

Confluence

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Confluence

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Confluence is a national, interdisciplinary journal published by the Association of Graduate Liberal Studies Programs that reflects the best scholarly and creative work of graduate liberal studies programs. Its broad scope will include scholarly essays and creative work such as short stories, poetry, creative nonfiction, and visual art. Contributors will be all those affiliated with such programs—students, alumni, faculty, and others. From this exchange of ideas and art, the association hopes to generate intellectual discussion, foster an understanding of the range of its multidisciplinary activities, and stimulate research and creative endeavors among its readers.

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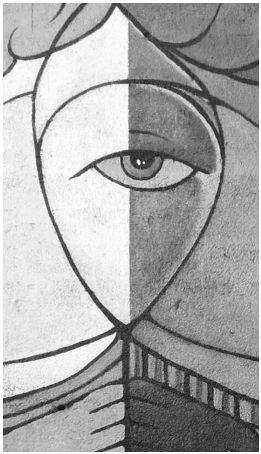
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Editor's Notes

— EDITOR'S NOTES —

Pete Seeger began his brief 1973 essay with a gloomy sentiment: “Americans are drowned in words. . . . We’re also drowned in pictures.” He describes an alarming age, not unlike our own, that produces more information than people can use or make sense of or even protect themselves against. Not one to dwell on hopeless causes, however, Seeger turns immediately to a special case, “the independent graphic artist,” a painter, say, who would once have provided the wealthy with something to hang on the wall. The figure of this artist serves to sharpen a hopeful contrast.

Seeger believed that there was underway a contrasting revival of traditional open-air murals, by means of which artists great and modest communicate directly with the people who live around them. Not hidden away in the houses of the rich, not guarded by museum and university experts, street murals “fill a need for communication

between all people.” There is an opportunity for honesty and independence that can break through silence and complacency with “ideas which will not be said by our politicians—ideas which need to be explored in public.” Something substantial is at stake, then.

For one thing, by painting in public spaces, artists remind fellow citizens that “we are not one hundred percent at the mercy of the media.” Communicating on their own, independent from the houses of commerce, freed of their predictable formulations, and more free in general to speak, people will begin to remake the world according to their own needs and values, Seeger said. For him, the people’s values are fundamental and far-reaching: “We are going to unite for peace, freedom, jobs for all, and a clean, unpolluted world to share.” No narrow focus on commerce alone will satisfy.

As the tiny essay closes, Seeger anticipates and answers a doubting reader’s question: “How will this come about? The murals will tell the story. You don’t believe me? Keep your eyes open.”

That last little bit matters, because he means that the process of social change is exploratory. It involves clarifying basic values together, in public, and it includes affiliation and action. It’s a process that has a better chance using public media of wide circulation and participation. The painting on the wall of the millionaire’s study won’t do it; media broadcast to the passive millions won’t do it either. Murals aren’t just records of the time or bursts of expression, then. They are part of the process of shared inquiry and social change. The same must be true of social media today.

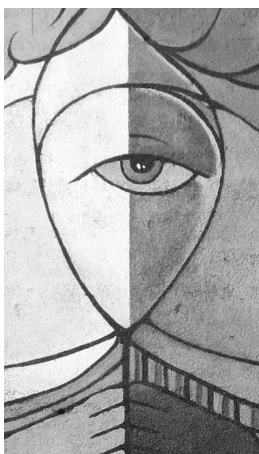
Pete Seeger’s essay introduces a 1973 book called *Mural Manual*, with chapters on every aspect of producing street art. People need comparable skills, and perhaps a comparable manual, for speaking and writing as active citizens today, for all the reasons that Seeger mentioned when he spoke about art. Perhaps his words, reprinted in full in the pages just ahead, are of use as students and faculty of AGLSP member programs, celebrating Chicago, visit its neighborhoods, view its vital street murals, and consider the process of

making and remaking American society that is hinted at by the 2013 conference theme.

Nearly all the pieces in this issue were nominated by the faculty and directors of member programs as part of the AGLSP’s annual writing competition. Immediately after Pete Seeger’s brief essay you will find this year’s award winners, one in creative writing and the other in interdisciplinary research writing. The authors are applauded at the conference banquet, and rightly so. They are emblematic of our shared commitment to excellence, to interdisciplinary inquiry, to creative arts, and to the fellowship of our graduate programs. The excellence of the winners and of all the nominated pieces was nurtured by faculty and fellow graduate students.

Congratulations, then, to the graduate students and faculty of Dartmouth College and Villanova University. Kenneth Mumma’s research on contemporary interpretations of Leviticus and Jackson Shultz’s oral history of transgender life come to us from those AGLSP programs.

Enjoy!—KS



Mural Manual

Introduction

Musician Pete Seeger's notes on the activist art of street murals may serve to introduce the street art of Chicago, the site of the 2013 AGLSP conference.

— PETE SEEGER —

Americans are drowned in words—over the air, in directives on paper, in appeals through the mails. We're also drowned in pictures—outdoor advertising, transit advertising, advertising on pages of paper or in blurry pictures on a little screen. The independent graphic artist in America has in the past occupied himself or herself with filling rectangles to be hung on interior walls. Usually only a small percentage of people will pay for such art or even find wall space for it.

Now an increasing number of graphic artists are realizing the need to use exterior surfaces, visible to any pedestrian, cyclist, or to passengers in car, bus, or train. It's an old technique, used by ancient societies in all countries, and today still in some places.

Sometimes it has been a folk art of anonymous painters filling the people's needs. Sometimes, as in Mexico, the artists have been national heroes.

This manual will help young artists expand the tradition here. Now. In the crisis facing the inhabitants of this land, murals can fill a need for honest communication between all people on a nonverbal level. Independent artists can communicate ideas which will not be said by our politicians, our TV or newspapers—ideas which need to be explored in public.

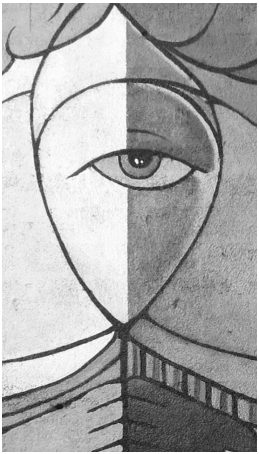
Not all the artists will agree with each other, of course. No matter. Their noncommercial pictures will carry an important message: we are not one hundred percent at the mercy of the media. We can communicate with each other through color, line, and form. And as independent human beings, our content is going to be different from what is ground out on the drawing boards of commerce: we are going to build a new world. We are going to unite for peace, freedom, jobs for all, and a clean, unpolluted world to share.

How will this come about? The murals will tell the story. You don't believe me?

Keep your eyes open.



Pete Seeger, "Introduction," in Mark Rogovin, Marie Burton, and Holly Highfill, *Mural Manual* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1973), vi. Reprinted by permission.



Transforming Relationships

An Oral History of Transgender Experiences in Love and Romance

The 2013 *Confluence* Award for Excellence in Creative Writing

Frank and artfully arranged interviews explore experiences of transgender transitioning.

———— JACKSON SHULTZ ————

From an early age we are taught that gender is an extension of anatomical sex. We are taught to dress, speak, and behave in ways that are culturally considered masculine or feminine based on our physical anatomy. Most individuals feel comfortable with this practice and will never question their gender assignment. The following are accounts of seven individuals who did.

The participants in these interviews, with the exception of Mary, are transgender. They have each taken steps to challenge their gender assignments through social, medical, or surgical interventions. While many transgender people recognize their cross-gender feelings from an early age, they are not always presented with the information or resources needed to make an informed decision about physically transitioning their bodies from one gender to another. Transfolk often

suppress their gender discomfort for years in order to better assimilate to a dominant culture that encourages prescribed binary gender roles. When individuals transition later in life, there are often more intricate family and social aspects to consider. As the following accounts show, partners and children can serve as sources of support or sites of devastation for transitioning adults.

There Was a Conflict within Myself

JULIE As a child, I knew I wanted to be a girl. Fifty years ago that wasn't something people talked about, so for about 48 years I put all of those feelings aside. In my adult life, I still felt that I wanted to be a woman, but I did all I could to suppress those feelings. I was married to a beautiful woman, and we had three wonderful kids. Why would I change anything?

SHAUNA Although I didn't tell anyone I wanted to be a woman until I was 53, I have very clear memories of wanting to change my gender as early as five years old. I knew there was a conflict within myself. I couldn't put a label on it and I couldn't define it, but I found myself pushing the boundaries of gender to find where the limits were, to figure out what constituted the difference between men and women. I spent years trying to clarify that in my own mind, and I was never successful.

SAMUEL I was in relationship with Tracy for over five years, and for the first four years of our time together I was female. In the sense of sexuality and gender, we had an extremely complicated relationship. I knew there was something wrong, but I didn't have the language for it: I didn't know transitioning was an option.

When Tracy and I started dating, we lived in a small, conservative town. We hid the fact that we were in a same-sex relationship by simultaneously dating people of the opposite sex. She was a few years older than me, so when I graduated from high school, I followed her to college. Leaving my small town was so critical in my development as a queer person: it was the first time I'd met anyone gay or lesbian. My freshman year, my best friends were a flamboyantly gay guy

and a butch lesbian. I assumed we were the only queer people in the university. Of course, I was terribly mistaken.

JACOB I've known I was trans my entire life. I was a tomboy as a child, and I've always been "one of the guys." I'm not sure I ever really had to come out. If anything, friends and family asked me whether or not I was going to transition. It's not something I ever struggled with: I am who I am in the moment, and that's all that really matters.

Would It Be Worth the Losses?

GERTRUDE I first knew something was wrong when I was a child. I always felt like I didn't belong in my body. When I went through puberty I was devastated: I felt so betrayed. In high school, I figured out that I was good at sports and I ignored those cross-gender feelings for a lot of years. Yet the older I got, the less happy I became. I wanted to be a woman, but I couldn't find any other people who were like me. I thought that transsexuals were always gay men first. I knew I wasn't gay; I just wanted to be a woman. When I finally realized that stereotype was wrong, I knew I had to change.

I was married for 18 years before I told my wife I wanted to be a woman. Prior to then, I lived a secret life. I told her I was in a bowling league, and on Friday nights I'd leave with my bowling bag full of women's clothing and makeup. I'd go to a drag bar and just be with other people who felt the same as I did. At first, I thought drag was just something I had to get out of my system, but the more I did it, the happier I felt as a woman. I hated the rest of the week when I had to pretend to feel like a man.

SAMUEL During my sophomore year of college, I started attending the LGBTQ social club on campus. I fell into a crowd of extremely butch lesbians. I rode a motorbike, wore a leather jacket, shaved my head, and started drinking and smoking. We were hardcore dykes. I finally came out to my friends and family as a lesbian and, truthfully, no one was surprised. Even though my friends and family were all very supportive, Tracy became very uncomfortable being

seen with me in public. She told me I looked “too lesbian.” I think she was afraid that people would find out that she was in a gay relationship if she associated with someone who looked as butch as I did.

Throughout that year, my gender became more and more masculine. I looked very male, but much to my disappointment, I had a very high voice. As soon as I spoke people would realize that I was female. I became increasingly frustrated when people would call me “Miss” or “Ma’am,” even though I was a woman. I finally figured out that I needed to make sure that no one would ever call me “she” again.

MARY Julie and I met in college, though she was Jules back then. We had quite a few mutual friends, and we ended up being at a lot of the same places at the same time. I first noticed how sweet and caring he was. He was so charming. He was also on the football team, which didn’t hurt one bit. [*Laughs.*]

I knew something was different about Jules early on. Even though he was great at sports and very outdoorsy, there was a certain graceful quality to everything he did. I was always very attracted to that. Jules fit in really well with all of his friends and he was a fantastic husband and father. At the same time, there was always a certain sadness to him, like a pain that he couldn’t speak.

JULIE With each passing year I became unhappier with my body, with my life. I knew I wanted to change, needed to change, and it came to a point where there was only one thing stopping me: the thought of losing my family. I had heard every story about men telling their wives that they’re transgender, and they always seemed to end in divorce. That was terrifying to me. I wanted to be a woman more than anything in the world, but would it be worth the losses? It got to a point that I had to find out.

It’s About Time You Figured It Out

SHAUNA I had been married for 35 years before I came out to my wife. I knew it was going to be a nightmare, that she would

be devastated. I spent weeks agonizing over how I was going to explain to her that I wanted to be a woman. When I finally did tell her, she took it even worse than I imagined. She cried for three whole days, and we ended up separating by the end of the week. When we divorced, she took me to the cleaners. The judge determined that my cross-dressing was a fetish and that my wife had every right to leave me. I ended up paying an astronomical amount in spousal support.

GERTRUDE When I told my wife that I had been dressing as a woman, she did not take it well. She was horrified that someone might have seen me wearing drag. She was angry and called me every name in the book. She said she refused to be with me if I was going to even think about changing my gender, and she kicked me out of the house.

ENZO I came out as trans while in a lesbian relationship, which was really difficult. We had been together for eleven years and I felt like my partner was tolerant, but not embracing. She was only supportive to the extent that it was comfortable for her.

She had been with men before me, but she was very clear that she was a lesbian. She wanted to maintain that label and she was not okay with me identifying as male or saying that I was uncomfortable in women-only spaces.

There were times when my partner could be compassionate and there were times when she could be really nasty and say, “Well, what if I decide to become a boy?” It felt really taunting and unfair to have her say that. I think that was just being used as ammunition for larger issues, and that became part of our dynamic. Simultaneously, she wanted to understand my desire to transition. She hosted a radio show and she interviewed a lot of my trans friends on the radio because she was curious about the topic. She wanted to be proactive on the public level, but on a personal level she really struggled.

I think the final straw was when I told her I wanted to use my last name instead of my birth name. She would call me by my last name as a nickname, but when I started using it professionally she

became very uncomfortable. Ultimately, she projected a lot of her own self-esteem issues on me. She was very much ingrained in a lesbian identity and she never could get over the thought that I was taking that identity away from her.

SAMUEL Before I started the long journey to begin hormone replacement therapy, I knew I'd have to tell Tracy that I wanted to transition. She had been so unsupportive of my lesbian masculinity that I assumed she would leave me when I told her I was going to transition.

I was traveling out of town the day I finally affirmed to myself that I was going to go through with a medical transition. I called Tracy from my hotel. I was so nervous I could barely hold the phone. I told her that I wanted to be a boy and her response was not at all what I expected. She said, "Yeah, I know. It's about time you figured it out."

MARY One day I came home from work and Jules had made a wonderful dinner for the family, which wasn't uncommon, yet I knew something was wrong. He was very nervous and he barely ate anything. He told our sons how much he loved them and how he would always be there for them. After dinner, he told me that we needed to talk. I was terrified that he was going to tell me he had cancer or that he wanted a divorce.

JULIE After everyone I'd talked to, everything I'd read, I could only assume that my wife was going to leave me when I told her I wanted to be a woman. I prepared myself the best I could: I packed a suitcase, arranged to stay with a friend, told my kids how much I loved them. Then I finally sat down with my wife and told her, "Mary, this may come as a shock to you, and I don't expect you to want to stay with me, but I want to be a woman."

To my surprise and delight, Mary took my hand and said, "Is that all? When you told me we needed to talk, I thought it was something serious."

I immediately started crying. I told her how scared I had been, and I showed her that I had already packed a suitcase. She told me that after 25 years of marriage I should have known that she would

stand by me through anything. We had a long talk about what my transition would look like. I don't know which one of us cried more.

MARY When Jules told me he wanted to be a woman I was so relieved! I knew it would take a lot of adjustment for the whole family, but marriage is about adapting. I love Jules unconditionally. To be honest, I was a little offended that he thought I'd leave him over something as silly as a sex change. [*Laughs.*]

JACOB My husband, Matt, knew I wanted to be a boy before we got married. When we were engaged he told me how much he liked my tomboyish style. I told him I wasn't just going to be a tomboy. He simply said, "As long as you'll still marry me."

We really wanted to have kids, so I didn't start physically transitioning for another twelve years. As soon as I finished breast-feeding our third child, I told Matt it was time. I started hormones within a few months and had a mastectomy shortly thereafter. There are so many trans people who cannot wait to start their transition, but waiting never really bothered me. I have three biological children and I wouldn't trade that for anything.

Your Kids Are More Resilient Than You Think They Are

MARY One of my biggest concerns was about how we would tell our kids that their father was going to be a woman, and how they would react. We spent a lot of time talking about the best way to tell them. When we finally did tell them, we tag-teamed them: Jules went in first and told them that he wanted to be a woman, and then I sat with them and talked them through their reactions.

JULIE What we didn't want is for information about my transition to come sideways to the kids, so we decided to tell them everything before we told anyone else. We told the boys one at a time. Our eldest, Clark, is seventeen now. He was fifteen when I told him I wanted to be a woman. Naturally, he was upset that the man who taught him how to throw a football wanted to wear pretty dresses. I think that letting him be mad was really

important. He yelled at me for about an hour, and then Mary came in to take my place.

MARY When I walked in to Clark's room, he was pretty upset. Jules needed a break to collect himself, so I took Clark to get a milkshake. I drove to a restaurant across town so that we would have more time to talk. Mostly, he was just afraid that things would change. He told me he wanted a dad who would play basketball with him, who would talk to him about girls, who would teach him how to weld. I said, "You may not always have a dad who will do those things with you, but you will always have a parent who will."

JULIE When Mary and Clark came home, my son gave me a hug. He apologized for being so angry. Then he told me that I was going to have a really hard time beating him at basketball in a dress. [*Laughs.*]

Our middle child was much easier to tell. He didn't react with anger. In fact, he didn't really react at all. I worry about him the most because he's never really talked it out with either Mary or myself. I told him I was going to be a woman and he said, "That's cool."

JACOB My desire to transition wasn't something that we ever kept a secret from our kids. Matt and I brought it up with the kids frequently, in age-appropriate terms. Our sons are young and they aren't quite grasping the idea of gender yet. We thought it was very important to introduce the idea to them on our own terms, and we will keep talking about it with them.

Our daughter, on the other hand, understands that gender transitioning is viewed skeptically by most. She's eleven and she doesn't want me to pick her up from school, because she's concerned that her friends might not take it very well. She wants me to attend school concerts and plays, but she's been very nervous about her friends seeing me up close.

We took her to meet with my therapist to work out some plans. She will be attending middle school next year, and she'll be switching to a different school that's closer to where we live. We toured

the school earlier this year, and they had a big LGBT history wall, so I think she'll have an easier time there.

GERTRUDE Before we divorced, my wife and I had two wonderful sons together. They're seventeen and ten now. Unfortunately, my wife was the one who told my sons about my transition, and she did it in a really negative way. She told them I was sick. I think a lot of her initial negativity was coming from a place of betrayal. She felt like I had been lying to her, and I was, but I wasn't lying about being a woman: I was lying about being a man. We're on speaking terms now, and we actively decided that we wanted to do what was best for our children. We share custody of them and we both spend a lot of time with the boys.

My sons knew that I was living as a woman part of the time, but it got to the point where I could no longer be the other person, except for really special occasions. I sat them both down and said, "If it's okay with you guys, I'd rather be me all the time now. I'll understand if you have a concert at school and you really want the other person to show up: I love you and I'm willing to do that."

My youngest son said to me, "Why would we ever ask that of you?"

That brought me to tears. I said, "Tomorrow I think I'm going to start being me always. Is that okay with you?"

Phrasing it that way gave them the opportunity to object, but they never did. They are such great kids. My take is that this generation of kids, in addition to being colorblind, is also largely gender-blind as well.

MARY We told our children about Jules's transition over a period of about six months. He wasn't in a hurry to start hormones, so we decided to wait until our youngest, who had just turned ten, was a little bit older before we told him. One day just Jules and I picked Michael up from school. The other boys were staying with friends, so it was just the three of us in the car. Michael got really excited and said, "Oh boy, is this it!?"

I asked him for clarification. Michael looked at me with big, wide eyes and said, "Clark said Dad was going to tell me that he

wanted to have lady parts, and then you'd take me for a milkshake. Can I get a hot fudge sundae instead?"

Obviously he already knew what was going on, but we had a talk to make sure he had the right information nevertheless. He definitely had a lot of questions, but most of them were about ice cream.

GERTRUDE For the past week, I've been posting pictures of my son at his graduation on Facebook. I've received notes from transfolk who ask me, "Gertrude, what's the secret to your success?"

The one piece of advice I could offer is when you're working with your children, ask them for their input. Your kids are a lot more resilient than you think they are, so give them some credit. And if you love them, and they love you, then this can work out.

I'm Glad I Was True to Myself

SAMUEL At first, I was ridiculously relieved and elated by Tracy's support of my transition. She was almost more excited about it than I was, and I became increasingly wary of her actions. During the next few months I switched to wearing men's clothing exclusively, began asking friends and family to call me "he" instead of "she," and ultimately started taking testosterone. The hormones lowered my voice within a few weeks. I also gained a lot of muscle, and sprouted some facial hair. The more male I looked, the more willing Tracy was to be seen in public with me. Suddenly, she wanted to hold my hand in public, she invited me to her sorority events, and she was thrilled to finally have a "real" boyfriend.

I felt really objectified. Tracy had been so uncomfortable with me finding my roots as a lesbian, but she loved the fact that I was transitioning because, outwardly, we were going to look like a "normal heterosexual couple." That realization jaded our relationship for me and I decided I didn't want to be with someone whose acceptance of me was so conditional.

We had quite a nasty break-up. It's been over four years since we split up, and she's still furious with me. Looking back, I'm glad

I was true to myself and that I was strong enough to leave such a provisional relationship.

JACOB My husband has been my rock. He didn't bat an eyelash when I told him I wanted to transition. He orchestrated our move to a more accepting neighborhood, and he's been wonderful at helping me explain my transition to the kids. Having open and frank communication made this period of my life, a time that is so disastrous for many couples, a complete and utter non-issue. I have a great life, a wonderful family, and I thank God for that everyday.

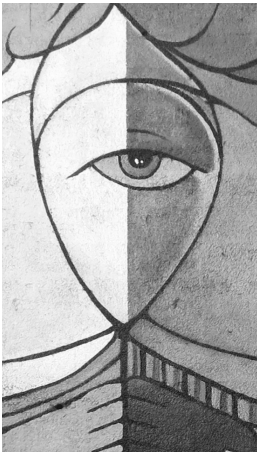
SHAUNA Even though my marriage ended disastrously, I wouldn't change my decision. I had hit a wall and it felt like I didn't have any other choices: transition or die. I had planned out everything about how I was going to commit suicide: I knew when, where and how.

I told my therapist about my plans one morning, and she convinced me to put those suicidal thoughts on hold and give transitioning a try. Together we mapped out a timeline for my transition, and as I started taking hormones my suicidal thoughts started to dissipate. As people started seeing me for the woman I was supposed to be, I felt that a huge weight had been lifted from my shoulders.

Transitioning came at a price: I've been single for the past eleven years and I suspect I always will be. Yet losing my marriage is better than losing my life. If I hadn't transitioned I would not be here today.

Conclusion

All of the interviewees discussed an unbelievably strong need to transition, which pushes the boundaries of societal acceptability. There is an incredible amount of sacrifice, determination, and perseverance associated with transitioning, yet none of the participants said that they would change their decision. As Shauna beautifully and summarily stated, the benefit of transitioning was definitely worth the cost.



Law for the Chosen

Levitical Interpretation and the Homosexual Prohibitions

The 2013 *Confluence* Award for Excellence in Interdisciplinary Writing

Between ancient texts and modern sensibilities, the problems of interpretation endure.

— KENNETH MUMMA —

The book of Leviticus presents us with a paradox. On the one hand, Leviticus sits at the center of the Torah, literally the heart of the Hebrew Bible. Its text lays the foundation in detail for the ancient Hebrew and contemporary, observant Jewish way of life—from what food to eat and how to cook it, to the commandments and instructions for holy days and festivals. At the center of Leviticus is the Holiness Code, a moral compass and ethical guide for how to achieve holiness in one’s day-to-day activities. These chapters, 17 through 27, include crucial tenets such as a restatement of the Ten Commandments and the injunction to “love thy neighbor as thyself.”¹ On the other hand, and in spite of the book’s centrality to the religion, Leviticus as a whole is all but neglected by scholars much less the laity. According to Jacob Milgrom, Leviticus was not in the school

curriculum in Israel when he published his three volume treatise on the book in 2004, and “even in advanced schools of Torah studies, the yeshivot, Leviticus [was] not studied in its entirety, but only in a verse here, a verse there.”² However, contemporary social issues, such as a raised consciousness about the food we eat, the increased visibility and acceptance of gay and lesbian members of society, and renewed concerns about a deteriorating social fabric, have moved scholars, writers, theologians and moralists—Christian as well as Jewish—to seek relevant new interpretations of specific Levitical texts. Recent interpretations of the text of verses 18:22 and 20:13, which prohibit certain homosexual activity, may serve as an aperture through which we can seek an understanding of the ways interpreters view the relevance of Leviticus today.

To that end, we will examine two different ways of approaching the interpretation of Leviticus. First we will analyze the views of anthropologist Mary Douglas and of writer and psychoanalyst Julia Kristeva on how Leviticus functions as a logical whole. And second, by comparing the respective interpretations of Leviticus 18:22 by Rabbi Steven Greenberg and biblical scholar Jacob Milgrom, we will gain perspective on the consequences of relying on Leviticus as a set of foundational principles, as opposed to narrowly read rules.

My aim in this essay is to show that persuasive arguments like Kristeva’s and Douglas’s favor a logically coherent reading of Leviticus and effectively invalidate claims like Greenberg’s that promote the selective interpretative application of one of the chapter’s rules, such as the prohibition of homosexual behavior, outside the context of the whole. Furthermore, our examination will support the notion that the interpretation of a single Levitical injunction can be more successful when supported by arguments from principles derived from the text, like Milgrom’s, than by arguments like Greenberg’s that appeal to nuanced deconstruction of the text. In other words, and to put it bluntly in relation to the verses concerning homosexual behavior, observant Jews are not justified in declaring that the proscription against homosexual behavior is irrelevant while maintaining the validity of the rest of the laws. Likewise, non-Jews are not justified in turning to Leviticus

for support of anti-homosexual positions if at the same time, they reject the applicability of the dietary laws, for example. Moreover, anyone seeking to determine the contemporary application of the Levitical rules about homosexuality, whether they favor a broad or a narrow interpretation of the rules, will have difficulty resorting solely to the precise definitions of the two thousand-year-old text. The book’s logical structure should more readily yield principles behind the rules, which would be useful in determining contemporary applications.

Identity through Separation and the Logic of Leviticus

Leviticus appears to us today as an archaic book of laws. Its byzantine structure and the apparent arbitrariness of its rules add to the confusion and serve to confirm its inapplicability to our modern world. Yet there is an audience that seeks a justification of certain social positions in the text of Leviticus, relying in part on the text’s status as moral or religious law. Positions against homosexuality, for instance, are commonly, though not universally, justified by reference to passages in Leviticus. Writers who analyze the text and structure of the book can shed light on the validity of these positions. Julia Kristeva’s analysis of the Levitical text in “Semiotics of Biblical Abomination,”³ and Mary Douglas’s textual analysis in “The Abominations of Leviticus,”⁴ both support the idea that the injunctions against homosexual conduct are dependent on their textual context. Who the law enjoins and the purposes of its statutes matter.

The text of Leviticus seems very clear: “Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination” (18:22) and “If a man also lie with mankind, as he lieth with a woman, both of them have committed an abomination” (20:13). Moreover, most all of chapter eighteen concerns itself with proscribing taboo sexual behavior, incest, adultery, bestiality and so forth. In what sense do these passages constitute law? Are they arbitrary rules, or do they belong to a formal system that might shed light on our interpretation of them as law? Both Douglas and Kristeva reject the notion that Leviticus is an arbitrary collection of rules and argue that it conveys a formal system of laws grounded in the concept of holiness and its

role in the unique relationship between the one God and his chosen nation of Israel.

For Douglas, holiness, while literally rooted in separation, is also illustrated by the idea of completeness.⁵ For instance, the complete, or perfect and unblemished, physical body, whether of a priest or of an animal worthy of sacrifice, is a prerequisite for participation in the holy rituals in the temple. Where impurity exists, for example in women following childbirth, or in lepers, Leviticus prescribes rituals for cleansing to regain the state of holiness. But Douglas is aware that the completeness, or wholeness, she articulates has emerged from the concept of separation embedded in the word “holiness.”⁶ In the cases of both women after childbirth and lepers, the purification process first involves a separation from others who are pure (Lev. 12:4-5, 13:46ff.). Moreover, categories of individuals must remain separate from unlike categories, as in the proscription of bestiality (Lev. 18:23), to avoid confusion of different classes of things. Douglas includes under this rubric the distinct categories of creation.⁷ Thus the natural order is important and leads to the sexual prohibitions in chapter eighteen.

Julia Kristeva takes Douglas’s notion of separation further. She links Leviticus’s distinction between pure and impure to the ongoing battle waged by the Israelites against paganism and its influence. The pure-impure opposition in the law draws the individual into that conflict through a daily striving to be separate, not just to be separate from non-Hebrew pagans, but to individuate oneself as a subject of the law.⁸ For Kristeva, this “design of ‘separation’ and ‘individual integrity’” (quoting Mary Douglas) is the foundation for the logical coherence of the Levitical statutes.⁹ “The place *and* law of the One do not exist without a *series of separations*. . . .”¹⁰ We can thus follow Kristeva’s train of thought. As a patriarchy struggling to survive in a region dominated by cultures in which women wielded more theological power, the ancient Hebrews protected their way of life—not only by means of war, but also by adhering to a paternalistic, monotheistic creation myth, or religion. The threat to their society was real. Intermingling with the other societies would risk a disruption of the patrilineality central to the Hebrew way of life. The paternal one God gives his law to his people,

the Israelites. The law and its statutes in turn serve to reinforce the separation of the Israelites from the others, who are now pagans. The law not only enforces separation from pagans in rituals of worship, it also instantiates separateness into daily activities and the life of the body. For Kristeva then, the text of Leviticus 18 has to do with creating a sexual identity that separates the Israelite from the pagan and maintains the patrilineage. Thus, Kristeva considers the homosexual behavior proscriptions a logical consequence of a formal system embodied in the whole of the Mosaic code based on differences.

In a sense, we have circled back to Douglas’s view that the law focuses on holiness belonging to God, but which men can find in their lives. We can see that a formal system of laws enforces God’s separation of the Israelites from other nations: “I am the LORD your God, which have separated you from other people. Ye shall therefore put difference between clean beasts and unclean . . .” (Lev. 20:24-25). The separation of the Israelites from others is crucial to their identity as individuals belonging to *the* nation under *the one* God. So we have, “Ye shall be holy: for I the LORD your God am holy” (19:2). As Kristeva points out, this is different from God’s covenant with Noah for the whole of mankind. God makes his covenant with Moses “valid for a single nation, appl[ying] himself to making that system of differences both more rigorous and more precise.”¹¹ By referring to the covenant at Sinai Kristeva helps answer our question, “In what sense do 18:22 and 20:13 constitute law?” These provisions, falling under the whole of the law, are covenantal in nature. They are part of what we would call a contract. God, on his part, promises to protect, secure, and deliver the Israelites. And on their part, the Israelites promise to obey His statutes.¹²

Kristeva and Douglas persuasively argue that the rules set forth in Leviticus are not arbitrary, that they are logically embedded in a formal statutory system, and that the logic of the system is dependent on its applicability to the children of Israel. That is, the statutes only have force, and are enforceable, for individuals who maintain their identity by belonging to the nation that has been separated from all others. Moreover, the punishment for one’s transgression is to be “cut

off from his people.”¹³ The offender is to be separated from his special group, which is special just because it has been separated by God from other groups. Moreover, for Kristeva and Douglas, the purpose of these particular statutes is to partially define sexual relations with regard to their role in a logical series of separations.

The purpose of the statutes matters particularly for present day discussions because some of those who continue to use selected portions of Leviticus and the Mosaic code in Exodus to justify their personal beliefs extend their claims to what *ought* to be imposed by law (moral, religious or civil) on others. For the moment, we have the convincing arguments of Kristeva and Douglas that the validity of the whole of the Mosaic code hangs on the logical relationship of the individual statutes to one another, to the Israelites and ultimately to God, as Kristeva suggests. If they are correct, we could conclude that either the whole thing stands, or the whole thing falls.

Narrow vs. Broad Interpretation

Biblical scholar Jacob Milgrom analogizes the Torah to the U.S. Constitution, comparing the ways the Torah can be interpreted with the approaches judges take to interpreting the Constitution.¹⁴ As Americans, we know the Constitution is our founding legal document and the “supreme law of the land,” with which no other law must conflict. And yet different judges take different approaches to determining whether a particular law is constitutional or not. Some judges will construe the Constitution based on a literal and narrow definition of its text. Other judges will construe the law more broadly by deriving principles from the text, which can be applied to contemporary conditions. Milgrom’s analogy refers to those who read the Torah literally using the written text as the exclusive basis for interpretation, and to others who look for the Torah’s precise meaning while deducing the principles behind its laws and asking, “If the composers of the Torah were living today, how would they apply these principles to the issues of our day?”¹⁵

Rabbi Steven Greenberg interprets Leviticus 18:22 in a way that leads him to conclude the verse should be *narrowly* construed as a

prohibition of a type of sexual domination.¹⁶ By comparing Greenberg’s narrow method of textual analysis to the broader approach to interpretation of Milgrom, I will show that Greenberg’s approach is more difficult than Milgrom’s to apply in modern circumstances. Moreover, Greenberg’s position is less consistent with the positions of Douglas and Kristeva on the coherence of the chapter and accounting for the context in which the verse appears.

Again, the text of Leviticus 18:22 reads, “Thou shalt not lie with mankind, as with womankind: it is abomination.” Greenberg interprets the text this way:

And a male you shall not bed (sexually penetrate) (engulfing one’s penis), as in the lyings of a woman: it is abhorrent.¹⁷

In other words, Greenberg says the prohibition is limited to acts of non-vaginal sexual penetration that engulfs one’s penis. The concept of engulfment is crucial to Greenberg’s later argument that the law is mainly concerned with the power of sexual penetration to humiliate one’s partner, due to the presumed greater power of the penetrator. Moreover, he signals the importance of the concept by the lengths to which he goes to argue for this interpretation.

Greenberg uses a tight bit of logic to arrive at “engulfing one’s penis” from the Hebrew phrase *mishkeve ishah*, a phrase that appears nowhere else in the Bible. His argument, with my bracketed numbers inserted to delineate its elements, is set forth here in full.

The phrase “the lying of a male” (*mishkav zakhar*) is found in the Book of Numbers. [1] Women who know the “lying of a male” are experienced in intercourse. [2] The “lying of a male” is apparently what a woman experiences in intercourse, [3] that is, the penetration of the vagina. [4] If this phrase is the reverse of our phrase in Leviticus, then we have found a possible meaning. [5] The “lyings of a woman” (*mishkeve ishah*) would mean what a man experiences in intercourse with a woman, [6] that is, the engulfment of the penis.¹⁸

Just how tight is his logic? Though we can accept premises [1] and [2], there is no reason to accept without further justification

the implication in [3] that “what a woman experiences” equals “the penetration of the vagina.” I see no reason why other experiences a woman might have should not be considered. For instance, in the context in which *mishkav zakhar* appears in Numbers, Moses commands a general massacre of the Midianites, excluding only virgin females (Num. 17-18). Since, in context, the “lying with a male” has to do with making a distinction between non-virgins and virgins, the female experience referenced in Numbers could be breaking of the hymen rather than penetration of the vagina. In that case, Greenberg’s conclusion [6] would be incorrect. Greenberg is drawing conclusions based on a very narrow reading of the Biblical text, augmented by appeals to rabbinic tradition. Of course there is nothing wrong with that, but the point here is that it compels him to rely on tenuous inferences in propositions [2] and [3].

I have focused on Greenberg’s claim that the Levitical ban has to do with engulfment of the penis because it leads to a crucial conclusion that, “the verse prohibits one, and only one, sexual practice between men, namely, anal intercourse. . . .”¹⁹ If Greenberg’s reasoning is flawed, then other non-penetrative forms of homosexual activity, oral sex for example, may be prohibited, and his reliance on penetration for his argument that “the verse prohibits the kind of sex between men that is designed to effect the power and mastery of the penetrator”²⁰ is invalid.

Milgrom’s own position is that homosexuality is prohibited by the Bible, but that the prohibition is severely limited. The prohibition should not be applied universally because it is only addressed to the people of Israel, compliance is a condition for residing in the Holy Land, and it only applies to men as lesbianism is not addressed.²¹ Milgrom speculates on the lesbian omission by proposing that, in his opinion, it is not addressed because “no genital fluids are lost.”²² Milgrom goes on to express his rationale for the sexual prohibitions in Leviticus as follows:

The common denominator of all the prohibitions [of chapter 18], I submit, is that they involve the emission of semen for the purpose

of copulation, resulting in either incest and illicit progeny or, as in this case [of verse 22], lack of progeny (or its destruction in the case of Molek worship, v. 21). In a word, the theme . . . is procreation. Semen emission per se is not forbidden; it just defiles, but purificatory rites must follow. In certain cases of sexual congress, however, it is strictly forbidden, and severe consequences must follow.²³

Milgrom justifies his interpretation by applying two principles. The first is that Leviticus applies only to Israelites as a consequence of their Sinaitic covenant with God, a position supported by Julia Kristeva’s observation that God made his covenant with Moses valid for a single nation.²⁴ One could also obtain this conclusion by reference to the fact that the whole of the Mosaic code presupposes the Lord’s injunction to Moses, “Speak unto the children of Israel” (Lev. 1:2). The second principle is that sexual conduct is governed by the issues of legitimate procreation and wasting of seed, justifying the ban on homosexuality. In addition to textual context, like Kristeva and Douglas respectively, he gives close consideration to the text’s historical and anthropological context. For instance, he discusses the practices of the Canaanites, which are to be avoided at all costs, in relation to the final four sexual prohibitions of chapter 18.²⁵

One meaningful lesson we can take from Greenberg is that one’s worldview is likely to affect one’s interpretation of ambiguity and omission in text. As a professed Orthodox Jew, Greenberg is confronted with how to approach the Biblical law in Leviticus. And as such, he is seeking a way for gay people to reconnect to God, Torah, and the Jewish people.²⁶ Nevertheless, I think Greenberg’s approach to his argument cuts against the grain of Douglas’s claim that any piecemeal approach to interpreting the injunctions of Leviticus is fruitless. And even though Greenberg considers the whole range of sources at his disposal—the Torah, the Talmud and other rabbinical writings—by the time he has finished, the text of the verse seems removed from its context in the litany of sexual prohibitions in Leviticus 18. His ultimate rationale for 18:22, having to do with the prohibition of “sex

for conquest,”²⁷ has little, if any, demonstrable bearing on the other prohibitions of chapter 18. Douglas, and Kristeva for that matter, would demand a more coherent rationale, such as Milgrom’s. One of the problems here, I think, is that Greenberg, in arguing from his particular point of view, arrives at a rationale from the analysis of only one verse.

Conclusion

Milgrom’s analogy will be most useful if it can aid in our thinking about the relative merits of various interpretations of Leviticus. With specific regard to the issues raised in this essay, we could ask the following: Does an understanding of differing judicial philosophies color my skepticism of Greenberg’s argument? And in light of Kristeva’s and Douglas’s positions on the coherence of the Levitical text, can clarity about our own judicial philosophy lead to more informed judgments about contemporary interpretations of the Levitical proscriptions of homosexual behavior?

We can appreciate Greenberg’s thorough understanding of the milieu for his argument. He realizes he is pushing the envelope to forge new territory in Jewish thinking about homosexuality in relation to the Torah. But there is a conflict between his desired outcome and the approach he takes to interpretation. That is to say, he favors an outcome that considers Leviticus a living text, a text susceptible to a range of reasonable interpretations, and which accommodates changes in societal circumstances over time. His approach, however, is to make an ultimate appeal to the *narrow meaning* of the written text. The principle he would like to espouse is so narrowly drawn, applying as it does only to Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13, that it can hardly be called a principle. Milgrom, on the other hand, manages to restrict the application of the ban on homosexuality by appealing to larger principles.

Ultimately the texts of Leviticus 18:22 and 20:13 are best served by a broad, contextual approach to interpretation. For one thing, the text includes Hebrew terms that are found nowhere else in the Bible, increasing the risk that interpretations based on the precise definition of those terms will enter the realm of pure speculation. This accounts

primarily for my skepticism regarding Greenberg’s position. On the other hand, Milgrom’s approach is compelling. He does not ignore the precise meaning of the text, but he informs his interpretive conclusions by also considering why the verse is there at all. This brings me full circle to the first section of this essay and my concurrence with the complementary positions held by Douglas and Kristeva that Leviticus constitutes a logically coherent set of rules. Since they are not arbitrary, and given the covenantal nature of their establishment, we cannot ignore the fact that the injunctions of Leviticus constitute valid law for some set of subjects. Furthermore, Milgrom has identified the narrowest possible set of subjects. This conclusion will not appeal to fundamentalist Christians. Nor will it satisfy Greenberg or his followers, for whose cause I have great sympathy. But it is an inevitable consequence of a religion theologically grounded in a written text that is taken to be the word of God and the final appeal on issues of morality.

NOTES

¹Leviticus, *The Holy Bible (King James Version) for Kindle: The Old & New Testaments, Deuterocanonical Literature, Glossary & Suggested Reading List*, illus., Gustave Dore (Mobi Spiritual, 2009), 19:18, Kindle. Further citations of this work are given in the text (Lev. 19:18).

²Jacob Milgrom, *Leviticus: A Book of Ritual and Ethics* (Minneapolis, MN: Fortress, 2004), 86.

³Julia Kristeva, "Semiotics of Biblical Abomination," in *Powers of Horror: An Essay on Abjection*, trans. Leon S. Roudiez (New York: Columbia UP, 1982), 90-112.

⁴Mary Douglas, "The Abominations of Leviticus," in *Purity and Danger; an Analysis of Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1966), 41-57.

⁵Ibid., 53.

⁶Ibid., 51.

⁷Ibid., 53.

⁸Kristeva, "Biblical Abomination," 94.

⁹Ibid., 99.

¹⁰Ibid., 94.

¹¹Ibid., 96-7.

¹²See Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 14.

¹³Lev. 18:29. This phrase precedes many verses throughout Leviticus.

¹⁴Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 3-4.

¹⁵Ibid., 4.

¹⁶Steven Greenberg, *Wrestling with God and Men: Homosexuality in the Jewish Tradition* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin, 2004), PDF.

¹⁷Ibid., 82.

¹⁸Ibid., 80.

¹⁹Ibid., 81.

²⁰Ibid., 206.

²¹Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 196.

²²Ibid., 197, 208.

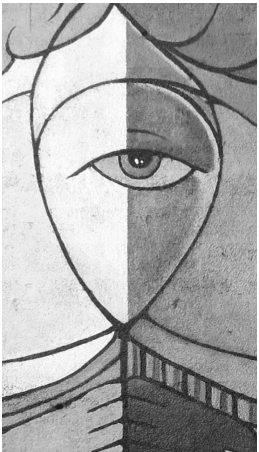
²³Ibid., 207.

²⁴See note 11.

²⁵Milgrom, *Leviticus*, 201.

²⁶Greenberg, *Wrestling with God*, 206.

²⁷Ibid.



Social Consciousness of the Spanish Inquisition

In the fifteenth century political and religious ideals were enforced with religious bigotry, torture, murder, and scapegoating.

— EMILIE GARAND —

The formal initiation of the Spanish Inquisition built on the previous inquisitions like a ball of snow, where once set rolling corruption increased. This institution employed the same interrogation methods of the Medieval Inquisition, issued the same manuals at first, relied on the same codes of canon law, and employed the same kinds of record-keeping. The Spanish Inquisition proved a mirror image of its predecessors; however, scholars always treat it as a separate entity while acknowledging its antecedents. Unlike earlier inquisitions, the Spanish Inquisition, a wholly owned subsidiary of the state, created by the monarchy, remained under the monarchy's control. It involved a different power dynamic between popes and kings and pursued different heretics; its officials expounded their procedures to an even greater extent. The Spanish Inquisition explored new paths

not bound up only with religion but with an ideology of ethnicity—the notion of *limpieza de sangre*.¹ It concerned classes of people rather than just categories of belief. It also attempted more systematic censorship than the Medieval Inquisition, drawing up lists of illegal books in Spain, keeping the masses misinformed and pitting them against one another. The monarchy offered no answer to any problem from economic issues to the plague. With the affirmation of causes to these problems—the *conversos*²—neighbor turned against neighbor, and the social, cultural, and religious strife kept everyone diverted from the real issues, devoting their attention on heretics. In such a tumultuous climate, most people kept to themselves out of fear of accusation of heresy. With the public in isolation and distracted, the Holy Office easily robbed them blind through taxation, debt, and confiscation. The less known about the workings of this social institution of society, the more the masses trusted those who wield the power in it; and the more the masses entrusted themselves to those who wield such power, the more vulnerable and victimized they became. A further study on the social consciousness of the masses that swept across the Iberian Peninsula proves imperative in comprehending Ferdinand and Isabella's tools of coercion, manipulation, and fear that transformed the abuse of inquisitorial power from religious to political purposes.

One of Ferdinand and Isabella's first objectives involved taking Granada, the final Muslim stronghold on the peninsula.³ The effort helped build a national army and strengthen political and economic institutions.⁴ The administration levied taxes on commercial transactions. As the monarchy rose in power, the nobility, clergy, and cities declined. The *Reconquista* meant the slow and systematic extension of Christian power over all Muslim lands, merging Christian and Muslim armies and societies. The *Reconquista* destroyed the racial and religious coexistence, which despite incessant armed conflict, distinguished the society of medieval Spain. Close contact between the peoples of the peninsula led to a mutual tolerance among the three main communities of Christians, Jews, and Moors. Within the territories of each community, Christians tolerated dissident minorities to a degree that made it possible to consider racial or religious divisions as

irrelevant. Political considerations appear dominant in such a policy. The different communities shared in common culture, blurring racial prejudices and military alliances, often made irrespective of religion. Spain coexisted in a relatively open society which reflects immense credit on the ideals of the time. A new social climate spread through the Iberian Peninsula. Centuries of conflict replaced the period of relative openness and tolerance. Spain's golden age of three religions coincided with a phase of territorial, demographic, and economic expansion. The social, economic, and political upheavals that followed, and the wars and natural catastrophes that preceded and shadowed the Black Death, created a new situation, ushering in a phase of recession, hardship, and tensions when, for both Christians and Jews, everything changed. Not only in Spain, but throughout Europe, populations experienced a state of disarray, faced with misfortunes without understanding or the ability to fix. Everyone turned against the Jews, accusing them of propagating the plague by poisoning the water wells.⁵ The accusations against Jews for profaning consecrated communion hosts and committing ritual crimes erupted.

The king's royal power depended on an effective state apparatus, and this presupposed rising taxes. The Jews collected taxes. Animosity arose toward Jews as the instruments of fiscal oppression. In reality, the *Aljamas* also suffered from the crisis: the Jews too succumbed to crippling taxation, even more so than the Christians.⁶ The opposition seized upon the problem and exploited it for political ends, encouraging Christians to believe the opposite. The nobles of Castile, who challenged the authority of King Peter I, used anti-Semitism as a propaganda weapon and won support of the Christian people.⁷ For the first time anti-Semitism, exploited for political ends, adopted violence leading to murder and looting. Anti-Semitism presented as an ideological justification for a social conflict sans religion. Famine, rising prices, and heavy taxation provoked tensions and clashes between the poor and the rich, and anti-Semitism deflected the violence towards the Jews. Since Christians now regarded Jews as guilty of the crime imputed to them, Christian hostility toward Jews grew. The sentiment of anti-Semitic violence culminated on June 4, 1391, in Seville when

Ferrand Martínez, a priest who identified Jews as the cause of economic misery, incited anti-Jewish riots. The attack began at dawn, with forces of Martínez striking simultaneously at several positions of the Jewish borough. Poorly defended, these positions crumbled, and the hordes of attackers burst through. An unprecedented scale of bloodshed and rapine followed. Christians butchered thousands of Jews, mostly men, and took thousands of women and children captive and sold them into slavery. The riots in Seville fulfilled Martínez' hopes; and they must have also suited his further plans. Amador de los Ríos described the effect of those riots as "contagious," as an "example" that inflamed the fanaticism of the masses throughout the territory of the archdiocese of Seville. They were all imbued with a fierce hatred of Jews which sought an outlet in violence.⁸

In 1492 the sovereigns decided to expel the Jews.⁹ Without baptism, the Holy Office could not charge the Jews with heresy. Torquemada, the Inquisitor General of both Castile and Aragon, suggested that their expulsion correlated with the Inquisition and convinced the Catholic sovereigns with an argument set out in the preamble to the decree of March 31, 1492:¹⁰ the presence of Jews linked by kinship, friendship, and work made the assimilation of the conversos impossible. Torquemada aimed to create an irreversible situation. The climate of religious exaltation that followed the capture of Granada achieved the rest. Reasons of a political nature supported the religious argument. The creation of a modern state seemed to presuppose a united faith. Many Jews preferred to convert rather than abandon the lands of their ancestors. The social rise of the conversos did not pass unnoticed, and in popular circles it aroused antagonistic reactions. While the royal authorities, the aristocracy, and the ecclesiastical hierarchy encouraged the assimilation of the conversos, the masses remained hostile. Long-standing anti-Semitism now condemned Jews and New Christians alike. People continued to believe that both groups exploited them and monopolized the best jobs; but, because many occupied high-profile positions, the conversos attracted most of the popular anti-Semitism.¹¹ The combination of economic hardship and political crisis lent itself to exploitation. In times of pressure, societies divert

the focus of violence toward ambiguous and presumably dangerous groups.¹² The conversos materialized as such a group, now in the category of Christians but not long ago belonging to the category of Jews, and seemed an easy enough target to destroy. Christians and Jews alike hated conversos; each excluded them for lack of understanding. Where a more mild approach might have led to genuine assimilation, the very exaggeration of the minority's supposedly seditious behavior actually created the threatening ideology supposedly eradicated by the action of the Inquisition.

Inquisitors commonly, almost automatically, penalized "Judaizing" with confiscation of the convict's property. In consequence, silver and gold, houses and shops, vineyards and workshops, warehouses and cash flowed into the coffers of the Holy Office.¹³ The resulting incentive to convict affluent conversos served the interest of the Old Christian competitors, many whom welcomed the Inquisition as a means to destroy the economic power and social ambition of their rivals. The economic role of the Holy Office subsidized its self-sufficient identification drives. The individual tribunal in each province of Spain benefited primarily from these confiscations, in order to pay for its own salaries and cover all its sometimes-heavy administrative costs. The conversos realized this extensive level of corruption and knew this meant a larger danger in greater confiscations of their possessions. Each year the provincial tribunals sent a contribution to meet the expenses of the *Suprema* which sometimes spent all accumulated funds from confiscations.¹⁴ The following instructions pertaining to the receivers of confiscated goods and to the scribe of sequestration as of 1516 demonstrate the many parties involved and the desperation to collect as many confiscations as possible:

[H]enceforth all salaries paid to agents of receivers are revoked, and the receivers shall content themselves with the salary of sixty thousand *maravedis* which is given to them. If they hire some additional agents, it shall be at their cost, not the Treasury's . . . the receiver is obliged to give an account of all the goods of his receivership, with expenditures, and without leaving anything out.

If he does not provide such an account of a particular item, he shall be obliged to repay the efforts made with the item over the year; and if he does not do so, he shall not be paid, and he shall pay the interest on the damage that he has made the Exchequer accrue.¹⁵

The work of the Inquisition desired to destroy the economic standing of a rival group, to exclude the New Christians socially, or to confiscate their property, and thus sustain the Holy Office as an institution. Yet these interests do not constitute the prime motive behind the Inquisition. The Inquisition embodied a highly self-alienated spirit, not because it concealed hidden economic interests, but primarily because it gave a perverse expression to genuine spiritual interests.¹⁶ The self-righteousness and holy zeal in which people unwittingly encase their latent fears and cruelty, their hatred for the “other,” the anxieties which uncertainty breeds in them, and their desire to find justification for the miseries of their existence, illustrate this sort of spiritual alienation. The holy perversity of the Inquisition manipulated this self-alienation through the Spanish monarchy and the papacy standing behind the Inquisitor General and the *Suprema*¹⁷ of the Inquisition. Ferdinand, the true creator of the Spanish Inquisition, gave it its distinctly national character. Regarded as a great asset of the Crown, the creation of the Inquisition provided Ferdinand with the zeal of influence and authority. He would only appoint those who agreed with him as inquisitors; he would allow no inquisitor to receive a papal bull without communicating its contents to him.¹⁸ Convinced that success of the institution’s operations held first-rate importance to the monarchy, the king conducted business efficiently, not only by appointing the appropriate staff, but also installing new methods of punishment. Ferdinand invented the use of galleys as punishment, securing the Inquisition’s status as an agency not just of religious but of government power. Spain, a maritime power, engaged for centuries in contests against European rivals and the Ottoman Turks. The medieval inquisition levied penitential punishments designed to bring convicted sinners into a restored union with God. Sentencing prisoners to the galleys served a different purpose altogether—it was designed to bring

convicted sinners into battle with enemies.¹⁹ Ferdinand implemented the galleys creating a cheap source of labor without having to resort to open slavery as seen in the case of Juan de Velasco el Ducayac, *morisco*, resident of Gabia la Chica:

He was inside the territory of Málaga and went with the rebellious Moors to where they could be Moors publicly. He performed the *guadoch* and *zalá* of the Moors, and walked around with weapons. It was voted to relax him to the secular arm for having lied and been defective in his confession . . . and we sent the trial to Your Lordship(s), and you ordered the sentence carried out. But in the midst of carrying out that sentence, he confessed his intention entirely, about himself as well as others. He was admitted to reconciliation in the usual form and sentenced to perpetual galleys.²⁰

The power of Ferdinand exceeded the expectations of the pope, but the Spanish Inquisition slipped through Rome’s fingers and into the wrathful grip of the king and queen. The conversos did their best in Castile and Aragon to obtain papal decrees to modify the rigor of the Holy Office partaking in the battle between church and state. Papal decrees were a legitimate procedure, since the constitution of the tribunal allowed appeals to Rome, and Rome eagerly attempted to maintain its rights in the matter, not only to preserve control over the courts of the Inquisition, but also to preserve possible sources of revenue, since the conversos paid for any bulls granted by the pope. Ferdinand’s letter to Sixtus IV in May 1482 illustrated the firmness of the Spanish attitude. The vacillation of Rome before Spanish claims and the contradictory policies followed by successive popes made it possible in the end for the inquisitors to have things their own way. As early as August 2, 1483, Sixtus IV granted to the conversos a bull which revoked to Rome all cases of appeal, but only eleven days later he suspended this, claiming he had been misled. When his successor Innocent VIII tried to pursue a similar policy of issuing papal letters appellants from Spain, Ferdinand stepped in and issued on December 15, 1484, a pragmatic decreeing death and

confiscation for anyone making use of papal letters without royal permission.²¹

The Inquisition believed in fear as the best way to achieve political ends. It became an entire institutional and political armory designed to propagate terror in the population whose best interests it pretended to concern. The fear mythologized through the use of torture and burning. It began from the very moment the inquisitors arrived in a town and read their Edict of Faith, enjoining anyone who either committed an error of faith, or knew someone who did, to come before the inquisitors within thirty days and confess or denounce.²² Fear spread through society with the power of the Inquisition to deliver social and financial ruin, ensuring the poverty of its victims by confiscating their goods, banishing them from their homes and decreeing that their descendants could not fill any official post or wear silks, jewels, or anything representative of prestige. The principle of secrecy ensured fear most of all, which meant that the accused could not know the names of their accusers. The inquisitors' attempts to impose their will through force merely inspired rebellion, this in turn created more targets, and so a vicious circle formed. It became impossible to purge society of its enemies, because society and the Inquisition created them. Many cases exist of witnesses brought before the Inquisition to testify against heretics. If the witnesses did not cooperate, they would be subjected to the same fate as the accused heretics themselves. This was exactly what happened to Francisca Hernández in Toledo on October 12, 1530:

Before Inquisitor Mexia, Francisca Hernández was asked to declare which people were *alumbrados*, since she had said that Miguel de Eguía had praised were Juan López [de Celaín]; Diego López; Bernardino de Tovar; Isabel de la Cruz; Pedro Ruiz de Alcaraz; Francisco Ximénez; *bachiller* Olivares; Gutierrez, chaplain of the Marquis [de Villena]; Marquina [sic]; Pedro de Cazalla; María de Cazalla; Mosen Pascual; Maestro [Juan de] Castillo; and Licentiate [Pedro] Ortiz of Toledo. Next, this witness said she had heard from Bishop Cazalla that María de Cazalla, his sister, was the

teacher of the *alumbrados* of Pastrana and Guadalajara, and that his judgment was nothing in comparison to hers. She also heard him say that exterior works were nothing, and his sister excelled so much and was so wise that she attained perfection in the matter of exterior works. Asked what works the bishop was referring to, the witness said praying, fasting, disciplines, bowing to statues, and other similar things . . .²³

Owing primarily to the national aspect of the Inquisition and its dimensions as “thought police,”²⁴ early modern Spain displayed the rudiments of the term later dubbed totalitarianism more than any other European monarchy. Torquemada arrived on the scene as one of the greatest early bureaucrats of the modern era, a herald of the modern phenomenon of tyranny by bureaucracy.²⁵ He spawned a secret espionage and judiciary apparatus that cast its net over the country and created a climate of fear in the service of an official ideology. Torquemada crafted the system and gave it a solid pattern and stringent rulers but also left leeway for local needs and set guidelines for future growth.²⁶ The inquisitor also insisted on a legalistic character of the Inquisition and the imperative to record every detail. The Spanish Inquisition resembled modern dictatorships in this way.

As in the medieval Inquisition, the procedure of exterminating heretics began with the announcement of a period of grace, first issued in an “Edict of Grace” and in later years in an “Edict of Faith.”²⁷ Inquisitors demanded heretics to come forward or to denounce others known to them; this remained the basic method of finding suspected heretics. Many people denounced themselves or confessed out of fear that a friend or neighbor might so do later anyway; such fears, counter-denunciations and chain reactions within small communities clearly increased the awe in which the Inquisition orchestrated. This practice brought the risk of false testimony, cast doubts upon the trustworthiness of witnesses, and easily allowed minor infringements to erupt into heresy. Secrecy manipulated accusations, formulated in lack of immediate identification by the prisoner of the person denouncing him, and prisoners did not understand the precise nature of charges against

them. Once a prisoner failed to guess the identity of the accuser, they attempted to recall any occasion on which they committed some action that might be open to interpretations of heresy, losing the prisoner in a labyrinth of paranoia. Marina González confessed during an Edict of Grace, when the inquisitors invited those guilty of heresy to declare their sins to the Inquisition for reconciliation in writing which supposedly resulted in less punishment:

I, Marina González, am the wife of Francisco de Toledo, a spice merchant, who is a resident of this village of Almagro. I present myself before Your Lordships to declare my faults and the sins I have committed, in offense against our Redeemer and Master Jesus Christ and against our Holy Catholic Faith.

She includes a long list of activities completed during the Sabbath, things she had eaten and when they were eaten, breaking feast days, and relatives stayed in her home upon giving birth during the night of the fairies. Then:

I lay this before Your Reverences and ask for penance because I offended Our Redeemer and Master Jesus Christ, going against our Holy Catholic Faith in certain necessary things. Though I cannot remember all of these things at the moment, I assure you I will declare them when they come to me. And from today onward I will live and die and finish up in the Holy Catholic Faith, which I embrace in her defense all the days of my life. For all things I confessed, I beg pardon and the redemption of our lord Jesus Christ. May Your Reverences give me a penance that is healthful for my soul, which I am ready to complete.²⁸

Since the arrest of a suspected heretic took place after the *calificaciones*²⁹ made an assessment of the evidence, the prisoner was declared guilty at the moment of arrest. The purpose of interrogation, then, was to obtain a confession not so much to prove the suspect's guilt. The main task of the tribunal acted not as a court of justice, but as

a disciplinary body called in existence to meet a national emergency, stressing the fundamentally political nature of the Spanish Inquisition. Interrogation ensued instead of the modern sense of the term trial. The prisoner, kept in ignorance of the reasons behind his arrest and imprisonment, received no precise charge, therefore little possibility of making a plausible defense. The prisoner was required to confess to a crime that he attempted desperately to imagine, and held little chance of admitting exactly what the Inquisition had in mind. Once the *calificados* accepted the witness testimony, the accused being already convicted, they informed the accused of charges and gave a much edited version of the case against the convicted—omitting any details that might enable any guess toward the identity of the witnesses against him. If the interrogation satisfied the Inquisitors, they pronounced the convict's sentence.³⁰ Inquisitors resorted to torture for one main purpose: to elicit confessions by the victim—about himself or people he knew—that they could legally regard as “the truth.” The Spanish Inquisition applied the same rules of torture exhibited in the medieval Inquisition after Clement V's reforms.³¹ An inquisitor could only torture a prisoner once. The inquisitor then stated clearly at the end of each session the suspension of torture, so that records speak of the continuation of torture and never fresh tortures. A public executioner carried out torture in the presence of an inquisitor, a representative of the local bishop, and a doctor. The Spanish Inquisition claimed no innovative torture techniques, and the most common methods were in fact akin to those used by the medieval inquisition, consisting of the *garrucha*,³² the *toca*,³³ and the *potro*.³⁴ To avoid torture, a free confession in the torture chamber often sufficed; however, it remains undeniable that a good deal of torture took place during the long history of the Spanish Inquisition, with greater emphasis on the fascinating administrative aspects of the tribunal or its overall effect on the history and culture in Spain.³⁵

The most terrible punishment for heresy remained that of the stake. Just as the Inquisition never sentenced an offender to the forfeiture of his property, so it never condemned anyone to death. The Inquisition instead relaxed the impenitent to the secular arm. By the authority

of the states and in accordance with its laws, execution of the heretic took place. The inquisitors would allow the convicted heretic to fall into the hands of the temporal power, which dealt with the heretic not in accordance with the Church, but with strict and impartial justice, underlying the sentence of “relaxation to the secular arm.”³⁶ Mother Church spilt not a single drop of blood. The stake applied only for drastic measures—mainly relapsed heretics. Owing to the protection of documentation,³⁷ Marina González’s preserved confessions surfaced as evidence of relapse as a penanced individual reappearing before the tribunal in 1494 and worthy of the stake:

HOLDING GOD BEFORE OUR EYES:

We find that we must pronounce and declare that the chief prosecutor’s intention has been well proven, while the party Marina González has not proven anything useful. Therefore, we must declare her a relapsed heretic and apostate. She has incurred a sentence of major excommunication and the confiscation and loss of all her possessions. We must relax her to justice and the secular arm, and we declare our judgment through these writings. This judgment was given in Toledo, June 30, 1494, by the lord inquisitors in the Plaza de Zocodover in that city, acting as the tribunal while standing on a wooden scaffold; this judgment was read in a loud voice in presence of Marina González. Juan de Sepúlveda and Nicolas Fernandez, canons of Toledo, were witnesses . . . as were a doctor and magistrate.³⁸

The creation of the Spanish Inquisition combatted mainly the dangers of heresy, but did not long confine itself to this activity. By the beginning of the sixteenth century the Inquisition managed to obtain jurisdiction over nearly all crimes which originally fell under the survey of church courts. Once the power of bishops over cases of heresy was surrendered to the Holy Office, the episcopal courts began to lose the initiative, because the Inquisition extended the term “heresy” to cover as many other crimes as possible.³⁹ In this way a tribunal, limited in power because its jurisdiction extended only over

heretics and cases of heresy, became an all-powerful authority brought to bear on every aspect of Spanish life. The theological twist given to a simple moral crime excused the invasion of private life. The Inquisition prosecuted immorality not because of the actual sin, but because of the presumed mental error behind it. As a result, a large number of cases brought before the tribunal included harmless statements about private morality even where no heresy existed. The Holy Office aimed to inculcate a sense of the correct behavior and beliefs expected of a Christian. Between 1560 and 1630, a campaign of social control moved under way.⁴⁰ This campaign directed its objective toward the confinement of all sexual liaisons within legitimate marriage. Punishment of all who engaged in bigamy, adultery, incest, or fornication was part of a concerted attempt at social engineering. The secular courts, too, bridled careless speech and sexual promiscuity. The courts, however, lacked the ubiquity of the Holy Office with its familiars,⁴¹ clergy, and judges. The Inquisition could count on the support of tribunals. The Holy Office maneuvered jurisdiction over sorcery, witchcraft, bigamy, solicitation in the confessional, the utterance of pernicious or scandalous opinions, and undertook the censorship of books.

Scandalous thoughts included those in accordance with Martin Luther or Erasmus. The trial of Diego de Uceda appeared as the first of a long series of investigations of Spain’s Erasmists. It began the Inquisition’s struggle against courtiers and university professors whose prestige and influence gave them temporary immunity from attack. The trial of Diego fits a pattern of events concerned with the threat against orthodoxy. The Spanish Inquisition at this particular historical moment was concerned with the problem of Lutheran heresy. The minority of Luther’s followers in number in the Iberian Peninsula held little weight in this case. Lutheranism brought dread to the breadth of the orthodox. Its mere existence threatened orthodoxy; therefore, elimination of Lutheranism proved imperative before it erupted into political chaos. Defining orthodoxy became the first step in positively identifying Lutheranism. As a by-product of the extirpation of heresy, there developed the need for a definition of orthodoxy. Diego believed in his orthodoxy; yet, he discovered the heretical nature of his ideas.

Institutions such as the Spanish Inquisition are necessary to protect the existing way of life against revolution and anarchy. The protection of certain religious and political ideals demanded constant vigilance and swift punishment for subversion whether deliberate or unintentional.⁴² Inquisitors brought Diego de Uceda into questioning at Córdoba for supposedly defending the words of Martin Luther on claims that confession should be made to God and not the priest. The Inquisitorial door slammed shut on Diego when he claimed that Luther's statements on church officials' financial modesty interested him. The morning of February 28, 1528, he persisted in protesting his inability to recall any more than he stated on the previous day, and that everything he ever said on matters of theology harmonized with his own conscience. He pointed out that his lineage consisted of Old Christian on both sides of his family, having not a drop of Jewish *Converso* blood in him. In March 1528, Diego was transferred to the Inquisition jail in Toledo where the Holy Office found him guilty of apostate heresy against the Holy Catholic Faith and a follower of Martin Luther. The Holy Office confiscated all Diego's property and turned it over to the royal treasury, and relaxed him to the secular arm. His descendants for two generations were deprived of all public and ecclesiastical offices and honors.⁴³ Forty-three years later, the attack against Lutheran ideas remained persistent as seen in the auto de fe⁴⁴ of Friar Cristóbal who was relaxed in person to the secular arm, for having believed the errors of Martin Luther, with confiscation of goods:

Friar Cristóbal de Morales, resident of Seville, a Carthusian friar of the village of Cazalla. Relapsed heretic for maintaining that there is no other sacrament except baptism and the Lord's Suppers, and that everything else, including the Mass, is a joke. He maintains that there is no Purgatory, but only the [redeeming] blood of Christ, who died once for everyone. He believes the power of the pope, bishops, and archbishops is . . . a matter of tyranny and ambition . . . He believes that fasts and other pious works matter little for salvation, and that pious works for the dead are ridiculous and a clerical invention. In this faith he hoped to live and die, though

he had been weak in sustaining it. He composed epigrams in praise of Martin Luther. After he was reconciled and thrown into the galleys for the same heresy by the Inquisition in Toledo, he tried to convince other people of these errors once he was there. Relaxed to justice and the secular arm with confiscation of goods.⁴⁵

The Spanish Inquisition of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries held a special historical quality as compared to its medieval European predecessors. Its phenomenal strength and endurance resided in its capacity for hypocrisy. New innovations included representation and justification of theatrical society devoted to role playing, to the appearance of honor, to ostensive prayer, and to all the other forms of self-masking. The masses not only accepted the Inquisition, they worshipped it, insofar as the grim festivals of the auto de fe⁴⁶ simultaneously fed upon and nourished the collective hypocrisy of the population that attended them. Given the large number of forced conversions that followed the pogroms of 1394, nobody knew wholeheartedly the members of their ancestry.⁴⁷ One could only ignore the past or hide it, and above all, applaud vigorously the condemnation of those who got caught, along with the institution catching them.

The Spanish citizens defined themselves in comparison to others. By expressing pure adoration for the Inquisition, they separated themselves by negating the conversos. Hatred of the "others" occasionally focuses on religion, but often religion plays only one part of a broader collective self-assertion in which ethnic, racial, cultural, and local components act. The religious impulse worked in concert with other energies, political and identification, which flowed toward the creation of the new Spanish entity. The Inquisition helped create the impetus and fan the crusading sense of purpose that propelled the wheels of unified Spain. The king and queen's privileges and powers, believed by others as divinely sanctioned, strengthened their hold over their subjects. Religious imperatives operated in symbiosis with political forces to create the emergent Spanish sense of self, which involved the recognition of the role of the monarchy, of religious homogeneity, and later also of pure blood. The Inquisition redirected religious drives

into political channels and became ingredients of broader definition of identity, allying themselves with social and economic interests causing conflicts. The socioeconomic camps were from inception defined and divided Old Christians against New Christians. Charges against conversos found in every aspect of their lives—religious, social, economic, or political—struck deep roots in the people’s thinking and served as common ground for the rising demand to oust the conversos from Spain’s society. Ultimately the religious charges came to play a larger part in the anti-*Marrano* campaign, because religious law offered a better opportunity to use them as destructive weapons. The success of the Castilian nobility constructed pernicious effects of deeper importance and of greater duration than it could ever have realized. Modern thinkers must consider how a nation can be constricted and hedged about by the narrow vision of its own ruling classes. The Spanish Inquisition adapted a method of controlling the minds of its people that lasted even up to the Bolshevik Revolution 500 years later. The theoretical view of the suspect’s guilt mirrored flexibility from the very beginning. In his instructions on the use of Red Terror, the Chekist M. I. Lattsis wrote:

In the interrogation do not seek evidence and proof that the person accused acted in word or deed against Soviet power. The first questions should be: What is his class, what is his origin, what is his education and upbringing? These are the questions which must determine the fate of the accused.⁴⁸

The Bolshevik Revolution of the 1900s paralleled the Spanish Inquisition on matters of conducting the populace, harboring fear and confusion through manipulation. Arbitrary lists of names prepared, or an initial suspicion, or a denunciation by an informer, or any anonymous denunciation, just as during the Inquisition, sufficed to bring about the arrest of the suspect, followed by the inevitable formal charge. Solzhenitsyn elaborates on the manner of inquiry that “the time allotted for investigation, instead of solving a crime, exhausted,

wore down, weakened, and rendered helpless the defendant, so that he would want it to end at any cost.”⁴⁹

Russians during the Bolshevik Revolution and Spaniards during the Inquisition were pitted against those with differing cultural, social, and political backgrounds. Across culture and time, the human consciousness amplifies outside influences—peoples’ own underlying worst enemy. By keeping the people from access to information, distracted from the real enemy, or the real issue, and kept in fear and confusion, the masses not only accepted the ruling classes, but praised them out of fear of damnation, or in honest belief of exterminating the “evildoers.” Corruption, never an individual act, always involves groups of people bound by one fundamental rule of association.

NOTES

¹ Blood purity. Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition* (New York: New American Library, 1971), 124.

² The Inquisition burned only bad Christians, mostly baptized conversos, but had no jurisdiction over Jews. The reason is that the Inquisition was based on a canon law, which applies only within the Church. When conversos Judaized they were heretical traitors to the church. Yirmiyahu Yovel, *The Other Within: The Marranos: Split Identity and Emerging Modernity* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 174.

³ In 1478, Ferdinand and Isabella sent a formal request to Rome for the establishment of an inquisition in Spain. Pope Sixtus IV granted the request and, in a break with precedent, allowed the secular authorities to have power of appointment and dismissal over the new inquisitors. John Edwards, *Ferdinand and Isabella: Profiles in Power* (London: Pearson Education Limited, 2005), 68-69.

⁴ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 12-13.

⁵ The first wave of persecutions, the Pastoureaux crusade, began in France and reached Navarre in 1321. In Pamplona, Jews were assassinated. In Estella, in 1328, the sermons preached by a Franciscan provoked a riot; the houses of Jews were sacked and Jews killed. Twenty years later, there were similar scenes in Barcelona, establishing anti-Semitism in Spain. Joseph Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition: A History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 5-6.

⁶ A Castellanos tax was imposed on all citizens which Jews collected. This heavy tax was collected in addition to the direct annual tax paid by the Jews of the state. Jewish communal property and income from the Jewish community connected to a system of loans known as *juro*. Before the expulsion, the Crown had incurred considerable debts, and it was forced to pledge the Jewish taxes to pay the *juro* annuities. The Crown attempted to discharge debts using Jewish property. If any of those loans had been made by Jews, then they were exiled. Haim Beinart, *The Expulsion of the Jews from Spain*, trans. Jeffery M. Green (Portland, Oregon: The Littman Library of Jewish Civilization, 2002), 23-24, 60-69, 206.

⁷ Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 6-8.

⁸ Benzion Netanyahu, *The Origins of the Inquisition in Fifteenth Century Spain* (New York: Random House, 1995), 149.

⁹ Pérez, *The Inquisition*, 34-35.

¹⁰ Ibid.

¹¹ Pérez, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 14.

¹² Toby Green, *Inquisition: The Reign of Fear* (London: Pan Books, 2007), 24-25.

¹³ Yovel, *The Other Within*, 171.

¹⁴ Henry Kamen, "Confiscations in the Economy of the Spanish Inquisition," *The Economic History Review* 18, no. 3 (1965): 513.

¹⁵ Arguello, "Instructions of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Handled Summarily, Both Old and new," in *The Spanish Inquisition, 1478-1614: An Anthology of Sources*, ed., trans. Lu Ann Homza (Indianapolis: Hackett Publishing Company, 2006), 78.

¹⁶ Yovel, *The Other Within*, 167.

¹⁷ The *Suprema* was organized and controlled by the office of the Inquisitor General. There was an *alguazil*, or constable responsible for arrests, *calificadores*, or assessors of the evidence, and a *fiscal*, or prosecutor—whose role indicates that the Spanish Inquisition adopted the procedure of *accusatio* rather than *inquisitio*; in addition there were large numbers of subordinates such as gaolers, chaplains, clerks, notaries, and familiars. The whole organization was supervised by *visitadores*, or travelling inspectors, who reported back to the *Suprema* on the functioning of provincial inquisitions. The structure is not dissimilar to that of the medieval Inquisition, except for the presence and function of the *fiscal*. Edward Burman, *The Inquisition: The Hammer of Heresy* (New York: Dorset Press, 1992), 138-139.

¹⁸ A.S. Turberville, *The Spanish Inquisition* (USA: Archon Books, 1968), 57-58.

¹⁹ Cullen Murphey, *God's Jury: The Inquisition and the Making of the Modern World* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2012), 84-85.

²⁰ "People reconciled with monastic habit, perpetual prison, and the confiscation of goods for having believed the sect of Muhammed was good, and that they would save themselves through it" in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 243.

²¹ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 231-232.

²² Green, *Inquisition*, 13.

²³ "Statement of Francisca Hernández, Toledo, October 12, 1530" in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 118.

²⁴ Yovel, *The Other Within*, 161-162.

²⁵ Torquemada became the prior of the Dominican monastery of Santa Cruz, at Segovia, and there he met Isabella, forging a close personal bond and becoming her confessor. He encouraged her marriage to Ferdinand, which united the kingdoms of Castile and Aragon, and in time became confessor to Ferdinand as well. After the Inquisition was set up under royal control, Torquemada was appointed as one of several inquisitors, and assumed the position of inquisitor general a year later. Murphey, *God's Jury*, 81-82.

²⁶ For more details of Torquemada's *Directorium* see Rafael Sabatini, *Torquemada and the Spanish Inquisition: A History* (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, 1930), 140-144.

²⁷ The Edict of Grace: ". . . the inquisitors shall proclaim a period of grace of thirty or forty days, whichever is more suitable, so that all people, men as well as women, who find themselves guilty of any sin of heresy or apostasy, or of keeping and performing the rituals and ceremonies of the Jews, or any [rituals] which may be contrary to the Christian religion, may come to disclose their errors before the inquisitors shall assure the audience that all those who come with good contrition and repentance to disclose their errors and everything they know . . . who come to confess shall be given penances that are healthful for their souls, they shall not receive a penalty of death or perpetual prison, and their goods shall not be taken . . ." Argello, "Instructions of the Holy Office of the Inquisition, Handled Summarily, Both Old and New," in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 64-65.

²⁸ “Marina’s Confession from 1484” in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 27-29.

²⁹ Burman, *The Inquisition*, 144-145.

³⁰ Ibid., 150-151.

³¹ Ibid., 146-150.

³² The *garrucha* (“pulley”) was a form of torture by suspension, and worked through gravity. Typically the hands of the interrogated person were tied behind his back. By means of pulley or a rope thrown over a rafter, the body would be hoisted off the ground by the hands, and then dropped with a jerk. The strain on the shoulders was immense. Joints could be pulled from their sockets. Muscles could be stretched to the point where elasticity would never return. Damage to the brachial plexus, the nerve fibers running from the spinal cord to the arms contorted the pleural cavity, thus making breathing difficult. Murphey, *God’s Jury*, 90.

³³ *Toca*, means “cloth,” referencing the fabric that plugged a victim’s upturned mouth, and upon which water was poured. The effect was to induce the sensation of asphyxiation by drowning. “Waterboarding” is the English term commonly used today. The modern term in Spanish is *submarino*. Ibid., 92.

³⁴ *Potro* means “colt,” which is a small platform with four legs. Several things could occur on this platform. The victim might be placed on his back, his legs and arms fastened tautly to winches at each end. Each turn of the winches would stretch him by some additional increment. Ligaments might snap. Bones could be pulled from their sockets. Another version of the rack relied on tight compression. Rope would be wrapped around the body and then fastened to the winches, coiling tighter with every turn. The rope sometimes cut through

muscle. Ibid., 91.

³⁵ For more on the background of medieval torture see *ibid.*, 55-56.

³⁶ Turberville, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 107.

³⁷ Protection of documents [1488]: “Inquisitors agreed that all the writings of the Inquisition, regardless of condition, shall be collected in chests in a public place where the inquisitors are accustomed to act, so that any writing that may be needed can easily be at hand. Taking the writings outside [the tribunal] is forbidden. The keys of the chests shall pass from the hand of the inquisitors into the power of the notaries of the said office, who witness the acts and writings.” “Instructions given in Valladolid by the Prior of Santa Cruz” in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 72.

³⁸ “Marina’s sentence. June 30, 1494” in *ibid.*, 49.

³⁹ Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, 198-199.

⁴⁰ Geoffrey Parker, “Some Recent Work on the Inquisition in Spain and Italy,” *The Journal of Modern History* 54, no.3 (September 1982): 520.

⁴¹ The familiars, spies and informers, were responsible for spreading fear of the Inquisition through their lawless arrogance. Burman, *The Inquisition*, 139-140.

⁴² John Edward Longhurst, *Luther and the Spanish Inquisition: The Case of Diego de Uceda 1528-1529* (Albuquerque: The University of New Mexico Press, 1953), 75-76.

⁴³ Ibid., 20-32.

⁴⁴ For further information on auto de fé see Burman, *The Inquisition*, 151-153.

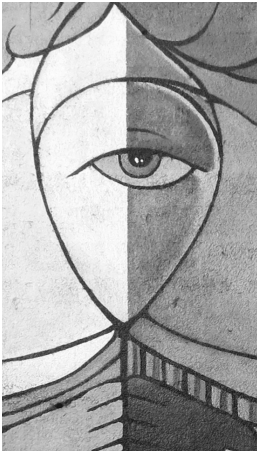
⁴⁵ “Auto de fé celebrated in Granada, March 18, 1571,” in Homza, *Anthology of Sources*, 246.

⁴⁶ For description of first auto de fé see Murphey, *God’s Jury*, 65-67.

⁴⁷ Stephen Gilman, “The Case of Diego Alonso: Hypocrisy and the Spanish Inquisition,” *Daedalus* 108, no. 3 (Summer 1979): 135.

⁴⁸ Aleksandr I. Solzhenitsyn, *The Gulag Archipelago 1918-1956: An Experiment in Literary Investigation*, trans. Thomas P. Whitney (New York: Harper & Row, Publishers, 1973), 96.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 97.



Transformations In Male Masculinity

Determinants of Race,
Class and Setting in the
Mexican Literary and
Film Representations of
No Man's Land, *Amores
Perros*, and *The Three
Burials Of Melquiades
Estrada*

Three films examine the interrelationships among poveerty, violence, and machismo.

— JACOBENE M. SINGER —

The short stories in *No Man's Land* accurately describe the unique challenges of life in Mexico's impoverished border cities located near the United States. Author Eduardo Antonio Parra interprets this setting from the point of view of characters whose psyche has been permanently shaped by this unique borderland region, effectively a no man's land, where they have grown up. Deep from the recess of their minds, he reveals how often impulsive and flawed decisions, reflected in deleterious effects of their masculinity, have consequences that put their futures and often their very lives at grave risk. Alternatively, the natural desert setting of *The Three Burials of Melquiades Estrada's*¹ (hereafter *Three Burials*) redemptive journey, bearing witness to the reality of this region, reveals the coexistence of a mix of masculinities. A more complex setting than the borderlands is

the modern urban environment of Mexico City. The film *Amores Perros*,² as an example of the on-going transformation that Matthew C. Gutmann and Mara Viveros Vigoy have termed an “erosion of machismo” may be interpreted as a failure of regressive forms of masculinity within the additional context of both race and class.³ Advanced in this urban setting through depictions of multiple story lines and structural manipulation, is the idea that such traditional types of masculinity, no longer relevant in the frenetic cosmopolitan environment of Mexico City, are ultimately ineffective in preventing the losses their use brings to Guillermo Arriaga’s diverse set of characters.

As Hector Amaya instructs, “Masculinity in Mexico, as elsewhere, has always been much more than machismo.”⁴ Over time, the very word “machismo” has become synonymous with Latin American male masculinity in general. While Gutmann provides important insight by pointing out the additional attention this has focused on this type of male masculinity offering, “Throughout the world today ‘machismo’ is a common expression for sexism. Yet the word and its etymology, derives as much from international political and social currents, as from cultural artifacts peculiar to Latin America.”⁵ In this regard, Amaya’s own typology of masculinity is aimed at improving understanding of Mexican cultural situations in order to help disclose the ways in which race determines specific masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity types act as a cultural ideal exemplifying all the qualities to preserve patriarchy. Complicit masculinity, the broadest category, comprises a multitude of styles of being masculine, all of which reconstitute hegemonic cultural ideals of the masculine. Finally, marginalized masculinities are those exemplified by race, and thus play the role of reconstituting social hierarchies, and also of supporting the hegemonic masculinities. Noteworthy here is that marginal masculinities also “typically function outside institutional power.”⁶ Also typical is the ubiquity of its virulent depiction in fictional narratives such as those by Eduardo Antonio Parra.

According to Aldona Bialowas Pobutsky, Parra’s characters are “disenfranchised borderland Mexicans [with] masculinities [that] are markedly traditional, exalting violence and machismo.”⁷ Due to what

is referred to here as a “neocolonial” setting, social markers such as race and class underpin the stories’ essentially male identities. The characters are perennially poor, lower, or more frequently, under-class men of mixed blood with highly marginalized masculinities. Moreover, Parra’s characterizations reveal the effects of impotence; historically exacerbated here again, by conflicting triggers of economic promise on the one hand and outwardly hostile attitudes on the other, coming from the United States to the north. The implication is that for Parra’s young males, this very presence in their lives puts Mexican masculinity at risk. Thus, in concurrence with Pobutsky, if “old-fashioned *machismo* is a reaction to the helplessness experienced by the Mexican man,” [then the most salient contribution made by Parra is that based on the outcome for his characters], “masculinities that [typically] equate muscle power to social superiority are vestiges of the past that do not work in the neocolonial condition.”⁸

In the story “The Hunter” one young man’s macho behavior results in a senseless murder followed by, for the killer Joel Villasenor, the debilitating fear of being incessantly hunted. The impact of this violent act in turn contributes to a second murder of yet another innocent man, Joel’s friend Neri. Parra uses a technique of off-set monologues to seamlessly transform the essence of one character, that of the bounty hunter searching for Joel, into the other, the hunted, by reactivating the deeply felt psychosomatic elements of the second man’s macho mindset. In this way the author lays bare the essential ingredients for a predictably violent and disastrous outcome. Details of the plot reveal that Joel has been schooled in traditional hegemonic masculinity through the example of his father, while his own personal interpretation has favored impulsive violence in the face of challenges to his macho sexual masculinity. Confronted by a rival, Gabacho, for his love interest, Maria Elena, Joel acts immediately to remove this threat to his own self-image of male superiority. He hereby exhibits how the performance of his masculinity in this manner is regressive not only for his own development but also for his immediate goal: He fails to remove his competitor by shooting an innocent bystander instead, and likewise, he fails to avoid the life-altering consequence of his ill-fated

impulsive behavior. Representing the type who suffers the effects of a regressive marginalized masculinity, Joel is a man whose performance is rooted in traditional yet violent ideals of male power. Joel's hunter provides the mirror of this flawed masculinity as he gradually allows himself to be drawn into the other man's oppressive borderland world of poverty and lawlessness. Details of the man's life reveal this is partly because of a history of previously denied macho tendencies, and partly because of his profession as a bounty hunter that in turn had been facilitated by his own father's former profession as a police officer. During the dramatic events of the climax in which the two men fight over one woman, as a direct consequence of his own performance of violence, it is the nameless bounty hunter who becomes the hunted for he is equally flawed.

Conversely, in the film *Amores Perros*, violence is interpreted through three separate yet connected stories that share two common themes of the family: adultery, or infidelity, and the absence of a father figure in the family through abandonment. Male motivational behavior in all three stories is unilaterally predicated on achieving goals related to these themes. In the first story, Octavio falls in love with Susana, his older brother Ramiro's wife. Seeking to rescue Susana from her husband's abusive violence by seducing her, Octavio becomes involved in another form of violence when he decides to fund his plan by entering his brother's dog Cofi in the illegal yet lucrative sport of dog fighting. Combined, these facts in turn facilitate a series of violent events culminating in an equally violent accident which, first presented in the opening scene, thereby introduces the narrative surrounding the central event of the film's plot. Daniel and Valeria are the two characters in the second story. Daniel has a happy family but in a more subtle form of violence, he decides to leave his wife and two daughters in order to live with his supermodel girlfriend. Valeria is the one who innocently intercepts Octavio's runaway car in a violent crash that severely injures both of them. In need of a prolonged period of rehabilitation during which she is forced to accept the loss of her leg as a result of her injuries, she falls apart. Consequently, when this also turns Daniel's life up side down emotionally, he responds

more violently than expected in coping with the problem of Valeria's trapped dog. The third story introduces El Chivo, a man who hopes to be reunited with his family after unilaterally deciding to abandon them twenty years ago to become a revolutionary. More recently, his life has been punctuated by coldly calculated violent acts carried out, much like Octavio, in return for money. Structurally, the message of this film is revealed slowly through a retrospective unfolding of the consequences of these main characters' actions, which as described above, derive from a series of individual moral decisions. In this way the film "creates an absolute moral compass that evaluates everyone using the same criteria" that reflects a conservative morality grounded in the value of the family.⁹

According to Gutmann, "For many men, being a committed parent is a central characteristic of being a man."¹⁰ As an example, the characterization of El Chivo is intended to show how his personal decisions have been at the root of the all the violence that follows: abandoning his family, his anti-government political activity, and his decision to become an assassin. In the end, imbued with a traditional type of masculinity, the decision to return to his family offers Chivo, the father, is the only remaining way to bolster an inadequate masculinity. Nonetheless, along with the other flawed males in *Amores Perros*, he experiences losses as a result of his previous violence. The adulterers (Octavio, Daniel, and Gustavo), experience personal loss, the socially desirable woman (Valeria) loses her attraction, and the two fathers (Daniel and El Chivo) who leave their families are left with nothing but memories. Ramiro loses his life. The film conveys a simple message having to do with immoral behavior generally: "It is not only a sin of the poor who opt for criminal violence."¹¹ Accordingly, these diversely stratified men suffer equally, regardless of social standing and race as a result of their flawed masculinities: Octavio, because of his regressive attitudes as depicted in his impulsive use of inappropriate aggression to achieve his misguided goals; Ramiro, because disempowered by persistent poverty and an underclass existence he relies on bravado, threats of violence and violent means to maintain control over his life; Daniel, because despite everything he has achieved in life

he now needs a beautiful woman in order to reassert his masculinity among his peers; and El Chivo, because as a man without a family he is deprived of a fundamental role associated with traditional Latin American male masculinity.

In *Amores Perros*, the focus on racialization as a determinant of violence in Mexico City, a region the center of social and cultural life in Mexico, provides an appropriate contrast to the borderland setting of peripheral northern Mexico especially when examined solely on outcome. Personal losses of life, limb, love, and loved ones occur equally in the presence of macho masculinities. This alternate interpretation reflects an orientation in which such masculinities are viewed within the framework of a cultural phenomenon rather than the strictly socio-political phenomenon elicited from Parra's oppressive neo-colonial setting in the borderlands. The Mexico City setting contributes heavily to this film's main plotline. In its role as a modern megacity it is shown brimming with overt and covert violence, chaos, and social stratification at every level. More recently, as elucidated by Hector Amaya, "Mexican society fosters a complex system of gender and sex incorporating conservatism that stand in tension with emergent discourses on masculinity and femininity."¹² Despite its patriarchal heritage, in contemporary Mexico tradition-based interpretations of masculinity are losing validity and machismo is less apparent. Even more pronounced are the challenges to traditional economic gender roles. Considering men as the traditional providers this in turn creates a form of crisis and is evidenced in the film with poor Mexicans like Ramiro and Octavio portrayed struggling to pursue these traditional gender roles. As a result of their severely reduced socioeconomic standing these characters are marginalized and thus forced to accommodate to the inherent challenges their reduced status bring. Typically, in the face of their diminishing economic environment they suffer further alienation as a result of the violent behaviors in which they engage as the only means of maintaining their macho masculinities. The dog-fighting scenes provide the best example of this pattern. Octavio's decision reflects the expediency with which he believes he will derive benefit from performances of this type of masculinity. Despite

the far-reaching destruction participating in such activity means for his dog, Octavio and his friend continue their violent brush with danger and as is intentionally depicted by the film, in a clear emulation of the real dogs' dog-like behavior. However, it is ultimately as a result of one thoughtless act of macho rage, precisely like the act of violence that Joel inflicts, that Octavio's performance, falling short, will cause his social alienation. Additional examples are provided in the armed robbery scenes. Ramiro and his friends engage in this type of criminal activity unabatedly, in the face of well-known and clearly defined dangers especially considering he is a father. *Amores Perros* succeeds in that it connects Ramiro and Octavio's identities as poorly educated underemployed *mestizos* forced to live in the slums of the Mexico City with Parra's disenfranchised characters who are unable to rise above the effects of their impoverished existence in the border cities. The male characters in *Amores Perros*'s Mexico City do not live near the border with the United States yet they suffer equally as a result of the prevalence of a nationally idealized view of hegemonic patriarchal masculinity. This suggests that it is not only the historical hegemonic presence of the United States that has contributed to the erosion of Mexican masculinity as depicted in Parra's characterizations but also the effects of social and racial inequality magnified by persistent poverty that has entrenched *Amores Perros*'s characters' disempowerment in Mexico City.

Pobutsky suggests that perhaps "it is not the bravado and violence that [will promote] the Mexican cause but rather the return to one's roots that [will save] the northern subject from the neo-colonial custom of economic exploitation and social devaluating."¹³ And while screenwriter Guillermo Arragia may not have set out to accommodate Melquiades Estrada's need to "reconcile [the Mexican subject] with his own culture and his own territory," by injecting an unexpected American protagonist, cattle rancher Pete Perkins, into his film's cross-border landscape, Arragia facilitates further analysis of alternate forms of masculinity and thereby contributes the resolution of main question. One benefit of *Three Burials* is that it serves to reinforce what is sometimes forgotten:

Undocumented migrants are marginalized in the already peripheral world . . . they carry with them a way of life different from . . . the mainstream culture of the host country. This marginalization expresses itself in a real as well as in a symbolic way. Migrants tend to be exposed to derogatory, humiliating, and often violent treatment. They must endure; low wages, poor labor conditions, difficult access to some spaces (such as clubs and associations), discrimination, and often even physical and emotional harassment.¹⁴

American Pete Perkins is a cowboy who comfortably straddles the dangerous landscape of the borderlands separating the United States and Mexico in Texas. A key contribution of *Three Burials* is that it demonstrates how violence, one of the manifestations of “regressive masculinity,” acts as the foundation of male relationships in the borderlands region. For, as Franz Fanon has suggested, “The practice of violence binds men together as a whole, since each individual forms a violent link in the great chain, [yet] violence is [also] an element of life, justified on the ground of creativity, when it happens for higher purposes.”¹⁵ A higher purpose depicted in this film is that it may also serve to bring about redemption on behalf of someone in need of absolution, and forgiveness, for a series of irresponsible acts against an innocent victim of misappropriated violence. Another important benefit of *Three Burials* however is its up-dated interpretation of the violence and confusion that characterizes its setting in this region. In this second film, in which the setting again facilitates the plot, the ‘confusion’ is interpreted in the same method of the plot development as that used in *Amores Perros*: Seemingly random narrative sequencing necessitates a retrospective understanding of events.

For illegal migrant Melquiades Estrada (hereafter Mel), given his practiced cautious demeanor, the shot that kills him is completely unexpected. Mel’s illegality is not so much directly relevant to his untimely death as it is to his unplanned presence, within the vicinity and time of border patrolman Mike Norton’s shift. At the time of the accidental killing, it is Mel’s own action; shooting at a coyote threatening his goats that provokes Mike’s deadly response. As is the case in

Amores Perros, motivations notwithstanding the events that take place are a direct consequence of the men’s actions. However, as a result of an attempted cover-up that follows, this particular act enables Mel to become the face of all illegal migrants hunted down by the U.S. Border Patrol because it highlights the outcome for countless illegal migrants. As shown in the film, illegal migrants are exposed to seemingly arbitrary interpretations of a legal system deemed as impotent as the officers and patrolmen tasked to deliver it.

Equally important is that Mel is also depicted as representative of Pete’s ideal of humanity in a quintessentially Mexican way. What really matters to Pete’s new friend is that he be buried back home in the small village of Jimenez in Mexico. Unexpectedly and too soon, this wish provides Pete with a higher purpose for his own life, having promised Mel to fulfill this request. Yet a strong commitment to these ideals empowers Pete to reach his goal: Pete’s determination and thus his success originate from a deep sense of loyalty based on a bond of friendship. Several plot details are provided to substantiate this. Pete makes his living working his ranch located near the border where he has everyday contact with Mexicans. At their first meeting Pete does not ask Mel whether he is legal, only what kind of work he is looking for, and whether he is any good at it, thus revealing a respect for human worth predicated on a highly personalized moral code. Unlike many of the other characters, Pete displays a cultural sensitivity and calm demeanor similar to that of his Mexican companions and, likewise, his masculinity enables this strong sense of equanimity.

In contrast, the other American, U.S. Border Patrolman Mike, for whom violence has become a part of his everyday experience, possesses a masculinity bereft of morality, mired in traditional forms of male patriarchal power. Mike, who is unrepentant, is unchanged by his truly senseless mistake. This fact is evidenced in the scene where Mike jumps at the chance to use violence against a small group of fleeing migrants he pursues, in order to enforce a show of power. Later, Pete will be compelled (and morally justified) to use the threat of violence to force an uncooperative Mike to participate in the final burial plans he has made for Mel. Pete understands that this is the code of conduct

for male violence they both share implying that violence is universal, a-temporal and omnipresent. Paradoxically, the redemption of Mel's killer provides the only acceptable rationale for Mel's death: It stands to serve as a universal message of redemption for the many unjust acts of violence acted out everyday, not only on the border, but everywhere.

In *Three Burials* there is little justification for the human violence depicted in any of the situations in which it occurs. Not even Mel's attack on the mammalian coyote is truly justified because the real coyote (as opposed to the human one who escorts Mexicans across the border illegally) is simply following his natural instincts. He kills for food, to survive. The human coyote is breaking a law by guiding a group of Mexicans across the border illegally although he does not use violence to rebuff the border patrol as for example might be the case if a more criminal element were involved. His action is directed at helping others cross the border safely. By way of contrast as alluded to earlier, border patrolman Mike Norton chases one young woman beyond range of protection. Despite being unarmed and defenseless, Norton ruthlessly inflicts unnecessary violence in order to subdue her. This detail is substantiated by Mike's superior who warns him that he has gone overboard with his use of force "against these people." Conversely, there are two separate occasions when an armed man, his prey in the sight of the gun, does not shoot to kill even though he might have. In the first instance, Police Officer Belmont has Pete Perkins within firing range on a cliff overlooking the trail over which Pete leads the kidnapped Mike and his dead friend's body on their way to Mexico for burial. In the second, further on their journey after Mike has escaped on foot, Pete easily tracks him with his gun but he too decides not to shoot. Such incidents lend credibility to the notion that for some men their idea of masculinity may elicit threats of violence as evidence of superior power or standing. Following Fanon's interpretation once again, in these situations both the hunter and the hunted are aware of the power balance, there being no need to bring such potentially violent actions to their logical conclusions. Likewise, in Parra's stories many of the characters use profanity while communicating. Reflective of their macho masculinity this is also their means of conveying

emotions, since they share implied meanings and purpose in its use. As well, in *Three Burials* pervasive use of labels such as *wetback* and *gringo* reveal the operation of hegemonic and complicit masculinities respectively as such well-established racial slurs convey specific meanings depending upon who the user is. For example, the Mexican coyote, upon finding Mike's snake-bitten body in a desert wall-cave declares that he "doesn't look like a gringo, he's all f***d up." In one of several of this film's attempts to promote an appeal to poetic justice, later, this second human coyote rescues Mike, thereby saving his life. While earlier, a real coyote had found Mel's hurriedly buried body after the first illegal burial as part of the cover-up. And thus it is actually through the joint actions of these "coyotes" that Pete is enabled not only to fulfill a promise to a friend as well, but also to bring about Mike's redemption. Since Mike is Mel's killer his personal forced march to enlightenment is necessary in order to right the wrongs of a myriad acts of senseless violence on the border. Camilla Fojas offers, "Since the border became a militarized zone, a place of imperiled passage and risk, the number of deaths from crossing the inhospitable desert has risen drastically. The borderlands, which are typically associated with risk, are now associated more often with death."¹⁶ Yet the film's plot resonates with the goals of retribution, redemption, and forgiveness because of its reversal of perspective in which the border patrolman take the difficult journey across the border typically undertaken by migrants. Serving a more universal theme, this film rounds out the story of failed masculinity by including a series of seemingly random scenes, such as the one in which an old man is encountered in the desert, cleverly interpreting the concept of "seeing the light through knowing the truth" in a paradoxically clear manner, for this "see-or" is blind, and he listens to Spanish radio even though he doesn't understand a word because he likes the way it sounds. During another segment of the journey (in search of the elusive village of Jimenez where Pete is hoping to lay Mel to his final rest), four Mexicans encountered in the foothills share their food, their drink, their knowledge, and their experiences with Pete and Mike. They are equipped with a portable TV set on which they watch an American soap opera in English, which

they do not understand. Yet they too exhibit an uncanny insight, and an intuitive sense of nurturance when they offer Mike (who recognizes the scene as one he has witnessed his wife watch), the rest of their bottle while consoling him with, “Don’t cry, take it for your troubles,” to which Pete sagely responds, “Mexicans are good like that.” The stark contrast intended is beyond doubt: a perfect representative of hegemonic America has recently killed one of them (Mel) in an impulsive act of meaningless violence. Yet for Pete, along with his respect for the natural environment of the Mexican borderland, befriending Mel was purely natural. Unlike his fellow countryman Pete is shown to appreciate the wisdom in their way of life. Of greater significance to the question of masculinity therefore is that Pete’s masculinity has clearly incorporated an affinity for the culture, traditions and the natural landscape of the Mexicans.

It is in this regard that women are also critical to the plot. Rachel shares herself with two of the main characters, three if you count her husband. Based on these relationships she has credibility when revealing the name of Mel’s killer, but she also generates the link between Mike’s wife Lou Ann and Mel so that his “character” may be distinguished from Mike’s: sexually gentle and unassuming versus aggressive and brutal. Likewise, Mariana is the very migrant Mike needlessly attacks while on patrol yet later when she is called upon to use her herbal medicine and expertise to treat him after the snakebite threatens his life she cures him despite her disgust, because it is the right thing to do. Nor does she need to be forced to do her duty as Mike does by Pete. In a remarkably calm show of restraint by acting only after her patient is out of danger, she sees to it that justice is served with the help of a pot of scalding coffee to the groin and a forearm to the nose. Also remarkable is that afterwards Mike is invited to join his “judge” who, as part of group of women engaged in the everyday task of peeling corn for a meal, will no doubt share it with him. The atmosphere of trust palpable among them is accentuated by a cinematically created serenity in the scene suggesting further that trust is the essential ingredient of real power, while violence is the product of force that seeks to replace legitimate power. Mike is shown

to represent the result of this potential power: It is the maternal side that needs to be embraced for the male subject to assert his masculinity in a progressive way. The three “burials” may thus represent the past, the present, and hopefully the future. And it is certain Mike has achieved redemption, for with the last words uttered in the film he caringly asks of Pete, “Are you going to be alright?”

In other words while this alternate view evokes the earlier sentiment put forth by Pobutsky, here it is promoted not so much through “a corrosion of the power of traditional patriarchy” as through the gradual introduction of new visions that may enable a reconstruction of the old relationship between the North and the South. As this transformation progresses so too may this lead to a future in which the status of male masculinities in Latin America will no longer be universally equated with the regressive performances of machismo upon which such factors as race, class, and setting have heretofore been predicated.

NOTES

¹ *The Three Burials Of Melquiades Estrada*, Directed by Tommy Lee Jones (USA: EuropaCorp, 2005).

² *Amores Perros*, Directed by Alejandro Gonzalez Inarritu (Altavista, 2000).

³ Matthew C. Gutmann, *The Meaning of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 114.

⁴ Hector Amaya, "Amores Perros and racialised masculinities in contemporary Mexico," in *New Cinemas* 5: 3 (2007), 201-216, doi: 10.1386/ncin.5.3.201/1.

⁵ Gutmann, *The Meaning of Macho*.

⁶ Amaya, *Amores Perros*, 204.

⁷ Pobutsky, Aldona Bialowas. "Borderlands and the Crisis of Mexican Identity: Reading The Short Narratives of Eduardo Antonio Parra," in *Revista Canadiense de Estudios Hispánicos* 33.3 (Primavera 2009), 487.

⁸ Pobutsky, "Borderlands," 485.

⁹ Ignacio M. Sanchez-Prado, "Amores Perros: Exotic Violence and Neoliberal Fear," in *Journal of Latin American Cultural Studies* 15.1 (March 2006), 41, doi: 10.1080/13569320600596991

¹⁰ Gutmann, *The Meaning of Macho*.

¹¹ Sanchez-Prado, "Amores Perros," 48.

¹² Amaya, "Amores Perros," 202.

¹³ Pobutsky, "Borderlands," 486.

¹⁴ Nuria Vilanova, *Border Texts: Writing Fiction From Northern Mexico* (San Diego: San Diego University Press, 2007), 11.

¹⁵ Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. Constance Farrington (New York: Grove Weidenfeld, 1963), 92.

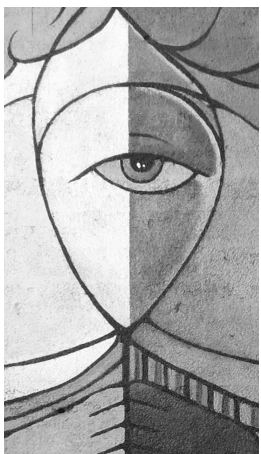
¹⁶ Fojas, Camilla. "Hollywood Border Cinema: Westerns with a Vengeance." in *Journal of Popular Film and Television* 30: 2 (2011), 97.

⁵² www.gonorway.com.

⁵³ Pettersen, interview.

⁵⁴⁻⁵⁶ Ibid.

⁵⁷ Mark M. Boatner III, *The Biographical Dictionary of World War II* (Novato, California: Presidio Press, 1996), 441-42.



Red Petticoat

— JOHN KING —

The tall, slender young woman is standing by her desk near the front of the empty classroom. The fact that her hair is pulled back tightly cannot disguise the reality that she is barely out of her teenage years, and the severe cut of the gray dress, together with her sensible shoes, gives no hint that beneath it all she is wearing a red petticoat.

Ella surveys the room, which is her domain. School is about to start on this crisp autumn day, as she once again thinks about how far Central Texas is from her home in Illinois, and from the normal school that she attended there in order to get her teaching degree. As she looks around the room at the chairs and small desks for the twenty-three children she is teaching, she notices little Bobby Ellis peeking around the cloakroom door edge.

“Robert, good morning.”

Bobby is unable to speak, but looks shyly at his shoes.

“Robert, since you are the first one here this morning, you get to ring the school bell.” She smiles at her youngest pupil, wondering if he can actually reach the bell rope. Soon she knows the answer, as the bell begins to peal, and her students, ranging from Bobby’s age of six years up to age fourteen, begin to trickle into the classroom.

“Good morning, Miss Rodecker.” As each child comes in, they wish her a good morning, and she promptly responds, calling them each by name. The second year of teaching is much easier than the first. It seems that the children are soaking up the knowledge she wants to give them so much more readily.

After a few minutes, she manages to seat all of the children, wish them a good morning, instruct them to take out their books, and to open their daily materials. As she turns to the blackboard, she notices the American flag centered over the blackboard, with its candy stripes and the forty-four stars in six rows. The top row has eight, the bottom row has eight, and the other four rows have seven each. The pictures on each side of the flag are of George Washington, President Cleveland, Sam Houston, and Robert E. Lee. Every time that she sees the picture of Robert E. Lee, it gives her a little start, to think that she, the daughter of a Union veteran, should be teaching beneath the picture of the great Confederate general. When she first took over her classroom, she had thought about taking it down, but the strangest thing had happened. A man barely older than she had come to the schoolhouse one late afternoon and asked her if she was the school-teacher, even though the answer was so obvious. When she replied in the affirmative, he had asked if he could come later in the afternoons and if she would teach him to read and write. At the time, Ella had met none of the local people her own age, and, on an impulse, agreed to mentor the young man. On the second or third session, she had mentioned taking down Robert E. Lee’s picture. He looked at her very seriously, and he said “Ma’am, it’s been barely thirty years since he surrendered at Appomattox. People around here still think that Marse Robert is the greatest American hero. In addition, not only

are you a Yankee, but you have a German last name. The Germans down at New Braunfels, just over fifty miles from here, tried to sneak through the Texan lines to join the Union army. Some of them were caught and killed, and there’s still bad blood about that. I would recommend that no matter how you feel, you should leave that picture in place.”

Ella thinks back about that conversation and realizes once again what a strange place this Central Texas is. As she looks at the third picture, she thinks about Sam Houston and Texas history. Even though she obtained her teaching degree, she had had to study Texas history on the long train ride from Illinois to Austin so she could pass the teaching certification test as soon as she got there. At the time, she felt so brave, leaving Illinois at age nineteen to go to a frontier state like Texas, but whatever trepidation she might have felt was quelled by her interest in history. While in Illinois, she was not aware of the fact that Texas had been a separate country, nor that Sam Houston had been not only the president of Texas, but also its first governor when it was admitted as a state. To make Texas seem even more quirky, she learned that Sam Houston had been the governor again in 1861 when Texas voted to secede from the Union, and that he refused to sign the secession papers, believing that Texas, after working so hard to become a part of the Union, should not leave it. Houston was removed as governor, the lieutenant governor was promoted and signed the papers, and Houston died two years later, from what some said was a broken heart.

Ella hears the whispering behind her and turns around, glaring at the pupils. The older pupils are a little bit hard to control, since they are within six years of her own age, but it still has to be done.

“Each of you take out the materials that I gave you for homework last night. All of you older section students begin to read the third chapter of your book, and I want all of you younger section students to come sit down in this corner while we start working again on your ABCs.”

Ella begins the little ones on their ABCs, and then looks out the window, since there is dust drifting through and she can hear the

sound of cattle going by. She is aware that Texas's economy is based on the cattle industry, and that American literature has already been infused with a new genre talking of the cowboys riding the trails from Texas up to the railheads in Kansas in order to ship the cattle east where they were so needed. However, the trail drives are now a thing of the past, since the railheads have moved, and Austin itself, some twenty miles southeast of the schoolhouse, is a railhead, and cattle are driven from all the surrounding areas into Austin. She watches the large herd of cattle going by, and smiles at the sight of the young cowboys, many of them teenagers, dressed up for the last leg of their journey into Austin. It seems as if all of them have brushed their hats, buffed their boots, and have fresh bandanas at their throats. She knows that this is only one of probably three or four groups that will go by that day, and each time there will be more dust sifting into the classroom. Thank goodness it is Friday, because on Saturday the students' fathers will come to the classroom and help her clean. None of them can afford the full tuition, so part of the cost of having their children schooled is to give several hours every week to cleaning and maintaining the small one-room schoolhouse.

After the little ones finish the ABCs, Ella gathers them back with the older ones, and starts their civics lesson.

"Richard?"

"Yes, Miss."

"Richard, can you tell us what we mean when we say that President Cleveland is the first President elected to non-successive terms of office?"

Dickie Johnson looks down at his slate, hoping that the answer will somehow appear, or, in the alternative, that there will be an earthquake where he will be swallowed up and not have to demonstrate to the other older children that he has no idea what the answer to the teacher's question might be.

Suddenly, Dickie feels the schoolhouse begin to shake, and the earth itself begins to tremble. "Oh, my" Ella says, thinking how stupid it sounds to make such a statement in front of the children, and then "None of you leave your seats, stay right where you are." While the

children begin talking among themselves, Ella runs to the door, and looks down the steps. Coming toward her, several hundred yards away, is a mass of cattle, and what she knows is called a stampede. Some of the young cowboys are trying their best to stop the cattle, but all they are doing is guiding them more directly toward the schoolhouse. She knows she doesn't have time to move the students, and she also knows that the clapboard building is too fragile to withstand the impact of several hundred large bodies.

She yells back through the door to the oldest boy, Glen, "Shut the door and lock it!" She can hear Glen following her instructions and she looks again at the mass of cattle coming closer. She is too concerned for her charges to think of her own safety. She runs to the bottom of the steps, and, oblivious to whomever might be looking, raises her skirt and rips off her petticoat. Once she manages to detach the garment, she waves it from one side to the other and begins to scream like a Comanche Indian. She screams as the cattle approach, she screams more as the cattle continue coming closer. She screams and waves, waves and screams, until the front cattle begin to be spooked even worse than they were, and begin to part around her, and by definition, around the schoolhouse. The young cowboys trying to turn the herd realize what is happening, and fan further away, to let the cattle part on either side of the schoolhouse. They continue to race their horses as fast as they can in order to stop the herd before it damages something else further down the road. As the last cow runs by, Ella collapses at the bottom of the schoolhouse steps. She begins to shake so hard that she can no longer hold the petticoat in her hand. Her only thought at that moment is that she will not cry. She will not cry.

Suddenly, she hears another set of galloping hooves. She recognizes the sound as only one animal, and looks up expecting to see one of the young cowboys. Instead, the animal coming towards her is neither a cow nor a horse. Its rider guides his mule within just a few feet, jumps off, and stands before her. Unlike the cowboys with their shiny boots and their neckerchiefs, he is wearing a flannel shirt and a nondescript hat, a pair of patched overalls, and Brogans. He looks like what he is, which is a young farmer. When Ella sees him, all thoughts

of crying are gone, and her eyes light up. “Why, John Lawson King, what are you doing here?”

“Miss Rodecker . . . ”

“John, after a year I think it’s time you called me Ella.”

“Well, then, Ella, I saw the cattle heading toward the school, and I just couldn’t get ahead of them. I tried so hard, because I believed there was something in that schoolhouse that I couldn’t live without.”

“John, what a testament to learning.”

“I mean, Ella . . . you have to know what I am talking about.”

Suddenly, John does not look like just a tall young farmer; he looks closer to the proverbial knight in shining armor. And his mule, shaggy and gray, could just as easily be one of the finest chargers ridden by a knight of the round table.

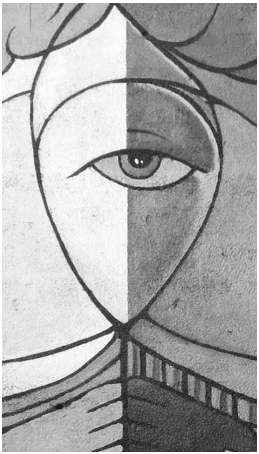
Suddenly, Ella realizes that the children had come to the windows, and are staring at the trampled ground, at her with her red petticoat at her feet, and the young farmer standing in front of her.

“Well, John” she says, as she scrambles off the step and up to her feet, “I certainly appreciate your concern, and I think you need to come back to class later so we can talk about some of those verb conjugations you were working on.”

He looks at her, at the young woman he now knows is going to be his wife, feels a smile tugging at the corners of his mouth and says, “Yes, ma’am, I will certainly be here. I couldn’t live without conjugating verbs—or parsing sentences.”

John reaches down to pick up what appears to be a red rag on the ground. Ella stops him, saying “If you touch that, I will slap your jaws.” John jerks his hand away, mutters “Yes, ma’am,” and then gets onto the back of his mule. “I will see you later,” he says, and rides away.

With that, Ella kicks the ragged petticoat under the steps, smoothes her dress and hair, and walks toward the schoolhouse door, pursing her lips to stop the smile she knows is coming.



The Twins' Wonderful Day on the Home Front

——— KARIN SHIPMAN ———

Good Morning **Sunshine**

It was morning, and I was in bed. I thought about the prayer Kappy and I said every night before we went to bed . . .

Now I lay me down to sleep,
I pray the Lord my soul to keep,
If I should die before I wake,
I pray the Lord my soul to take.

I was not sure exactly what it meant, but I heard prayers about the souls of our soldiers. I imagined that the “take my soul” part meant going to heaven but wasn’t sure. Grandmama talked about going to

heaven. I hoped not many of the soldiers' souls went to heaven while Kappy and I were sleeping. Daddy often said, "The war will be over soon. I'm sure of it." I always believed what Daddy said. The Lord didn't take my soul that night. I wasn't in heaven.

My eyes were closed, but I was awake. I heard my precious twin Kappy wheezing. Kappy had asthma. We had a sandstorm yesterday afternoon so the air still smelled kind of dusty. Mama would have to wipe out all the windowsills where the sand got in. Our room had been a sleeping porch. It had windows all around the outside walls. The shades were down; Mama pulled them last night. The walls were painted white. They were wooden instead of plaster like the rest of the house. Our floor was painted gray the same as the screen porch next to our room.

The army surplus beds, painted light blue, were placed head to head along an outside wall of the room. I loved being so close to Kappy. I rolled over a little and peeked at my sleeping sister. This time of day was really nice for me. I could hear Mama and Daddy talking in the kitchen every once in a while. I smelled coffee and thought, "We were lucky and had enough ration stamps, and Mama could find it at the store! They are drinking coffee." Daddy was probably reading the paper. Mama would be "getting her day started," as she said. I wasn't sure what all she did to do that.

Kappy and I loved to talk about Mama and Daddy when they were young. They looked like movie stars in the photographs that Mama showed us. They had their arms around each other and had big smiles on their faces. She told us that she wanted to be "one inch thick" so that when Daddy put his hands around her waist, his fingers would touch. She said she was a "flapper" and that Daddy was "dapper." We weren't sure what those words meant, but we knew she liked them, and we did too. They rhymed. We loved to say them over and over and over, but that drove Mama crazy so we would stop. We didn't want her to stop telling us her stories. We knew our parents still really loved each other, and they loved us and Toni and Grandmama. Remembering Mama's stories made me feel just wonderful.

I liked to have this little time for remembering before getting up on Saturdays and for thinking about how much I loved my whole family. On weekdays I had to get up quickly and get ready for school. I learned all about the parts of the calendar at school. We were in the First Grade. We practiced the calendar everyday. I concentrated for a minute. Yesterday our teacher wrote Friday, November 17, 1944, on the board. Today's day was Saturday, the month was November, the date was 18, and the year was 1944.

I enjoyed thinking, "I love all my family! This day and every day. I love Kappy the most! Next most is Mama. She is so beautiful and so nice. She takes Kappy and me with her places even though she tells people sometimes that we are 'wild as snakes.'" We knew we really weren't; we just got so excited about things that happened and the people we met. Doing things with Mama and with each other were my favorite things to do! Mama's first name was Kathryn. Kappy was named after both Mama and Daddy. Her nickname was Kappy because Daddy said that she was the Captain of the ship when she was having a bad spell being sick. Daddy was in the Navy, and he knew all about ships. "Cappy" was the nickname for the Captain of the ship, but I bet the sailors were afraid to call him that. Kappy's nickname started with a *K* instead of a *C* because her name was Kathryn; its first letter is *K*. Her middle name was Lewis. Daddy's name was Lewis Ledford Waugh. "I love him next best to Mama." As I lay in bed, I thought about how his name sounded. It was kind of like him, serious and careful sounding. Thinking about names got me started on initials. I loved to think about initials. "Daddy's initials have two *L*'s. His father's name was Walter William Waugh. Three *W*'s. His family liked names that have nice initials. My initials are *K. E. W.*"

My middle name is Elizabeth. When my sister and I were born, both together, the doctor wasn't so sure if we were twins or just one baby. We felt so lucky that we were twins! Mama said that the two of us together didn't weigh more than one baby. "Mama's middle name is Elizabeth, too. Her initials are *K. E. W.* just like mine! I love that." She named me after her best friend Karin since she and Daddy had just

picked one name, and then they had twins. Karin was from Sweden. I kept thinking about initials! Toni's—that wasn't her real name either—middle name was Jane. Jane was one of Daddy's cousins. Toni's first name was Carolyn after another one of Daddy's cousins, but Toni was called Toni because she was born with lots of black hair, and the nurses at the hospital called her "Toni the Italian." That's what Mama said. "Toni's initials were *C. J. W.*" She was going to get an award at a big ceremony this very day! I considered just how happy that made me, "I feel happy for Toni and for me and Kappy!"

Kappy and I loved Toni, and I think she loved us. She had a hard time loving us, and I knew why. Chicken pox. Toni had it—and couldn't see us or be with Mama because everybody was afraid she would get chicken pox and give it to us. Hearing all this made me feel sorry for Toni. "I love Toni best after Mama and Daddy."

Our family was happy, but worried because, our nation was fighting World War II. It was the worst war ever. Our town had lots of soldiers in it at Fort Bliss. They learned to fly planes: bombers and fighters. We heard about bombs and bombers because everybody talked about the Japanese bombing Pearl Harbor. I wasn't sure how the Japanese were connected to Hitler, but he started the war first in Europe. It was all really awful and complicated, but we knew we had to help. I thought about how Toni helped.

Toni was born in 1932 when things were really bad and a lot of people were poor. Daddy never lost his job. He had an important job. He worked for The Texas Company as an accountant. They made gasoline, and the Army used it to win the war. Every day, all the family did lots of things to help win the war. I made a little list in my head, "Mama has a Victory Garden so we could have vegetables, and she makes all our clothes and saves bacon grease. Toni collects stuff needed for the 'war effort.' All of us, along with everybody else in the United States, have ration stamp books since the soldiers need most of the food. Kappy and I help with everything. We all do our part fighting the war on the home front. I feel so proud!"

Kappy and I were born in 1938. We were six years old. The best thing about being six years old was being in First Grade and going

to Alta Vista Elementary School. Toni was in the Seventh. We lived at 3732 La Luz Street, and Alta Vista was two blocks away. Our teacher was Mrs. Rice. She was changing me from left-handed to right-handed. We had lots and lots of friends in the First Grade. Some of them were Carlos, Danny, Robin, Celeste, and Evelyn.

Toni's hair was not black any more, but beautiful blonde. She had blue eyes. I didn't hear her in the kitchen. She was really pretty. I thought that part of the reason Toni had a hard time liking us was because not being with Mama after we were born made her really sad. She looked sad a lot of the time, but she liked Grandmama. She and Grandmama talked pretty often, and Toni smiled some. I heard Grandmama's voice in the kitchen just a little while ago. Grandmama was making a "visit" with us. I thought for a minute, "I know Mama's last name used to be Hagendoorn so Grandmama's last name must be that. I think her first name is Ida since that's what Daddy calls her. Mama told a friend once that her name was 'Ida Claire,' and her friend laughed out loud. Her initials must be I. C. H. That sounds pretty funny, too." Grandmama was strict. But I thought, "I like Grandmama best next to Toni." I heard more talking in the kitchen.

I thought about another person. I loved her, too. She lived next door. Sometimes I would hear her start her car in the morning. It was parked in a garage that opened onto our alley. She was Grace Rose, and she was a school teacher. She was one of Kappy and my very best friends. "I love Grace next best to Grandmama, even though she is really not in our family." I knew we would see her today at the awards ceremony.

I opened my eyes. It was getting light. I could hardly wait for the day to get started. I loved my family and my life! Being a twin was the part of my life I liked the most, having Kappy with me all the time. I turned over in my bed and saw Kappy waking up. She turned over. Her eyes were blink-y, but she smiled at me. I heard Mama on the screen porch, opening the door to our room; she said something she said to us every single day! "Good morning, Sunshine."

I thought, “I am glad that the Lord did not take my soul! Or Kappy’s soul! We can get up now. Today is going to be so wonderful!”

Toni’s Award

“Don’t forget, we have to go down to the school today. Toni will receive her award,” Mama reminded us as she opened the front door to let us in. Toni had gotten a tin shed donated to the Scrap Drive. “We better go get ready; go change your clothes.” Mama had taken our photograph in the identical new dresses that she made for us. We felt like princesses!

For Kappy and me, this day was nearly perfect. We helped with chores that we just loved. I went with Daddy to the Texaco station that smelled like gasoline and tires, both precious things in wartime. Kappy and I helped Grandmama with the chickens she kept out in the backyard. And now, Toni would get the prize at a ceremony for collecting more scrap metal than anyone else in the contest being sponsored by Alta Vista School, our school. Toni was such a mystery to us.

We had not figured out how the Army was going to use the other scrap or Toni’s tin shed, but we were very proud of her extra special efforts to end the war. We yelled out to Toni, “We’re going with you to get your prize!” I’m not sure that pleased her. Kappy and I ran through the house to our room. We put our Saturday clothes back on and carefully hung up our new clothes.

We always wondered about what Toni was doing. She never did anything much with just Kappy and me. We loved her and hoped she loved us. She painted water color pictures of flowers at times and gave them to us. She had a little kit of paints with more than one brush. We put her paintings in a big picture book that a friend of our mother gave us when we were little. Toni didn’t talk to us much, but she must have talked to other people.

She had her own relationships going on in the neighborhood. It was Daddy’s friend, Mr. Henry, who gave her the tin shed. Daddy and Bill Harris had gone down to the Henry house to “knock down” the shed. This concept was almost unimaginable to us. Daddy took some of his

tools with them, but we could not figure out what the process was. Toni must also have talked Mr. Henry into dragging the shed down to the playground with his pickup truck, a vehicle we were very interested in because not many people had pickups. This one made a lot of noise, and Daddy said it was not “kept up” properly. We already heard the shed being pulled down our street for everyone to see. Banging and clanging on its way to the school—Toni’s prize winning contribution to our fighting men.

Mama, Toni, and Grandmama came out on the porch to wait with us. Pretty soon we saw it! Kappy and I jumped up and down, “Toni, Toni! Look! Your shed!” She nodded but didn’t smile.

When the truck got to our house, Mr. Henry shouted out, “Toni, hey girl, do you want to ride on the running board of the truck.” That was a step-like piece on the outside of the truck under its two doors. Oh, how lucky Toni was!

“May I?” Toni asked our parents.

Daddy walked up on the lawn from behind the truck. He looked at Mama for her consent. Her hand went to her forehead, but she nodded her head. Daddy answered Toni, “For a little way. We’ll walk along with you.”

Grace came around the corner of the house with a big smile on her face. Grandmama didn’t come with us, but the rest of the family and Grace slowly made our way toward the playground walking along with the collapsed metal shed screeching loudly as it scraped the black pavement leaving long, gray marks. The noise was terrible and wonderful, announcing our coming and our sister who was the champion scrap metal collector. Kappy and I ran ahead but were called back.

“You’ll get in the way. Heavenly days, girls, be careful. You don’t want to be run over, do you?” Mama warned.

“We won’t. We’ll be careful. This is so much fun. I hope all our friends see us!” What a great day. I imagined the war made noise like this. Could there be happy times in the war?

When we got to the school, the big gates on the Copia Street side of the playground were open, and the truck drove through them

honking its horn. Everyone cheered and clapped. This was divine. Look what Toni had done to win the war. I don't think I had been this excited in all my life. Kappy and I, and I am sure our parents, were thrilled. Toni walked along, now smiling, and said "thank you" to people who congratulated her. I hope she was as happy as we were.

When we got to the playground, Daddy shook hands with The Principal, Miss Pearl Crockett, and with several men we did not know. The men we didn't know had on suits and looked important. Later, Kappy and I discussed if one of them could have been the Mayor of El Paso. We'd heard about him. Or, maybe Mr. Hooten, the editor of the El Paso *Times*, who Grace said was there. He lived somewhere in our neighborhood, and his son was a couple of grades ahead of us at school. A lot of people we recognized as the parents of some of our friends and classmates were there, too. Grace was talking to some of the teachers.

We ran up to talk to Celeste Gallegos, who died of cancer when we were in the third grade, Carlos Navarro, whose dad had a plumbing company and a garage full of tools, and pipes that smelled good, and Evelyn Bradley whose father "drank too much" according to Mama. Danny Wever, who became my first boyfriend, was there with his big sister. She was in the Seventh Grade with Toni and had beautiful, long curly hair. Robin, another classmate, was there too, but would be leaving Alta Vista soon. We stopped talking so loud and jumping around when we talked to Robin. He had a regular arm on one side and two-thirds of an arm on the other. He was the only actual evidence we had of the war and the terrible event that increased our efforts on the home front. He lived in Pearl Harbor when the Japs dropped the bombs. He made us nervous, and we didn't know what to talk to him about.

There were piles and piles of gunnysacks filled with flattened tin cans on the playground. Most of the donations were flattened-out tin cans. Ours were in there somewhere; Daddy brought them down earlier. All kinds of metal were in piles around the schoolyard. Surprising to me were the car parts because no one could buy a car. There were no new cars being made. What would the families do without a

car? Another amazing thing was the bathtub that Carlos's father had donated. But nothing beat Toni's shed!

Here we were at our beloved Alta Vista School on such a great occasion. We looked around for Mrs. Rice but didn't see her, our teacher who was changing me from left to right handed. She said it would help me all through school and as an adult. I didn't like it; she made me sit on my left hand and would hit my hand with her ruler when I forgot and wrote or colored with the wrong hand. Finally we saw her. Mrs. Rice was talking to Mrs. Eckhard whom we hoped to have for High First. She let her class decide on what they would be while she taught them. Our class would be a farm when she taught us. Miss Patrick, a nice teacher, who taught Second, and Mrs. Parker, a mean one, had walked over to talk to Mama. She later told the whole class that Kappy could read better than I did. About that time one of the men in a suit called the crowd to order. Toni was about to receive her award.

We didn't know who he was but were sure he was important. We all said the Pledge of Allegiance. The flag from the school auditorium was placed on its stand next to the chairs where the distinguished strangers sat. Along with introductions of other men in suits, announcements of numbers I didn't understand, and praise for Victory Gardens, the man talked about the Bond Drive. "Winning the war has rewards for us as well as the soldiers and the nation," he said. Finally, the meeting leader got to Toni's award. "Will Miss Carolyn Waugh please come to the front to be recognized?" said the man. He turned around and asked Miss Crockett for something. Toni looked kind of glum as she stood there, but pretty with her blonde hair. Maybe she was a little scared because nothing like this had ever happened to her before. She was wearing a dress that Mama made for her. I'm not sure if Mama took pictures of Toni in her new clothes. We were all so proud of her that day at the Scrap Drive! Miss Crockett handed the man Toni's tinfoil ball! She had been collecting it for as long as we could remember. We were surprised to see it up there. It was about five inches across and was made up of the tin—later we found out it was really aluminum—that was part of the wrapper on every piece of

gum. Gum came in packages of five pieces. Toni asked everybody who chewed gum to save the wrappers for her. She painstakingly peeled off the shiny outer coating of each wrapper and put it onto her tinfoil ball. We asked her how she got it started, but all she ever told us was that she did it with tinfoil. It must have been a teeny-weeny little ball when she started it. The ball was held up for everyone to see. People said “Ah” and “Oh,” and applause broke out in the audience. Golly! Our sister was amazing to people. Kappy and I jumped up and down and clapped and shouted, “Hurray, Toni!” Mama and Daddy looked “proud as punch,” as our grandmother would say.

The man said, “Please accept this Certificate of Appreciation from your community and from the nation,” as he handed Toni a piece of paper. This was a disappointment to Kappy and me because we thought she would get a medal of some sort. Toni smiled and said, “Thank you,” and walked back to stand with us, and the crowd clapped and clapped. We sang the Star Spangled Banner and started home.

People congratulated Toni and our parents as we walked off the playground. Some of our friends told us we were lucky to have Toni for a sister. It was getting dark and things quieted down quickly. A kind of solemn feeling settled over our family. The sun had almost set as we walked quietly home.

When we got home, we had a wonderful supper, and Grace ate with us. When Kappy and I finished devouring our pieces of the delicious cake she’d baked and brought over, we made our Victory Plates—turning our empty glasses upside down on our empty plates. We asked Daddy, “May we please be excused?”

“You may.”

Bed Time

Kappy and I brushed our teeth, unbraided and brushed out each others’ long hair, and put on our gowns. We said our “Now I lay me down to sleep” prayer kneeling by Kappy’s bed. We took turns with whose bed we would pray by.

We got in bed, snuggled down, and talked quietly. Kappy asked, “When do you think the war will be over?”

“I don’t know. Maybe pretty soon. Daddy says so; I hope so. I don’t want many more soldiers to die.”

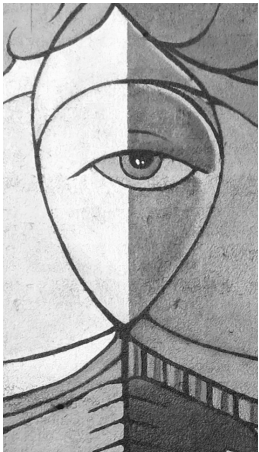
“Me neither,” Kappy responded. “Let’s say another prayer for them.” We didn’t get out of bed, but each one of us prayed, “Father, help and sustain our troops. Keep them safe.” That was the prayer we had learned to say so long ago that I couldn’t remember who taught it to us. “Sustain” was an odd word, but I heard it in church so I knew it was a perfect kind of word to use when praying for the soldiers.

“I hope the Japs don’t come,” Kappy quietly said in a kind of scared voice.

“I don’t think they will.” I was a little scared, too. I wasn’t sure what was really going to happen. “Toni won the prize for the Scrap Drive. That will help us win the war. We will be okay.”

But still, Kappy reached up through the slats at the head of her bed and whispered, “Hold my hand.”

I did and then whispered to my precious sister, “Don’t worry.” We drifted off to sleep holding each other’s hands.



Creativity and Choice

A Question of Evolution and Free Will in Philosophy of Mind

An encounter with a poisonous snake illustrates questions of free will.

— DAVID GROVES —

There is little question that the method of cognitive behavioral therapy developed by UCLA neuropsychiatrist Dr. Jeffery Schwartz has injected new vitality into the centuries-old philosophical debate over determinism and free will. His decades of work with patients battling obsessive-compulsive disorder (OCD) have produced formidable scientific evidence showing that those who engage in sustained, voluntary relabeling, reattributing, refocusing, and revaluing of errant brain signals can thwart undesired behavior that would otherwise manifest as a result of them. In his 2002 publication *The Mind & the Brain*, Schwartz cites data from PET scans of several brain organs—primarily the orbital frontal cortex, the caudate nucleus of the striatum and the thalamus—to prove that his four-step approach also can, over time, forge new neural

pathways that help patients fend off the very emergence of errant brains signals.¹

For materialists committed to the notion that free will—or what Schwartz refers to as “the feeling of mental force”—is essentially a deceptive, non-causal byproduct of the neural activity that truly drives human behavior, research indicating that OCD patients can take control of their brain function presents a substantial intellectual challenge. After all, there appears to be little evidence to suggest that the blazing of new neural pathways occurs in OCD patients purely by chance. Further, if the choice of Schwartz’s patients to engage in therapy is merely an epiphenomenal illusion driven by a neural trigger outside their control, how is it that such a trigger is not activated in the cases of OCD patients who haven’t been exposed to the therapy?

With due respect to Schwartz’s findings and the robust debate over what David Chalmers calls the “hard problem of consciousness,”² it is not the aim of this project to delve more deeply into the question of whether human experience is merely a scripted symphony of neural antecedents or if it is imbued with a still mysterious human capacity to exercise control over material phenomena. Rather, the present discussion will embrace a narrowly tailored argument supporting the legitimacy of free will.

In his work already referenced here, Schwartz anticipates a number of materialist objections to his assertion that focused attention produce changes in brain activity and personal behavior. This project will more closely examine one of Schwartz’s responses to those objections—particularly, an evolutionary based argument he presents. Schwartz writes, “The felt experience of willful effort would have no survival value if it didn’t actually do something. Therefore, positing that the feeling is the mere empty residue of neuronal action is antibiological reasoning and an unnecessary concession to the once-unquestioned but now outdated tenet that all causation must reside in the material realm.”³

But don’t we know of real world phenomena—such as, say, the majority of humanity’s preference for either slightly green or well-ripened bananas—that persists despite having little or no influence in

evolutionary matters? We know that growth of hair on the human body likely had an evolutionary advantage in that it helped keep the body warm, but it is difficult to see an evolutionary advantage to having red hair rather than blonde. Fruit ripeness preferences and hair color are incidental factors in this context.

It seems clear that given that not all physical and experiential phenomena are evolutionarily influential, a brain-savvy materialist pointing to the overwhelming complexity of neural activity could argue that the feeling of mental force is nothing more than a sophisticated, but incidental and non-causal, byproduct of countless cognitive algorithms preceding each predetermined intent and action.

We can see that Schwartz’s evolutionary assertion is open to attack, but it nonetheless serves as a foundation for a thought experiment that may evoke deeper considerations ultimately favoring a free will point of view. More specifically, might Schwartz’s mental force be necessary to resolve deliberative processes that even sophisticated neural activity is powerless to resolve? The discussion that follows will argue in favor of this assertion, as well as assert a compelling evolutionary foundation for the claim.

The Spontaneity of Innovation

To set out on our thought experiment, it will be helpful to embody Schwartz’s hypothesized materialist objector. Suppose that an individual—say, Abbey—has a goal to change her behavioral response to a particular set of stimuli. Schwartz’s objector would argue that in the process, she will fall subject to an evolutionarily derived neural algorithm that begins accessing and considering alternative possibilities (APs). These APs—let’s call them archival APs—will be generated from a vast store of experience, knowledge and analytical skills (EKA) previously acquired, then organized and accessed by the brain. We know by way of Searle’s reasoning that APs are necessary, but not sufficient, to establish a case for free will.⁴ Hence, the materialist can safely argue that Abbey is not necessarily yet in control of her response to the stimuli she perceives.

To counter this supposition, let's suppose Abbey sees a black mamba scrambling toward her. Abbey then considers running away, very slowly backing away, or simply standing still in order to avoid the danger the snake presents. Finally, let's suppose that Abbey prefers not to do any of these things, because she has seen many others before her attempt these responses and die as a result. Now, is it not possible that Abbey could conceive of reacting in a completely novel way—in a way she has never seen anyone respond before? Perhaps she might begin singing the national anthem, or writing out a grocery list.

Lightheartedness aside, common sense reasoning weighs heavily in favor of her doing so. Far more detailed analysis that Robert Arp provides relative to creative problem solving becomes relevant. Addressing the human capacity for tool making, particularly in the context of needing to adjust to new environments, he writes, "The invention of a new tool would be an example of nonroutine creative problem solving because the inventor did not possess a way to solve the problem already. This totally new environment would require that we be creative or innovative in order to survive."⁵ So, it appears reasonable that novel APs represent a significant factor in the deliberative process. If fact, this is not an entirely unprecedented proposition. Searle writes, "are there some human events, specifically some human actions, which are such that the causal antecedents are not sufficient to determine that that action be performed?"⁶ In other words, if certain behaviors lack a neural imposition from EKA, the brain's creative capabilities must sculpt new, unfamiliar, and untested APs. In such situations, how could the brain's neural algorithms, relying solely on EKA, effectively analyze and prioritize the value of a novel AP? Clearly, EKA offers little help. The brain must rely on an alternative resource to complete the deliberative process and act. It would be unreasonable for a free will advocate to suggest that an individual's brain is constantly generating novel APs to accompany or compete with archival APs. Many human actions are rote, subconsciously driven and hardly even noticed on a conscious level, after all. But then some human actions are difficult to conceive as anything but novel. To craft an illustrative analogy, imagine an early human, Klug,

who witnesses a rock rolling down a hill. This event certainly enters the realm of Klug's EKA. Now, imagine also that he has once seen a woodpecker carving a hole in a tree. This event also is stored in EKA. Finally, suppose that Klug conceives to gather two round rocks, chisel a hole through the center of each, and connect them at the ends of a tree limb that fits neatly inside the holes.

A determinist might argue that Klug's ability to craft two wheels connected by an axle depended solely on having witnessed the previously noted events in his EKA. But what in Klug's experience would have suggested connecting the rocks with a tree limb? More intriguingly, what might prompt him to subsequently build a cart or chariot to place atop the axle? Clearly, creativity and innovation are at work in human consciousness.

Arp, having written extensively on the subject of creativity and evolution, advances the notion that humans are capable of forging completely novel ideas to answer real or perceived problems, but does so from an emergent materialist perspective that appears to limit human creativity to the realm of EKA. He has introduced the problem-solving concept of scenario visualization, which entails selecting particular visual or visualized information, coalescing that information into a unified cognition, and then projecting that cognition on an imagined scenario for which it might be relevant.⁷ Despite his materialist point of view, Arp seems to acknowledge that there is an active capacity or process at work that lies outside the integration of visual information that may or may not be intuitively related. He writes, "I am arguing for scenario visualization, and this form of conscious visual processing is not merely an intermixing of visual information from mental modules but involves the active selection and integration of that information for the purposes of solving some non-routine problem creatively . . ."⁸ What is not clear in Arp's model is the particular brain function that does the selecting. As stated earlier, it is difficult to ascertain what in Klug's EKA would enable him select a rolling rock and a woodpecker's hole, much less a visual queue stored in any mental module that would inspire him to connect wheels to an axle for the purpose of making a cart.

Will and Creativity—A Dynamic Duo

There is no strictly held definition of creativity among philosophers, nor agreement on the process by which novel ideas arise. From a naturalistic point of view, Maria Kronfeldner argues that the brain is certainly capable of creativity on a psychological level. “On the other hand, some philosophers still hold that creativity marks one of the boundaries of the naturalistic worldview. Creativity is, according to them, extraordinary, undetermined, unexplainable, and therefore unpredictable in principle,” she writes.⁹ Kronfeldner goes on to outline a variety of creative forms, defining each with the support of synonyms such as novelty, surprise, originality and spontaneity.

Duly acknowledging Kronfeldner’s naturalistic view, it should be noted that the epistemological foundation of creativity is not presently at question, only that it is an ontological phenomenon wound up in cognitive processes. On this note, it seems she concedes. With this in mind, a broader characterization of creativity may be beneficial to the present discussion. A. Campbell Garnett offers that: “It is this characteristic feature that marks the growth and behavior of living things as to some degree spontaneous, proceeding apparently from an internal dynamic and not merely from the external processes of environment.”¹⁰

With this contextual framework in hand, it will now be constructive to consider whether creativity can be integrated into a working concept of behavioral causation. Arguing that determinist and libertarian views on free will and causality are not as far apart as they might seem, Howard Hintz offers a vital role for creativity in deliberative processes. “Even an ultimate explanation of the physiological and psychological operation of these creative processes or a discovery of the precise antecedent factors leading up to the creative mental act would not in any measure remove the organism itself as a major originating and causative factor. And if an organism or entity (in Whitehead’s terms) is *able* to originate, it is then obviously *free* to originate.”¹¹ We can come to appreciate more precisely how creativity plays a critical role in the evolution of human behavior by revisiting Libet’s work outlining the readiness potential, the conscious intent

to act, and resulting behavior. Conceiving of neural activity acting in a simple, linear fashion—such that the readiness potential manifests, the conscious intent to act follows roughly 350 milliseconds later, and the actor is left with 150-200 milliseconds to either inhibit or veto the intent—is helpful in establishing a conceptual framework for the role of free will in the deliberative process. As Searle notes, “even given the presence of the readiness potential, the subject does not thereby have causally sufficient conditions for performing that action because the subject, given this activity in the motor area, can still change his mind and decide not to perform the activity in question.”¹²

Broader cognitive processes, however, are not likely to involve a mere linear progression of such do or don’t decisions. As Evan Thompson notes, “Complex-system causality is not a matter of a higher level acting downwards on a lower level. Rather, the whole entangled system moves at once and always as a result of both local interactions and the way the system’s global organization shapes the local interactions.”¹³ What this suggests is that a single do or don’t decision can be made within the context of far broader considerations.

Having established that humans are capable of generating both archival and novel APs in various situations, it becomes clear that more extensive deliberative processes – will involve deliberation of both. For the sake of returning to Schwartz’s evolutionary focus as support for the efficaciousness of mental force, let’s imagine a human who can rely only on EKA in the deliberative process. Our friend Abbey, at the point she is confronted by a black mamba, would not choose to sing the national anthem or make out a grocery list, for she would have no way of predicting how the black mamba would react. Ostensibly, this aligns neatly with the notion that evolutionarily speaking, the most successful humans will choose to act in ways in which outcomes are most predictable. The difficulty with this line of reasoning is that a species continually stymied by an inability to act in novel ways would surely have lost the battle of survival long millennia ago. In countless situations where all of a person’s archival APs were detrimental ones, successful evolution of the species would have demanded novel APs.

With free will, Abbey is able to take the leap of faith necessary to sing the national anthem and possibly lull the black mamba to sleep. Now, there is no guarantee this novel AP would do the trick and win her survival, but the fact that humans have not been wiped out by black mambas or any of the other myriad threats that confront them on a daily basis suggests that something has allowed them to act in innovative ways and reap the benefit of high-risk, high-reward situations. That something is free will.

Positing that volitional capabilities partner with creativity to enable innovative problem solving does, of course, open itself to viable objections, even if the objector is willing to set aside the hard problem of consciousness as we have done here. The first of these possible objections might relate to Thompson's notion of complex, interlaced deliberation within the volitional process. Put simply, and by way of extending our running analogy, how is it that Abbey is able in the midst of immediate danger to sort through what could be countless archival APs and any number of novel APs quickly enough to circumvent the danger she faces? Human experience and evolutionary theory support a far more adroit, automatic behavioral response. This objection aligns with arguments Francis Crick and Christof Koch present in favor of evolution preferring rapid, stereotyped, "zombie-like" deliberative processes.¹⁴

Here, however, Alfred Mele's use of distal and proximal intentions is informative. He suggests that many of our proximal, or immediate, intentions need not be thoroughly analyzed at the time they arise. In fact, in the immediacy of conscious and unconscious deliberation, many APs will manifest in the form of distal intentions—or those forged by more thorough consideration at some time in the past.¹⁵ Abbey, for example, might not need to carefully consider running away from, slowly backing away from or standing perfectly still before the black mamba, because she may have had already decided months or years ago not to do these things if confronted by a snake. Having seen others die after reacting in these ways, she may have formed what would become distal intentions to sing the national anthem or to write out a grocery list. In that sense, these distal intentions would have

been planted in EKA as unresolved, novel APs. Determining whether or which of these she might try becomes the proxy of Abbey's leap of faith—her free will. Meanwhile, the running away, backing away and standing still options suggested would have been stored in EKA as resolved, archival APs which can quickly, perhaps even unconsciously, be dismissed.

Before proceeding to other anticipated objections, it seems prudent to address the compatibilist argument Eddy Nahmias offers relative to the significance of APs in making a case for free will in the first place. In essence, he offers that a very confident actor—one who is determined to act in a certain way if and when a decision to act must be made—has very little use for APs. In this way, free will has little influence in the deliberative process. The actor is bound to act.¹⁶

This line of argument suffers two apparent lapses in logic from a libertarian point of view. First, Nahmias uses free will liberally to establish that his confident actor has formed distal intentions, but then dismisses the same capacity at the time a decision to act must be made. And isn't it true that without free will in the former case, the confident actor would not exist in the latter? Secondly, Nahmias makes the seemingly logical statement that the confident actor has no need for free will. The lack of need for APs and free will mistakenly implies the annihilation of APs and free will, however. Perhaps the actor would be unreasonable or even crazy to act in a way other than the confident, distal intention she formed demands, but nothing Nahmias presents demonstrates how she is unable to act unreasonably. So long as the actor possesses an ability to choose, the compatibilist argument fails.

Returning to the assertion that free will is a necessary capacity in deliberation of novel behavior, another objection might center on the notion—to some degree already addressed here—that vast stores of socially acquired and individually discovered EKA will almost always resolve deliberation over how to respond to particular stimuli. How often will Abbey be confronted by a black mamba, after all, or by any other unfamiliar threat for which she has no EKA to shape an effective response? This is a viable, common sense objection. But so long as there is a single threat demanding a decision that EKA cannot precipi-

tate, free will is necessarily present. Further, it is likely that the partnership of creativity and free will work far more often in subtle ways. This is true whenever a slight twist in circumstances surrounding a familiar threat will demand subtle creativity to account for the nuance, not to mention free will to select a novel AP it creates.

Imagine, for example that Abbey has sung many a black mamba to sleep with her mesmerizing rendition of the national anthem, but then confronts a nearly deaf snake. Her EKA might likely compel her to sing more loudly. Doing so, however, will force Abbey to be more physically animated, which might provoke the nearly deaf black mamba. Our heroine has no way of knowing what the snake's reaction will be. Fortunately, creativity and free will—rather than rapid, zombie-like deliberation—will afford her the ability to make the leap of faith she'll need to make to survive.

Finally, the materialist objector might suggest that there is no sound reason to believe that an actor's EKA—particularly her analytical skills—would be powerless to precipitate a leap of faith action in dire situations. Were it that a broad set of archival APs had been shown to be ineffective in circumstances demanding quick action, the materialist might argue, then analytical skills would rule out negatively resolved APs and to the best of their ability and prioritize the value of unresolved APs, be they distal or proximal. But to argue this raises the question of whether actors might be confronted with overwhelmingly unfamiliar situations or slightly nuanced, familiar situations for which EKA can produce no information valuable to the deliberative process. Common sense—particularly in the broad context of human evolution—suggests that such experiences are quite common. Searle argues this very point. “This is exactly what happens in conscious decision making. One has a set of reasons, but the reasons are not effective because they do not fix the decision. A person still has to make up his or her mind for reasons to become effective.”¹⁷ If it is not free will that enables the actor to make up her mind, it seems incumbent upon the materialist objector to suggest which neural capacity or process does.

Conclusion

Discussion to this point admittedly fails to encompass far broader dialogue and scholarship on the issues of free will, causality, creativity, and human evolution. To successfully exhaust available epistemological and ontological insights on the question at hand would be to grossly exceed the confines and goals of the present project. Instead, this discussion seeks only to introduce a foundation by which one could argue that creativity plays a crucial role in cognitive deliberations and at the same time appears to disable a completely deterministic view of how human decision making takes place in the case of novel situations and circumstances.

Although the scope and frequency with which creativity and free will intervene in conscious deliberative processes may need yet to be determined, one conclusion seems clear. So long as there is a single novel alternative possibility for which experience, knowledge analytical skills cannot predict the outcomes, free will is necessary to make the leap of faith humans need to engage in innovative behavior.

NOTES

¹ Jeffrey M. Schwartz, *The Mind & The Brain: Neuroplasticity and the Power of Mental Force* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 2002), 88-90.

² David J. Chalmers, *The Character of Consciousness* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 5.

³ *Ibid.*, 318.

⁴ John R. Searle, *The Rediscovery of Mind* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1995), 123.

⁵ Robert Arp, *Scenario Visualization: An Evolutionary Account of Creative Problem Solving* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 2008), 146.

⁶ Searle, *Rediscovery*, 126.

⁷ Arp, *Visualization*, 113.

⁸ *Ibid.*, 156.

⁹ Maria Kronfeldner, "Creativity Naturalized," *Philosophical Quarterly* 59, no. 237 (2009): 577.

¹⁰ A. Garnett, "Freedom and Creativity," *Proceedings and Addresses of the American Philosophical Association* 34 (1961): 25.

¹¹ Howard Hintz, "Causation, Will, and Creativity." *Journal of Philosophy* 55 (1958): 518.

¹² Searle, *Rediscovery*, 128.

¹³ Evan Thompson, "Contemplative

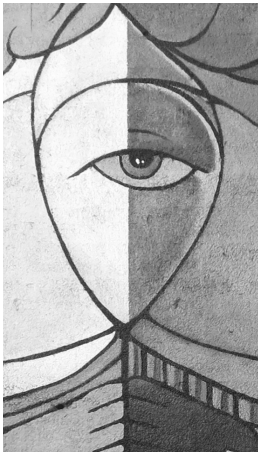
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¹⁴ Francis Crick and Cristoph Koch, "A Neurobiological Framework for Consciousness," in *The Blackwell Companion to Consciousness*, eds. Max Velmans and Susan Schneider (Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, 2007), 569.

¹⁵ Alfred Mele, "Free Will: Action Theory Meets Neuroscience," in *Intentionality, Deliberation and Autonomy: The Action-Theoretic Basis of Practical Philosophy*, eds. Christoph Lumer and Sandro Nannini (Burlington: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2007), 6.

¹⁶ Eddy Nahmias, "Close Calls and the Confident Agent: Free Will, Deliberation, and Alternative Possibilities," in *Philosophical Studies: An International Journal for Philosophy in the Analytic Tradition* 131, no. 3 (2006): 627-67.

¹⁷ Searle, *Rediscovery*, 133.



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