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Letter from the President

The Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta at Northern Kentucky University has been an organization that touched the lives of many of the university's students. As the President of the chapter during the 2018-2019 school year, it has been my great honor to lead such a determined and hardworking group of history enthusiasts. With these great students, we have put together the following publication of Perspectives in History.

In the 34th volume of Perspectives in History, a wide variety of topics throughout many eras of history are presented by some of Northern Kentucky University's finest students of history. Countless hours of research and dedication have been put into the papers that follow. Without the thoughtful and diligent writers of these pieces, this journal would cease to exist, so we extend our gratitude to those that have shared their work with us. As the head editor for the journal myself, it has been a pleasure and a privilege to go through each article and thoroughly enjoy reading every one of them. Phi Alpha Theta would also like to thank the Journal Faculty Advisor, Dr. Eric R. Jackson for his constant assistance and drive to ensure the journal is the best it could possibly be. I would also like to thank Dr. Burke Miller, the Chair of the History and Geography department for allowing this undergraduate research journal to continue and prosper under his leadership, as well as the department's Administrative Assistant, Jan Rachford, and the department's Academic Secretary, Lou Stuntz, for their support of Phi Alpha Theta. Finally, all of Phi Alpha Theta would like to acknowledge and thank our faculty advisor, Dr. Andrea Watkins, for providing helpful guidance towards both the chapter itself and the journal.

To all future officers of the Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, I thank you as well, for continuing a great legacy for Northern Kentucky University's history students. As president, I hope to have led Phi Alpha Theta in a way that would make future leaders proud, and I happily present the 34th volume of Perspectives in History for all to enjoy and learn from. Thank you!

Abigail P. Carr

President of Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, 2018-2019

Foreword

Welcome to the 2018 – 2019 edition of Perspectives in History. My name is Abigail P. Carr. I am the Editor of the Journal this year. Perspectives in History is the annual student lead publication with a focus on bringing together a wide array of historical articles and book reviews on a variety of topics, most times focused on the history of the United States. Perspectives in History also is our Phi Alpha Theta chapter's award-winning Journal that presents articles, book reviews, book review essays another works of some of our best and brightest students primarily from the Department of History and Geography at Northern Kentucky University. It is been a honor and pleasure serving as Editor of the Journal for the past two years. I also would like to thank Dr. Eric R. Jackson for being our Faculty Advisor for the Journal. Finally, I would like to thank everyone who contributed to the publication of the Journal because without them we would have nothing to publish. This year's edition includes but not to limited to a variety of powerful articles that range from the history of Zimbabwe to impact of the use of Agent Orange to the influence of the Founding Fathers on the political system of the United States to the rights of women in Ancient Egypt. So, without further ado, it is my pleasure to present to you Perspectives in History 2018 – 2019.

Abigail P. Carr

President of Alpha Beta Phi chapter of Phi Alpha Theta, 2018-2019

The Rise and Fall of Women's Rights and Equality in Ancient Egypt

Abigail Carr

When society thinks back onto ancient times and ancient societies, women's rights and the development of them is typically not a highly discussed topic. Women's rights are often considered a more modern theme that only began to develop in the early twentieth century. However, the civilization of Ancient Egypt is one that, in many ways, was advanced beyond its years. Ancient Egypt held a woman's rights and freedoms to a higher standard than any other ancient African society, allowing women of the era to prosper both in a common setting as well as within the ruling class. There are very few aspects of life in which men held more freedoms than women in most periods of ancient Egypt, until the Late Kingdom when the Greeks invaded Egypt and women's rights slowly began to fade away with the integration of Greek ideals. The Old Kingdom, Middle Kingdom, and New Kingdoms of ancient Egypt came with great empowerment for women, however, and displayed the capabilities of women in a society that allowed them to flourish. In order to understand the extent of how important this was for an ancient society, we must first dive into what kind of rights women had during this period.

The most basic right that women had that was different from other ancient societies along side Egypt was the fact that women could freely go out in public without a male escort and could handle financial business on their own. Even without a husband present, evidence shows a woman handling financial situations, such as, "buying and selling lands and houses, lending money on usurious terms, foreclosing mortgages, and even tendering contracts to the state, without the smallest reference to their husbands."¹ Handling money and property is a key sign that women were given their own independence, even when they were married. Wives were the ones left to handle the family's economic situations, where the men are nowhere to be seen during these exchanges. "Women wielded the family's purchasing power, a prestigious and definitely not universal position."²

Not only were they in charge of the family's money and property, if a man and a woman were doing the same job, a woman was typically got paid the same amount. According to Dr. Joann Fletcher, "Egyptian women also enjoyed a surprising degree of financial independence, with surviving accounts and contracts showing that women

1 Edwards, Amelia Blandford, and Patricia O'Neill. "The Social and Political Position of Woman in Ancient Egypt." *PMLA* 120, no. 3 (2005): 843-57. <http://www.jstor.org/proxy1.nku.edu/stable/25486220>

2 Lesko, Barbara S. "Women's Monumental Mark on Ancient Egypt." *The Biblical Archaeologist* 54, no. 1 (1991): 4-15. doi: 10.2307/3210327

received the same pay rations as men for undertaking the same job.”³ As far as what types of jobs women could hold, they were relatively the same as men. While certain jobs held a higher female-to-male ratio, such as “weavers, bakers, brewers, sandal-makers, basket weavers, cooks, and waitresses,” they were still able to obtain slightly more male dominated professions, such as an estate owner, scribes, physicians, and priestesses.⁴

Women also had many rights when it came to marriage, including whom they could marry, who could get married, when and how they could get a divorce if they so chose, and what she could inherit if the couple did divorce. There was “no restriction on unions with either foreigners or slaves,” so women of all social classes, were able to marry who they pleased and there was hardly ever “arranged” marriages that forced women to marry a particular man that her family found fitting.⁵ There is a general consensus that women and men alike were happy and in love when they got married based on the many love poems that have been found, written by both men and women. “Love poems were extremely popular in Egypt, praising beauty and goodness of one’s girlfriend or wife and swearing eternal love in phrases very like modern love songs.”⁶ However, there are multiple instances where the outcome of a marriage was divorce, and it was not uncommon for the woman to be the one “filing” for the separation. “Almost any excuse could be cited to end an alliance, and in effect any marriage could be terminated at will” by either the man or woman of the union.⁷ In some ways, the wife had more rights than the husband did. “The wife was the mistress of her house, and the husband was there only as a privileged guest” and when the couple separated, most of their possessions and money remained with the wife, not the husband.⁸

The equality of women to men was just as crucial to Egyptian society as the rights that females had during this period. Not only were they equal by law in many instances, but they were seen as a man’s equal in political and social aspects as well. For example, when it came to depictions of men and women in monuments, they were typically crafted in equal stature. With statues, women and men sit beside each other at the same height, sometimes even embracing one another with the woman’s arm over the man’s shoulder.⁹

Though today’s society typically believes that statues and other physical depictions of people in ancient Egypt were reserved for the royal ruling class, this is not so. There have been small statues and stelae—stone slabs with art etched into them—found that portray women of “modest means, with titles ranging from hall keeper to housemaid

3 Fletcher, Dr. Joann. “From Warrior Women to Female Pharaohs: Careers for Women in Ancient Egypt.” History - Ancient History. February 17, 2011. Accessed November 26, 2018. http://www.bbc.co.uk/history/ancient/egyptians/women_01.shtml.

4 Mark, Joshua J. “Women in Ancient Egypt.” Ancient History Encyclopedia. November 4, 2016. Accessed November 26, 2018. <https://www.ancient.eu/article/623/women-in-ancient-egypt/>

5 Tyldesley, Joyce A. “Marriage and Motherhood in Ancient Egypt.” *History Today* 44 (April 1994): 20-26. Accessed November 26, 2018. EBSCOhost.

6 Mark, 2016

7 Tyldesley 1994, 22

8 Dickerman, Lysander. “The Condition of Woman in Ancient Egypt.” *Journal of the American Geographical Society of New York* 26, no. 1 (1894): 494-527. doi:10.2307/197158.

9 Lesko, 9

and, possibly, cleaning lady”.¹⁰ So, not only were royalty having statues and other monumental pieces of art built, so were the common people of Egypt, which was not usual in other cultures around the world. “Although monuments left by commoners are not as large in scale or as fine as those of royal women, they are most eloquent, for they speak of independence and self-respect on the part of many women who lived in Egypt more than 3,000 years ago.”¹¹

In a much more significant role, women were “allowed” in certain cases to rule Egypt by themselves, without a male king or pharaoh present alongside them. The woman that went even further than that, however, and declared herself as king and pharaoh of Egypt during her reign was Hatshepsut, ruling from 1479-1458 BCE.¹² Seen as one of the most powerful and influential rulers in all of ancient Egypt, she has bent today’s typical aspects of gender in her physical representations. “Visual representations of Hatshepsut range from depictions of her as a female king, physically female in form adorning pharaonic male accouterments, to images of her as a physically male king with a man’s chest and build.”¹³ Hatshepsut held her position as a man and declared herself to be the rightful ruler of Egypt, as both the pharaoh and the king, and the people followed her under that title. “The country flourished under her reign, and she was responsible for successful trade, military campaigns, and great monumental constructions in addition to adding on to the Temple of Amun at Karnak.”¹⁴ Not only did people in Egypt follow her, they respected her and understood that she was just as fit to rule over Egypt as a man would. She ensured that her people understood that she came from divine birth, just as all other pharaohs before her did, by “recording the miracle of her birth on the walls of the second terrace... with vast and detailed scenes of her divine conception and birth.”¹⁵

While Hatshepsut is seen as one of the greatest female rulers of ancient Egypt, there were many others that had an impact on Egyptian society. The very first woman to rule the land of Egypt was Queen Neithhotep, who also may have ruled by herself for a short time.¹⁶ Neithhotep ruled on her own after her husband, the first King of Egypt, Narmer, passed away and when her son, Aha, was too young to rule, as shown by how large her tomb was. “Some scholars would take... the exceptionally large tomb as evidence that Neithhotep actually ruled Egypt on behalf of the infant Aha.”¹⁷ Another great woman in power was Queen Ahhotep (c. 1570-1530), who “put down a rebellion of Hyksos sympathizers while [her husband] was campaigning against the Nubians in the south. She commanded considerable respect from the military and

10 Lesko, 7-8

11 Lesko, 15

12 Mark, Joshua J. “Great Female Rulers of Ancient Egypt.” *Ancient History Encyclopedia*. March 29, 2017. Accessed November 26, 2018. <https://www.ancient.eu/article/1040/great-female-rulers-of-ancient-egypt/>.

13 Hilliard, Kristina, and Kate Wurtzel. “Power and Gender in Ancient Egypt: The Case of Hatshepsut.” *Art Education* 62, no. 3 (2009): 25-31. <http://www.jstor.org.proxy1.nku.edu/stable/20694765>

14 Mark, 2017

15 Lesko, 11

16 Mark, 2017

17 Tyldesley, Joyce A. *Chronicle of the Queens of Egypt: From Early Dynastic Times To The Death Of Cleopatra*. New York, NY: Thames & Hudson, 2006. P. 29

operated independently and successfully, without consulting with her son.”¹⁸ These three women—Hatshepsut, Heithhotep, and Ahhotep—are just a few of the examples of women that were able to hold power and respect on the throne of Egypt.

Equality did not stop with the ability of women to hold political office, such as queen or king, but there were religious aspects to their equality to men as well. Egypt was home to a multitude of gods and goddesses that encompassed many aspects of life, and there were just as many male and female representations. Some examples of divine feminine representation can be found within the Egyptian tale of creation. “It is the goddess Neith who brings creation and, even where Atum is the central character, the primordial waters are personified as Nu and Naunet, a balance of the male and female principles in harmony which combine for the creative act.”¹⁹ Even in the creation story of the Egyptian people, there is a constant balance between men and women, as they display in their society through the acceptance of women being equal to men both legally and socially.

Even in some of the areas of the world today, women do not hold the same rights, equality, and respect that women held in Ancient Egypt. Ancient societies that were existing at the same time as the ancient Egyptians were equally as surprised as the people of today are to find out that women there held high status, the same occupations as men, and could rule over the kingdom. “Nowhere else in the ancient times, was there any parallel to this condition of woman in Egypt.”²⁰ It is astonishing for some societies and religions to even contemplate allowing women to do half of the things that ancient Egyptian women could do, both thousands of years ago as well as in today’s era.

Even in what is considered to be “modern day” cannot match what society did for female individuals during the great rule of Ancient Egypt. “A widow living in America in the early 19th century CE, for example, did not have any rights in home ownership and had to depend on a male relative’s intercession to keep her home after the death or departure of her husband. In ancient Egypt, a woman could decide for herself how she would make money and keep her estate in order.”²¹ Despite all of these “advanced” ideologies towards women, however, it was all going to slowly come to an end with the invasion of another society just north of the ancient Egyptians and the spread of a new religion across the Mediterranean.

When the Greeks invaded Egypt in the Late period of Egypt, Ptolemaic rule overcame the land, and the Greek’s ideas as to what women could and could not do came with them.²² One of the Ptolemaic rulers, Philopater, was “so scandalized on account of the liberties enjoyed by Egyptian women, that he planned and executed one of the most remarkable revolutions in the history of the world” when he came to Egypt.²³ While there were increased literacy rates for women during the Graeco-Roman period (322 BC – 395 AD), women’s rights and sovereignty declined because

18 Mark, 2017

19 Mark 2016

20 Dickerman, 521

21 Mark, 2016

22 Lesko, 12

23 Dickerman, 522

of new laws and social structures imposed by the Greeks.²⁴ While it is not to say that the Greeks had come into ancient Egypt and made their civilization crumble—ancient Egypt had performed that feat during the multiple Intermediate periods—they were certainly not a helping hand towards the prosperity of the female person. However, Lysander Dickerman makes clear in his work that civilizations that show little to no signs of subjugating and neglecting women have a tendency to last longer than those that do. “Wherever institutions have assured to woman her liberty, her civil rights, her moral dignity, we have seen flourishing, as on a productive soil, domestic and civic virtues, the liberties of man and of the citizens.”²⁵

Along with the Greeks, Christianity eventually made its way into northern Africa and became popularized in Egypt. “Women’s status began to decline in Egypt further with the rise of Christianity in the fourth century CE and its belief that sin had entered the world through Eve’s disobedience and that women were of less value and less to be trusted than men.”²⁶ The story of Eve and the Christian religion propelled the oppression of women’s freedoms in the kingdom of Egypt, portraying women as the individual that brought sin upon the entire world from God, so they should be treated as lesser beings when compared to men. “An equality which had existed for millennia was ended by Christianity – the philosopher Hypatia [for example], was brutally murdered by monks in 415 AD as a graphic demonstration of their beliefs.”²⁷ The murder of women solely based on their gender and their ability to speak their beliefs was practically unheard of until the Greeks and Christianity made their way into Egypt.

In more ways than one, the kingdom of Ancient Egypt, through its multitude of dynasties and intermediate periods, was advanced beyond its years. Through their technology, their innovations in science, their extensive records keeping; the ancient Egyptians were different from the rest of the world living around them. However, the aspect of their culture and society that nobody else seemed to reach was their treatment and respect of women. Other societies that existed at the same time as them viewed women as lesser beings when compared to men, some saw them as slaves and only around to meet the needs of the men around them. This was not the case in the kingdoms of Ancient Egypt. Records show that women were able to handle their own finances, they were able to get divorced from their husbands and not be left destitute, they were depicted physically as equal to men through statues and stelae, there were Queens and female Kings that ruled on their own without a man to guide them, and there were just as many goddesses as there were gods. So what happened that changed that way of life? The slow decline of women’s sovereignty began with the invasion of the Greeks, and eventually was forgotten once Greek ideals of society were integrated into Egypt. Even in today’s society, it would perhaps be wise to take a page out of the ancient Egyptian’s book when it comes to how a society should respect and treat women.

24 Fletcher

25 Dickerman, 526

26 Mark 2016

27 Fletcher

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PERSPECTIVES

The Immortality of Death in Ancient Egypt

Nicole Clay

Ancient Egyptian civilization spanned for thousands of years, leaving behind a wealth of culture and knowledge. The most well-known aspect of Ancient Egyptian culture are the pyramids that were built to house the mummies of the deceased. It is not a stretch to say the ancient Egyptians had a close relationship with death, but there is so much more than just mummies and pyramids. In ancient Egypt, death was a crucial aspect of the culture, as shown in the building of the pyramids, to the care of mummies of Pharaohs, as well as the Coffin Texts that were used to help the deceased of all classes thrive in the afterlife. The ancient Egyptians continue to be a fascination to the world even in death.

The ancient Egyptians did not see death as the end of life, but death served as a stepping stone in the path of life and believed in the possibility of an afterlife. This belief in the afterlife arose out of their observations of the cycles of nature.¹ They saw the rise and fall of the sun and the cycle of death in plants as the signs that the familiar order of life would continue on indefinitely.² Death is described as “the night of going forth into life” from spell 178 from the Book of the Dead reinforcing the Egyptian view of death as being a transitory state into the afterlife.³

While the ancient Egyptians believed in the afterlife, they still feared death on an emotional level. Spells from the Coffin Texts supports this view with statements such as “O you who love life and hate death...” or spell 144 has passages that deny the existence of death stating “You have departed living; you have not departed dead” or “Rise up to life, for you have not died.”⁴ The ancient Egyptians were not exempt from having a complicated with idea of death and afterlife. Death was likened to a boat arriving in the harbor symbolizing the end of a journey and the beginning of another. The land where the sun set in the west was seen as the entrance to the realm of the dead, also known as “the land that loves silence” or “the beautiful West.”⁵ This could be because of the belief that cemeteries were placed on the west bank of the Nile.⁶

It was around the fourth millennium BCE that the treatment of the body and the selection of gifts buried with it began to shift towards survival in the afterlife.⁷ The deceased’s ability to obtain afterlife was dependent on the preservation of the body, as it served as a physical base for the ka and the ba. The ka is considered to be the

1 John H. Taylor. *Death and the Afterlife in Ancient Egypt*. (Chicago, Illinois: The University of Chicago Press, 2001), 12

2 Ibid

3 Ibid

4 Ibid

5 Taylor, 13

6 Ibid

7 Taylor, 16

twin or the double of the deceased coming into spiritual existence at their birth, serving as the life force of the deceased.⁸ The ba is the spirit of the individual and serves as the means for the deceased to leave the tomb and travel.⁹ If a body was not properly preserved, the ka and ba would be unable to find their body, thus preventing the deceased from leaving their tomb and entering the afterlife.

Before the deceased could enter into the afterlife, they had to face a series of trials. During these trials the deceased had to prove that they had lived a life of good character.¹⁰ This judgment was based closely on whether or not the deceased lived their life according to the Maat. The Maat is the Egyptian idea of a universal order or justice.¹¹ The judgements took place in the hall of Two Maats where the deceased would greet the forty-two gods by name and with each name, they would deny a specific sin.¹² Presiding over the trials was the god Osiris, who was occasionally aided by Isis and Nephthys. Ra would later replace Osiris in the later periods of Egypt.

After facing the gods, the deceased would then have their heart weighed against the image of the Maat to discover the true nature of the deceased's relation to with the Maat.¹³ Standing next to the scale was Ammut, known as "The Devourer of the Dead." If it was the deceased's heart weighed heavy, Ammut would eat the heart of the deceased, which would then prevent them from gaining access to the afterlife.¹⁴ If the individual's heart weighed even with the Maat, then they would be granted passage into the afterlife. The afterlife had a hierarchical order to it like the world of the living, except it was inhabited by both the blessed and the damned.¹⁵

In the world of the living, death was still a very present part of their lives. While the deceased continued the next stage of their life, the living continued to honor those that have passed in the forms of the pyramids or the mortuary cults. Mortuary cults were ceremonies that were vital to the survival of the dead in the afterlife. The cults would ensure that the deceased were continually supplied with nourishment.¹⁶ The cults were either performed by priests or by the relatives of the dead.¹⁷ As one can expect, maintaining a constant supply of nourishment for the dead can be quite expensive. Long-term support was often funded in the form of an endowment that was generally a plot of farmable land that would be used to supply the mortuary estate of the deceased.¹⁸

The most well-known symbol of death in ancient Egypt were the grand pyramids built to house the pharaohs' Tombs first appeared in the fifth millennium BCE in the shape of simple oval or rectangular pits dug out of the ground.¹⁹ It was not until fourth

8 Taylor, 19

9 Taylor, 20

10 Taylor, 36

11 Hiroshi Obayashi. *Death and Afterlife: Perspectives of World Religions*. (New York: Greenwood Press, 1992.), 36

12 Taylor, 37

13 Ibid

14 Ibid

15 Taylor, 38

16 Taylor, 174

17 Ibid

18 Ibid

19 Françoise Dunand, and Roger Lichtenberg. *Mummies and Death in Egypt*. (Ithaca: Cornell University

dynasty that the pyramids of Giza began to take shape.²⁰ These great pyramids were built to house the bodies of the pharaohs for eternity, yet the question that has lasted for eternity remains to be “who built the pyramids”?

A common misconception involving the building of the pyramids is that they were built using slave labor. Recent archeological digs have revealed the layout of barracks that suggest the people building the pyramids were doing so of their own free will. One of the reasons that Egyptians may have volunteered to help build the pyramids is the belief that the pharaoh was a god on Earth. Thus, by helping to build the final resting place for the pharaohs’ earthly body, not only would they be pleasing the pharaoh but also the gods. Pyramids did not stand alone as they were often surrounded by temples, chapels, and even other tombs.²¹

While the pyramids may have served as the final resting place of the pharaoh which did not mean that it was well respected by all citizens. The numerous riches that the pharaohs were buried with to aid in their afterlife made their tombs prey for grave robbers. Due to the ease with which grave robbers were able to access the burial chambers within the pyramids, the tombs would often be barren shortly after the burial. The pharaohs of the New Kingdom, fearing the same fate as their predecessors, designed a new place of burial which would become known as the Valley of the Kings.²² The tombs were dug into a valley behind Dayr al-Bahri and numerous pharaohs, queens, and royal officials were buried within the valley.²³

The sole purpose of the pyramids and tombs were to be the final resting place for the deceased, but before they could be buried, they first had to be mummified. The process of mummification first began to be developed in the Predynastic period and was continually developed throughout the existence of ancient Egypt.²⁴ The god Anubis oversaw the process of mummification in addition to guarding the burial grounds of the dead.²⁵ Anubis is often portrayed as a man with the head of jackal due to the jackals and wild dogs who often dug up shallow graves in search of food.²⁶ Anubis also served to judge the dead and punish those who dared to violate tombs or disrespect the gods.²⁷

The process of mummification was well guarded secret of the Egyptians with only of the process being told to outsiders. One of the more well-known parts of the process of mummification was the removal of the bodily organs and their placement into canopic jars. Queen Hetepheres of the fourth dynasty was the first royal to have

Press, 2006.), 5

20 Dunand, 13

21 “The Egyptian Pyramid.” Smithsonian. Accessed November 26, 2018. <https://www.si.edu/spotlight/ancient-egypt/pyramid>.

22 Dorman, Peter F., and Margaret Stefana Drower. “Valley of the Kings.” *Encyclopædia Britannica*. February 16, 2016. Accessed November 26, 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/place/Valley-of-the-Kings>.

23 Ibid

24 Taylor, 47

25 Geraldine Pinch. *Egyptian Mythology: A Guide to the Gods, Goddesses, and Traditions of Ancient Egypt*. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.) p.104

26 Ibid

27 Ibid

their organs removed and placed within her tomb.²⁸ The process was quite lengthy, beginning with the body being washed and the removal of the bodily organs. They would then dry the body using natron to prevent decay before being treated with cosmetics, finally wrapping the body in linens to complete the process. Mummification was solely reserved for pharaohs and other high ranking with the exception of the mummification of certain animals.

The gods were regarded as being able to manifest on the earth in various forms, sometimes appearing in animal form. Both the living and dead versions of animals played important roles in the mortuary cults.²⁹ The most important animal was the “temple animal”, as they were believed to be the physical manifestation of the god serving as a physical receptacle for the god’s ba.³⁰ Once identified, the animal would live in the temple until their death, upon which they would receive the same treatment of mummification as those of the highest order would receive.³¹ Jackals and wild dogs were commonly mummified due to being representatives of the gods Anubis and Wepwawet.³²

The gods played a crucial role in the culture of death in ancient Egypt. There are numerous Egyptian gods associated with death with the most well-known being the god Anubis. Anubis presided over the process of mummification and is often depicted supervising the weighing of the hearts of the dead.³³ The god Wepwawet is said to help the dead ascend to heaven by opening a good path for them.³⁴ When it comes to relations with the gods, Osiris could be considered the most important for it is in the Hall of Two Maats that he presides over the trials of the dead into the afterlife and he is also depicted as a mummified king due to when he was murdered by his brother.³⁵

Once a person passed away everything possible was done so as to help the deceased reach the afterlife. During the process of mummification, amulets and prayers would be placed within the wrappings of the deceased.³⁶ Throughout the history of ancient Egypt, books of spells were written to aid the dead in the afterlife. One such book is the Book of the Dead, created around the mid-fifteenth century.³⁷ The Book of the Dead contained original spells in addition to spells first seen in the Pyramid Texts.

The Pyramid Texts are the first known set of inscriptions used to aid the dead into the afterlife. The texts were inscribed on the internal walls of the pyramids in the Memphite necropolis around the First Intermediate Period.³⁸ Although the texts were first found in the pyramids of rulers from the First Intermediate Period, some of the

28 Dunand, 13

29 Taylor, 245

30 ibid

31 ibid

32 Dunand, 109

33 Pinch, 105

34 Pinch, 215

35 Pinch, 178

36 “Egyptian Mummies.” Smithsonian. Accessed November 26, 2018. <https://www.si.edu/spotlight/ancient-egypt/mummies>.

37 Carol Andrews, and Raymond Oliver Faulkner. *The Ancient Egyptian Book of the Dead*. (London: Published for the Trustees of the British Museum by British Museum Publications, 1985.), 11

38 Taylor, 193

texts date back to the burials of non-royals in the Old Kingdom.³⁹ While some of the texts were used in burial of non-royals, the Pyramid Texts themselves appear only in the tombs of royals. The texts consisted of three categories: protective spells, words to be spoken at rituals for the deceased, and spells for the deceased's personal use in the afterlife⁴⁰

Funerary texts would further at the end of the Old Kingdom in a collection that became known as the Coffin Texts. The texts were found inscribed on the surface of wooden coffins and the masks of the mummy.⁴¹ The Coffin Texts were the first to state that all Egyptians had the possibility to obtain divine status in the afterlife.⁴² The spells within in the text are a combination of original spells and spells previously seen in the Pyramid Texts. These texts were the first to include spells that would serve as guide to the afterlife.⁴³

The beginning of the New Kingdom saw a return to the funerary text tradition that had been interrupted during the Second Intermediate Period with the creation of the Book of the Dead. The book was further collection of new spells combined with those previously seen in the Pyramid Texts and the Coffin Texts. The Book of the Dead was the first to include vignettes alongside the spells and some chapters of the book consist only of vignettes.⁴⁴ The most important addition to library of funerary spells was spell 124, which served to assist the deceased in the judgement of their worthiness. The library of funerary texts continued to grow throughout the length of the Egyptian kingdom the texts mentioned above mark the stages of development in the funerary text tradition.

The Egyptian relation with death was cultivated throughout the length of its existence, beginning with simple burials in the grounds to the mammoth pyramids that capture that fascination of all those who see them. The ancient Egyptians believed in the afterlife and did everything in their power both on Earth and in the underworld to obtain entrance into the afterlife. This belief in the afterlife lead the Egyptians to leave behind a wealth of knowledge to those who would come after them. While the existence of an afterlife may never be proven, it can be said the Egyptians succeed in their efforts, as they continue to live on in the scholars who work to uncover their secrets and in the minds of those who find fascination in the richness of the ancient Egyptian culture.

39 *ibid*

40 Taylor, 194

41 *Ibid*

42 *Ibid*

43 Taylor, 195

44 Andrews, 12

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PERSPECTIVES

Agent Orange: The Chemical Killer Lingers

Weston Fowler

In the arts of life man invents nothing; but in the arts of death he outdoes Nature herself, and produces by chemistry and machinery all the slaughter of plague, pestilence and famine.

George Bernard Shaw

Act 3, *Man and Superman* (1903)

The end of the Second World War saw the emergence of two world superpowers: the United States and the Soviet Union. Competition between these opposing forces led to conflict around the world as each sought to widen their scope of influence. The United States believed that the nations of the world would begin to fall to Communism. The United States then adopted a policy of “containment” to counter the fear that the spread of Soviet influence would result in a fall of nations commonly described as the “Domino Theory.” Among the regions to become involved in this struggle was Southeast Asia. From the years of 1961 to 1975, the United States became involved in a war with the Communist country of Vietnam in an effort to assist the South Vietnamese in breaking away from the Communist party. During the fourteen-year war, new weapons and technologies were developed in an attempt to ensure military success. Weapons such as Napalm and the Bell UH-1 “Huey” brought a new face to the way wars were fought. However, one of the most devastating weapons utilized by the United States military in Vietnam was a mass of chemical weapons such as the herbicide-defoliant TCDD, or Agent Orange. This chemically engineered substance eradicated natural vegetation and destroyed enemy food supplies. While Agent Orange showed some immediate results, the long-term effects of the defoliate were not realized until years later. Finally, it is necessary to trace the origins and development of chemicals such as Agent Orange, explain why it was used in Vietnam, and examine the impacts it had and continues to have on the environment as well as individuals who encountered it.

To better understand the impact of Agent Orange, one must understand what exactly it is, as well as the history behind its development. The chemical origins trace to the laboratories of the University of Chicago during World War II, where Professor E.J. Krauss discovered the chemical compound had the ability to kill vegetation by forcing a spike of growth within the plants. According to Ted Sampley, who published “The Story of Agent Orange” in the U.S. Veteran *Dispatch*, “Among the discoveries he made was that certain broadleaf vegetation could be killed by causing the plants to experience sudden, uncontrolled growth. It was similar to giving the plants cancer by introducing specific chemicals. Army scientist found that by mixing 2, 4-D and 2,

4,5 –trichlorophenoxyacetic acid together would have negative impacts of foliage.”¹ From several tests of 2,4-D, Krauss noticed that plants subjected to the chemical died around twenty-four to forty-eight hours after exposure. Krauss believed that 2,4-D had potential to be utilized as a chemical weapon during World War II. However, when the U.S. Army tested it, they found no potential use in the chemical before the end of the war.² While initially disregarding the potential use of 2,4-D as a chemical weapon, the testing and development of defoliants continued well into the 1950’s and beyond. Finally, the United States opted to use such chemical compositions in the tropical forests of Southeast Asia.

When the United States entered the Vietnam conflict, it was soon realized that the war in Vietnam was unlike any other the U.S. previously fought. Soldiers were met with blistering heat, dense tropical rainforests, and an enemy who utilized their natural surroundings with ease. These conditions proved to be an obstacle for American soldiers, as they had no combat experience in such conditions. After years of continuous experimentation of Agent Orange, it was shipped to Vietnam in 1961 to counter the Viet Cong’s use of guerilla warfare. The launch of Operation Ranch Hand, according to Edwin Martini in his book *Agent Orange: History, Science, and the Politics of Uncertainty*, was designed to destroy foliage and crops in an effort to deprive the enemy of overhead cover and food.³

A variety of methods were used to spread these chemicals, including hand spraying and helicopter drops. Soldiers assigned to helicopter drops adopted the slogan “Only You Can Prevent a Forest,” a clear parody of the Smokey the Bear slogan created in the 1940s.⁴ The United States Department of Defense paid fifty-seven million dollars in contracts to eight U.S. chemical companies to produce chemical defoliants from 1961 to 1971.⁵ It is estimated that approximately twenty-percent of forests in Vietnam were destroyed by the chemicals collectively referred to as the “Devil’s Rainbow”, which consisted of the solutions Agents Pink, Blue, Purple, Green, White, and most dominantly Agent Orange.⁶ In all, the United States Air Force dropped a total of 18.85 million gallons of herbicides, two-thirds of which was Agent Orange, across South Vietnam.⁷

Operation Ranch Hand and Agent Orange served a dual purpose throughout the war. The Viet Cong soldiers were highly specialized in guerilla warfare, which when paired with their knowledge of the rainforests, proved to be a severe advantage over American troops. By dropping Agent Orange, the amount of foliage in the targeted area was destroyed almost immediately. This eradicated natural vegetation that could be used as concealment by Viet Cong forces, ultimately making the detection of enemy forces easier. The uses of Agent Orange to clear the underbrush from the sides of

1 Ted Sampley. “The Story of Agent Orange.” *The U.S. Veteran Dispatch Staff Report*, (1990):1.

2 Sampley, 2.

3 Edwin A. Martini. *Agent Orange: History, Science and the Politics of Uncertainty* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 2012). 27.

4 Martini, 27.

5 Cathy Scott Clark and Adrian Levy, “Sprectre Orange,” *The Guardian*, March 28, 2003.

6 Marie-Helene Lavallard. “A Chemical War Without End: Agent Orange in Vietnam,” *Agent Orange Action Group*, April 10, 2012

7 Clayton R. Koppes and William A. Buckingham, “Agent Orange and the Official History of Vietnam.” *Reviews in American History* 13, no. 1 (1985): 131-135.

the roads made it even more difficult for the Viet Cong to ambush or harass road traffic, and took nothing away from the fast-moving M-113's.⁸ While the results of Agent Orange to destroy foliage proved successful, it largely failed at its attempt to prevent enemy concealment because the Viet Cong turned to using Underground tunnel systems.

The other purpose of Agent Orange was to destroy local crops and farmland so the Viet Cong would have no means of keeping themselves nourished. In 1962, a year after the start of Operation Ranch Hand, President John F. Kennedy gave the green light on the crop destruction phase of the operation.⁹ During this phase, American forces focused all herbicidal warfare efforts upon the vital farmlands of Vietnam. However, it was noted in a study by RAND in 1967 that "the crop destruction program had had an insignificant effect on the Viet Cong's consumption of rice, while also alienating the rural South Vietnamese population from the government."¹⁰

The second phase of the operation had a much more negative impact on the local population of Vietnam rather than the guerillas. Contrary to the beliefs of U.S. forces, the majority of the crops grown were not being supplied to the Viet Cong, but instead grown to sustain the local population. The crop-destruction carried out by the United States created food shortages and refugees. According to Sampley, "the psychological effects of defoliation were twofold; they either hardened the resolve of the Viet Cong or angered the Vietnamese farmers whose crops were destroyed; the obvious reaction of the peasant whose labors have been destroyed is one of bitterness and hatred."¹¹ However, the full effects of Agent Orange were not realized until well after the war.

Once considered a breakthrough for the army, the true impact of the use of chemicals such as Agent Orange had yet to be revealed. The chemicals used contained a deadly compound known as Dioxin. The dangers of Dioxin were not recognized until roughly twenty years passed, when the Environmental Protection Agency referred to Dioxin as "one of the most perplexing and potentially dangerous compounds known to man."¹² Perhaps one of the most dangerous aspects of the mixture was the variety of ways it entered an organism and its level of toxicity. Agent Orange has the ability to enter through most of the body's orifices, such as through direct contact with skin, the lungs through inhalation, and through the mouth. This makes any exposure to the chemical potentially life-threatening. Dioxin's toxicity is so high because of its ability to bind rapidly to protein molecules within cell membranes. Once bound to these receptors, the toxin is transported into the cytoplasm and nucleus of the cell, where it causes changes in the cells usual habits.¹³

After years of continuous use of herbicides by the U.S. in Vietnam, Operation Ranch Hand was discontinued in 1971. While the use of the chemical weapons came to a halt, the effects did not. During the lifespan of Operation Ranch Hand, a rough estimate of about 4.9 million acres of forest was sprayed with herbicides, which is

8 James F. Dunnigan and Albert A. Nofi, *Dirty Little Secrets of the Vietnam War*. (New York, NY: Thomas Dunne Books/St. Martins Griffin, 2000), 77.

9 Koppes, 134.

10 Koppes, 134.

11 Sampley, 2.

12 Sampley, 2.

13 Sampley, 2.

about twenty percent of the total forests of South Vietnam.¹⁴ Areas affected by the spraying experienced a measurable loss of vegetation, with trees becoming bare for months on end. Areas also experienced an almost complete loss of their original ecosystem. Many species of vegetation, such as the Mangrove, could not grow in their ecosystem due to the presence of Dioxin within the soil. The key issue with Dioxin is that when it makes its way into the soil, it remains dormant and can continue to affect the environment after years of the initial spraying. According to Neil Sheehan, the author of *A Bright Shining Lie*, the Dioxin accumulated from repeated spraying lingered in the silt of the streambeds and entered the ecosystem of South Vietnam.¹⁵

While the natural vegetation of Vietnam was greatly impacted by Agent Orange, the country's wildlife experienced disruption as well. On January 6, 1968, Colonel John Moran, who was then the Chief of the Chemical Operations Division of MACV, reported a chemical dump of herbicides. In his report, he stated, "aircraft #633 made an emergency herbicide dump over the Dong Nai River approximately 15 kilometers east of Saigon when the aircraft experienced severe engine vibration and loss of power. Approximately 1,000 gallons of the herbicide Agent Orange were dumped from an altitude of 3,500 feet."¹⁶ The toxicity of the Dioxin in Agent Orange is able to kill most aquatic animals at a level of about one ounce in six million tons.¹⁷ Evidence such as this strongly suggests that many food sources, such as fish, could have been contaminated. Decades after the chemical was sprayed over Vietnam, it continued to contaminate Vietnamese peoples and the food they eat. Dioxin was found in ducks, chickens, bottom dwelling fish, and a toad.¹⁸ This coupled with new crops grown to replace the ones destroyed by Agent Orange, continue to poison the populace because the chemical Dioxin remains.¹⁹ Eighty grams of concentrated Dioxin TCDD could kill the entire population of New York City and over 176,000 grams of the chemical was used in herbicides dropped in Vietnam.²⁰

Over the past forty-three years since the conclusion of the Vietnam Conflict, several studies have revealed that high levels of Dioxin are still present in South Vietnam. According to Miranda Burrage-Goodwin, it is estimated that over three million citizens are suffering from disabilities, cancers, birth defects, spina bifida, and countless other diseases, all linked to a poisonous Dioxin found within the chemical defoliate.²¹ Ngu Luc, a North Vietnamese soldier recalled, "We expected bombs, but a fine yellow mist descended, covering absolutely everything. We were soaked in it, but it didn't worry us, as it smelled good. We continued to crawl through the jungle. The next day the

14 Arthur H. Westing "Ecological Effects of Military Defoliation on the Forests of South Vietnam." *BioScience* 21, No. 17 (September 1, 1971): 893.

15 Neil Sheehan, *A Bright Shining Lie: John Paul Vann and America in Vietnam*. (New York, NY: Modern Library, 2009), 619.

16 Sampley, 3.

17 Sampley, 2.

18 Melissa Cheung, "Agent Orange Still Attacking." Accessed March 1, 2018.

19 David Zierler, "Invention of Ecocide: Agent Orange, Vietnam, and the Scientist Who Changed the Way We Think About the Environment. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.

20 Cathy Scott Clark and Adrian Levy, Spretre Orange, "*The Guardian*." March 28, 2003.

21 Miranda Goodwin-Burrage, (2017) "An Unending War: The Legacy of Agent Orange," *University of Massachusetts Undergraduate History Journal*: Vol. 1, Article 4.

leaves wilted and within a week, the jungle was bald. We felt just fine at the time.²²

It has not been uncommon for many who experienced initial exposure to the chemicals to develop no serious illnesses. The same may not be said of the following generations. An article appearing in *The United States Department of Veterans Affairs* states that the Dioxin often targets the first generation in the form of leukemia, heart disease, Parkinson's disease, asthma, various forms of prostate and respiratory cancer, and soft tissue sarcomas.²³ The Dioxin impacts the second generation come in the forms of immediate birth defects including cleft palate, congenital heart disease, Down's syndrome, neural tube defects, and various other physical and mental disorders.²⁴ It has been determined that in Vietnam children born in non-contaminated areas have an average birth defects rate of .74% as compared to contaminated areas where the rate is a staggering 2.95%.²⁵ After the war, scientific tests indicated that the Vietnamese of the South had levels of Dioxin in their bodies three times higher than inhabitants of the United States.²⁶ There is no telling how many South Vietnamese suffer the effects of Agent Orange poisoning.²⁷

The lasting impacts of the exposure of chemicals used in the conflict have also been attributed to a multitude of similar health issues for American veterans. Initially, American soldiers developed skin issues due to exposure. Dermatologic ailments were the most common reason for outpatient visits to U.S. Army medical facilities during the Vietnam War and the major cause of field days lost.²⁸ Corporal Donnie Six served as a combat engineer from August 1968 to August 1969 and part of his duties involved the clearing of dense foliage impacted by Agent Orange. He stated that he and his fellow servicemen thought that Agent Orange was the best thing they had because it cleared over 300 hundred acres in less than three minutes when Napalm was used three days after spraying. It is clear that these soldiers did not know what this chemical was or the potential risks.²⁹ Unlike common war injuries that involve visible scars and signs, the impact of Agent Orange was not immediately known nor observed. President Ronald Reagan stated, "Agent Orange was different...because the wounds that it caused were not immediately visible, and – especially important – veterans asserted their wartime exposure had caused miscarriages, birth defects and disabilities in their children.³⁰ Like the Vietnamese, Americans would not realize the lasting impact of chemical use until after the war's conclusion.

22 Cathy Scott-Clark and Adrian Levy, "Spectre Orange," *The Guardian*, March 28, 2003.

23 "Public Health: Agent Orange," *United States Department of Veterans Affairs*, February 2, 2015.

24 "Public Health: Agent Orange," *United States Department of Veterans Affairs*, February 2, 2015.

25 Gammeltoft, Tine, *Haunting Images: A Cultural Account of Selective Reproduction in Vietnam* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2014), 45.

26 Sheehand, 619.

27 Albert Marrin, *America and Vietnam: The Elephant and the Tiger*. Sandwich, MA, MA: Beautiful Feet Books, 2002: 249.

28 Andrew T. Patterson et al. "Review: Skin Diseases Associated with Agent Orange and Other Organochlorine Exposures." *Journal of the American Academy of Dermatology* 74, (January 1, 2016) 143-170.

29 Donnie, Six interviewed by Staci S. Hein, March 4, 2018.

30 Reagan, Leslie Reagan, "Vietnam War at 50: What has been the legacy of Agent Orange." *History at Illinois*. September 14, 2017. Accessed March 20, 2018.

<https://illinois.edu/news/2017-09-14/vietnam-war-50-what-has-been-legacy-agent-orange>.

Many years following the war, a significant number of veterans battle a new enemy: a significant rise in health issues. Veteran Paul Reutershan said, “I died in Vietnam and didn’t even know it,”³¹ as he was among a number of veterans who faced the onset cancer due to exposure. Cancer is but one of many conditions that increased in the years following the conclusion of the war. Data showed that veterans exposed to herbicides face an increased risk of such conditions as elevated blood pressure, a wife’s miscarriage, visual and skin sensitivity to light, and symptoms of depression as compared to veterans who were not exposed.³² Scientists have identified eleven diseases that are strongly linked to Agent Orange exposure by scientific evidence: chlorance, Hodgkin’s disease, multiple myeloma, non-Hodgkin’s lymphoma, prophyria cutanea tarda, respiratory cancers, soft tissues sarcoma, peripheral neuropathy, and prostate cancer.³³ These were just some of the many conditions that veterans exhibited.

One of the most controversial and difficult outcomes associated with the use of Agent Orange for both the Vietnamese and Americans who were exposed to the chemical was birth defects. Men suggested that their wartime experiences had caused them to father children with an array of disabilities. Some came to believe that miscarriages were also a product of the damage they had suffered from chemical use in the war. One former Green Beret asserted, “We’re not veterans, our kids are the veterans.”³⁴ Sampley notes that cases like that of former Marine Danny Gene Jordan, who remembered watching as the defoliate was dropped, added to the claims that, Jordan returned home from Vietnam with an unusual amount of Dioxin in his system. More than 15 years later, he still had 50 parts per trillion, considered abnormally high. He also had two sons born with deformed arms and hands.³⁵

In a study conducted by the Center for Disease Control in August 1984, the highest frequency of the affected children occurred among those veterans who appeared to have the greatest likelihood of Agent Orange exposure. The study focused on children who were born in Atlanta from 1968 through 1980. Of the 8,000 children, more than 4,800 were selected due to the fact they had birth defects. Vietnam veterans fathered 696 of those children, including 428 with birth defects.³⁶ This data suggests that there is a direct correlation between birth defects and the exposure to the chemicals used in the Vietnam War. According to Samuel Epstein, a specialist in environmental and occupational medicine from the University of Illinois Medical Center, claims such data makes it “difficult to avoid any conclusion other than the fact that the study is highly suggestive of an association between birth defects and exposure to Agent Orange.”³⁷

A study followed war veterans that received their care in the Northern California Veterans Affairs Health Care system. The data indicated that twice as many exposed men were identified with prostate cancers compared to those that were unexposed to Agent Orange. Those that were exposed were diagnosed at a younger age as well.

31 Reagan, 2.

32 Raloff, J. “Agent Orange Linked to Some Veterans’ Ills.” *Science News* 134, no. 21 (1988): 325.

33 Dave Parks, “Agent Orange Affects Families Decades Later.” *Birmingham News*. June 8, 1997.

34 Reagan, 3.

35 Sampley, 5.

36 Raloff, Janet. “Agent Orange and Birth Defects Risk.” *Science News* 126, no. 8 (1984): 117.

37 Janet Raloff, “Agent Orange Linked to Some Veterans’ Ills.” *Science News* 134, no. 21 (1988): 325. Accessed March 3, 2018

Those that were exposed have an increase of cancer, but also had a more aggressive variant than their counterparts, with the metastatic disease at 13.4% for those exposed as compared to 4% for those who were not.³⁸

The Vietnam War was significant and the impacts are far reaching, lasting well beyond the actual contact. It provides a clear example of the destructive and reckless use of chemical weapons in wartime. The United States, who was driven by a fear of the spread of communist influence, would decide upon military strategies that unknowingly unleashed some of the most dangerous toxins known in the history of mankind. While the Vietnamese clearly suffered far greater extents because the chemical still remains active in their homeland, American veterans and their families have not been spared some similarities in their sufferings. It is not difficult to argue that the use of chemical weapons such as Agent Orange led to a host of illnesses that affected not only those who lived through the experience of the Vietnam War, but for the many generations who continue to bear the scars of a war that has never truly ended.

38 Chamine, Karin, Chamine and DeVere White RW, et al. Agent Orange Exposure, Vietnam War Veterans, and the Risk of Prostate Cancer. *Cancer*, 2008.

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PERSPECTIVES

“Understanding Great Zimbabwe”

Samantha Hamilton

When studying any topic concerning African history, it is imperative to first discern where you are gathering your information from. It has been a long-standing quandary, that much of African History has been spun from an oppressive point of view, rather than what is closer to the truth, exploring the outright obliteration of cultures independent of the European race. When inquiring upon history strictly through the Western Civilization scope, it would seem as though ‘nothing ever happened in Africa,’ mainly due to a lack of written documents. This locks an entire continent into a state of primitivism. But the work by historians such as Christopher Ehret have shown a slight reverse in this trend, where his writings highlight the groundbreaking and world altering advancements that varying sides of the continent produced throughout the beginning of time. From the independent invention of iron smelting, to the spread of commercial networks throughout the Mediterranean, the entire continent of Africa has produced many of the world’s ‘firsts.’¹ It is vital that their history remains intact. A prime example of a somewhat lost history, would be that of Great Zimbabwe, and its eventual decline. There is much debate over what caused the sudden decline in such a large population of people, due in part to the inherently biased views on how we study history as a whole.

Great Zimbabwe itself holds significant value in the southern section of the continent. But for 19th century travelers first reaching this historic site, it was simply regarded as an attraction, which continued to be lauded as a tourist destination, rather than a historically monumental city dating back to 11th century AD.² In order to attempt to understand and come to a conclusion as to what caused the complete decline of Great Zimbabwe in a matter of three-hundred years, there has to be an understanding of the myths surrounding its conception. As stated previously, historical research is based heavily on written documents, but as we see in places such as the structures of Great Zimbabwe, a cross-disciplinary approach using oral history, archaeology, and an anthropological approach is much more appropriate. While written documents may be scarce, oral traditions of the Zimbabwean and Mozambique region are second to none.³ The use of oral traditions to explain the formation of giant stone structures at Great Zimbabwe were refuted by racially charged explorers with a European agenda. The colonizers of the area were determined to hold on to their

1 Patrick Manning, “Reviewed Work: *The Civilizations of Africa: A History to 1800* by Christopher Ehret,” *Journal of World History* 15, no. 2 (June 2004): 244.

2 Joseph O. Vogel, *Great Zimbabwe: The Iron Age in South Central Africa* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1994), 28.

3 David Beach, “Cognitive Archaeology and Imaginary History at Great Zimbabwe,” *Current Anthropology* 39, no. 1 (February 1998): 48.

“greater than thou” power over the Native Africans by putting forth the argument that black people could not have built them, consequently degrading the very integrity of a culture that runs its pride on oral histories.⁴

The earliest written accounts that have come out of the interior part of southeastern Africa were reported by the Portuguese ‘explorers’ at the beginning of the sixteenth century.⁵ European missionaries wrote about what they encountered while providing their salvation to “barbarians” as well. The conclusion of Europeans was that the creation of these massive sites could not have possibly be solely of African origin. In some reports, it was noted that the site must have been built by the Greeks or Solomon.⁶ While the locals used oral histories to continue their stories and traditions, colonial officials typically used historical precedents to establish dominance and authority over the local people. It was hard for those who were colonizing to believe that such a major human achievement could have possibly gone unrecognized by the bible, and especially not done by those of color. In turn, colonizers were able to create their own romanticized version of oral history that was so powerful it has lasted to this day completely convoluting the truth.⁷ Hence, the Great Zimbabwe site (c. AD 1300-1420) is the subject of intense debate.

Thankfully, more current research as late as 2010 has all but refuted the racially charged histories that flooded textbooks for centuries. The historical and anthropological investigation has shifted to focus on the usage of the site as residential, political, or even storage over the years to examine possible reasons behind its decline as an apparent pivotal epicenter of society that was groundbreaking in size for its time. Research is showing that surplus wealth from long distance trade and a growing population based on agriculture transformed this society in to a ranked, class-based society.⁸ Herein lies a core issue when studying research presented by historians not native to the area they are studying. Historians must be wary of what they are comparing their evidence to as one can compare their results simply to what they know to be true, rather than what may be true in the area they are researching. For example, when looking at phallic objects from the site, there is a large array of disagreement as to the dating of the objects, and their purpose, due to the varying usage of said objects in different areas of the world.⁹

While much of the early research presented by historians during the massive colonial period, David Randall-MacIver provided a much-needed insight to the origins and dates of Great Zimbabwe. His research in the early 20th century challenged the legitimacy of colonial rule, and presented evidence that Great Zimbabwe was built by indigenous people. African history had been clouded by the perspective of non-Africans, and typically was fueled by western civilization models of thought. MacIver addressed the fact that once a romanticized version of history was created, it became hard to reverse.

4 Daniel Tangri, “Popular Fiction and the Zimbabwe Controversy,” *History in Africa*, no. 17 (1990): 293.

5 P. S. Garlake, *Great Zimbabwe* (New York: Thames and Hudson, 1973), 51.

6 Garlake, 55.

7 Garlake, 62.

8 Thomas N. Huffman, “Debating Great Zimbabwe,” *The South African Archaeological Bulletin* 66, no. 193 (June 2011): 28.

9 J. F. Schofield, “The Founders of Zimbabwe,” *Man* 51, (November 1951): 163.

In his findings, he laid forth the assertion that “the buildings were constructed by the people whose implements, weapons, and ornaments are found there—that is to say, by a negro or negroid race closely akin to the present dwellers in the country.”¹⁰ This was a harsh turn from what was common belief of the site through previous European accounts of the area, empowering national pride and cultural value for the people of Zimbabwe, outside of their colonial oppressors.

When the cloud of prejudice and power is removed from historical record, one can likely find a more accurate version of history. There is evidence presented by some historians that at about the mid-fifteenth century Great Zimbabwe went into an eclipse, in contrast to the belief that it was abandoned, it may have been somewhat continually used and not completely destroyed.¹¹ As discussed previously, oral history is an integral part of African history, especially of the Shona people of whom occupied the site. Garlake suggests that by turning from archaeological history to examining oral traditions we can see evidence of this gradual transition into what the Portuguese happen upon in the beginning of the 16th century. Spurring this transition period was a shortage of salt in the Mbire kingdom, dispersing the large population at the Great Zimbabwe site.

What the Portuguese actually were witnessing when they arrived was the kingdom of Mwene Mutapa, a vastly wealthy kingdom that broken off from the original Mbire Kingdom. This could point to the extensive trade network that is said to at one point come out of Great Zimbabwe, making the stone structures somewhat a symbol of wealth. While Garlake provides no conclusive link between the builders of Great Zimbabwe and Mwene Mutapa kingdom, he states that the circumstantial evidence cannot be overlooked. He believes that as the original kingdom of the creators of Great Zimbabwe waned, the Mwene Mutapa kingdom began to flourish, as their customs and traditions are too similar to the latter to have arisen from immigrants to the area. The archaeological evidence found at the site also supports this theory. As time went on, and invasions continued, the incomprehension and ignorance of the significance of the site grew. This same ignorance fueled white invaders in their unfounded beliefs indigenous people had nothing to do with the building of Great Zimbabwe.¹²

Other historians suggest that Great Zimbabwe, a collection of massively built stone structures, with a population estimated to be around 18,000 inhabitants, emerged from a group of Iron Age farmers who became powerful elites out of an excess of wealth in trading. They address that much of the early written history concerning Great Zimbabwe comes from a Muslim or Portuguese source as an external view, rather than a direct line. These sources concentrate heavily on the legend of the kingdom of Solomon and the location of the biblical Ophir.¹³ According to Pikirayi, too much focus is placed on environmental reasons as the sole cause for site

10 David R. MacIver, “The Rhodesia Ruins: Their Probable Origin and Significance,” *The Geographical Journal* 27, no. 4 (April 1906): 328.

11 Garlake, 174.

12 Garlake, 181.

13 Innocent Pikirayi, “Great Zimbabwe in Historical Archaeology: Reconceptualizing Decline, Abandonment, and Reoccupation of an Ancient Polity, A.D. 1450-1900,” *Historical Archaeology* 47, no. 1 (2013): 28.

abandonment. Instead, focus should center on its failure to continue thriving in a global context. When individuals negate global dynamics, such as trade, they can miss out on an integral piece of why a society may have collapsed. This can feed from an inherently racist belief that a site in Africa could not be fed by wealth and commerce, but instead they must have fallen because of their inability to adapt to the environment. This idea would easily fit in to the colonial viewpoint that “nothing can come from Africa.” Understanding archaeological language is also imperative, as ‘abandonment’ can be a broad term with multiple definitions. Abandonment in the context of Great Zimbabwe, goes hand in hand with gradual migration as a process, strategy, and cause of social change, rather than some type of cataclysmic event spurring abandonment behavior.¹⁴

There is great debate as to why Great Zimbabwe was placed where it was, as the soil in the area was not sustainable for such a large human population, feeding the curiosity of historians and archaeologists that the city could have been completely supported off of trade alone. In contrast, historians such as David Beach of the University of Zimbabwe suggests that too much emphasis is placed on incorrect sources of information from early Portuguese writings. He believes that the Portuguese misunderstood Shona society, and that the site which had many disadvantages was picked without the consideration that it would become as massive as it would later turn out to be. This would mean that its decline could have come from lack of agriculture to support the large society, or that Great Zimbabwe itself was simply eclipsed by larger Kingdoms to the North and South.¹⁵

The pillaging of the sites by those who believe the site to be of foreign construction, forced archaeologists to rely on information from oral traditions of local groups, which has helped to unravel some of its history, but the desecration of the sites has made it difficult to discover the exact nature of Great Zimbabwe. How inhabitants lived, how they used the site, and the way they structured religion and government has gone unsolved.¹⁶ Some revised dating as the result of radiocarbon dating suggests that the rise and fall of Great Zimbabwe occurred in less than two-hundred years. This dating supports the ‘essentially African’ hypothesis by the historian MacIver.¹⁷

It is imperative that as researchers there is an understanding of the inherent biases that flood every aspect of our studies. It is a heavy explanation for the narrative of history changing so drastically from one historian to the next. When gathering information on an event in the past, you can see how and why thoughts changed over time. Recognizing these changes allows us to make a better determination of what actually happened versus our own biased twists in events. By approaching the mystery of Great Zimbabwe, from a perspective outside of a European worldview, historians can hopefully paint a clearer picture of how this society operated and why it all but vanished. Combining different ideas using a multi and cross-disciplinary approach provides a deeper understanding of a culture that relied heavily on oral traditions,

14 Pikirayi, 29.

15 Roderick J. McIntosh and David Coulson, “Riddle of Great Zimbabwe,” *Archaeology* 51, no. 4 (July/August 1998): 49.

16 Ibid. 46.

17 Thomas N. Huffman and J. C. Vogel, “The Chronology of Great Zimbabwe,” *The South African Archaeology Bulletin* 46, no. 154 (December 1991): 69.

over written records. Whether utilizing an anthropological, or historical approach, there is much we can piece together using the two. From understanding the value that the people of Great Zimbabwe may have put on religion, to reviewing how they lived near the enclosures, there is a great deal of information that is at the ready if a researcher is willing to surpass the educational barriers of a cross-disciplinary approach.

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PERSPECTIVES

Different Perspectives in the Civil Rights Movement

Brittany Hartung

The Civil Rights Movement in America was not a singular entity. All over the country, both in large urban cities and small rural communities, there were groups and people fighting for their rights and they had different ideas and strategies to achieve their goals. Although the term “Black Power” had been used prior to the movement, it gained widespread recognition during the 1966 March Against Fear when Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chairman Stokely Carmichael used it in a speech. It was also used by the newly formed Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) during the 1965 elections in Alabama.¹ It was used to emphasize and encourage pride in being black, but most importantly, it highlighted the shift in the Civil Rights Movement from “freedom” (from segregation) to actual political and economic power; the power to change their lives.

Each local group had its own agenda and what they thought was most important for their area. One such group was the Committee for Unified Newark, or CFUN, located in the Central Ward of Newark, New Jersey. CFUN was formed to combat the “postwar ghetto crisis” and their idea of Black Power was “self-determination, self-respect, and self-defense.”² When CFUN was founded in 1967, Newark was facing a black unemployment rate of 11.5%, rampant poverty and high disparities of income between blacks and whites, a high school drop out rate of 32%, the highest maternal death and STD infections in the country and new cases of tuberculosis, a housing crisis, high rates of drug use, air pollution, and terrible race relations.³ Those apart of CFUN did not want to wait until elected officials decided when and which issues to address, they wanted change on their own terms. African Americans ran candidates for public offices, fashioned public policy, advocated for reforms, and organized demonstrations against injustices. They also focused on community building which included operations like a free school for early childhood education, two newspapers for local and political politics and public relations, and the NJR-32 Project Action Committee (PAC) for urban planning and development. They also organized a transportation service for women and children after public transportation closed in the evening. This was a group of people in the community working together to find solutions to any problem the residents of the Central Ward were facing.⁴

1 “Black Power,” National Archives and Records Administration, accessed April 28, 2018, <http://www.archives.gov>

2 Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, *Groundwork: Local Black Freedom Movements in America* (New York: New York University, 2005), 77-83.

3 Theoharis and Woodard, 82.

4 Theoharis and Woodard, 77-83

In “Bloody” Lowndes County, Alabama, the idea of Black Power was also taking hold in the form of an independent political process. Despite having a population that was 80% black, not one black person was registered to vote prior to 1965 due to poll taxes, literacy tests, and violent and economic reprisals from whites. Residents formed the Lowndes County Christian Movement for Human Rights (LCCMHR). More importantly, they campaigned aggressively to register the African American citizens to vote, beginning in March 1965. The federal government passed the Voting Rights Act later that year, including a provision that assigned federal registrars, which made it easier for people to register.⁵ Shortly after the LCCMHR was formed, activists from SNCC, including Stokely Carmichael, traveled to Lowndes to assist the residents in organizing and registering. The residents of Lowndes County, encouraged by SNCC, decided to form their own independent political party, because the Southern Democrat party would not allow participation by African Americans, as shown by the MFDP’s experience in Mississippi and at the Democratic National Convention. Thus, the Lowndes County Freedom Organization was formed.

The LCFO chose the Black Panther to be their mascot, symbolizing strength, countering the white rooster of the Alabama Democrats, and they became known as the Black Panthers. Their goal was to get African American candidates elected to help the impoverished black community. They used “Black Power” as their slogan and soon after, the slogan and the mascot became used and recognized all over the country. Though they lost the November 1966 elections, most likely because white land owners threatened the sharecroppers into voting for white candidates or not at all, they won enough votes to become a recognized party. John Hulett, a founding member of the LCCMHR and the first African American registered to vote in Lowndes, was elected sheriff in 1970 and later, probate judge.

The Civil Rights Movement in the south is often seen as homogenous, and that every leader and participant in the movement subscribed to the non-violent philosophy preached by Martin Luther King Jr. But this view is mistaken, as there were groups that advocated armed self-defense in the south prior to the 1966 march from Memphis to Jackson. One such advocate was Robert Williams and his associates in Monroe, North Carolina. Williams was a marine veteran and after returning home to Monroe in 1955, he became involved with the local NAACP and was elected president of that chapter. He and his comrades were working-class, militant, and proponents of gun rights and self-defense for African Americans, which was quite different than the typical middle-class, moderate, and non-violent picture of the movement at that time.

Williams assisted in the “Kissing Case”—a case that involved two young black men kissing a white girl—and attempted to desegregate the library and the public pool, which was met with violent resistance from the police and mob of white citizens. He formed the Black Armed Guard for the protection of the black community in Monroe, as he feared violent reprisals from the Ku Klux Klan, and vowed to “meet violence with violence.” He was suspended for six months from his post by the national office of the NAACP for his views, but continued with his activism during

5 “Lowndes County Freedom Organization Founded,” SNCC Digital Gateway, accessed April 28, 2018, <http://snccdigital.org/lowndes-county-freedom-organization-founded/>

this time, including publishing a newsletter called *The Crusader*. When the Freedom Riders came to Monroe in 1961, he organized self defense groups to protect them.⁶

During this time, racial tensions were high in the town, and a white couple driving through the black section of town was stopped by an angry crowd. Williams instructed the crowd to leave them alone and took them to safety at his house. He told them they were free to go but realized the crowd would not let them pass. The state filed kidnapping charges against him, so he and his family fled to Cuba, where they were granted political asylum under Castro. In 1962, he published a book titled *Negroes with Guns*, detailing his experience with racism in the south, and why he disagreed with the non-violence philosophy espoused by mainstream civil rights leaders. This book would be an inspiration for leaders in the Black Power movement, such as Huey P. Newton, several years later.⁷ While Williams was in Cuba, he created a radio program called "Radio Free Dixie," which played songs about oppression, such as Nina Simone's "Mississippi Goddam," news from the movement, "and fiery editorials by Rob Williams that railed against 'rump-licking Uncle Toms' and 'Ku Klux Klan savages.'"⁸ His advocacy for the armed self-defense of African Americans, and the large following he had proves that the Civil Rights Movement was not a monolithic entity.

Female civil rights leaders often do not get much recognition, particularly those among the working class and/or advocated for means of resistance other than non-violence. Gloria Richardson of Cambridge, Maryland was one such leader. She was college educated but she had a hard time finding a job related to her degree in Cambridge due to discrimination. Gloria and other parents formed Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee (CNAC) with Richardson as the leader. Even though she and her family were better off than most African Americans in Cambridge, she saw first-hand the issues they faced. She knew that civil rights went beyond being able to use the same facilities and businesses as whites; real equality came from economic freedom. Cambridge had a black unemployment rate of 40% and poverty levels several times that of white residents in the city.

This movement differed from others at the time in several ways. It was the first grass roots organization to occur outside the Deep South, the first with a female leader, they were more concerned with economic issues and access to health care than segregation, and they were not committed to the principle of non-violence.⁹ Because they were not committed to non-violence, the protesters in Cambridge were often more confrontational than those in other places in the south. Protests, demonstrations, and boycotts went on for months, and violence, including shootings, occurred from

6 Daren Salter, "Robert F. Williams (1925-1996) BlackPast," Boley, Oklahoma (1903-), *The Black Past Remembered and Reclaimed*, December 9, 2007, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://blackpast.org/aah/williams-robert-f-1925-1996>.

7 "Robert F. Williams: Civil Rights Leader That Promoted Armed Self-defense for Blacks (Video and Biography)," Originalpeople.org November 15, 2012, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://originalpeople.org/robert-f-williams-civil-rights-leader-that-promoted-armedself-defense-for-blacks-video-and-biography/>

8 *Negroes with Guns: Rob Williams and Black Power*, dir. Churchill Roberts and Sandra Dickson, PBS, 2005, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.pbs.org/independentlens/negroeswithguns/credits.html>

9 Erica Anderson, "Gloria Richardson (1922-) Blackpast," Redlining (1937-) *The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed*, March 14, 2007, accessed May 1, 2018, <http://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/richardson-gloria-1922/>

both whites and blacks. On June 14, 1963 martial law was declared in Cambridge. Negotiations went on for months with state officials and the activists grew tired of the ineffectual politicians. Many civil rights leaders in other areas were angry at Richardson and those in Cambridge for refusing to compromise on issues. At a rally, Richardson spoke out against the “uncontrollable white mobs” and the anarchy in the city and said that if those in power did not do something soon that “...civil war may break out next week.” Richardson and a few other CNAC members met with the Mayor, several other officials, and Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy at Kennedy’s office to come up with a solution that both sides could agree to. They signed the Treaty of Cambridge whose five main points were the complete and immediate desegregation of public schools and hospitals, the constructions of 200 units of low-rent housing for blacks, employment of black person in the Maryland Department of Employment and the Post Office, the appointment of Human Relations Commission, and an amendment to the charter declaring integrations of all places of public accommodation. Change did not happen immediately in Cambridge, or elsewhere, but the actions of Richardson and CNAC did much to improve the lives of African Americans in Cambridge and were an example to those fighting for freedom all over the country.¹⁰

Of those in the Civil Rights movement who advocated for self defense and justice through force if necessary, Malcolm X is the most famous and often maligned. He stated that African Americans should use “whatever means necessary” to reclaim their autonomy and freedom. He was born in Nebraska, but his family moved around frequently because his father was an outspoken Baptist minister and fierce supporter of Black Nationalism, which attracted the attention of white supremacists. His father died when he was a young child, and although it was ruled an accident, it was widely believed that he was murdered by the white supremacy group, Black Legion. Malcolm and his siblings were separated, either in foster care or with other family members. Malcolm was very intelligent and did well in school, but after a teacher told him his dream of being a lawyer was not realistic because of his race, he lost interest and dropped out. He turned to petty crime and was arrested for burglary and sentenced to ten years in prison. While in prison he became interested and eventually became a member of the Nation of Islam (NOI), a version of Islam with black nationalist aspects, that had been founded in 1930. It most likely appealed to him because of his deep frustration and bitterness with white society and its treatment of African Americans.

After his release from prison, he became a minister of NOI and eventually became one of the leaders of the organization, after Elijah Muhammed. He also gave took the name Malcolm X, forgoing his family name of Little, since members of NOI felt that these names originated with white slave owners. He harshly criticized white society, the government that did not protect black citizens, and liberal whites who only pretended to be allies of blacks. But he also was highly critical of the mainstream civil rights movement. He felt that integration of restaurants, busses, etc. was of secondary importance to the wellbeing of blacks and that “black identity, integrity, and independence” was the key goal.

10 Vicki L. Crawford, *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941-1965* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana Univ. Press, 2008), Chapter 4

Malcolm also disagreed with the non-violent philosophy. He did not encourage senseless violence but was a firm believer in the right of African Americans to defend themselves against violence and injustice however they could. It was the belief of NOI, and therefore Malcolm, that blacks would never receive equal treatment in the America and so they were better off forming their own country where they could take care of themselves. He states that the “token integration” of blacks into business, schools, and other white areas was an ultimately empty gesture, meant to keep them content. In one speech he stated that whites were made to allow blacks access to their schools and houses, and then would just flee these areas and move to the suburbs, but that if they were made to give up their jobs to blacks that it would cause widespread violence and possibly a civil war, and so blacks separating was the only way to prevent this violence.¹¹

During the early 1960’s, however, Malcolm grew disillusioned with NOI. He wanted to take an active part in the civil rights fight but was forbidden by Elijah Muhammed. After President Kennedy was assassinated in 1963, someone in the press asked him for his opinion on it and said that “it was matter of chickens coming home to roost”; meaning that a violent society begets violence. This angered many people in the country. As a result Muhammed forbade Malcolm from speaking in public for 90 days. This was the final breaking point with NOI. After this break, he traveled around the world, including to Mecca. He saw Muslims of every race interacting equally, which made him rethink his views on race relations. He began to believe that it was possible for all races to live peacefully together, and that Islam was the way to achieve this goal.

Malcolm then converted to mainstream Sunni Islam. In seeing various human suffering all over the world, he began to change his view from civil rights to human rights. He argued then that racial unity was the only way these injustices were going to be solved. He expressed regrets about his time in NOI, comparing himself to a zombie then, and regrets about his previous view of race relations. It is likely that his views of white people as “devils” and other extreme beliefs, were more in line with NOI beliefs, than his own. He continued to advocate for black nationalism, which he defined as self-determination for black people, not separation.¹² He founded the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU), which was a “secular institution that sought to reconnect African Americans with their African heritage, establish economic independence, and promote African American self-determination.”¹³

Tension with Muhammed and NOI continued even after Malcolm left the organization. They viewed him as a traitor and made public and private threats against his life, and Malcolm himself believed that his death was imminent. He stated publicly

11 Malik Simba, “Malcolm X (1925-1965) Blackpast”, Boley, Oklahoma (1903-) The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed, January 23, 2007, accessed May 1, 2018, <https://blackpast.org/aah/x-malcolm-1925-1965>

12 Suki Sangha, “Malcolm X: Black National and Resistance”, Counterfire, February 23, 2012, accessed Mat 2, 2018, <https://www.counterfire.org/revolutionary/15566-malcolm-x-black-nationalism-and-resistance>

13 Lucy Burnett, “Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU) 1965 Blackpast,” Boley, Oklahoma (1903-) The Black Past: Remembered and Reclaimed, June 21, 2009, accessed May 2, 2018, <https://blackpast.org/aah/organization-afro-american-unity-oaa-1965>

that they were trying to kill him. On February 21, 1965, as he was about to give speech to OAAU in Manhattan, three members of NOI rushed the stage with guns and shot him twenty-one times. Like so many people who fought for freedom and justice in the civil rights era, his life was cut tragically short, but he did much for the self-esteem of African Americans through his work and brought attention to international human struggles.

To properly understand the Civil Rights Movement, it is vital to note that it was large and constantly evolving movement, and it took place all over the country, not just the Deep South. There were many key players through various organizations and groups and many of them had different ideas about how best to achieve to their goals, as well as different ideas altogether about what constituted freedom and justice for the African American community as a whole throughout the mid twentieth century.

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Social Evil:

The St. Louis Solution to Prostitution

Emma Morris

In 1870, the city of St. Louis legalized prostitution in a highly divisive decision, dubbed the Social Evil Ordinance. Sex work, considered a disease of society, was to be regulated like any other industry under the law. Intended originally to reduce venereal disease and foster a safe environment for both sex workers and clients, the legislation was overturned in 1874. St. Louis was first city in the American west to legislate sex work, but not all went well in their attempt. Public protests and moral panics overwhelmed the program, despite support from medical professionals and its cost-effective nature, until its end. The St. Louis experiment should be remembered today for its revolutionary effort to normalize prostitution and provide support to the ostracized demimonde class, not lost in the public anxiety that surrounded it at the time.

Sex work was a complex industry. The workers it employed did not neatly fit into a single demographic: their clientele, services, lifestyles, and backgrounds were as diverse as those of any other group of women. In an 1873 poll conducted by the St. Louis police of all 766 prostitutes registered in the city, only 268 of them responded that their entry into prostitution was involuntary. Around 138 replied that poverty had forced them into it, and the other 130 cited causes like family issues, seduction into the trade, or abandonment.¹ The typical image of the vulnerable sex worker being forced into the trade seems to be statistically untrue. Both black and white women were registered,² and only one-third of all prostitutes were otherwise unemployed.³

Sex work was most often sorted into various strata: kept women and mistresses; brothel and saloon workers; and streetwalkers.⁴ At the top were kept women, who entered long-term exclusive contracts with clients, and who generally lived a luxurious lifestyle with regular payment from their keepers. These women, generally, had a good deal of freedom.⁵

After the luxury of the kept woman came the brothel worker, whose conditions could range from a sophisticated house of relative comfort to brothels being run out

1 Katharine T. Corbett, *In Her Place: A Guide to St. Louis Women's History* (St. Louis: Missouri Historical Society Press, 1999), 123.

2 Duane R. Sneddeker, "Regulating Vice: Prostitution and the St. Louis Social Evil Ordinance, 1870-1874," *Gateway Heritage: The Magazine of the Missouri Historical Society* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 27.

3 Corbett, 128

4 William W. Sanger, *The History of Prostitution: Its Extent, Causes, and Effects throughout the World* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1859), 695.

5 Ibid.

of working ranches. The quality of life in a brothel (also called a bawdy house) was determined by its madam, the woman who ran the house, and how upkept the house was. In Boise, Idaho, during this same period, madams charged their prostitutes an average rent of \$12 a week, as well as unspecified percentage of the prostitute's weekly earnings.⁶ The majority of a brothel prostitute's money went towards this rent, and her freedom was dictated by the madam. Saloon workers and dance hall girls operated under a similar system, but instead of answering to a madam, they answered to the saloon operator, and had to secure living accommodation elsewhere.

At the lowest tier were the streetwalkers. These women were often transient, or occupied small cubicle-like living spaces called 'cribs.'⁷ Their work was largely done for subsistence, and while they rarely answered to a pimp or a madam, they were the targets of public abuse and regular police confrontation. Often they were found travelling with the Army as transient camp women, or moving from city to city in search of work.

These differences, significant as they may be, mattered little in the eyes of the law and the medical practitioner. While the former was charged with arresting those found to be operating disorderly houses and vagrancy, the latter was primarily concerned with the containment of disease. Venereal disease had reached a high in St. Louis, with over 135 cases of gonorrhoea and syphilis per 100,000 people reported at hospitals in 1869.⁸

Prior attempts to contain sexually-transmitted diseases across the western frontier had largely focused on rounding up infected sex workers and sending them elsewhere. In 1863, 111 prostitutes infected with venereal diseases were rounded up by the US Army from the military camps near Nashville, Tennessee. After first travelling to Louisville, Kentucky, they were told to board a steamboat to Cincinnati, Ohio. Upon arrival at Cincinnati, however, the commanding officer there ordered the boat to be sent back to Louisville, and from Louisville the boat was sent back to Nashville. Nobody, it seemed, was willing to or capable of taking on over a hundred sick sex workers.⁹ While the incident has largely been forgotten by history, it is notable as an early and costly attempt at disease containment.

According to a report prepared by Dr. William Sanger using estimates from Blackwell Island in New York City, the rate of contracting syphilis after contact with a prostitute in 1857 was nearly 28%.¹⁰ Sex workers were seen as the primary vectors of disease, and so their care became the focus of all disease-relief efforts. Sanger pushed for the regulation and medical inspection of prostitutes, in a system like that of Paris, France in his work, citing its effects on the overall health of sex workers. In a survey of 2000 sex workers in New York City, only 90 had been working for ten or more years; in a similar survey of 3517 Parisian sex workers, 641 prostitutes had been

6 Anne M. Butler, *Daughters of Joy, Sisters of Misery: Prostitutes in the American West, 1865 -90* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1987), 60.

7 Ibid., XVIII.

8 Duane R. Sneddeker, "Regulating Vice: Prostitution and the St. Louis Social Evil Ordinance, 1870-1874," *Gateway Heritage: The Magazine of the Missouri Historical Society* 11, no. 2 (Fall 1990): 26.

9 Butler, 122-124

10 Sanger, 584.

working for ten or more years.¹¹ The Parisian system focused on the identification and containment of those with the disease and holding them for treatment until they were cured, something that Sanger says American hospitals struggled with. Treatment for venereal disease, prior to this, was a completely voluntary process, and many sex workers left before being cured.¹²

Dr. William Barrett, the city health officer of St. Louis, was highly influenced by Sanger's report, and in early 1870 voiced his support for a regulated system of prostitution, like the system in Paris.¹³ The Social Evil Ordinance, as it came to be called, was passed on July 5, 1870, by the St. Louis City Council. Its terms were clear: all prostitutes were to be registered under one of three classes of sex workers, and follow a strict set of guidelines as well as submit to a medical examination. In exchange, prostitution was effectively legalized, and sex workers had access to city-run hospitals for the treatment of disease.¹⁴

The three classes of workers were as follows: inmates of brothels, kept women, and those who worked in rooms outside of brothels like crib workers. Regardless of the class a sex worker was registered as, their treatment was the same and they were all classified as "publicly plying their trade,"¹⁵ even mistresses and kept women under exclusive contract. Once registered, women were subject to constant surveillance by the St. Louis police, and if they were in violation of any of the rules, they faced fines and jail time.¹⁶ Sex workers could not move without filing a change of address with the police. Soliciting was explicitly forbidden, including both streetwalking and soliciting from the windows or doorways of brothels. It was now illegal to display one of the red lamps associated with prostitution, be it in a window or outside the door.¹⁷

All of these measures would be enforced by the new 'no closed doors' policy of the ordinance. All doors to brothels and dwellings used for sex work were to be kept unlocked and available for inspection by the police force at every hour of every day. In addition, the entire city was divided into three districts, which were assigned to three physicians. These physicians were responsible for the weekly medical examination of all prostitutes in their district. If a prostitute was found to be sick, she had 24 hours to report to a hospital for treatment.¹⁸

To support this portion of the ordinance, a new hospital and correction center for sex workers would be built. Called the Social Evil Hospital, this place was intended to be funded with fees from the licensing and inspection portion from the program. The Social Evil Hospital, fully opened in 1873, treated and cared for all infected prostitutes, replacing the Female Guardian Home, which had been previously used by the city. Confinement to the Social Evil Hospital was mandatory and involuntary

11 Sanger, 485.

12 Ibid., 648.

13 John C. Burnham, "Medical Inspection of Prostitutes in America in the Nineteenth Century: The St. Louis Experiment and Its Sequel," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 45, no. 3 (May 1, 1971): 206, doi:10.1515/9783110976366.216.

14 S. Lustgarten, "The Question of Legal Control of Prostitution in America," *Medical Record* 57 (January 6- June 30, 1900): 57.

15 Sanger, 695.

16 Ibid.

17 Ibid.

18 Ibid.

for as long as a sex worker was in treatment. Attempted escapes from the Social Evil Hospital and the Female Guardian Home did occur, but were resolved when the staff of the hospital began taking away the shoes of patients.¹⁹

Outwardly, the Social Evil Ordinance was a success. Despite an initial uptick in admissions for venereal disease in city-run hospitals, admission rates overall decreased until the end of the ordinance in 1874.²⁰ The overall number of sex workers in St. Louis decreased, according to Health Officer Barrett.²¹

The St. Louis ordinance inspired programs as far out as Denver, Colorado. An editor of the *Daily Rocky Mountain News* pushed for a system like the Social Evil Ordinance in 1871, as a solution to the divisive relationship between sex workers and the police.²² While in St. Louis the ordinance came as a sanitary control, the editor argued that it also functioned as a moral control.

The Social Evil Ordinance's praise abroad, however, did not translate into local support. One of the reasons legislation like this had not been passed prior was due to lobbying against it; New York had previously tried to bring forth regulated prostitution in 1867, and cities like Cincinnati debated legislation at the same time.²³ It was seen as a hot-button issue, and the budding temperance movement, spearheaded by women like Susan B. Anthony, despised it. The name of the ordinance, "the Social Evil Ordinance," was no coincidence. Prostitution was viewed as a disease and a failing of society by many.

Adding to the dislike of the ordinance was the newfound visibility of prostitutes themselves. The openness of the sex trade in the city had allowed more successful prostitutes in brothels and kept women to create a place for themselves in society. In February of 1873, a costume ball had been attended by some of the upper-class sex workers, and several people of good social standing were seen keeping the company of prostitutes. The guests seen mixing with the prostitutes included the St. Louis Chief of Police, James McDonough, who had missed a Police Commissioner's meeting to attend.²⁴

Not all women were so lucky, however, particularly former streetwalkers and crib workers. While charges for prostitution were no longer pressed by the St. Louis police, 30% of registered sex workers were arrested for related charges.²⁵ These included public intoxication, profanity, and vagrancy. Vagrancy, as defined in the St. Louis Municipal Code, was living idly, "without proper and diligent effort to procure employment,"²⁶ and included offenses like associating with thieves and, for sex workers, being found walking around at night. It was generally a more serious crime than profane language or public drunkenness, and under the Social Evil Ordinance, a prostitute found guilty more than once of vagrancy would be deported from the city.²⁷

19 Sneddeker, 28.

20 Ibid., 26.

21 Burnham, 207.

22 *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), October 26, 27, 1873.

23 Sneddeker, 21.

24 *St. Louis Dispatch*, February 18, 1874.

25 Sneddeker, 28.

26 Article V: Of Vagrants, The Municipal Code of St. Louis § 1533 (1901).

27 Sanger, 695.

In 1873, the mayor of St. Louis called upon the religious leaders of the city to involve themselves in the reform of sex workers.²⁸ Like many attempts across the Western frontier to reform prostitutes with religion, this was largely met with hostility from the prostitutes. Some sex workers felt that, since the Social Evil Hospital was funded by their own profits, they owed nothing back to society. “They have a feeling, which is easily discerned though they seldom can frame it in words, that society has marked out their path for them; the world keeps them in it; and the rebuffs, unkindness and insults met with in trying to get out of it would be about as bad as the woes of the present, without any of the present’s enjoyments,” writes one journalist for the *Missouri Republican* in late December of 1872.²⁹ Open air prayer meetings scheduled in the heart of the brothel districts ended terribly; interviews with madams were hostile and unproductive.³⁰ Such encounters only added to the tension between sex workers and their morally-driven opposition.

Even the ‘model’ prostitute, who complied to the ordinance to the letter and operated under a madam in a good house, was not free from moral scrutiny. In a speech delivered to the Senate of Missouri in late February of 1874, Lieutenant Governor Charles P. Johnson describes the Social Evil Ordinance as having applied “a glamour of respectability,” to prostitution.³¹ The prostitute, he argues, received more care and consideration from the law than any other class of women; she was guaranteed medical care and legal protection for her trade.

Johnson was not alone in this belief. The early feminist movement of Missouri was closely involved in organizing protests and petitions against the ordinance throughout the last two years of its existence. Rebecca Hazard, a co-founder of the Female Guardian Home and later the president of the Woman-Suffrage Association of Missouri, was one of the first to speak against the ordinance when it was passed.³² For these early feminists, the ordinance was not about the protection of vulnerable women nor the prevention of disease: it was a way for men to avoid punishment for seeing sex workers. Under the original vagrancy and anti-prostitution laws, it was illegal for a man to visit or own a brothel, and it was illegal for a man to associate with prostitutes.³³

Unitarian minister William Greenleaf Eliot united with the feminists opposed to the ordinance and became a pivotal character in the ordinance’s repeal when he began attacking the ordinance and its proponents directly, starting in March of 1873. He pointed out inconsistencies in the statistics being reported by the St. Louis Board of Health and those of the police, including the gap between the 653 prostitutes registered in the city in 1872 and the over 2,000 arrests made by the police department for prostitution-related offenses.³⁴ Furthermore, the overall number of prostitutes had not dropped. At the end of 1873, 134 new prostitutes had been registered while only

28 Sneddeker, 28.

29 *Missouri Republican* (St. Louis), December 29, 1872.

30 Sneddeker, 28

31 Charles P. Johnson, “The Social Evil: The Honesty and Virtue of the Citizen the Only Safety of the Government” (speech, The Senate of Missouri, St. Louis, Missouri, February 19, 1874).

32 Sneddeker, 31.

33 Article V: Of Vagrants, The Municipal Code of St. Louis § 1533 (1901).

34 Sneddeker, 27.

72 had left, due to either relocation or cessation of work.³⁵

The ordinance, argued Eliot, unfairly focused on women and punishing them for the actions of men. Men and women belonged on equal footing, yet men with venereal diseases went unpunished for spreading them, even when innocent people were infected. An 1860 diary entry from Missourian Thomas Butler Gunn describes the plight of Charlotte Kidders, whose lover Arthur Granville “hadn’t been faithful to her: she had to go to her father for medical advice for disease which she was too ashamed of to speak to a physician”.³⁶ There was a great deal of shame for those who caught sexually-transmitted diseases, even secondhand, as Charlotte Kidders did. Arthur Granville faced no punishment for passing on his disease, just as any other man.

Moreover, prostitutes were permanently marked as outcasts of society. Many of them struggled with alcoholism and drug dependency. Across the Western half of the United States, suicide was reported to be one of the most common ways for a woman to permanently leave prostitution.³⁷ In fact, one of the most common reasons for the arrest of a prostitute during the ordinance’s effect was public intoxication or drunkenness.³⁸ In 1896, Physician George M. Gould pointed to the co-morbidity of alcoholism and prostitution as one of “sin and disease.”³⁹

As the social ordinance went on, the petitions against the Social Evil Ordinance became more and more frequent. One such petition gained over a thousand signatures, and was delivered to the state clerk’s office in a decorated wheelbarrow. Young girls in white dresses accompanied the petition, carrying signs decrying prostitution, where it was to be read to the State Senate.⁴⁰ These petitions became such a prominent feature of life in the Senate that on March 4, 1874 alone, six petitions against and one in favor of the Social Evil Ordinance were read.⁴¹

The final months of the ordinance were fraught with tension. The ninth clause of the St. Louis Municipal Code policy on vagrancy was ruled to be invalid in December of 1873. This clause made it a misdemeanor to be seen associating with or to be found frequently in areas known to be populated by vagrants, including thieves and prostitutes. The ruling found that if prostitution was legal in St. Louis, then associating with a prostitute could not be a crime.

Once set in motion, this process of de-legalization could not be stopped. By April of 1874, the Social Evil Ordinance was completely overturned by the city council of St. Louis.⁴² While the measure had been intended to reduce the visibility of prostitutes and make the sex trade a safer business, the inconsistent enforcement of the program

35 Ibid.

36 Thomas Butler Gunn, *Diary of Thomas Butler Gunn*, April 27, 1860, The Missouri Historical Society Collections, The Missouri Historical Society, <http://mohistory.org/collections/item/resource:181212>.

37 Butler, 68

38 Sneddeker, 28

39 George M. Gould, “Chapter V: Disease and Sin,” in *Borderland Studies: Miscellaneous Addresses and Essays Pertaining to Medicine and the Medical Profession, and Their Relations to General Science and Thought*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia, PA: P. Blakiston’s Son &, 1908), 115.

40 Lustgarten, 58.

41 St. Louis Democrat, March 4, 1874.

42 Corbett, 129.

and the social discontent caused by newly freed sex workers ultimately proved too much.

Despite the reduction of sexually-transmitted diseases and approval from the medical community, the St. Louis program ended only four years after it began. Popular opinion had turned against the Social Evil Ordinance, viewing it as a condoning of sex work. The program left a legacy on the frontier that cannot be forgotten for its effort to protect some of its most vulnerable citizens.

Sex workers came from all backgrounds and occupied social spaces ranging from the upper class to abject poverty. While the medical and humanitarian communities saw the ordinance as a method to ease the burden of sex work, the regulation complicated sex workers' lives, and only worsened sex workers' relationships with the law. The ordinance's immense unpopularity with the public simply served as the final nail in its coffin.

Though the St. Louis Social Evil Ordinance was ended in 1874, it continued to be used as a speaking point for legalized prostitution into the twentieth century. The ordinance was a landmark piece of legislation, and inspired pushes for regulated sex work in places as far flung as Denver⁴³ and Cincinnati.⁴⁴

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43 *Daily Rocky Mountain News* (Denver), October 26, 27, 1873.

44 Burnham, 210.

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PERSPECTIVES

European Influence on the Founding Fathers

Travis Roy

The Age of Enlightenment saw multiple influential philosophers distinguish themselves throughout Europe. Concepts from individuals such as Thomas Hobbes, John Locke, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau are still relevant today. The founding of the United States, and in particular, the ideals set forth in the United States Constitution were heavily influenced by European philosophy and their great philosophers. One of the most influential founding fathers in America's history, Benjamin Franklin, frequented Europe in the 18th century and often engaged in political and philosophical discussions with various leaders of the enlightenment period.¹ Throughout the 18th century, groups of people began to rise up and fight back against powerful, corrupt monarchies all over the world. Often times, the same ideologies were pondered upon and used in defense of rebellion from varying political parties. In America's case, most of the founding fathers fought to gain the support of the colonists in hopes of escaping the tyranny of the crown. Although the colony was on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean, England still wanted the colonists to live as if they were in England. The King continuously pressured and levied taxes against the colonists and in return, the colonists began to cultivate the idea of rebellion. The political elite in the American colonies turned to European philosophers for the blueprints of founding a new democratic country.

Perhaps the most well-known European philosopher is Thomas Paine. In his book, *Common Sense*, Paine describes how America is a land made up of people escaping Europe as a whole, not just England. "Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither they have fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still."² Thomas Paine's book was used as a rallying cry as to why the British Colony should rebel against England. As a man who was born and raised in England and later immigrated to the colony as an adult, Paine knew first-hand the dangers of the tyrannical leader in England. Literature works such as his *Common Sense* played a pivotal role in gaining support for the revolution against England. While Thomas Paine is most well-known for his books, other philosophers are known for their theories or ideas.

Although John Locke died before the era of rebellion took over the colonies, his

1 Franklin's Philadelphia: The American Philosophical Society. Ushistory.org. Accessed November 27, 2017. <https://www.ushistory.org/franklin/philadelphia/aps.htm>

2 Paine, Thomas, 1737-1809. *Thomas Paine's Common Sense: The Call to Independence*. Woodbury, N.Y.: Barron's Educational Series, Inc., 1975.

philosophies were still thought upon and relished. Locke is synonymous with his two Treatises. In these Treatises, Locke talked in great detail about his beliefs on the divinity of Kings and the role of government. Locke was steadfast in his belief that government should be limited and possess only the power necessary to protect its citizens and their property.³ He thought that the only true reason of the existence of a central government was to offer protection and enforce necessary laws in the face of anarchy. Locke also thought that humans received the right of owning property because God created the Earth, so all humans should enjoy the right to own property.⁴ This was a key ideal found within the Constitution, and while the Constitution makes no mention of who is and who is not legally able to own land, there came great prestige and power in land ownership. Though generally only rich, white men enjoyed land ownership, it was drastically different from Locke's belief in every single individual, no matter one's race, had the divine right from God to own land. Much like property ownership, the ability and protection to freely practice religion of one's choosing was very important when founding a new government.

Religious persecution in Europe came as no surprise to the colonists in America during the 18th century. From the earliest settlers to the founding fathers, the topic of religion was always one handled with extreme caution. When the King of England declared the Church of England as the official church of the country in 1533, those who refused to conform were publicly persecuted and often times killed. It was imperative for the founding fathers to ensure the new colonists religious freedom to guarantee that they would not be subjected to the same brutal treatment that England was imposing on them. While it is known that Thomas Jefferson coined the separation of church and state in the first amendment to the Constitution, it is difficult to track this idea back to one singular philosopher. Once in America, one of the biggest problems with religion was who practiced what kind of religion and who was not religious at all. Often times, Protestants and Catholics would find themselves in conflict due to differing ideological views within their denomination.⁵ The founding fathers knew the importance of religious freedom and what could happen if this right was not guaranteed and wanted to ensure that there was no way that the country they were attempting to build could adopt an official religion. Much like the separation of church and state was used to control the power of the church, the idea of checks and balances was carefully thought out to ensure no single branch of government would grow powerful enough to overtake the others.

When the name Montesquieu is brought up, the idea of separation of powers is most often associated. Montesquieu understood that the existence of a central government was necessary, but was concerned with the power that the government would exert on its people. He argued that humans had a natural tendency to lean

3 Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy. Accessed November 27, 2017.

<http://www.iep.utm.edu/locke-po/#H5>

4 Ibid

5 Foster, John, Matthew Taylor, David Boecklin, Mathias Tanner, and J. Luyken. "Religion and the Founding of the American Republic America as a Religious Refuse: The Seventeenth Century, Part 1." Exhibitions (Library of Congress). June 4, 1998. Accessed November 28, 2017. <https://www.loc.gov/exhibits/religion/rel01.html>

towards evil behavior.⁶ This reasoning from Montesquieu is critical in his belief that no branch of government or form of government should go unbalanced. “Constant experience shows us that every man invested with power is apt to abuse it, and to carry his authority as far as it will go”.⁷ Montesquieu shows those who read his work that his distrust from those in power and that anyone with any level of control over others should have a framework in place to ensure they do not abuse their power. There is no question that when James Madison was writing the Constitution, he paid particular attention to this concept. Mixed with the real-life abuse of power exhibited by the monarchy in England and the idea that all men having any bit of power will use it to their advantage, the American system of checks and balances was an integral part of the creation of the new democratic form of government. A common problem that the founding fathers were faced with when determining how to set up the new system, however, was how much control the central federal government hold to create a safe balance between sovereign legitimacy and corruption.

Jean-Jacques Rousseau made a life’s work arguing the legitimacy of laws over the people they were governing. The Swiss born philosopher wrote multiple books on the natural goodness of man and was an avid supporter of the famous social contract theory. He argued that monarchs did not receive the divine right to rule, but rather only the people who are sovereign have the right to rule themselves.⁸ Rousseau had a particularly interesting view on the effectiveness of laws over groups of people, arguing that in order for laws to remain effective, they had to cover all of the population fairly; a specific law should not single out population groups or individuals. According to Rousseau, if a population was of the same general demographic background, then the laws would be much more effective. If the population consisted of great cultural diversity, the laws set forth for the people to live by would not remain equal to all people.⁹ Much like Jean-Jacques Rousseau, the great Englishman Thomas Hobbes was also gravely concerned with social and political order.

Thomas Hobbes had drastic views on humans and their ability to interact both socially and politically without conflict. Some argue that Hobbes thought, as a whole, humans were egotistic or purely motivated by their personal self-interests.¹⁰ Other scholars believe that Hobbes’ view on the pure nature of humans to be much more complex than a simplified perspective. In his book *Leviathan*, Hobbes argues that the only true way to control humans is by implementing a complete and sovereign governing body to rule over them. He also states that humans were unable to govern themselves and that if they tried, social or political disagreements would end up in a conflict much like a civil war.¹¹ Perhaps the greatest and most striking difference between Hobbes

6 “Online Library of Liberty”. Montesquieu and the Separation of Powers – Online Library of Liberty. Accessed November 29, 2017. <http://oll.libertyfund.org/pages/montesquieu-and-the-separation-of-powers>.

7 Ibid

8 Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy

9 Bertram, Christopher. “Jean Jacques Rousseau.” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. May 26, 2017. Accessed November 29, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/rousseau/#ideaGeneWill>

10 Internet Encyclopedia of Philosophy

11 Lloyd, Sharon A., and Susanne Sreedhar. “Hobbes’ Moral and Political Philosophy”. Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. February 12, 2002. Accessed November 29, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/hobbes-moral/>

and other great European philosophers was that he suggested that people should submit to a government with “absolute and undivided sovereignty”.¹² This is interesting because so many other philosophers and citizens opposed a strong and powerful central government in fear of corruption and unfair ruling for the sole benefit of those in power. The common man in America during the 18th century was concerned with personal rights and liberties that could protect him and his family from a monarchy style of government.

Possibly the most treasured freedom guaranteed by the Bill of Rights is the freedom to speak freely in almost any manner desired. In the infancy of the country, the ability to speak freely, specifically against the newly formed government, was met with some resistance from the federal government. While the freedom of free speech was guaranteed by the first amendment, it did not specify to what level one could partake in that freedom. The highly controversial French philosopher and writer, Voltaire, was a great advocate for freedom of speech.¹³ Many consider Voltaire to be a controversial individual because of his direct resentment of organized and forced religion, as well as his unwavering support for free speech during a time in which it was unheard of to publicly speak against the government or governmental figures.¹⁴ One of the more common themes present in the majority of Voltaire’s poems and philosophical writings was the right for ordinary citizens to speak freely. Although the exact words may not have come directly from Voltaire, the message the words speak defines all that Voltaire stood for with the statement: “I disapprove of what you say, but I will fight to the death your right to say it”.¹⁵ Voltaire lived unwavering in defense of an individual’s right to speak openly on any matter that they may choose to speak on. While it was not included in the original draft of the Constitution, the freedom of speech was an integral part in getting our founding document ratified.

The task of creating a living, breathing document on which the founding of a newly formed country would use as a blueprint for a successful government would be a daunting task for any single person to embrace. It is well known that Thomas Jefferson and James Madison were close friends and shared many of the same political ideologies. While Jefferson would author the Declaration of Independence, it would be Madison who would tackle the Constitution. To fully understand how Madison successfully drafted the Constitution, it is vital to acknowledge who influenced him and where he looked for his political foundations. Thomas Jefferson and James Madison would grow to create and maintain a strong and powerful friendship for nearly fifty years, starting when they served in the Virginia House of Delegates. While there was a significant age difference between the two, they would study the same influential men during their time in academia. They often read books on the ideals of European philosophers such as Montesquieu and John Locke.¹⁶ Because of this, it becomes

12 Ibid

13 Shank, J.B. “Voltaire.” Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy. August 31, 2009. Accessed November 29, 2017. <https://plato.stanford.edu/entries/voltaire/#VolEarYea169>.

14 “Voltaire (Franois-Marie Arouet).” The Basics of Philosophy. Accessed November 27, 2017. https://www.philosophybasics.com/philosophers_voltaire.html.

15 Shank

16 Wilkins, Lee. “Madison and Jefferson: The Making of a Friendship”. *Political Psychology* 12, no. 4 (1991): 593-608. Doi: 10.2307/3791548

easier to understand why they shared so many similarities in terms of political and philosophical ideals. Like so many European philosophers, we can trace Madison's political ideologies back to the social contract theory.

Unlike in today's political atmosphere, the idea of the social contract theory was considered extremely radical among most people in the 17th and 18th centuries. A key part of founding the new nation was the notion that Americans were free of the monarch after their victory in the Revolutionary War. It was now seen as their right to create a form of government that they felt would work best for its people. The underlying question remained: who was supposed to create this new government?¹⁷ The only certainty, in terms of governing style, amongst all of America's citizens was the security of protection from a corrupt and over powerful government. Some supported a strong federal government, while others wanted a government system possessing enough power to ensure the safety of its people and nothing more. Madison undoubtedly found himself in the middle of a seemingly unforgiving predicament. It was the ideas of influential European philosophers combined with compromises made from all people that allowed Madison to successfully create the United States Constitution.

It is impossible to trace the ideals used in the founding of the United States back to a single individual or idea. The founding fathers had the advantage of looking to European influence from an outside perspective. They were able to see what worked and what would not. The idea of constitutionalism truly began to take hold as something the ordinary person could believe in. As Madison said, "Individuals, society, and government are to cohere in the attachment to constitutionalism".¹⁸ Without the great European philosophers and their enlightenment ideals, the founding of American may have turned out very differently. Ideals such as the separation of church and state, checks and balances, the freedom of religion, and social contract theory may have never made it to the new world had it not been for these great philosophers. In order for a successful separation from the tyrannical monarchy in England, our founding fathers had to look at the great scholars fighting the political injustices in their own country.

17 Rosen, Gary. "Was Madison an Original Thinker?" James Madison: Philosopher and Practitioner of Liberal Democracy. March 16, 2001. Accessed November 29, 2017. <https://www.loc.gov/loc/madison/rosen-paper.html>.

18 Ferguson, Robert A. *The American Enlightenment: 1750-1820*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1997

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REVIEWS

Bell, Janet Dewart. *Lighting the Fires of Freedom: African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement*. New York: New Press, 2018.

Josie Hyden

Lighting the Fires of Freedom: African American Women in the Civil Rights Movement by Janet Dewart Bell is a book that focuses on African American women who were essential in the Civil Rights Movement of the United States. The author uses an array of primary sources in the form of interviews, each of the interviews providing the foundations of the book. The author gives a brief introduction at the beginning of each chapter, or each interview, so the audience is left reading the words of the women directly involved with the Civil Rights Movement, rather than secondary information from the author.

The book is organized into nine chapters, with each one dedicated to an important woman. There is an introduction section prior to the beginning of the book, which states the author's purpose of writing the book. After the last chapter, there is an acknowledgements section which wraps up the authors thoughts while thanking everyone involved. Janet Dewart Bell stated that she got the inspiration to write this book because of her mother. She describes her mother as a strong women who recognized the injustices that were set against African American individuals and supported her daughter through the movement.

The purpose of the book is to recognize the role African American women played during the Civil Rights Movement. The author discusses how African American women saw injustice on two fronts: racism and discrimination based on the color of their skin, and sexism within and outside of their community based on their gender. In the introduction, Bell makes the point that when many people think or discuss the Civil Rights Movement, they automatically think about the men that lead it. The women are not typically discussed, but they were there, and they were active. The women of the movement were not looking for validation or recognition, but they were instead looking for change. The author calls them "servant leaders" and proves that this is exactly what they were to be in the Modern Civil Rights Movement.

After the introduction, the interviews with individual female activists begin. The nine women interviewed were Leah Chase, Dr. June Jackson Christmas, Aileen Hernandez, Diane Nash, Judy Richardson, Kathleen Cleaver, Gay McDougall, Gloria Richardson, and Myrlie Evers. Each woman had unique stories about a variety of aspects regarding the Civil Rights Movement, ranging from their life growing up and how that affected them later to life after the movement. But, each chapter was the same in the fact that they discussed their direct involvement in the Civil Rights

Movement. The questions asked by the author herself are not stated and each chapter is broken up into smaller sections based on what story the woman wanted to discuss. Some chapters had many short stories, while others were longer but discussed only a couple topics. On average each chapter was about twenty pages long.

The author's purpose was so clear throughout the book because the audience would read direct primary sources of the women involved. It is through those women's eyes with no interference. The audience reads the struggles the women had with discrimination and sexism. Many of the women talked about how they were not looking for recognition, but they just wanted to make a change. Several of the women also discussed how the recognition was not given until now, with the author's book.

The author provides a strong argument—the argument of female Civil Rights activists to have a voice—effortlessly with her use of primary sources. Even though she discusses solely the women involved, she recognizes the men involved as well. This book's purpose is not to discredit the men who were involved in the Civil Rights Movement, but to shine a light on the many women who were just as involved and not nearly as recognized. The evidence of the authors point is so evident throughout the book because the women are firsthand accounts, explaining their unique involvements. The structure of the book is also easy to read and understand. The addition of the introduction provides great insight prior to reading the primary sources.

This book has opened my eyes to the involvement of women in the Civil Rights Movement. Prior to reading this book, I did not put much thought into who was involved in the movement other than the key male figures often taught in school. I automatically thought about Martin Luther King Jr. or Malcolm X, but never any women. After reading this, so many more names come to mind along with the understanding of how complex the movement was and how many different parties were involved.

Throughout history and history classes, the men are often recognized and discussed. In some textbooks or classes, women are mentioned but usually are not the main focus of discussion. After reading this book, it is so evident that women have a huge involvement in many issues throughout history. The author's argument was that African American women are not recognized with their work in the movement, but I think this argument can be made for throughout history. The women are not discussed like they should be.

This book has really changed my perspective of not only the Civil Rights Movement, but also on how history is thought of and taught. I would recommend this book to anyone who has interest in civil rights or history in general. This book would be fantastic in the academic setting when discussing women's roles in history and would hopefully spark a greater discussion of the powerful women throughout history.