The Rhodes Historical Review

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Historical Background

During the first half of the twentieth century, a strict machine under the political mastermind Edward Hull –Boss‖ Crump ran Memphis. He controlled the entire city and the majority of West Tennessee, whether he was serving as an elected official or not. Crump was able to keep his grasp on the city government of Memphis through tactics of harassment and bribery, as well as through beneficial reform programs.[1] This progressive politician was able to sustain his power for nearly half a century through these sometimes questionable policies. Crump is remembered as one of the most powerful city bosses in American history.[2]

In early twentieth-century Memphis there was also a growing movement by African Americans in the city to gain power, respect, and most importantly voting rights in a city they felt was just as much theirs as it was Boss Crump‘s. During

individuals. Church Jr., unlike his father before him, decided to spend his life in politics. In 1918, Church founded the first chapter of the NAACP in Memphis and was very involved in getting African Americans registered to vote.[5]

did anything to help the Crump organization, and that it only appeared that way because Church wanted certain candidates elected on his own will.[9]

By the late 1930s, the African-American community in Memphis began to lose faith in Crump. Church and other leaders began to preach the idea of independence of the community, and encouraged the community to cast their votes whichever way they wanted. In 1938, the majority of the African Americans in the city voted against the Crump Machine for the first time. However, Crump no longer needed the support of Church and other black Republicans because of his support from President Franklin Roosevelt.[10] When this occurred Crump decided that he did not need the support of the black community any more and began to plot against Church. In order to draw a political line in the sand and let Church know where he stood, Crump‘s city administration snatched up Church‘s assets because of unpaid back taxes. [11] Church‘s organization continued to campaign against Crump‘s machine, but in 1940 Church fled to Washington, D.C. in fear of his life almost a year after his assets and real estate had been taken away.[12]

The events that occurred in 1940 were fueled by Crump‘s feelings toward his political enemy. It remains unknown if these feelings were of fear or jealously, because both seem to make sense. Jealously could easily be the factor if one understands how powerful a political figure Church was. Crump saw the influence

[9] Roberta Church and Ronald Walter, *Nineteenth Century Memphis Families of Color 1850-1900* (Memphis, TN: Murdock Printing Co., Inc., 1987), 22.
[10] Bond and Sherman, 114.
[11] Dowdy, 109.
[12] Bond and Sherman, 115.

Church had over his respective party, and was likely very envious of his dominance. To be able to threaten Boss Crump‘s power in Memphis enough for him to act as he did against Church, one must have been a tremendously powerful figure in politics. Indeed, Robert Church Jr. was not only one of the most powerful African Americans in local politics, but he was a national powerhouse for the Republican Party.

In his 1952 obituary in the *Memphis Press-Scimitar*, Church was remembered as having such political clout during the Republican administrations of Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge that he would often have personal meetings with presidents and other party leaders.[13] He was seen as responsible for

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appointment was made in Memphis and Shelby County under a Republican administration without his endorsement.‖[16] It seems that if a Republican president was in office, Church almost ruled the city of Memphis. Most of Church‘s local power in Memphis resided in the African-American community. He had become both the –civic and political leader‖ for his people in Memphis. The African Americans of Memphis looked up to Church and his allies as the leaders of their race. Even though Crump ruled most of the city, Beale St. remained under Church and black Republican control.[17] This control had to have upset E.H. Crump, who was building his career and machine, and was well on his way to becoming the boss of the city.

The curious thing is that as strong as Church was in his hometown, he may have been even more powerful in the national ranks of the Republican Party. One of the wealthiest blacks of his time, Church used his money to campaign for Republicans all over the nation.[18] Church‘s wealth and his –refusal to accept compensation for his work‖ gained him insurmountable respect in the Republican Party.[19] Church was recog

long as there is a Republican Party I shall be in it. And I speak today only to be heard in my cause for every man has a right to be heard and present his side in this country.‖[26] Church's dominating presence in the Shelby County and national Republican Party must have infuriated Crump, who was constantly worried about maintaining his uncontested rule of Memphis under a Democratic administration.

later argued that the accusations of him using Church or other black leaders to gain political means we k ca] ɔ M ɛ

allies.[34] This would prove a setback for Church and a major obstacle for him retaining the influence he had.

The biggest problem for Church during this change in regime came from Crump‘s growing relationship and political partnership with President Roosevelt. The two politicians became close allies, because Roosevelt knew Boss Crump was key in collecting votes in Tennessee, and, under Roosevelt, Crump ran his city the way he wanted and received copious amounts of funds from the New Deal.[35] Through this agreement, Crump dominated Memphis because the New Deal and the money that came along with it, –was filtered through the Crump machine.‖[36] Roosevelt‘s progressive policies did not change the conservative administration of Memphis; in fact, it made the Crump machine stronger. Instead

there has not even been a negro boss.‖[38] This bold statement implies that once Roosevelt was in office, Church became powerless in Memphis. In other words, Church‘s time had passed and there was no need for an African American or Republican leader in the completely one-sided city of Memphis under Boss Crump.

Another major setback for Church transpired when a majority of African Americans began to shift their allegiance to the Democratic Party. Many southern blacks –turned their backs on a political party they perceived as no longer responsive to their needs and embraced its competitor.‖[39] Black laborers began to vote Democrat after they saw how President Roosevelt created so many jobs for southern blacks through the New Deal. [40] This desertion is often blamed on President Hoover‘s lack of sympathy and help for the poor, especially African Americans, during the Great Depression combined with Roosevelt‘s new policies that gave jobs and opportunities to African Americans. The black Memphians felt betrayed and abandoned by their party, which cost Robert R. Church much of his power within the black community and Memphis as a whole. With his own people turning their backs on his beloved party, Church remained faithful to the Republican Party. [41] This detrimental power shift caused a sizeable loss of power and influence for Church, which made him even more susceptible to Crump‘s wrath that would soon strike the black Republicans in Memphis.

Adding to the change of the party in power and loss of support from his own people, the Great Depression is also seen as an event that brought Church‘s power down. Many of his holdings were not considered as valuable as they were before The

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[38] –Police Picket Line…Time Magazine.‖
[39] Biles, 97.
[40] Grantham, 127.
[41] Biles, 100.

Depression, which hurt Church financially and inherently affected his political power in the city.[42] Under any machine rule, money is the key to possessing any authority. The great wealth that Church and his father had built had been wounded, and Church had no chance of recovering under the rule of Boss Crump.[43] The financial issues Church had, along with the new Democratic regime in office, resulted in his power being snatched up like a rug from under his feet. These events would lead Crump to finally moving to destroy Church and his colleagues beyond the point of return in order to finally claim supreme rule in Memphis by moving out any opposition. The continuing loss of influence had left Church almost defenseless in his hometown, which allowed Crump to finally administer the final blow and remove Church and his allies from Memphis entirely.

Final Straw: Crump Harassment and Black Republican Exodus

By 1940 E.H. Crump and his machine had begun to make major efforts to ostracize Robert R. Church Jr. and his allies by using various methods of harassment and bending of the law. Church had already upset the Crump organization by campaigning against Crump‘s can

Roosevelt.[45] This also put pressure on the Crump machine because if Wilkie was elected, they feared that Church would be able to regain the political power in Memphis that he once had under a Republican regime.[46] Understanding that a return of Church's power would mean the Crump organization would suffer a loss of influence, the city administration moved to annihilate Church and his colleagues both politically and economically.[47] It seemed as if Church's support of Wilkie was the last straw for Crump and seen as an act of rebellion under the empire that was Memphis under Boss Crump.

The first strike against the Black Republicans was the seizing of Robert R. Church's real estate properties. According to official City of Memphis records available in the Memphis Public Library archives, a vast amount of Church's holdings on Beale St. and around Memphis were procured for what the records call –back taxes.‖[48] Church was forced to pay approximately $89,000 in back taxes. Prior to this point the Crump machine reportedly tended to give Church tax breaks and would not force him to pay property taxes because of his federal patronage. Crump needed to keep Church happy during the years of a Republican regime, but Crump soon realized he no longer needed to take care of the Republican boss and revoked the favors he once granted Church. By 1939, Church's power was dwindling and the city administration, under Boss Crump, decided it was time for Church

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[45] Perre Magness, –Activism Guided Robert Church Jr.,‖ *The Commercial Appeal*, 1 November 1992; G. Wayne Dowdy, *Mayor Crump Don't Like It: Machine Politics in Memphis* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2006),112.
[46] Magness, n.p.
[47] Annette E. Church and Roberta Church, *The Robert R. Churches of Memphis: A Father and Son Who Achieved in Spite of Race* (Ann Arbor, MI: Edward Brothers, 1974), 180.
[48] Dowdy, 109.

to pay those property taxes. Crump had enough of Church campaigning against his machine.[49]

It is unknown at this point whether or not these claims were based on accurate tax records or if this claim was created by Boss Crump‘s organization in order to paralyze Church financially. If indeed the claim of tax evasion was falsified by Crump‘s people, this would be just another example of the measures Crump went to destroy a political opponent. Church himself was not the only black Republican that was a target of the city administration as before long Crump‘s cohorts attacked Bob Church‘s confidants and colleagues.

The Crump organization struck the black Republicans with harassment of local businesses run by Church‘s allies. Dr. J.B. Martin, one of Church‘s closest allies in Memphis, was hassled at his own pharmacy by police officers. It was reported in the

In a letter to Mayor Chandler, Universal Life Insurance Vice-President and local African-American leader, M.S. Stuart, pleaded for the Mayor to recall the officers from the drugstore, stressing that the drugstore meant so much to the community and the methods the organization was using was bringing down one of the city‘s most valuable black businesses.[52] This letter is an example of how some fellow leaders in the African-American community in Memphis appealed to Mayor Chandler and the city government to halt their actions. In his response to M.S. Stuart‘s letter, Mayor Walter Chandler replied with a letter that ignored and was almost mocking Stuart‘s request for the police to be recalled. Chandler guaranteed that his police forces were out to improve –the welfare of every citizen of Memphis, regardless of race, creed, or color.‖[53]

Another Church ally, Elmer Atkinson, was targeted in the same way as Dr. Martin‘s business. [54] Under the order of Crump and Mayor Chandler, Atkinson‘s café on Beale St. was policed and customers were humiliated. According to the *Commercial Appeal*, even the Atkinson family‘s priest was searched and embarrassed by the Memphis police.[55] These types of methods used by the city administration were ruthless and harmful to the businesses of prominent black leaders and close confidants of Robert Church Jr. There was no one in Memphis to appeal to about such harassment because there were no laws against it under the stronghold of Boss Crump. The *Chicago Defender* claimed that such actions by the Memphis police could easily be compared to the unruly police

forces in Nazi Germany, even daring to compare Boss Crump to Adolf Hitler.[56] Martin and Atkinson, their businesses devastated because of the treatment by the Crump Machine, closed up shop and with no other choice, left their hometown and fled to Chicago.[57] Crump and his cronies successfully forced their enemies, the Black Republicans led by Robert R. Church Jr., out of the picture of Memphis politics.

Conclusion

The Debate surrounding Female Ordination in the Catholic Church: Argument in favor of the Installation of Women Priests

Stephanie Brenzel

In the debate over the ordination of women priests, the Catholic Church uses a variety of ideological arguments to support its rejection of a female clergy. The Vatican draws on biblical texts to support its case, and it describes this evidence in its –Declaration on the Question of the Admission of Women to the Ministerial Priesthood.‖ This document, which was issued in 1976, states that the Catholic Church refuses to ordain women as priests because it sees it as being a direct violation of both scripture as well as tradition. Although not everyone believes in the literal truth of Christian doctrine, the Vatican claims that since Jesus chose men to be his apostles and there are passages in Paul‘s letters that forbid women to preach, it is justified in its policy of the exclusion of women from leadership positions. The Church maintains that God ordained only men to be priests. The leadership also states that they see no reason to alter a 2000-year-old tradition. While the Catholic Church backs up its arguments with both textual and historical evidence, it not only misconstrues the meaning of these passages but it also overlooks the instances of female spiritual leadership in these texts and within the Church‘s own history.

himself mimics it during the Last Supper.[10] Women in the gospels, therefore, are constantly being portrayed as enlightened and dedicated disciples of Jesus.

The actual function of the twelve apostles is also something debated by Catholic Church authorities regarding female ordination. There is not only evidence in the gospels about the strong faith of Jesus‘ female disciples but there is also no indication made in these texts that the apostles had any type of specific purpose besides helping to spread Jesus‘ message to other communities. According to the Catholic Church, however, the twelve apostles were the first priests and were ordained as such during the Last Supper.[11] Since there was no mention of Jesus‘ female disciples at this gathering, the Church argues that this is proof in support of an all male priesthood. Although it is clear from the gospel texts that the apostles did play a part in formation of the early church, Jesus does not state anywhere in the New Testament that apostleship equates to priesthood. In fact, one of the main themes of Jesus‘ ministry was that he had come to abolish the Levitical priesthood of the Old Testament. The priesthood then, in terms of the tenets of Jesus‘ message, was for all of his followers rather than an appointed position. The research of biblical scholar Raymond Brown highlights this fact: –The term priest is not used in the New Testament for any individual Christian, although it is used to describe the priesthood of all believers and the priesthood of Christ which replaces all human priesthoods.‖[12] In short, there was no hierarchy in Jesus‘ ministry.

In order to further demonstrate this point, one can look at the language found in the synoptic gospels. One of the main words to describe the actions of Jesus‘ followers is –diakoneo‖ which is

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[10] Simone St. Pierre, *The Struggle to Serve: the Ordination of Women in the Roman Catholic Church* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1994), 39.
[11] Ibid, 8
[12] Ibid, 9

the Greek word meaning to serve, care, or minister. This word is used whenever the disciples are ministering to the larger public or to Jesus himself.[13] Because the gospel writers do not alter their word choice when they talk about the duties of the apostles and Jesus‘ female disciples, it is clear that the women in these texts have a more important function than just cooking and looking after the men. In the Gospel of Mark, for instance, the author talks about how both men and women followed Jesus around Galilee and –ministered‖ to him:

> Some women were watching from a distance. Among them were Mary Magdalene, Mary the mother of James the younger, and of Joses, and Salome. In Galilee these women had followed him and *cared* for his needs. Many other women who had come up with him to Jerusalem were also there.[14]

Neither Jesus nor the gospel writers make a distinction between the duties of the men and women within Jesus‘ circle of friends and confidants. Jesus established a sense of equality within his disciples, which is even more extraordinary when one considers the nature of Middle Eastern society in Jesus‘ time; women lived in a male-dominated world and Jesus, in many ways, went against the norm.

This idea of the lack of –exclusivity‖ associated with the twelve apostles is further demonstrated when one takes into account that there is little known about them. The Church then has little to base its claim on; it knows next to nothing about the men that it declares to be the first priests.[15] While the women disciples

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[13] Ibid, 40

[14] Mk 15:40-41. NIV.

[15] Simone St. Pierre, *The Struggle to Serve: t8(h)2ETBT1 0 0 1eCTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTTT1*

are always mentioned by name and are usually described in a language which denotes esteem, the individual apostles are rarely discussed. They are seldom talked about on an individual basis and there is not much known about their personal lives and backgrounds. In fact, when the author of Luke goes on to talk about the formation of the early church in the –Acts of the Apostles,‖ the only apostles that are really discussed are Peter and John. Because the apostles are somewhat forgotten after scripture claims that Jesus ascends back into heaven, there seems to be this suggestion that they were not more important than Jesus‘ other disciples. They were not the only people given the task of carrying Jesus‘ message to the rest of the world, which is evidenced by the information found in the Gospel of John. In one particular passage, for example, the author talks about how all of Jesus‘ disciples have this duty. They were all present when the Holy Spirit came and gave this power: –As the Father has sent me, I am sending you. And with that he breathed on them and said ‗Receive the Holy Spirit. If you forgive anyone his sins, they are forgiven.‖[16] Here,

revealed to Mary after his death. Jesus first appeared to Mary after he rose from the dead. She was even given the task of revealing Jesus‘ identity to the other apostles. –Mary Magdalene went to the disciples with the news: „I have seen the Lord!‘ And she told them that he had said these things to her.“[21] Martha and Mary then,

apostles, and they were in Christ before I was.‖[24] Like Junia and Andronicus, Phoebe also receives Paul‘s praise. She is described as being a –servant‖[25] of the church and seems to be the one responsible for the Christian community in Cenchrea. He talks about her ministry and good deeds within this specific –church.‖ Paul therefore does not distinguish the male apostles from the female ones. To him, they are all the same before God.

While Paul has a very broad definition of who is considered an apostle in the early church, he is also the source that supplies the modern Catholic Church with most of its evidence about banning women from the priesthood. The passages found in 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 1Timothy 2:12 forbid women from speaking and preaching in church. Nonetheless one has to consider the context in which they were written; Paul wrote his letters in order to address the needs of the community. Because Paul clearly esteems many women in his letters and even calls some of them apostles, it seems odd that he would place restrictions on them. Perhaps, these constraints against women arose from specific problems within the early church communities. For example, Biblical scholar Randy Peterson explains Paul‘s rule in 1 Corinthians about women remaining silent in churches by saying that it dealt with their lack of education:

> Women and men probably sat synagogue style, in separate sections of the Church. When women had questions about the preaching (as they often would since they were generally untrained in scriptures), they would call to their husbands. In the interest of orderly worship, Paul forbids this.[26]

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[24] Rom 16:7. NIV
[25] Rom 16:2. NIV
[26] Simone St. Pierre, *The Struggle to Serve: the Ordination of Women in the Roman Catholic Church* (Jefferson: McFarland & Company, 1994), 58.

This particular passage, which is used by the Church to keep women from being ordained, may have had more to do with maintaining order in church services rather than anything else. The feminist biblical scholar Elisabeth Schüssler-Fiorenza adds that Paul might be addressing a specific group of women; he could be telling married women to be silent since, according to Roman law,

period during which women were disadvantaged due to their lack of access to education. They do not admit that this may have been Paul‘s reasoning behind these strictures.

The fact that there can be these different interpretations is exemplified in many of the early church fathers‘ writings, which indicate that women were not always excluded from leadership positions. For example, Origin, a preeminent biblical exegete that lived in the 2nd century A.D., focused on the figure of Phoebe in one of his texts. He noted that Paul‘s commendation of Phoebe in his letter to the Romans suggests that women could indeed be preachers and deacons within the church. –And therefore this passage teaches two things equally and is to be interpreted, as we have said, to mean that women are to be considered ministers (haberi…feminas ministras) in the church, and that such ought to be received into the ministry.‖[29] Origin then believes that other passages should be taken from Paul, rather than just 1 Corinthians 14:34-35 and 2 Timothy 2:12, when considering the status of women in the early Catholic Church. That many people did so is further evidenced by the writings of Tertullian, who was an apologist for the early Church that also lived in the 2nd century A.D. Although Tertullian was an opponent to the idea of women being admitted into the church as anything other than a layperson, his texts show that women frequently did take on leadership roles, much to his chagrin. –These heretical women: how bold they are! They dare to teach, to debate, to perform exorcisms, to attempt cures—perhaps even to baptize.‖[30] Despite Tertullian‘s outrage, his texts show that women did, during the 2nd century, take on roles that resemble those of priests. The Catholic Church then, if it accepts the validity of the writings by these men, must

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[29] Kevin Madigan and Carolyn Osiek, trans and ed. *Ordained Women in the Early Church: A Documentary History* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2005), 14.
[30] Ibid, 174.

but it would also give female parishioners an opportunity to develop into spiritual leadership roles, as well as providing a clergy more attuned to women‘s issues. In short, not only is there is much information in the New Testament that supports female leadership but expanding the Catholic clergy to include women would further realize the commitments the Church made at Vatican

Men, Women, and the Question of Food: Gender in 12th Century Europe

Ellen Rast

Little attention has been given to food as a vehicle for increasing the understanding of medieval society's various social and political structures. This disregard of something so common could be because food is considered necessary, and therefore its presence in a group of people is taken for granted rather than being singled out or appreciated as an entity for learning in itself. By examining food as an essential facet of society rather than just a necessity unworthy of extended attention, gender distinctions in twelfth-century Europe become evident. The twelfth century saw great religious, social, and political developments and provides a rich collection of sources from which to base an analysis of gender roles through food. Developments in the cultivation, consumption, and rejection of food signify the important role food played in creating distinctions within both lay and religious life.

In order to fully comprehend the significance of food in the twelfth century (and its place in gender distinctions), what qualifies as food must be understood. –Food is not food unless it forms a balanced ration, the chief element of which is a relation between carbohydrates and proteins…A society may theoretically be able to produce great amounts of carbohydrates which it has no practical

reason to produce until it finds an increased supply of proteins.‖[1] Moving from a grain-based diet to a diet richer in protein, as happened in the Middle Ages, by this definition is the only way to actually be considered a –food-producing‖ society. But beyond simply providing the basic nutrients, food in the twelfth century was a product in the economic systems of the twelfth century (as evidenced by the various fairs and markets based around the buying and selling of produce),[2] a class indicator (grandeur of manorial feast versus the plainness of peasant fare),[3] and, most

workers using horsepower nearly 200 years before, the Bayeux Tapestry (Kent, 1077-92) provides the first visual proof of oxen being replaced with horses in farm-work, and an early twelfth-century tapestry of the Apocalypse showed –the month of April with a team of horses doing the spring ploughing with a wheeled plough.‖[13] Through these tapestries, it becomes even more evident that the developments in agriculture throughout the Middle Ages were invaluable to cultivation techniques of the twelfth century. By the time the Apocalyptic tapestry was produced, horses were wildly popular and were replacing the heavier, slower oxen in European fields.[14]

As ploughs and animals advanced, so did understanding of how best to use land for agriculture. Possibly the most important agricultural development of the Middle Ages, the three-course rotation (or three-field rotation) changed the cultivation of food.[15] Previously, fields had simply been alternated in a two-field rotation that did not allow the soil of the fallow field to fully be re-nourished. The new three-field rotation operated on a pattern of –winter-spring-fallow,‖[16] with an emphasis on the spring planting. This process of placing crops on a rotation that would leave one field to recover each year emphasized the spring planting, and the planting of legumes, such as beans, peas, and lentils.[17] The fields were not equitably divided, because wheat removes more nutrients from the soil than most crops, but the rotations proved effective nonetheless. [18] Legumes were used in order to nourish the soil that would otherwise have become exhausted as a result of the wheat and oats planted for cash crops, animal feed, and personal

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[13] *Ibid.*
[14] *Ibid*, 75.
[15] Michael M. Postan, *Essays on Medieval Agriculture and General Problems of the Medieval Economy*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 17-20.
[16] Stone, *Decision-Making*, 136.
[17] White, *Medieval Technology*, 71.
[18] Stone, *Decision-Making*, 257.

does not offer the balance between carbohydrates and protein mentioned previously could hardly be considered food.[23] The introduction of legumes provided the protein that was seriously lacking in the diets of the peasantry.[24] With the widespread implementation of the three-field rotation over the previously popular two-field rotation, the new emphasis on legumes provided a new source of protein for the working class.[25] Legumes enhanced the lives of the peasants, increasing health and strengthening their ability to work in the newly enlarged fields behind the more efficient horses, and so the consumption of food evolved from a barely adequate grain-based diet to an advanced diet based on proteins found in legumes.[26]

While the consumption of food primarily affected the peasant class, the rejection of food in lay society was a concept with distinct class divisions in the twelfth century. Religion permeated all facets of society, and practices such as fasting were common among laypeople.[27] The diet that evolved for the European peasant, even when enhanced with legumes, was remarkably similar to the ascetic diets of the religious world which abstained from meat, excess, and often subsisted solely on bread.[28] Yet this frugality in the diets of the peasantry was neither pious nor optional. The limitations on diet were due to the expense of meat, dairy, and other products, rather than an optional, self-imposed penance or purification process. It is the reality of the poor that is the greatest statement on the rejection of food among laypeople. As religion became significantly popular within the upper classes,

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fasting was adopted as an indicator of piety.[29] Meat and dairy products were not rare among the upper classes, coming to them relatively easily through hunting and financial ability, and by abstaining from them the elite felt they were suffering. Yet for the lower classes, there was very little by way of rich foods to abstain from. The practice of fasting among the laypeople, therefore, was rarely one undertaken by the peasant class and generally referred to upper class laypeople that had the ability to gain the foods they needed to abstain from.[30] As a result, upper class citizens who chose to fast often gained piety through this practice, for it proved their willingness to be uncomfortable although they had the opportunity to be the exact opposite.[31] Furthermore, upper class citizens did not have to undertake the brutal physical labor of the peasantry, and this allowed them the convenience of abstaining. There is something wildly impractical about the idea of people who had to undertake hard labor for a living choosing not to eat. The strength provided by what food they could get was something they could not logically deny themselves.[32]

As a social construct, while fasting created intense class divisions, food as a whole created distinct gender divisions within the lay societies through its cultivation, consumption, and rejection. The medieval family evolved from the new manorial communities and became more established as health improved and children were able to survive slightly longer because of improved nutrition.[33] Distinct gender roles were then allowed to evolve, and women and men became individualized by what was perceived to

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[29] Daniel E. Bornsetin, ed., *A People's History of Christianity: Medieval Christianity*. (Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2009), 75.

[30] Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 3.

[31] Bornsetin, ed., *A People's History*, 95-98.

[32] David Herlihy, *MeETBT1 0 013 36BT1T1Tlp0 0 0 3 1 0 B 0 4 7 0 4 C > 0 4 8 1 5 0 5 9 > 0 4 4*

be their place in society. In the cultivation process, men were those who provided the food, worked the field, and interacted with the outside world.[34] Women were used primarily in the fields at planting and harvest times, the two busiest times of the agricultural year.[35] Men drove the ploughs and worked with the animals, while women bundled wheat and picked up what was dropped; they mainly spent their time in the home.

While cultivation was largely the work of men (except in poor areas where all hands were needed at all times),[36] women ruled in the realm of consumption. As the medieval family evolved, women's place in the kitchen became a prevalent theme in Europe. Once the goods reached the house, food became entirely the responsibility of the women. Bishop Marbodius of Rennes, writing in the late eleventh and early twelfth centuries, extolled the virtues of the –good‖ wife, saying that if she were not adequate at nourishing her family, –the good order of life would be diminished‖ because –who would assume the care of the house if not a woman? She cooks and keeps house, spins wool and flax, and weaves cloth.‖[37] Essentially, it was up to the woman to turn the raw products brought home by the man into the food needed by her family. While in many cases women still worked in the fields, their

The theme of nourishment and the secular developments of food, however, were not limited to the laity of the twelfth century. Religiosity was on the rise, and could not be separated from the cultivation, consumption, and rejection of food. With the widespread establishment of convents, monasteries, and abbeys across Europe[39] came different ideas of who could be involved in the three phases of food, and in what capacity those who were involved could be involved. Churches were exploding into existence across the continent, as evidenced by the area directly around London which was reported to have had 139 churches at the dawn of the twelfth century.[40] This large number is indicative of the revived religiosity prevalent across the European continent, and its importance to food is undeniable. As mentioned in Jocelin of Brakelond‘s twelfth-century *Chronicle of the Abbey of St. Edmund's*, monasteries were not simply centers for prayer and contemplation.[41] Rather, they were often the cultural centers of communities, for they drew residents to them through employment opportunities and the bustling markets held throughout the year.[42] Jocelin often references the farmers –employed‖ by these monasteries, and the various landholdings, including orchards and fields they worked on behalf of the monks.[43] Donated by the wealthy sons who entered the abbeys, large tracts of land were

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[39] Giles Constable, "Renewal and Reform in"Renœnewal and Refod38(a)BT1 0 0u0(d)-9

often among the monastic possessions, and it fell to the monks to ensure the proper use and cultivation of that land. Constantly, abbeys are mentioned in the *Domesday* account of England as significant landholders.[44] Since monks were often outnumbered by those living on their lands, and the peasants needed work, the religious men became key cultivators of food through tenant farming and renting of land for cultivation.

This practice of landowning and tenant farming undertaken by the monasteries of the twelfth century went hand in hand with the development of the markets that also flourished at monastic compounds.[45] While the economic implications presented by these centers through food will be discussed later, the religious implications were undeniable. Through the position of landowners, the monks also encouraged a connection to religiosity. As religiosity spread, the relics of saints held by the monasteries proved to be more than just private religious symbols for the monks.[46]

Nuns, as well as monks, often were great landowners. The area known as Elstow Manor in Bedfordshire, England held –land for 7 ploughs. In lordship 2 ploughs. 14 villagers have 5 ploughs. 11 smallholders and 4 slaves. 1 mill at 24s; meadow for 4 plows, 60 pigs. Value 100s.‖[49] The manor had been brought to the abbey by the Countess Judith, and although this inventory was taken in 1086, the abbess and the nuns of St. Mary‘s held Elstow until the dissolution of the monasteries.[50] The thriving agricultural world of the twelfth century benefitted greatly from lands such as Elstow, held and run by religious organizations but worked by the people of the town. The cultivation of food was viewed as a community effort, often centered in the religious sector. While visiting the relics and chapels of the monasteries, people were exposed to new nutrition and improved health.[51]In this way, the religious cultivation of food was able to strongly influence the twelfth century.

Since products, even those produced religiously, must be consumed to be considered food, it is necessary to understand the

> it may receive the Eucharist sacramentally, and the spirit that it may receive it spiritually.[58]

This idea maintained that through completely abstaining from food, spirituality is achieved, and was championed by both male and female members of the religious society.[59] This mindset of using the fast as a way to cleanse both mind and soul for the

expense of the monastery.‖[63] The riches of the monasteries went to the visitors, and monks were supposed to live in relative poverty. This somehow raised them above laypeople into the realm of sainthood.

Each of these stages of food, cultivation, consumption, and rejection, is as crucial in establishing the religious gender distinctions of the twelfth century as it is for understanding the same divisions in lay society. First, the cultivation of food was not limited to a single type of monastery. As dowries were required of women upon entering the convent, large landownership was not rare.[64] Many had large landholdings and were in the business of cultivation as much as their religious brothers. Similarly, monasteries and convents did not differ intensely in the field of consumption for the individual religious societies, for they were universally expected to be more ascetic than the lay society and the widespread implementation of such austere diets as explained by St. Benedict proved this expectation to be a truth of the situation rather than just a myth.

Yet in the writings of Hildegard of Bingen, the distinction between males and females with regards to both the growth and consumption of food becomes apparent. Food imagery runs rampant through writings of the twelfth century, providing connections between consumption and religious experience. Drawing from the ideas of the sixth century's St. Brigid of Ireland, namely that –it is so arranged by nature that nurses always bestow the affection of their spirit on those to whom they provide the milk of their flesh,‖[65] two conclusions are carried through to the twelfth century. First, women are by nature the providers of nourishment; and second, through feeding others they are brought closer to

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[63] Jocelin of Brakelond, *The Chronicle of Jocelin of Brakelond*.
[64] Bornsetin, ed., *A People's History*, pg 330.
[65] Herlihy, *Medieval Households*, 120.

Christ through the sustenance they provide. These ideas were enhanced by the work of Hildegard of Bingen, a twelfth-century abbess and prolific writer who was widely consulted by everyone from the lowest peasant to the kings of the age.[66] Throughout her advice, there is a distinct difference between how she councils women and how she councils men. In her responses to male issues, she uses imagery rife with hunting and birds of prey, while women are depicted as flourishing, life-giving creatures, and mothers.[67] For example, she writes that human life occurs

> In the same way a tree in its first growth brings forth tender shoots, goes on then to bear fruit and finally ripens that fruit to the fullness of utility…at the onset of wintertime, the sap of the tree withdraws from the leaves and branches as the tree begins to incline towards old age.[68]

protects, guides, and leads them to food, so must men. But it is through her imagery with regards to women that the responsibility for ensuring consumption falls almost entirely on them. While these religious works are referring to the Word rather than actual food, conclusions drawn from the consumption imagery of Hildegard is mirrored in the day-to-day life of religious figures of the twelfth century.

It is curious that among the saints of the twelfth century, the reasoning behind the sainthood of women and men are drastically different. This disparity can be seen primarily in the

women can gain the status of piety and eventually achieve sainthood.

For male saints, however, there is a suspicious lack of charitable distribution of bread. Historical treatises on fasting were almost entirely male, from St. Augustine to the twelfth century, –alms, in Greek, is the same as the word for mercy.‖[74] This allowed for the almost complete absence of male saints associated with food miracles, by way of distribution or otherwise. Most often, male saints were lauded for their hermeticism, their ascetic nature, and their preaching ability, such as in the stories of St. Francis of Assisi.[75] Although it has been previously stated that monasteries would supply travelers with food at their own expense, this is not considered charitable and is indeed often expected, as hotels did not exist.[76] These differences, along with the rise in lay saints and married female saints, intensify the importance of food within the religious world and any attempts made at defining gender roles.

While consumption was a practice encouraged by women (and on a lesser scale by men) for those outside the religious realm, something quite different was taking place within the convents and monasteries; the significance of fasting for women far outweighed Whed

undertaken before communion to cleanse the body to receive God as food.[79] However, it was the female religious communities that took fasting to another level entirely, with –fasts sometimes lengthening into years without eating, communion soaring into days of frenzy or trance.‖[80] It was through these trances that the medieval mystic often seemed to gain her visions, and as men were necessary to confirm the validity of the visions it seems unlikely they themselves would fast to such an extent.[81] While fast consumed the lives of women, elevating married laywomen to the status of saint through their ability to deny themselves food, it played a lesser role in the lives of men in the twelfth century.[82] Few men are associated with intense fasts, and so can be considered practitioners of more of a –feminine‖ religion. These men include Francis of Assisi and Henry Suso. This –feminine religion‖ was based on fasting and visions, exuberance and overflowing with imagery.[83] Still, it is –deeply significant that despite the austere ascetiticism and Eucharistic fervor of these two [Francis and Suso] saints, metaphors other than food and practices other than fasting dominate their piety.‖[84]

As the cultivation, consumption, and rejection of food evolved throughout the Middle Ages, its significance to history became ever more apparent. Ignored though it may be, it cannot be denied that food is an essential factor in studying the lay and religious lives of the twelfth century, for food is necessary for

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[79] *Ibid*, 115.
[80] *Ibid*.
[81] Hildegard, *Selections*, Introduction.
[82] John Tauler of the Rhineland, –Sermon 49 for the Nativity of the Virgin, in Tauler, Die Predigten,‖ p.313. Cited in: Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 109.
[83] Bynum *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 103-104.
[84] *Ibid*, 105.

survival, inextricable from society, and –when we are hungry or thirsty we will naturally enjoy eating or drinking.‖[85]

[85] Tauler of the Rhineland, –Sermon 49‖. Cited in: Bynum, *Holy Feast, Holy Fast*, 109.

Darfur‘s Genocide: A Causal Analysis at the Individual, State, and Global Level

Olivia Wells

Elie Wiesel, author of *Night* and winner of the Nobel Peace Prize, provides a compelling documentary of his experiences during the Holocaust, revealing a terrifying aspect of the nature of social systems and their ability to dehumanize millions of lives in accordance with cultural prejudices. Widespread torture of this kind is a reoccurring theme across the globe even today and often times fueled by corrupt leadership enforced by officials under the

into the desert and isolated from any sort of shelter, most of the victims are killed indirectly, however, from starvation, heat exhaustion, disease, or wild animals. Thus far every effort of the international community to resolve the genocide in Darfur has fallen flat due to a prolonged failure to address the context of the political and ethnic undercurrents responsible for fueling this abhorrent violence. The United Nations has attempted to end the genocide based on the premise that it is an isolated humanitarian and ethnic conflict, calling it –the worst humanitarian crisis in the world.‖[2] However, the genocide ventures beyond the realm of conventional humanitarian crises given the nature of the groups in opposition. The conflict pits the Janjaweed against the rebel groups, namely the Sudanese People‘s Liberation Army (SPLA) and the Justice and Equality Movement (JEM).[3] Within a superficial context, the conflict appears to be a continuation of the prolonged rivalry between the Sudanese Arabs against the Christian Africans; however, such an assumption oversimplifies this sociological pandemic that has plagued the region for over thirty years.

Some of the alternative factors affecting this conflict such as intermarriage blur the ethnic distinctions between the two opposing sides. Moreover, the rebel groups have splintered into over ten different factions, making it increasingly difficult for either side to prevail.[4] Because of the divisions within the rebel groups, the groups themselves continually fail to facilitate change and the Janjaweed employ genocide as a means of carrying out President Omar al-Bashir‘s orders to –eliminate the rebellion.‖[5] The majority of the attacks carried out by the Janjaweed occur in villages where rebels have no armed presence, however, making it evident that the government intends to persecute the rebels‘ support base so as to prevent future rebel recruitment.[5] Victimized and oppressed by civil war, ethnic discrimination, colonialism, famine, regional instability, ineffective authoritarian regimes, and

reveals his empirical political agendafT38

Sudan from international aid is a means of protecting the national sovereignty of his government and, therefore, his power. The economic and political repercussions of Bashir‘s policies overlap in that conditions of poverty, meager job opportunities, and severe droughts all lead to violent uprisings from rebel groups.[3] By failing to provide for his country, Bashir has promoted desperate living conditions in Sudan, thereby allowing the manifestation of violence and social unrest from rebel groups.

Given this evidence, however, the notion that genocide is solely a byproduct of poor leadership is unrealistic. However, leadership does directly affect the conditions suitable for the development of genocide. In cases such as Darfur, it is a leader‘s inability to resolve the ethnic differences within a state to moderately satisfy the groups in conflict that can lead to the development of genocide. For example, Jack D. Eller asserts that nationalism is built upon a foundation of ethnicity that has the ability to –manage and mobilize the political will of the people.‖[14] His theory runs parallel with that of Stefan Wolff who argues that some leaders tend to take a nationalist approach, using ethnicity as a tool to mobilize and organize followers in pursuit of power or other economic gain.[15] Wolff also asserts that ethnicity is only a threat when it is poli

essential to the outcome of a decision because he feels that –people are experiences, images, and expectations while institutional abstractions are not, except in the metaphorical sense.‖[16] By arguing that institutions are merely a byproduct of the individual, Singer validates the notion that a heavy percentage of blame can be portioned to Bashir for this genocide.

The evidence demonstrates Omar al-Bashir‘s ability to manipulate the ethnic sentiments of the Sudanese people to achieve his own personal wealth and power. However, al-Bashir cannot be held accountable for the existence of the political and racial divide between the north and south that has plagued Sudan for the past century prior to his regime. Although Bashir is not responsible for the conditions preceding the genocide, he can be held accountable for failing to prevent and manage the ethnic conflict in Darfur that evolved into a full-blown genocide under his watch.

A State Level of Analysis: Khartoum

Given that al-Bashir cannot be entirely blamed for instigating the genocide due to the fact that he had minimal control over the dysfunctional preconditions of the state when he seized power, the natural progression then is to examine these preconditions to further investigate the origin of this genocide. A combination of the nature of the Sudanese government, commonly known as Khartoum, and the devolution of Darfur from an independent state to a colonized state, then finally to a region within Sudan, offers evidence concerning the development of the genocide. All of these factors foreshadow conflict within the state; however, a closer analysis of each can help determine whether or not one is indirectly or directly related to the cause of the genocide.

Since the end of British colonialii .7I0.58 211.78 Tm[(B555d)20( )-

Britain‘s decision to unify the northern and southern regions of Sudan encouraged the two successive civil wars, thereby providing a politically unstable atmosphere that would that would influence both the rebel groups and Khartoum‘s response in the events preceding genocide.

While the state level of analysis helps identify the factors that contributed to the political and economic instability within Darfur, its direct impact on the genocide itself is limited. Khartoum plays the largest role within the state level of analysis concerning the origin of the genocide as it is responsible for the actions of the Janjaweed. Subsequently, Lake argues that –an economic or political crisis with ethnic undertones‖ lends itself as a precipitating cause of an ethnic conflict, whereas –a total collapse of national government‖ can be considered a facilitating cause.‖[18]

aid through both international organizations and regional alliances with neighboring states. These international and external actors assume the role as the benefactor of the genocide, perpetuating the conflict via indirect but efficient means.

Despite the United States‘ best efforts to thwart Sudan‘s financial resources through multilateral economic sanctions, China insists on maintaining good relations with Sudan based on the success and demand of its oil industry.[11] In 1994, Sudanese exports to China were $84 million and accounted for more than 20% of its exports.[11] By 2005, China began providing army l

indirectly financed the group responsible for pillaging entire villages of innocent civilians.

Khartoum from international and external players, the genocide in

12. Daniel Chirot and Clark McCauley, *Why Not Kill Them All? The Logic and Prevention of Mass Political Murder*.

About the Editors:

Stephanie Fox is a senior history and German double major from St. Charles,

About the Contributors:

Bradley Bledsoe is a junior international studies – history bridge major from Athens, Tennessee. This past summer, Bradley worked for the Crossroads to Freedom Archive, compiling and preserving Memphis Civil Rights Movement history. He enjoys sports, music, studying Chinese, and this summer he will study in Tianjin, China.

Stephanie Brenzel is a senior with majors in German and religious studies. She is currently involved with the IPA program, Theta Alpha Kappa, and is an active member in her sorority. Last spring, she spent her semester abroad in Tübingen, Germany. After graduation, Stephanie will be returning to Germany as a Fulbright student grantee.

Ellen Rast is a junior history major from Columbia, South Carolina. She is an intern at the Memphis Cotton Museum and spends her spare time wielding a machete as part of efforts to reclaim Zion Christian Cemetery through the Zion Cemetery Project. With her graduation planned in December of 2010, she is excited to enter the world of employment and be on her own.

Olivia Wells is a sophomore Spanish major from Jackson, Mississippi. She enjoys playing volleyball for the Varsity Lynxcats at Rhodes and is a volunteer at THE MED in Memphis. She plans on going abroad to Buenos Aires, Argentina for her junior year and going to medical school after graduation.

When Political Rivalry Goes Too Far
Bradley Bledsoe

The city of Memphis, Tennessee has struggled with problems stemming from racial and political tension throughout the city's history. This tension creates heated battles between city leaders. In the first half of the 20th century, two of these leaders became caught up in one of the most intense political battles in the city's history. This paper examines the rivalry between political tyrant Edward Hull Crump and black Republican leader Robert R. Church. Through investigation of personal letters, newspaper articles, and other archival sources, it is clear to see how complex and extreme this rivalry became and how it affected the lives of these Memphis politicians.

The Debate surrounding Female Ordination in the Catholic Church: Argument in favor of the Installation of Women Priests
Stephanie Brenzel

The Catholic Church has had a long-standing tradition of an all-male priesthood. Since the Vatican believes that Jesus gave priestly authority only to men, they feel themselves justified in their exclusion of women from the clergy. The Church, however, is having a harder time defending their assertions on this matter in light of their decision to become a more –modern‖ institution. This paper then explores not only the types of arguments employed by the Catholic Church in this debate about the ordination of women priests but also the ways in which one can refute these claims. By looking at both biblical passages as well as the writings produced by the early Church fathers in the 2nd century AD, it is clear that the New Testament does not reject the idea of having women priests. In fact, the opposite is true; there are many passages in these texts that seem to advocate women taking on spiritual leadership roles.

Men, Women, and the Question of Food: Gender in 12th Century Europe
Ellen Rast

The study of medieval culture has unearthed many perplexing conundrums in the social hierarchy of the world. Through an in-depth study of documents, centered on the 12th century and its social/political surge, this paper examines the depth of gender divisions in lay and religious societies by drawing parallels between gender and the idea of food.

Dar usal Analysis at the Individual, State, and Global Level
Olivia Wells

As Darfur continues to suffer from genocide, Omar al-Bashir, president of Sudan, has expelled international aid from Sudan, calling it an attack on the country's autonomy. This research paper explores the causes of the conflict that generated this genocide with the intent that by addressing thest pe ells