellious teens, gay teens, to participate meaningfully in the film's creation, thereby empowering queerness.

Moreover, Ray's alternative creative processes and screenwriter Stern's desire to "redefine masculine behavior" (Russo 110), to promote tenderness as strength, seeped into their concession that Jim had to be free from "any inference of a homosexual relationship" (Kashner). In one of the most clear-cut instances of symbolism in the film, they slip in a caveat: while Jim assimilates himself into a masculine role in a heterosexual relationship after Plato's death, he does so while donning his father's coat.

As dead Plato is laid on the stretcher, Jim ceremoniously zips his iconic red windbreaker up over Plato's chest, while intoning, with deep grief and sympathy, "Poor kid … he was always

cold." Jim's father looks on, visibly heartsick. Jim kneels, sobbing, and clutches his father's knees in a posture similar to Mr. Stark's when he was cleaning up the spilled meal in Mrs. Stark's apron. Jim's father helps him up, promising Jim, "I'll be as strong as you need me to be." Throughout the film, Jim saw his father as a "failed model of masculinity," but nevertheless, "one might read the film as a challenge to Jim's perspective in which his father becomes a model of a caring and encouraging masculine identity" (Mitchell 140). Plato's murder and Jim's bereavement over it unlatch a hidden door in Jim's heart, showing him a new path to masculinity that allows emotion, allows love, and allows fear.

Perhaps most importantly, Jim loves Plato. Even in death, Jim longs to give and receive Plato's affection. Jim holds Plato's body, weeps over him, and speaks lovingly about him. Despite his Hays-mandated psychological disequilibrium and his violent behavior, Plato is lovable, multifaceted, and perennially hopeful that one day he will find love. Sal Mineo won an Oscar for the role (Kashner and MacNair 119), and the film remains an important milestone for queer cinema. Because Plato had no avenue toward assimilation, he was, in a sense, "the truly intransigent Rebel" (Wilson 125). It was not Plato who failed society. Society, represented by the police in the final scene, failed Plato. These police—these social-contract enforcers—represent "the destructive intolerance of the patriarchal order […] that simply destroys those it cannot assimilate." They destroyed Plato because he was queer in every sense of the term, and Plato never capitulated. Our gay sensibility decodes what Shurlock and the PCA aimed to erase. Plato is our everlasting Rebel, and he did not die without cause.

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The Deadly Cost of Justification: How the Irish Catholic Interpretation of the British Response to

"Bloody Sunday" Elicited Outrage and Violence, January–April 1972

Garrentt Duffey

As British Home Secretary Reginald Maudling spoke eloquently at the House of

Commons on January 31, 1972, Irish MP Bernadette Delvin seethed with rage. The tension was

high in London, especially between the Irish and English, as the infamous "Bloody Sunday" had

transpired the day before. In the Northern Ireland city of Derry, British soldiers had fired on

peaceful Irish Catholic protestors, leaving thirteen dead. The aristocratic Maudling lectured the

House, including the furious Irish members, that the British soldiers would not have just fired

without provocation. The very thought was preposterous! "That arrogant aristocratic English

prick!" Delvin might have hissed through clenched teeth. Delvin had been at Derry when the

twenty-minute-long massacre had occurred, witnessing the horrific aftermath herself. When she

was denied the opportunity to speak in the House and explain what had really transpired, she

snapped. Delvin ran headlong towards Maudling, pummeling him. The House whips sprang into

action and pulled the two respectable members of British society apart. A shaken and slightly

emasculated Maudling remarked that Delvin had behaved like a child, and should not have let

her deep feelings cloud her judgment.[24] Later, when asked by reporters if she would apologize,

Delvin muttered, "I'm sorry I didn't get him by the throat."[25] Delvin was not the only Irish

Catholic ready to harm the British well-to-do. Except instead of slaps, these angry Irish Catholics

used bombs. From January to April 1972, the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response

to "Bloody Sunday" inspired formerly peaceful Irish Catholics to take up arms, increased

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[24] Anthony Lewis, "British Set Inquiry On Ulster Shooting As Emotion Rises," *New York Times*, February 1, 1972, https://nyti.ms/2Ei55BR.
[25] Ibid.

widespread anti-British sentiment, and furthered the period of violence in Northern Ireland known as "The Troubles."

The seemingly bizarre episode between Delvin and Maudling captured British and Irish responses in the months after "Bloody Sunday." To many Irish Catholics, the British had gone from being honorable peacemakers back to their historical role of merciless oppressors of the Irish people. Despite the English propaganda that highlighted their mighty "civilization" and superior English morals, they had butchered innocent civilians. The dismay "Bloody Sunday" had wrought turned swiftly to anger as the Irish Catholics listened to the British government defend the perceived murderers and blame the Irish themselves for the tragedy. All the while, the terrorist group the Irish Republican Army (IRA), both the official and Provisional, gained vengeful recruits, and the threatened Irish Protestant paramilitaries came out to fight them. "Anything was possible after Bloody Sunday," wrote contemporary English journalist and eyewitness Simon Winchester, as attacks in Northern Ireland occurred with never-before-seen frequency and scope.[26] Edward Daly, another key eyewitness and a priest of many young Irish Catholics, wrote, "Countless young people were motivated by the events of that day to become actively involved in armed struggle" as nonviolence evidently did not work.[27] The British response reinforced IRA claims about the abusive and callous character of the British. The Irish Catholic view of the repeated British justifications for "Bloody Sunday" proved the IRA right in their perception of the British as brutal imperialists and encouraged immediate revolt against British tyranny. The contemporary Irish newspapers, British governmental documents, and various memoirs suggest that the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response to the

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[26] Simon Winchester, *Northern Ireland in Crisis: Reporting the Ulster Troubles* (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1975), 203.
[27] Edward Daly, *Mister, Are You a Priest?* (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 2000), 200, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/events/bsunday/daly/daly00.htm.

massacre was the main factor in the extension of violence throughout Northern Ireland. "Troubles" historians perpetuate a partial narrative, exacerbating misunderstanding of the causes of the conflict. They laid the blame on the inevitability of violence, blamed IRA propaganda, or ignored the impact of the British response altogether.

In the nearly fifty years since 1972, academic historians have analyzed "The Troubles" and "Bloody Sunday" and increasingly placed the blame not on the British response, but on the Irish. Historians perpetuated a narrative of the inevitability of Irish violence and emphasized the role of IRA propaganda to conclude that the British response was a minor contributor to IRA recruitment. Academics John Bowyer Bell, Timothy Shanahan, and Andrew Sanders highlight the historiographical trend of the minimization of the role of the British in the continuance of violence. They deemed the Irish Catholic perspective on the British response less important to the history of "The Troubles."

In *The Irish Troubles: A Generation of Violence, 1967–1992* (1993), American historian John Bowyer Bell argued that "no matter what the closely reasoned arguments of the law or the suave rationalizations of the London establishment," or the publication of the Widgery report, nothing could have stopped IRA recruitment among previously peaceful Irish Catholics.[28] Bell wrote that almost immediately after "Bloody Sunday," "everyone had decided what had happenend."[29] The event of "Bloody Sunday" itself caused the Irish to take up arms against the British, and the British response "simply contributed to the dispute" and "became grist to the mill."[30] However, Bell acknowledged that the "British response to Bloody Sunday indicated the unchanging nature of the imperial presence in Ireland" and therefore proved the IRA right in

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[28] J. Bowyer Bell, *The Irish Troubles: A Generation of Violence, 1967-1992*, 1st ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993), 275.
[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

their assumptions about the British attitude, which furthered anger and recruitment among Irish Catholics.[31] More so than other historians, Bell was sympathetic to the IRA and Irish Catholics, and frequently called the British out for their lack of comprehension at how "their good intentions could be questioned, their system at fault, their definition of justice disputed."[32] Still, Bell concluded that the British response to "Bloody Sunday" did not significantly cause recruitment nor increased violence, as the event of "Bloody Sunday" itself promised the inevitable extension of the conflict. Subsequent historians of "Bloody Sunday" and "The Troubles" were not as kind to the Irish and lessened the importance of the British response towards IRA recruitment even more than Bell.

In *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism* (2009), American philosophy professor Timothy Shanahan argued that the British response to "Bloody Sunday" did not matter so much as the IRA's use of an "obscene media propaganda bonanza" to recruit more IRA members and to increase the violence in Northern Ireland.[33] While the British response to "Bloody Sunday" engendered some anger among the Irish Catholics, it was the propaganda response by the "Provisional IRA's leadership" that lit the match.[34] Shanahan sympathized with the British more than Bell did, and blamed the IRA for the endangerment of Irish Catholics in the first place.[35] Shanahan concluded that the British response to "Bloody Sunday" was not nearly as influential to IRA recruitment and violence as the IRA's own response and devious propaganda techniques. Shanahan's implied support for the British perspective might be a result of the newfound inherent hatred for the word "terrorist" since 9/11

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[31] Ibid.
[32] Ibid., 274.
[33] Timothy Shanahan, *The Provisional Irish Republican Army and the Morality of Terrorism* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2009), 214.
[34] Ibid., 56.
[35] Ibid., 29-30.

in 2001, which caused him to view the IRA with a more negative perspective than did Bell. The new academic monographs on "The Troubles" revealed a revisionist tendency to downplay the significance of the British response to "Bloody Sunday," and focus instead on the impact of IRA propaganda tactics on Irish Catholics.

In *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (2011), Irish historian Andrew Sanders ignored the British response to "Bloody Sunday" and simply stated that "Bloody Sunday" was "decisive in producing the violence that beset Northern Ireland" and that the "IRA managed to recruit" many Catholics in the aftermath.[36] Therefore, the role the British played in the aftermath was deemed not important, and the mass recruitment by the IRA was viewed as an inevitable response to "Bloody Sunday." Sanders's view implied sympathy for the British perspective, as their response to the massacre would not have mattered, as the Irish fury and indignant attitude overruled rationalization and resulted in immediate emotional violence. The British were let off the hook for any blame for the increased number of IRA recruits. The importance of the British role in the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday" had gradually decreased from Bell on, to eventually not even be written about as a significant factor in academic histories about "The Troubles." Sanders contributed to the revisionist historical trend that favored the inevitability of Irish violence after "Bloody Sunday," and the devious role of the IRA with their recruitment tactics, as to why Irish Catholics had joined the IRA in increased numbers.

The current historical trend of the inevitability of Irish violence and chaos after "Bloody Sunday" needs to be challenged and investigated. Irish Catholics did not automatically make the event of "Bloody Sunday" a symbol of nationalism; the Irish Catholic interpretation of the

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[36] Andrew Sanders, *Inside the IRA: Dissident Republicans and the War for Legitimacy* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2011), 53, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mgc/detail.action?docID=714146.

British response to the event turned it into a symbol of British injustice and imperial dominion. It was not inevitable for Irish Catholics to take up arms against the British after "Bloody Sunday." Nothing is inevitable. A new Irish Catholic perspective on the British response to "Bloody Sunday" is needed to counteract the increasingly anti-Irish and pro-British historical monographs and to offer a glimpse of how peaceful protestors can turn to violence, and how a rebellion grows because of an incessant need to justify tragic actions and a government's hubristic pride.

The immediate British response to "Bloody Sunday" consisted of what Irish Catholics interpreted as an emotionless and defensive posture towards the victims and the Irish in general. In *Memoirs of a Stateman*, Brian Faulkner, the headstrong prime minister of the British-backed Northern Ireland Stormfront government, wrote that he received a call from the Conservative Tory prime minister of England, Edward Heath, immediately after news broke out about "Bloody Sunday." Heath believed the British Army perspective about "Bloody Sunday" as soon as he heard about it, and told Faulkner in a self-assured way, that "the paratroops must have had good reason to shoot."[37] The British set the policy for the Stormfront government to follow, and follow the Stormfront government did. Two days after the perceived massacre, Faulkner lectured the Irish Catholic population. While everybody was rightfully upset, he minimized their concerns, reasoning that "if there had been no marching in defiance of the law in Londonderry on Sunday there would have been no confrontations and there would have been no deaths."[38] The Stormfront government had declared protest marches illegal in the weeks beforehand, and therefore, a defensive Faulkner decided to scapegoat the protestors and victims themselves for their own folly, and thereby decreased blame for the British government and soldiers.

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[37] Brian Faulkner, *Memoirs of a Statesman* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1978), 141.
[38] Brian Faulkner, *'Speech by the Prime Minister, Mr Brian Faulkner, addressing the Clevely Committee,'* [PRONI Public Records PM/5/169/13; 3 pages], [PDF; 662KB], Belfast: PRONI [17028] - [Public Records], 1 February 1972, 1, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/proni/1972/proni_PM-5-169-13_1972-02-01.pdf.

Furthermore, Faulkner hoped that the Irish protestors "would be forced to rethink their attitude" and not be "swayed by propaganda vultures."[39] However, the IRA "propaganda vultures" did not need to initiate widespread anti-British propaganda in order to convince many Irish Catholics to sympathize or to actively support them, as the British response to "Bloody Sunday" was all the propaganda the IRA needed. The British government could not conceive that their troops had callously murdered innocents and disregarded any explanations contrary to their army's perspective, despite eyewitness evidence. However, regardless of who was at fault, both the British and the IRA realized that the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday" determined the future of Northern Ireland. Accordingly, the next meeting of the British Parliament was highly anticipated. In the 1 February session of the British Parliament, "Bloody Sunday" became a part of everyday British politics, as the deaths of thirteen people became politicized for party advancement and power.

The British Parliament minutes of 1 February, recorded in the moderate Dublin-based newspaper *The Irish Times* and the Hansard Parliamentary records, recounted British justifications for "Bloody Sunday." The majority British Conservative Tory government adopted a defensive and unapologetic stance on "Bloody Sunday." One Tory MP shouted out that, "The IRA had developed a deliberate use of crowd cover" and that he rejected "utterly the slurs which have been made" on British intentions in Northern Ireland.[40] Most of the MPs of the British Conservative Tory party believed the British troops' account of the incident on Sunday, and disregarded or countered any explanation to the contrary. For example, the Tory Minister for the State for Defense, Lord Balniel, argued to the gathered Parliamentary members that the British must convince the Irish Catholics of the righteousness of the British troops and warned that "we

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[39] Ibid.
[40] British Parliament, "British Common Minutes," *Irish Times,* February 2, 1972.

must also recognize that the I.R.A. is waging a war, not only of bullets and bombs but of words."[41] Balniel argued that the British had to convince the Catholics that the IRA were just thugs with bombs, and not freedom fighters for Irish justice. The just announced British-led "neutral" inquiry into "Bloody Sunday" similarly became politicized, as Tory MP Sir Harry Legge-Bourke remarked that "I think I know why it is necessary to set up an inquiry. But in the meantime, let's back the Army."[42] Despite a lack of evidence, most of the British Tory MPs seemed to have made up their minds on what happenend on "Bloody Sunday," which did not inspire much Irish Catholic confidence in the outcome of a British-led inquiry. In their pursuit of victory in the next election, and to counter their political opposition, the British Tory government coalesced along partisan lines on "Bloody Sunday." The opposition British Labor party, led by the outspoken Harold Wilson, similarly contributed to Irish Catholic support for the IRA, acting for their own political advancement and to score points against their rival English party.

In contrast to the British Tory government's position, the British Labor party sympathized with the massacred Irish Catholics. Labor MPs did not blame the British soldiers specifically, but instead blamed the Tory government for the massacre and the widespread support for the IRA. Labor MP Michael Stewart said that "It does not look as if the progressive victory of the forces of law and order over the I.R.A., in which the Minister of State has put his faith, is an accurate description of what is happening."[43] Stewart blamed the Tory government for the British troops' behavior in Northern Ireland. Labor party leader Harold Wilson agreed

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[41] Great Britain, Parliament, House of Commons, February 1, 1972, accessed October 28, 2020, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1972-02-01/debates/3a33a535-f2bf-41a8-b7f8-4b1165ca050b/NorthernIreland?highlight=bloody%20sunday#contribution-0d3c6ef8-ab6e-410f-940e-a6a5d11c78a6.

[42] British Parliament, "British Common Minutes," *Irish Times,* February 2, 1972.

[43] Great Britain, House of Commons, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1972-02-01/debates/3a33a535-f2bf-41a8-b7f8-4b1165ca050b/NorthernIreland?highlight=bloody%20sunday#contribution-0d3c6ef8-ab6e-410f-940e-a6a5d11c78a6.

with Stewart's position and said that "if men have nothing to hope for, men of violence have something to shoot for, to bomb for, to murder for," and highlighted that normally tolerant Irish Catholics became violent due to aggressive orders given to British troops in Northern Ireland.[44] Wilson argued that Irish Catholic hope in pro-Catholic British reforms and governance increasingly dissipated, as violence seemed to be the only option to fight discrimination. Wilson claimed that the ultimate responsibility for the massacre at Derry lay with the Tory government, as did the increase in IRA support among Irish Catholics. Wilson, over the next few months, in secret talks with the Provisional IRA in March, went on to undermine the Heath Conservative government, and to guarantee greater Labor party influence in the world of British politics. In the 14 March issue of *The Irish Times*, Wilson called the Provisional IRA "a disciplined, tightly-knit organization" and praised them for their nominal offer of peace with the British.[45] Wilson's intrepid efforts at peaceful negotiation and political gain backfired, though, as many political commentators such as anti-militant Irish politician Conor O'Brian claimed that the IRA had used Wilson to legitimize themselves as the "most important people in the country" and that in Northern Ireland, "power must come from the barrel of a gun."[46] O'Brian argued that Wilson had fallen prey to his own political ambitions and inquisitive nature and had inadvertently strengthened Irish Catholic support for the IRA, who now acted as the legitimate representation of the Irish Catholic population. Regardless of Wilson and the Labor MPs true agendas, their response to "Bloody Sunday" did not halt the tide of Irish Catholic anger at the British government and may have even created greater support for the violent approaches headed by the IRA.

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[44] Ibid.
[45] Michael McInerney, "Wilson Outlines N.I. Peace Proposals," *Irish Times*, March 14, 1972.
[46] Conor O'Brien, *States of Ireland* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972), 287.

In the 1 February Parliamentary sessions, Irish MPs had a different take on the British response to "Bloody Sunday" than their English colleagues. Irish MPs did not hesitate to blame both the British troops and the Tory government for the massacre at Derry, and as a whole, they articulated the anger felt by many Irish Catholics in the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday." When Irish MP Gerald Fitt condemned the British army's role in "Bloody Sunday," English Tory MP Nicholas Winterton huffed, "Nonsense."[47] MP Fitt shot back at Winterton that never before now had he realized "that I am an Irishman and the hon. Gentleman is an Englishman. That is where the difference lies. The hon. Gentleman has no sympathy, no understanding, no conscience for the people who live in Derry who are Irish."[48] Fitt went on to proclaim that "the British Army is no longer acceptable in Belfast, Derry or anywhere in Northern Ireland."[49] Fitt realized that his Irish Catholic constituents were fed up with British actions and their presence in Northern Ireland and outraged at their unapologetic response to the perceived massacre of thirteen innocent Irish protestors. Fitt's heated response to Winterton showcased that many Irish Catholics felt that the British still treated the Irish like second class citizens and did not understand the complexity of the situation in Northern Ireland. Irish Independent MP Bernadette Delvin delivered perhaps the most memorable line for the tumultuous day, as she swore, "The paratroopers may have had their day on our bloody Sunday, but we have a saying in Ireland that there is another day coming."[50] The Irish MPs' fury at the British Tory MPs response to "Bloody Sunday" acted as a good representation of the attitude of a good portion of the Irish Catholic population in Northern Ireland. Instead of a British response of unity and the pursuit of righteous

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[47] Great Britain, House of Commons, https://hansard.parliament.uk/Commons/1972-02-01/debates/3a33a535-f2bf-41a8-b7f8-4b1165ca050b/NorthernIreland?highlight=bloody%20sunday#contribution-0d3c6ef8-ab6e-410f-940e-a6a5d11c78a6.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.
[50] Ibid.

justice for the victims' families, the British Tory and Labor government further divided and ostracized the disillusioned and increasingly angry Irish Catholic population with their dismissals of Irish Catholic claims of British troop negligence and their defensive posture towards the Irish people generally.

The Irish attitude towards the immediate British response consisted of fury and disillusionment with the British as a force for justice and righteousness. The title page of the 31 January issue of *The Irish Times* screamed out in big bold letters, "SOLDIERS KILL THIRTEEN IN BOGSIDE" and a little under that, with slightly smaller, but still bold, letters, "HEATH'S RESPONSE UNHELPFUL."[51] Indeed, the Irish felt that the British response was unhelpful, defensive, and antagonistic. Another *Irish Times* headline spelled out "Army and R.U.C. warning to marchers" in what many Irish perceived as a direct threat to their peaceful protests.[52] On 1 February, an anonymous writer to *The Irish Times* wrote that Britain's response consisted of "all that talent for arrogance, blindness and malevolence that an Imperial Power in decline manifests when faced with a small but determined people."[53] The British response seemed to confirm the long-held IRA suspicion that the British had not changed since they had first brutally colonized Ireland centuries ago and only cared about themselves. As the Provisional IRA leader Sean MacStifáin commented drily, "The consequences of this policy were very serious in Ireland, where it has never paid to malign the dead. It intensified the anger and bitterness many times over."[54] Famed Irish politician Connor O'Brien likewise stated that the British response engendered "grief, shock, and a sort of astonished incredulous rage against an England which seemed to be acting in the way we often accused her of acting but of which we

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[51] *Irish Times*, "SOLDIERS KILL THIRTEEN IN BOGSIDE," January 31, 1972.
[52] *Irish Times*, "Army and R.U.C. warning to marchers," January 31, 1972.
[53] Anonymous, "SO FAR," *Irish Times*, February 1, 1972.
[54] Sean MacStiofáin, *Revolutionary in Ireland* (London: G. Cremonesi, 1975), 232.

had not, for decades, really believed modern England capable."[55] As the charged month of February raged on, the Irish increasingly grew more frustrated with the British response.

Anti-British sentiment increased as the Irish Catholics interpreted the British response as evidence for British arrogance and deceitful nature. Irish tempers flared as "Bloody Sunday" became politicized and a partisan issue in the British Parliament. In the 14 February edition of *The Irish Times,* an anonymous Irish writer wrote, "in Britain, politics is a game with its own rules, not always to be taken seriously," but in Northern Ireland, "politics is not only a live issue, it is an issue of life and death."[56] Disgusted Irish Catholic priests wrote a joint letter in the 5 February edition of *The Irish Times* about the British, "We have noted with mounting displeasure their sneers, their distortions of the truth and their lack of feeling or sympathy for the Catholic minority. One of the greatest casualties in our present tragic situation is the loss of respect for truth."[57] Many Irish Catholics evidently felt betrayed, disrespected, and discriminated against by the British and their aggressive soldiers. Some Irish Catholics assumed that the high-minded British cared more for politics, authority, and their own reputations over good morals and their fellow humans. While the British Parliament debated endlessly and listlessly, Irish Catholics and Protestants died in increased numbers, and began to look towards paramilitary or terrorist groups for protection. Support or sympathy for the IRA increased among Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland throughout the next few months.

As the British fumbled and misjudged their response to "Bloody Sunday," the IRA grew in recruits and support. In the 3 March issue of *The Irish Times*, an anonymous writer warned British policy makers that "The reputation of the British Army among the minority in the North

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[55] O'Brien, *States of Ireland,* 282.
[56] Anonymous, "British Initiatives," *Irish Times,* February 14, 1972.
[57] Terence O'Keeffe, "Letters to the Editor," *Irish Times*, February 5, 1972.

is such that it will be difficult ever to erase."[58] More evidence of the increased Irish Catholic support for the IRA in the next few months must have worried the British policymakers. On 20 March, a crowd of 2,000 angry IRA supporters rioted for six hours in the city of Monaghan after the arrest of members of the Provisional IRA.[59] The Irish Catholic mob threw bombs and smashed windows. The British responded with rubber bullets. By April, IRA support extended even to England, as Tory MP Harold Gurden warned of "IRA sympathizers in Birmingham."[60] Northern Irish Catholics who supported a peaceful solution with Britain were confronted by those who wholeheartedly believed that violence was the only solution to free the Catholics from discrimination in Northern Ireland. On 3 April, Irish Catholic women who supported the IRA broke up a "peace meeting" in Belfast. The *Irish Times* reporter Renagh Holohan quoted the IRA supporters on the break-up of the meeting, "The men are fighting for something worthwhile and these people are turning traitors… We are back to where we were in 1920."[61] Reportedly, the organizers of the meeting "left disillusioned" and the IRA supporters crowed that "they had proved who was strongest in the area."[62] A significant portion of the Irish Catholics in Northern Ireland had embraced the IRA's position that the British still acted as imperial conquerors and needed to be chased off their glorious island once and for all. Despite the deadly attacks initiated by the IRA, the British had failed in their response to "Bloody Sunday" to inspire any Catholic trust in their British soldiers and government, and instead caused the Irish Catholics to rely on and trust the IRA for protection. As a result of the increased Irish Catholic support, the IRA stepped up the frequency of their attacks and targeted British citizens more regularly.

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[58] Anonymous, "Gardiner's Day," *Irish Times*, March 3, 1972.
[59] *Irish Times*, "CROWS FIGHTS ARMY, GARDAI IN MONAGHAN," March 20, 1972.
[60] *Irish Times,* "Direct rule will create problems," April 1, 1972.
[61] Renagh Holohan, "WOMEN BREAK UP BELFAST PEACE MEETING," *Irish Times,* April 4, 1972.
[62] Ibid.

The British response to "Bloody Sunday" gave justifications for IRA violence against British soldiers and civilians. "Protest is not enough," an anonymous Irish writer flatly proclaimed in the 2 February edition of *The Irish Times*.[63] "Bloody Sunday" and the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response to it encouraged the notion that peaceful protest did not work, and that violence was the only option available to seek justice and force change in Northern Irish society. The British embassy in Dublin burned to the ground on 2 February, and attacks on British soldiers only increased throughout the month, as the British faltered and stalled on how to react to the eruption of Irish anger that they had directly, although unintentionally, caused.[64] English correspondent Simon Winchester reported that "By mid-February bombs were exploding at the rate of about four a day," while "we waited for London to act."[65] The newly reenforced IRA grew bolder in their attacks on the British. For example, the IRA attacked the British Army Parachute Brigade headquarters in Aldershot, England, on 22 February, and attempted to assassinate a high-ranked Stormfront official, John Taylor, on 25 February.[66] The IRA portrayed the attacks as revenge for "Bloody Sunday" and the perceived arrogant British response to the massacre. On 23 February, the day after the Aldershot attack, an anonymous Irish writer wrote in *The Irish Times* that "Mass hatred, a type of national hypnotism, lies behind" the rapid and deadly IRA attacks on the British.[67] The anonymous Irish writer wrote that many Irish believed the IRA to be wholly justified for their brutal attacks. The Irish Catholics had grown to hate, or at least distrust, the British and their incessant justifications of "Bloody Sunday" and

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[63] Anonymous, "On Trial," *Irish Times*, February 2, 1972.
[64] *New York Times*, "DUBLINERS ATTACK BRITISH EMBASSY," February 2, 1972, https://nyti.ms/34o6LVd.
[65] Winchester, *Northern Ireland in Crisis,* 219.
[66] O'Brien, *States of Ireland*, 285.
[67] Anonymous, "THE REAL KILLER," *Irish Times,* February 23, 1972.

their outright refusal to accept blame for the massacre. The British response similarly led to the alienation of the majority Protestant population of Northern Ireland.

The apparent ineffectiveness of the British response to "Bloody Sunday" inspired the emergence of extremist Irish Protestant Unionist parties who advocated violence against Irish Catholics and started the process of a pseudo-vigilante civil war in Northern Ireland. As the IRA gained recruits in the aftermath of "Bloody Sunday" and increased their violent activities in Northern Ireland, an extreme right-wing Unionist Protestant party emerged onto the political scene. On 9 February, prominent Stormfront MP William Craig instituted the Ulster Vanguard Party and admonished all Irish loyalists "to help defend the North's Constitution, even if this should mean the supreme sacrifice."[68] The Ulster Vanguard Declaration of Intent proclaimed that "we shall assert our rights to take whatsoever action we consider best to safeguard our loyal cause" and vowed to never allow Northern Ireland to become part of the Republic of Ireland.[69] The Ulster Vanguard explicitly allowed for the use of force against the IRA, as well as against any Irish Catholics deemed sympathetic to the terrorist organization. Ulster Vanguard was widely known to have ties with various illegal Protestant paramilitary groups who often terrorized and threatened Irish Catholics that entered Protestant neighborhoods. Although the Ulster Vanguard Party started out as a tiny eccentric party of extremists, as evidenced by the brief remarks on its formation by *The Irish Times*, by the end of April it had rapidly gained in numbers and increased in its influence and power in Northern Ireland. The perceived ineffective British response to "Bloody Sunday" had inadvertently caused heightened tensions between

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[68] *Irish Times*, "Craig plans rallies for new group," February 9, 1972.
[69] Ulster Vanguard (UV), *'Ulster Vanguard Rallies - Declaration of Intent and Covenant to Act,'* [PRONI Public Records HA/32/5/10; 1 page], [PDF; 307KB], Belfast: PRONI. [17022], February 1972, 1, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/proni/1972/proni_HA-32-5-10_1972-nd_a.pdf.

Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ireland, and illegal vigilante attacks on Irish Catholic and Protestant citizens became common throughout "The Troubles."

As rumors of a game-changing British policy floated around Northern Ireland in the days before the British announced their official intentions, two large rallies were held that symbolized the ominous and destructive split between the Irish Catholics and Protestants. On 19 March, 60,000 Irish Protestants attended an Ulster Vanguard rally to listen to the fiery oration of Mr. Craig. The Ulster Vanguard Party had gained massive numbers of supporters since early February as the British seemingly did little to stop the IRA and Protestants became increasingly threatened by the frequency of new IRA attacks. Craig warned against British direct rule and threatened that "if and when the politicians fail us, it may be our job to liquidate the enemy."[70] Many Irish Catholics felt that Craig referred to them when he swore to "liquidate the enemy." Irish nationalist MP Gerry Fitt related that "liquidate" can only mean one thing-killing."[71] At the Irish Catholic Civil Resistance Committee rally, 20,000 Northern Irish Catholics gathered to protest British internment and to advocate for the repeal of British troops from Northern Ireland. Irish nationalist MP Paddy Kennedy told the assembled crowd that "we should not in any way be intimidated by a Unionist backlash… if they dare backlash, it will be met by a counter-backlash of the Irish people."[72] Civil war in Northern Ireland seemed to be an actual possibility, or, at least, the idea was not laughed at. The tension between the Irish Catholic minority and the Protestant majority remained thick in the air. In late March, the British made a dramatic decision about their ever-present problem in Northern Ireland and instituted a policy change that ended up with severe consequences.

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[70] Henry Kelly, "Declared loyalist resistance answered by determination of anti-Unionists," *Irish Times*, March 20, 1972.
[71] Ibid.
[72] Ibid.

On 24 March, the British effectively abolished the Northern Ireland Stormfront government and installed direct British rule in Northern Ireland. Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath wrote in his elegantly titled autobiography *The Course of my Life* that the atmosphere in Northern Ireland "had grown more poisoned than ever" and he feared that it might "be on the threshold of complete anarchy."[73] Heath resolved to return Northern Ireland to "law and order" and appointed the experienced and capable statesman William Whitelaw to be the first Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.[74] In Whitelaw's speech to the House of Commons, he proclaimed that the British direct rule policy would be to "promote feelings of tolerance, understanding, fairness and impartiality."[75] Heath decided to ditch the tough, unrepentant policy towards Irish Catholics and adopted a more tolerant approach, likely because of international pressure. For a brief time, the British succeeded in their attempt to calm down the conflict with the sudden transition and some of the Irish were hopeful the change could lead to peace. The headline of the 25 March issue of *The Irish Times* exclaimed. "TAKE OVER BRINGS HOPES OF PEACE" and peace talks between the British and the IRA commenced.[76] Over the next few months, peaceful protest parades were deemed legal, diplomatic relations with the Republic of Ireland calmed, and internment prisoners were released to their joyful families. However, the British acted one month too late to accomplish any effective means of long-term peace, as the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British immediate reaction to "Bloody Sunday" had already convinced many Irish Catholics of the deceitful nature of the British, and support for the IRA continued unabated.

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[73] Edward Heath, *The Course of my Life: My Autobiography* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1998), 436.
[74] Ibid., 437.
[75] William Whitelaw, *'Extract from Speech made by Mr. William Whitelaw, M.P., British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, moving the Second Reading of the Northern Ireland (Temporary Provisions) Bill 1972, in the House of Commons,'* [NAI Public Records DFA 2003/17/289; 5 pages], [PDF; 2,804KB], Dublin: NAI, 28 March 1972, 1, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/nai/1972/nai_DFA-2003-17-289_1972-03-28.pdf.
[76] Henry Kelly, "TAKE OVER BRINGS HOPES OF PEACE," *Irish Times*, March 25, 1972.

The IRA had already recruited large numbers of dissatisfied Irish Catholics into their ranks, and anti-British sentiment was strong enough for the conflict to continue, even with more tolerant direct British rule. The Provisional IRA leader, Sean MacStiofáin, confidently wrote that "It was too late for the British now."[77] The IRA proclaimed the British as invaders and vowed to continue to fight until the British left their glorious island forever. The British had stalled too long in their debates on how to answer the Northern Ireland problem, and the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response had motivated many Irish Catholics to take up arms against them. Even Mr. Whitelaw's charms and Catholic-friendly reforms could not stop the tide of anti-British sentiment that had been entrenched in the wake of the British response to "Bloody Sunday." Irish nationalist MP Eamonn McCann warned that the British presence in Northern Ireland was unacceptable to many scorned and bruised Irish Catholics and predicted that "1,000 people" would be "killed this summer."[78] While many Irish Catholics liked the new Whitelaw policies and reforms, the IRA still existed to many as the protectors of Catholic rights, and a decent portion of the population supported or sympathized with the terrorist organization. Despite increased deadly IRA attacks, a sizeable portion, if not the majority, of Irish Catholics continued to support further bombings. Belfast native Marie Drumm said her attitude towards the new British policies was "damn your concessions, we want our bloody country."[79] Another Belfast native, Marie Moore, agreed and announced that she supported "100%... the freedom fighters in the North."[80] Anti-British sentiment and Irish Catholic anger largely remained untouched regardless of the new British approach. Similarly, Irish Protestants reacted furiously at the new British approach of direct rule.

[77] MacStiofáin, *Revolutionary in Ireland,* 246.
[78] *Irish Times*, "Reactions to Direct Rule," March 25, 1972.
[79] *Irish Times*, "Woman Back IRA Campaign," April 17, 1972.
[80] Ibid.

The introduction of direct British rule caused an upsurge in the popularity of Protestant paramilitary groups, as many Irish Protestants viewed the British as "betrayers" for the destruction of the Stormfront government, and were wary of the increased IRA attacks in Northern Ireland.[81] Angered at the displacement of their sovereign Stormfront government, Irish Unionist Protestants, led by Ulster Vanguard leader Craig, engaged in a massive two-day strike in Northern Ireland that crippled the economy for a time.[82] The Ulster Vanguard movement had grown so widespread and influential that its voice reached the more moderate Stormfront political figures led by Whitelaw. The Protestant Unionists deemed the new tolerant British approach as weak and mockingly referred to it as "killing the IRA by kindness."[83] The Protestant extremists pressured Whitelaw to be more aggressive in his policies towards Irish Catholics. In the next few months, regardless of British intentions, violence increased between Catholics and Protestants. In *Memoirs of a Statesman*, Faulkner wrote that "a 'religious' label became the only qualification for murder and a new all-pervading fear spread through the community."[84] Tit for tat attacks continued unabated throughout the year, and led to increased Irish civilian deaths as both extremist groups constantly sought revenge for the deaths of their representative members. In *The Irish Times*, an anonymous Irish writer succinctly wrote, "Extreme Unionism and the IRA are Siamese twins in violence."[85] The British approach of gradual Catholic reforms meant that no side was particularly happy with the British, and both increased the number of attacks on British officials. The divisions among Irish Protestants, the British, and Irish Catholics had become more pronounced than ever before. The result and publication of the British inquiry into

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[81] O'Brien, *States of Ireland*, 291.
[82] Martin Cowley, "STRIKE PARALYSES MUCH OF NORTH," *Irish Times*, March 28, 1972.
[83] Faulkner, *Memoirs of a Statesman*, 163.
[84] Ibid., 165.
[85] Anonymous, *Irish Times*, March 29, 1972.

"Bloody Sunday," known as the Widgery Report, eliminated any hope of peace in Northern Ireland, and significantly damaged relations between Irish Catholics and the British.

On 18 April, Lord John Widgery released his official report on his investigation of "Bloody Sunday" and who was most to blame for the unfortunate event. Widgery's rapid three-month-long inquiry led him to the conclusion that while the British paratroops had behaved slightly "reckless," they were undoubtedly "sincere" in their benevolent intentions to shoot enemy combatants and save the day.[86] Widgery, on the troop's behavior, concluded sternly that "There was no breakdown in discipline."[87] Consequently, Widgery blamed the massacre on the victims and the peaceful protestors themselves. Widgery lamented that "there would have been no deaths in Londonderry on 30 January if those who organized the illegal march had not thereby created a highly dangerous situation in which a clash between demonstrators and the security forces was almost inevitable."[88] Widgery's conclusion assumed that the deaths of the thirteen victims had been inescapable, and that these sorts of events unfortunately happen when the Irish decide to protest the acts of the rightfully appointed government. Prime Minister Heath accepted the report and told the House of Commons that hopefully now the Irish Catholics would allow "the police to patrol peaceably and maintain law and order."[89] The Irish Catholics heard the results of the Widgery Report, and contrary to Heath's assumptions, did not respond with joy or

[86] Great Britain, Parliament, *Report of the Tribunal appointed to inquire into the events on Sunday, 30th January 1972, which led to loss of life in connection with the procession in Londonderry on that day*, [Widgery Report], John Widgery, HC 220, London: HMSO, 18 April 1972, Summary of Conclusion, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/hmso/widgery.htm.
[87] Ibid.
[88] Ibid.
[89] Edward Heath, et.al, *'Text of Statement made in the British House of Commons by the Prime Minister Mr. Edward Heath M.P., regarding the Widgery Tribunal Report and subsequent statements made by Mr. James Callaghan M.P. and other members of the House,'* [NAI Public Records DFA 2003/17/292; 7 pages], [PDF; 1,930KB], Dublin: NAI [18478] - [Public Records], 19 April 1972, 6, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/nai/1972/nai_DFA-2003-17-292_1972-04-19.pdf.

peace. Instead, the results of the Widgery Report solidified Irish Catholic anger and struck a dagger into the heart of Irish-British diplomacy for decades to follow.

The aftermath of the Widgery Report led Irish Catholics to angrily disparage British trustworthiness and to join the IRA in ever larger numbers to push the deceitful British out of Ireland for good. The Widgery Report inquiry began with skepticism as the sole appointment of Lord Widgery, "a pillar of the British establishment and, as chance would have it, a former army officer" did not exactly inspire Irish Catholic confidence that justice would be served.[90] Still, when the conclusion of the report listed the victims as the perpetrators of their own demise, the Irish Catholics became furious. In big bold letters, the headline of the 20 April issue of *The Irish Times* yelled out that the Widgery Report was "SEEN AS WHITEWASH" and "REPORT BLOW TO WHITELAW."[91] The gains the British had made with Irish Catholics with their appointment of the reform-minded Whitelaw as Secretary washed away as the results of the Widgery Report hardened "support for the IRA while simultaneously dissipating hopes that" the British truly meant to help them.[92] British papers seemed to back up the idea that the British were all duplicitous alike, as papers like London's *The Times* wrote that the Widgery Report showed that "The organizers of non-violent civil protests have lessons to learn, and a heavy responsibility to bear" for "Bloody Sunday."[93] Evidently, the British considered the whole "Bloody Sunday" matter to have been settled with the official publication of the Widgery Report. The Irish Catholic interpretation of the reactions of the British press, government, and public to the Widgery Report forced them to realize they were alone in their fight for equality and recognition in Northern Ireland.

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[90] Winchester, *Northern Ireland in Crisis*, 204.
[91] Martin Cowley, "REPORT BLOW TO WHITELAW," *Irish Times*, April 20, 1972.
[92] Ibid.
[93] *Irish Times*, "British press endorses Widgery findings," April 21, 1972.

The results of the Widgery Report shattered the optimistic expectations of the last Irish Catholics who believed in the British sense of moral justice. In the 20 April issue of *The Irish Times*, Irish Catholic Brigid McGuigan responded that "she had expected a fair and just verdict" and had been wildly disappointed.[94] Michael Farrell, another hopeful Irish Catholic, exclaimed angrily, "Who can trust the word of any Englishman again?"[95] The IRA capitalized on the new and reinvigorated surge of anti-British sentiment and launched ever more frequent attacks throughout 1972. Provisional IRA leader MacStiofáin smugly asked of the Widgery Report, "Who could possibly gain from that but the Republican movement?"[96] A British Northern Ireland policy plan memo laid out that most Irish Catholics would rather support the Provisional IRA than the British Army, and that "the Widgery Report almost guarantees this."[97] In a 27 April cabinet session with Whitelaw, the British ministers bemoaned that "a greater number of soldiers have been killed since the initiative" and worked on the best way to separate the IRA from the Irish Catholic minority in Northern Ireland.[98] The four-month-long British response to "Bloody Sunday" had been a disaster in diplomacy. 1972 went on to become the bloodiest year of the nearly four-decade-long period of violence known as "The Troubles." "Bloody Sunday" was not inevitable, as the British claimed, nor was it inevitable that the IRA recruited mass numbers of Irish Catholics and launched more attacks against England than previously assumed possible. The Irish Catholic interpretation of the arrogant and defensive justifications the British employed

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[94] *Irish Times*, "Reactions to Widgery," April 20, 1972.

[95] Ibid.

[96] MacStiofáin, *Revolutionary in Ireland,* 233.

[97] E. Gallagher, *'Towards a general settlement', Paper prepared by E. Gallagher, then an official at the Irish Department of Foreign Affairs, as part of preparatory material for meetings between Irish and British ministers*, [NAI Public Records DFA 2003/13/16; 10 pages], [PDF; 2,617KB], Dublin: NAI, 21 April 1972, 2, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/nai/1972/nai_DFA-2003-13-16_1972-04-21_b.pdf.

[98] Donal O'Sullivan, *'Meeting between the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs on 27/4/72,'* [NAI Public Records DFA 2003/13/16; 9 pages], [PDF; 1,119KB], Dublin: NAI, 28 April 1972, 2, https://cain.ulster.ac.uk/nai/1972/nai_DFA-2003-13-16_1972-04-27_b.pdf.

immediately after "Bloody Sunday" caused deep resentment among Irish Catholics that might not have existed had a different approach been taken by the British government. As Johnny Campbell, a father of one of the victims of "Bloody Sunday" mournfully said, "In a way, the lies were worse than the actual shooting."[99] The Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response to "Bloody Sunday" had been one of increasingly indignant anger and fury, as the British response indirectly caused the continuance of a horrible conflict that took thousands of innocent lives, both English and Irish.

In conclusion, the British response to "Bloody Sunday" proved to be the main cause in Irish Catholic support for the IRA, the rise of extremist Protestant groups, and the extension of "The Troubles." Irish Catholics interpreted British justifications as defensive, arrogant, and biased. Irish Catholics believed that the British demonized the Irish Catholic protestors, along with the victims of the massacre, which insured greater Catholic apathy towards the British in Northern Ireland and sowed the seeds of distrust that would not simply go away over a short period of time. The British political parties quickly turned "Bloody Sunday" into inefficient partisan political games, as both sides worked to turn the massacre into a jump spring to increase their own power, which inadvertently caused greater Irish Catholic support for the IRA. The lack of a direct British response in the month of February, and through most of March, caused huge numbers of both Irish Catholics and Protestants to turn to extremist groups, like the Ulster Vanguard and the Provisional IRA, for their protection. The British initiative of a more tolerant direct rule failed, due to the entrenched distrust inherent in the Irish Catholic community's perceptions of the British government. The Widgery Report confirmed the Irish Catholic distrust

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[99] Eamonn McCann, ed., *The Bloody Sunday Inquiry: The Families Speak Out* (London; Ann Arbor, MI: Pluto Press, 2006), 92, https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/mgc/detail.action?docID=3386416.

of the British and dissipated the goodwill partly gained with Whitelaw's reforms. By the end of April, a significant portion of the Irish Catholic community supported or sympathized with the IRA, violence between Catholics and Protestants was a common occurrence, and resentment of the British presence in Northern Ireland was at an all-time high. Massive Irish Catholic support for the murderous IRA was not inevitable in the wake of "Bloody Sunday," like the recent academic histories suggest. Nor would IRA propaganda have swayed those Irish Catholics who abhorred violence. The aftermath of "Bloody Sunday," and the Irish Catholic interpretation of the British response to it, played the biggest factor in Irish Catholic support for the IRA, and helped to make the doomed year of 1972 the bloodiest year in the four-decade-long period of "The Troubles." Indeed, the British justification of "Bloody Sunday" had a deadly cost.

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Steve Biko and the Black Consciousness Movement:

How Young Students Led the Fight Against Apartheid

Eunice Chon

"The greatest weapon in the hand of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed."

- Steve Biko[100]

In the 1960s and 1970s, South African students initiated a radical movement demanding change. African workers experienced severe income inequality with 40 percent of the populace earning just six percent of the nation's income.[101] State oppression and police brutality radicalized black workers and protestors, and the government responded by censoring anti-apartheid writings and banning activism. For instance, the government arrested prominent activist leaders including Nelson Mandela and Robert Sobukwe, imprisoning them for decades. The government's efforts created a shortage of adult leaders fighting against apartheid. Young students like Steve Biko took over the activism, dreaming of breaking down barriers. Through the Black Consciousness Movement, Steve Biko and the South African Students' Organization targeted the mindset of the black community. To them apartheid was not just a political and economic barrier. It was also an ideological barrier that required a decolonization of their minds. The Black Consciousness Movement spread its influence during this period, especially when the young students were themselves victims of police violence. The youth organized within South Africa and trained in frontline states. The students' activism united the non-white population into one powerful, radical force. By better focusing this fight on the black community, the Black

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[100] Aelred Stubbs, *I Write What I Like: Selected Writings by Steve Biko* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986), 87–98.

[101] Nancy Clark and William Worger, *South Africa: The rise and fall of apartheid* (New York: Routledge, 2016), 73.

Consciousness Movement eventually contributed to the end of apartheid by redefining the battle against systemic racism and what it meant to be a black person in South Africa.

Steve Biko began his activism when he was a young student, as through his experience of exclusion by white anti-apartheid activists, he saw a need to restructure the anti-apartheid movement's approach. Biko began his political activism at the University of Natal Medical School because he was encouraged by the environment in which many sophisticated and passionate students protested racial segregation. He served the Students' Representative Council (SRC) and became involved with the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) at the university.[102] However, he soon lost interest in NUSAS after he realized the organization would vocalize the opinions of only the white students in the union.[103] For instance, during the NUSAS conference of 1967, white students stayed in residences near the site and prohibited Biko from entering.[104] They told Biko and the other black students to sleep in a local church, and this event made Biko reconsider activism that claimed to promote all races working together.[105] He felt that the white activists' patronizing attitudes were going to prove ineffective for the fight to tear down apartheid. The white activists' "white savior" mentality prevented them from properly representing the true victims of apartheid. To Biko their activism reflected only the white people. Biko believed that the foundation for the anti-apartheid movement must be built upon the experiences and sentiments of the black community. Biko said, "I began to feel there was a lot lacking in the proponents of the nonracist idea ... they had this problem, you know, of superiority, and they tended to take us for granted and wanted us to accept things that were

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[102] "Stephen Bantu Biko," South African History Online (SAHO), last modified January 6, 2020, accessed January 28, 2020, https://www.sahistory.org.za/people/stephen-bantu-biko.
[103] Ibid.
[104] Ibid.
[105] Ibid.

second-class."[106] He had expected white activists to be good allies and instead experienced exclusion. Biko observed the white activists' lack of urgency and awareness and determined that their actions were just performative activism. In the late 1960s, Biko shifted his political philosophy to center on non-white people. While Biko encouraged white people to join his fight, he was convinced they could never view apartheid through the lens of a black person. Consequently, Biko felt the need to focus on uniting the black students and preventing a situation in which white people would fight apartheid for them. People of color needed their own voice in this fight and were able to fight for themselves. To Biko this strategy was the only way to truly tear down the barriers of apartheid.

To better implement his new approach, in 1969 he co-founded the South African Students' Organization (SASO), and he soon was elected its first president.[107] The South African Students' Organization and Biko fathered the philosophy of Black Consciousness, which encouraged black South African students to have pride in themselves and see themselves as equal to the white students.[108] In an interview, Biko defined the Black Consciousness Movement as "a political, cultural philosophy employed by blacks in South Africa in an effort to shake off shackles of mental oppression and to reinstate the essential humanity and pride of blacks."[109] Biko promoted eradicating such systemic programming of these people's minds and believed that black people needed to decolonize their minds in order to win against apartheid. Biko wanted to strip feelings of inferiority and inadequacy from the minds of black students through the Black Consciousness philosophy. According to Nkosozana Dlamini, the vice-president of

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[106] Donald Woods, *Biko*, (New York: Henry Holt, 1991), 153–154.
[107] "Stephen Bantu Biko."
[108] "SASO's Definition of Black Consciousness," Google Arts and Culture, last modified 1972, accessed January 26, 2020, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/sasos-definition-of-black-consciousness/eQHeQFFMxYcPPQ.
[109] Steve Biko, "Steve Biko Speaks On The Black Consciousness Movement," Internet Archive, published August 8, 2017, accessed January 26, 2020, https://archive.org/details/SteveBikoSpeaksOnTheBlackConsciousnessMovement.

SASO, the Black Consciousness Movement was one of education.[110] To her the movement was about uniting the non-white community and battling apartheid together. She explained that the government attempted to treat the Indians and Coloreds differently from the Africans in order to pit the minority groups against themselves. The Black Consciousness Movement was one in which the students re-educated the non-white community to come together, release themselves from feelings of inferiority, and actively protest the unfair government. In the 1970s, students spread the Black Consciousness Movement throughout the nation, and Biko drew government censure in 1973.[111] Arrested and tried from 1975 to 1976, he testified, "[The black man] is first of all oppressed by an external world through institutionalized machinery and through laws that restrict him from doing certain things." This first oppression refers to the government's apartheid laws and policies. He soon followed with, "Secondly, … the black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation, he rejects himself [because] he equates good with white."[112] According to Biko the second oppression arose out of the life and childhood the black man experienced under apartheid, which is why most of his activism focused on re-educating the non-whites. His testimony was directed at the government, but it also reached and stirred the black community in South Africa. In response to his testimony, not only did the government ban him from activism, they also banned the South African Students' Organization in 1975.[113] To enforce apartheid the government restricted and politically censured the African workers, who were gaining traction. There were other anti-apartheid groups besides these youth activists, and the South African government was determined to minimize their impact. Law enforcement resorted

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[110] "Soweto student speaks out: interview with Nkosazana Dlamini," Digital Innovation South Africa, accessed April 3, 2020, https://disa.ukzn.ac.za/sites/default/files/pdf_files/int19770300.032.009.761.pdf.
[111] "Steve Biko Speaks."
[112] *South Africa,* 86–87.
[113] *South Africa,* xix.

to more violent methods in suppressing the majority of the population. However, despite the government's increasingly extreme efforts to shut down the Black Consciousness Movement, Biko's efforts continued.

Despite being banned by the government, the Black Consciousness Movement and the South African Students' Organization continued to spread political consciousness to other young students, including Dlamini and Kgati Satehkge. They inspired students to activism, influencing the Soweto Uprising and other acts of protest.[114] South African government enforced apartheid through Bantu Education, and Biko's movement fought against the oppressive education system, which conditioned black students to internalize feelings of inferiority and submission to whites as well as prepared them for menial jobs in order to continue ideological and income disparity between the blacks and whites. The Soweto Uprising was a protest against the addition of a provision of Bantu Education.[115] In 1974 South Africa's new minister of Bantu Education, Michael C. Botha, and his deputy, Andries Treurnicht, required schools to teach Afrikaans on an equal basis to English, a previously unenforced provision.[116] The primary goal of the new layer of Bantu Education was to "educate Africans into submission," requiring black students to learn material through Afrikaans, the language of their oppressor.[117] Afrikaans was the language spoken by Dutch-descent Afrikaners who enforced apartheid policies. This change did not sit well with the black community. According to Dlamini, "It was [parents] who opposed the original introduction of Bantu Education, and the forced introduction of Afrikaans as a medium

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[114] "The June 16 Soweto Youth Uprising," South African History Online, last modified November 11, 2019, accessed January 28, 2020, https://www.sahistory.org.za/article/june-16-soweto-youth-uprising.
[115] *South Africa*, 87.
[116] Ibid.
[117] Ibid.

revived their original rejection of the system."[118] Black students, inspired by Biko, were ready to act.

The Afrikaans Medium Decree of 1974 enforcing this new layer of Bantu Education was another act of state oppression. According to John Biyase, who was a student at the time, "What made it even worse is that our teachers, who were supposed to teach us these subjects in Afrikaans, could not speak Afrikaans well themselves—they stumbled."[119] Changing the language used in schools forced the students and teachers to spend more focus on learning the language rather than the subject material, leading to further educational inequity. Undermining the education of the black students, who spent years using English and other local languages to learn, was the government's way to restrict minority voices. Students were angry about this change and protested because the Black Consciousness Movement inspired them to no longer cave into the government's conditioning and censuring. When asked why there was "sudden rallying over the education issue in June," Dlamini answered, "One reason why [the historic militant action] has been sustained has, in fact, been [SASO's] great deal of political work going on before."[120] Young students, re-educated by the Black Consciousness Movement, now recognized the government's conditioning and censure and became politically conscious in new ways. Cornered into choosing between submission and rebellion, they chose to rebel. As the government transitioned to using more blatant and extreme pressures against the non-white youth, students expressed their voices and joined the fight. The movement set the ideological foundation that led the students to gain confidence and protest. On June 16, 1976, students

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[118] "Soweto student speaks out."

[119] John Biyase, "John Biyasse interviewed by Jesse Harber," Overcoming Apartheid, published October 7, 2006, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/video.php?kid=163-572-221.

[120] "Soweto student speaks out."

boycotted their classes and marched peacefully to Morris Isaacson High School and then towards Orlando Stadium to protest the change in education.[121] The education systems for white and non-white students were drastically different from each other, and the non-white students wanted a better education for themselves.[122] However, armed police with teargas and bullets approached them and slaughtered them.[123] One hundred and seventy-six schoolchildren lost their futures and dreams in the blink of an eye.

The next day, schools were closed, and the South African government put the military on alert. Parents of the children who risked their lives on the streets were "stirred into action."[124] The Soweto Uprising was pivotal in dismantling apartheid because it stirred more parents and students into taking action and exposed to the South African people the darkest nature of apartheid. According to Nkosozana Dlamini, the vice-president of SASO, "what really thrust the parents into action was the brutal police killings. The police had always been ruthless with peaceful demonstrators, but nobody expected the cold-blooded murder of young children."[125] The Soweto uprising came as a great shock to activist Kgati Satehkge because he saw "students his age being shot dead."[126] In response to Soweto, Satehkge and other members of the black community decided to retaliate because they "could not accept that type of behavior."[127] Soweto stunned students and parents, and protestors shifted to more radical methods including riots and

[121] "The June 16 Soweto Uprising."
[122] "Soweto Riots," Google Arts and Culture, last modified 1976, accessed January 26, 2020, https://artsandculture.google.com/asset/sasos-definition-of-black-consciousness/eQHeQFFMxYcPPQ.
[123] *South Africa,* 88.
[124] Ibid.
[125] "Soweto student speaks out."
[126] Kgati Sathekge, "Kgati Sathekge interviewed by David Wiley," Overcoming Apartheid, published May 16, 2006, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/video.php?kid=163-572-22.
[127] Ibid.

strikes. Biko's movement inspired the Soweto Uprisings, and the slaughter of children in the Soweto Uprisings was one of the major catalysts radicalizing the fight against apartheid.

The murder of Steve Biko further galvanized people into action. In 1977 Biko was taken to the Walmer police station, and there Biko was shackled, naked, handcuffed, and chained during his interrogation.[128] During the interrogation, the police beat Biko causing him to suffer three brain injuries and eventually a hemorrhage.[129] Soon after, Biko died alone in his cell at only 30 years old.[130] The government's narrative of Biko's death was that Biko was on a hunger strike.[131] The government wanted people to believe Biko killed himself, but to Donald Woods, a friend of Biko, it was an obvious lie. Woods knew Biko did not kill himself because Biko had already predicted this situation. According to Woods, "I knew [the hunger strike narrative] couldn't be true because [Biko] had once said … that if he were to die in jail, and it was claimed he had hanged or suffocated or starved himself or cut his wrists, I was to know it was a lie."[132] Woods was not the only one who refused to believe the government's cover-up. This obvious lie further exposed the cruelty and dishonesty of the state further enraging anti-apartheid activists, encouraging more people to continue Biko's legacy.

Jimmy Kruger, the Minister of Justice, denied that Biko was killed through police brutality. However, it was later determined that Biko was in fact beaten during custody. While the officers were not convicted, in 1997, "five former police officers confessed to having killed Biko and applied for amnesty to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission."[133] The commission

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[128] Ibid.
[129] Ibid.
[130] Ibid.
[131] Ibid.
[132] Ibid.
[133] "Steve Biko Speaks."

denied the men amnesty.[134] Nelson Mandela said of Biko, "They had to kill him to prolong the life of apartheid."[135] According to Mandela, "Living, he was the spark that lit a veld fire across South Africa. His message to the youth and students was simple and clear: Black is Beautiful! Be proud of your Blackness!"[136] Biko's effective ideological black-centered approach solidified the anti-apartheid movement, and Biko continued to be a catalyst for anti-apartheid activism—even after his death.

Biko's death led to a rise in a new activism angered by the government's use of increasingly violent oppression. Shepi Mati was of many students who marched in Port Elizabeth soon after Biko's death, and "that was the first march [he] took part consciously, and [he] was very angry at what had happened."[137] Biko's death launched Mati's activism because it opened his eyes to the dire need for the complete dismantling of apartheid. Mati eventually started his own Black Consciousness Movement-affiliated Congress of South African Students (COSAS) and presided over it starting in 1982.[138] Vish Suparsad, another activist stirred by Biko's death, claims, "most activists claim that Steve Biko's death brought two things to them: it brought fear, [and] it also influenced them to go further."[139] They feared the government, the state, and the police. They feared death, erased and covered up. They could no longer leave the fight to someone else. They had to finally step in and form a mightier force. Black Consciousness activists split into different organizations, but the essence of the Black Consciousness Movement

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[134] "TRUTH AND RECONCILIATION COMMISSION AMNESTY COMMITTEE," Department of Justice, last modified 1999, accessed January 29, 2020, https://www.justice.gov.za/trc/decisions/1999/99_snyman.html.
[135] Keith Somerville, "Row clouds Biko anniversary," BBC, last modified September 12, 2002, accessed January 29, 2020, http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/africa/2253092.stm.
[136] "Stephen Bantu Biko."
[137] Shepi Mati, "Shepi Mati interviewed by David Bailey," Overcoming Apartheid, published June 18, 2007, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/video.php?kid=163-572-102.
[138] Ibid.
[139] Vish Suparsad, "Vish Suparsad interviewed by M. Ntsodi," Overcoming Apartheid, published October 17, 2002, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/audio.php?kid=163-575-32.

and the fight against apartheid continued. Many Black Consciousness activists like Mati and Suparsad joined the underground African National Congress after Biko's death. There were many outlets for these activist students.

Now that Biko had laid the proper ideological foundation, and his death encouraged more people to join the movement, anti-apartheid activists were finally ready to transition to political action. Roseberry Sonto revealed, "[Student activists] heard a lot about Steve Biko … We kept analyzing what Black Consciousness meant … We started from [the] Black Consciousness influence, and it is after that influence that we started looking at policies."[140] While Sonto could not change the political spectrum of South Africa until the end of disenfranchisement of black voters, he worked with then-illegal organizations such as the African National Congress to continue anti-apartheid activism. The new generation of activists, including Sonto, Suparsad, and Mati, adopted the Black Consciousness mindset, thanks to Steve Biko and South African Students' Organization. The Black Consciousness Movement, Soweto Uprising, Biko's death, and the students' response to these catalytic events united the non-white population in South Africa as a formidable force in the anti-apartheid movement. With a clear ideological foundation, their political action had a clear direction. To better tackle the politics of the state, activists joined hands with the ANC, the organization with the most political potential in terms of gaining electoral support, spearheading the destruction of apartheid.

While some activists politically strengthened Biko's movement, other activists shifted their focus to diversifying the movement. The Black Consciousness Movement's message of black unity inspired Patrick Mkhize: "Those are some of the things that make me think Steve

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[140] Roseberry Sonto, "Roseberry Sonto interviewed by David Bailey," Overcoming Apartheid, published 2007, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/video.php?kid=163-572-104.

Biko was right: that we needed black people to unite, and his definition of blacks … included Indians, Colored, and Africans … Apartheid ...was separating and dividing us… to create an impression that … the problem is not the white man."[141] Suparsad also worked to solidify Biko's Black Consciousness Movement among other non-whites. He mainly worked with Indian South Africans and stressed a nonracial approach.[142] While Biko intended to unify the non-whites and exclude white activists from leading his movement, he was not able to attract other non-whites during his lifetime. This weakness of the Black Consciousness Movement was a well-known one, and Dlamini said that one of the goals of the South African Students Organization was "to break the racial and tribal barriers between different oppressed groups" through various community projects.[143] Inspired by Biko, Suparsad and Mkhize worked to complete his dream of non-white unity and spread the Black Consciousness ideology to other non-whites, such as Indian South Africans, in order to further ideologically strengthen the black community.

When Steve Biko stepped up to fill the void left by the absence of adult leaders, not only was he active in condemning apartheid, but he also inspired other young students to join him in the fight, even after his death. He revolutionized a much-needed movement to re-educate the black community and decolonize their minds, which roused new activists to join the anti-apartheid movement. Biko centered the focus of anti-apartheid activism on the black community and built the movement on this foundation. This change in ideology and strategic approach aided his Black Consciousness Movement in serving as a significant catalyst in the anti-apartheid

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[141] Patrick Mkhize, "Patrick Mkhize interviewed by David Wiley," Overcoming Apartheid, published May 8,2006, accessed May 4, 2020, https://overcomingapartheid.msu.edu/video.php?kid=163-572-16.
[142] "Vish Suparsad."
[143] "Soweto student speaks out."

movement, leading a new generation of students to continue his activism and eventually help

dismantle apartheid.

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