

Page numbers followed by n denote notes.

Aaron's leadership, interpretation of, 92  
Abron, JoNina, 166  
acts of war, 55, 76  
Adams, John, 43, 80  
"Address on Evangelical Flogging" (Douglass), 103  
"Address to the Slaves of the United States of America" (Garnet), 106–7  
Afghanistan, invasion of, 113  
Afonso of Kongo, King, 55, 70, 71  
*The African American Challenge to Just War Theory: A Christian Approach* (Cumming), 7, 38  
African Church, 91  
African political authority, 63, 68  
aggression:  
    act of, 33–34;  
    as just cause, 153;  
    and self-defense, 158–63  
aggressor-defender concept, 34  
Agricultural Adjustment Act, 139–40  
aim of peace, as *jus ad bellum* criterion, 26, 27, 28  
Alexander, Michelle, 179  
Ambrose, St., 47–48n3  
Ambrosiaster, 77;  
American Christians, 77, 103;  
    on Civil War, 105;  
    using Noah's curse as a justification, 78  
American Colonization Society, 126  
American exceptionalism, 42–44  
American Indians, 66  
American Jewish and African-American communities, 78  
"American Prejudice against Color" (speech), 103  
Amerindians, enslavement of, 65  
Anderson, Smart, 114–15, 208  
Anglo-Saxon supremacy, 79–80  
Angola, war between Europeans and Africans in, 54  
Anselm, Archbishop of Canterbury, 69  
antebellum period, articulations of just war ethics in:  
    Douglass, Frederick, 102–6;  
    Garnet, Henry Highland, 106–8;  
    Tubman, Harriet, 108–12;  
    Turner, Nat, 98–102;  
    Vesey, Denmark, 90–94;  
    Walker, David, 94–98.  
    *See also* Civil Rights periods and antebellum  
anti-suffrage argument, 142

*Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World* (Walker), 4  
*Appeal* (Walker), 94, 96, 97–98, 116, 123, 124  
appropriation of force, 182–83  
approximation of force:  
    in Derek Chauvin’s murder trial, 194–95;  
    filming police brutality, 186–90;  
    Newsome’s Confederate flag removal, 182–85, 190–93;  
    Taylor’s writings on self-defense against police brutality, 185–86;  
    virtue of faith, 192–95  
Aquinas, Thomas. *See* Thomist paradigm  
*Arbella*, 79  
Archbishop of Canterbury, 69  
Aristotle, 23;  
    discussion of courage, 190–91;  
    on emotion of anger, 195–96;  
    *magnanimity* or *megalopsuchia*, 149–50;  
    *Nicomachean Ethics*, 121, 164;  
    on patience and anger, 196;  
    revolution in Western Christendom, 26;  
    understandings of human nature, 64  
Arkansas Massacre of 1919, 135  
Armed Conflict Location & Events Data Project, 180  
Augustinian paradigm:  
    and antebellum Black rhetoric of force, 102–4;  
    *Catholic and Manichean Ways of Life*, 20;  
    on Christian innocence, 17–18;  
    *On Christian Teaching*, 16;  
    *City of God*, 15, 21, 59–60, 61, 78, 154;  
    on civic authority, 19;  
    on differences from Thomist paradigm political theologies, 25–26;  
    on divine provenance of political authority, 19, 92, 93, 154;  
    ethics of judgment and punishment, 113;  
    on excessive self-love, 18;  
    on political rulers designated to judge and restrain sin, 20–22;  
    on principle of judgment between innocence and guilt, 20–22;  
    on theological account of human nature, 15–17;  
    on theology and logic supporting the use of force, 17–18;  
    tranquility of order (*tranquilitas ordinis*), 18–19, 113–14, 154, 155  
Auld, Thomas, 102  
Austin, Henry, 149  
Austin, Regina, 187  
*Autobiography* (Malcolm X), 145  
autonomy, rights to, 32  
  
Bah, Thierno Mouctar, 55  
Bainton, Roland H., 47–48n3

Baker, Ella, 136  
Baldwin, James, 140–41  
Barbadoes, James, 98  
Barth, Karl, 8  
“Battle Hymn of the Republic,” 99  
Bell, Catherine, 8  
belligerence:  
    acts of, 56, 63;  
    Garnet on initiating, 108;  
    and local policies in Charleston, 91;  
    state-sanctioned, 76;  
    Turner on, 98  
beneficence, moral principle of, 198  
Bennett, Herman L., 63, 71  
Bennett, Rolla, 92  
Bennett, Thomas, Jr., 93  
*Between the World and Me* (Coates), 43  
Bill of Rights, 147  
*Birth of a Nation* (film), 209  
Black(s):  
    bodies, white supremacy against, 6, 44–46, 79;  
    Christian moral reflection, 91–93;  
    churches, 182–83;  
    definition and usage of term, 10–11;  
    experiences of oppression, neglecting, 39–41;  
    labor, monetary gain from, 95;  
    moral obligation to use of force against slavery by, 94–95, 97, 100, 102;  
    moral sensibility of, 81;  
    people against Turner’s rebellion, 100;  
    people in British colonies, political rights to, 76;  
    pride, 149–50;  
    radicalism, non-Christian frameworks of, 166–67;  
    suffering, 97;  
    unity, 97;  
    veterans’s discontentment, 140–41, 142;  
    woman archetype, 192.  
    *See also* Civil Rights periods and antebellum  
Black Guns Matter, 186  
Black inferiority. *See* inferiority  
Black just war:  
    positions, Garnet on, 107;  
    thinkers, 113–14, 135–36, 166–67, 170, 191  
Black just war theory, 93;  
    recent public discourse on, 209–10;  
    Walker on, 97  
Black just war theory, modern manifestations of:

filming police brutality, 186–90;  
Newsome’s Confederate flag removal, 182–85;  
Taylor’s writings on self-defense against police brutality, 185–86

Black Lives Matter, 180

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, 158–64

Black writers, 36, 114;  
in antebellum period, 114;  
in the Civil Rights Era, 140–41.  
*See also* specific writers

“blame America first,” 45

blame-worthiness, 64

Bland, Sandra, 185

Blight, David, 105, 106

Blunt, Simon, Dr., 100

*Body of Liberties*, 63

bondage, Augustine on, 62

Boniface, Count, 155

boycotts, 37, 143

Bradford, Sarah H., 108–9

Breen, Patrick H., 117–18

Brewer, Holly, 75

Britain, legalize enslavement in, 75

Brodess, Edward, 109–10

Brown, Elaine, 158, 181

Brown, John, 6, 9, 10, 112

Brown, Michael, 180, 197

*Brown v. Board of Education*, 143, 152

Broyld, Dann J., 111

Buckra, 115

Budd, Kristin M., 179

Buffalo, New York, 106–7

Bush, George W., 113

Butts, Thomas, 75

*Butts v. Penny*, 75

  

Cahill, Lisa Sowle, 15

Calhoun, John C., 93–94

Calvin, John, 155

Canaan (son of Ham), 61, 77

Canary Islands, prohibition on enslaving Christians on, 70

*Can Modern War Be Just?* (Johnson), 38–39

Carneades, 29–30

Castile, Philando, 1, 188

Castro Government, 156

*Catholic and Manichean Ways of Life* (Augustine), 20

Catholic Church, 62, 69, 76

Catholic Social Teaching, 165  
*Centesimus Annus* (John Paul II), 165  
*Chamberlayne v. Harvey*, 75  
Charles, J. Daryl, 13  
Charleston, 91, 93–94, 114–15  
chattel slavery, 65  
Chauvin, Derek, 188, 194  
Child, Lydia Maria, 122  
Christ, Jesus, 96, 99  
Christian:  
    distinctions about human nature, 64–65;  
    ethics and pride, 149–50;  
    innocence, 18;  
    love, 37;  
    moral sensibility, 70;  
    non-resistance, 103;  
    pacifism, 15;  
    understanding of divine/human relationships, 107  
*Christian Ethics and the Sit-In* (Ramsey), 37, 143  
Christianization, 73  
Christian moral reflection:  
    enslavement of enemy in, 67;  
    on institution of slavery, 59  
Chrysostom, John, 77  
Churchill, Winston, 120  
citizen organizations monitoring police activity, 187  
Citizens Councils, 145  
citizenship, civic virtues for, 124, 126  
*City Gazette and Commercial Daily Advertiser*, 114  
City Guard, 91  
*City of God* (Augustine), 15, 17, 21, 59–60, 61, 78, 154  
City of Man, 17  
civic authority as God's authority, 27–28  
civic order, Black people in, 113–14  
civic participation, inability for, 81  
civic virtue, 43;  
    for citizenship, 124, 126  
Civil Rights Act of 1964, 147  
Civil Rights Era, Black advocates of force in:  
    economic exploitation, 135;  
    King Jr.'s position, 136–39;  
    large-scale conflicts, 135;  
    Murray's approach, 139–41;  
    Niebuhr on, 141–42;  
    Ramsey's on, 142–43  
Civil Rights Era, emergence of self-defense:

The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, 158–66;  
Deacons for Defense and Justice, 145–51;  
Malcolm X’s writing on, 144–45;  
Williams’s work of, 151–58

Civil Rights periods and antebellum:  
changing racial oppression, impact of, 168;  
continuity between, 168–69;  
decline of Augustinian rhetoric, 166–67;  
just and worthy causes, divergent ideas about, 167–68;  
state failure during, 170

Civil Rights workers, 145, 146

civil society, associations of, 43

Civil War, 56, 104–6, 111

Clausewitz, Carl von, 3, 121–22

Clayton, Lawrence, 65–66, 74

Cleaver, Eldridge, 160–63

Cleaver, Kathleen, 158

Clinton, Bill, 113

Coates, Ta-Nehisi, 43

Cohen, William, 80

Combahee Ferry Raid, 111

combatants:  
category of, 118–20;  
defined, 118–19

Cone, James, 8–9, 45, 137

Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), 145–46, 148–49

Conrad II, 69

Constantine:  
conversion to Christianity, 15;  
normalization of Christianity, 15, 59

Cook, Martin L., 111

Cooper, Anna Julia, 9

Copwatch groups, 186–87

CoreCivic, 179

Corey, David D., 13

Council at Armagh, Ireland, 69

Council of Koblenz (922), 68–69

Council of London (1102), 69

courage:  
as a Black virtue, 149;  
Newsome on, 190–91

court martial, 119

Covey, Edward, 102, 103, 104, 124–25

Crawford, Emily, 35, 100–101, 118–19

*Creator Omnium*, 70

*Creole*, 104

criminal justice ethics, 10  
cross-cultural dialogue, 42  
cross-race sex taboos, 141  
Crow, John A., 65  
Cuban Missile Crisis, 162  
Cumming, Ryan P., 7, 19, 38;  
    on Elshtain's work, 42  
Curry, Tommy J., 180–81  
Cush (son of Ham), 77

Dallas protest, 3  
Daniel's confession of sin, 59, 61  
Davis, David Brion, 81  
Davis, Oscar, 139–40  
Deacons for Defense and Justice:  
    on emergence of self-defense, 145–51;  
    on proper political authority, 154  
Decalogue, 92  
decriminalization of Christianity, 15  
dehumanization of enslaved people, Augustine on, 62  
*De Indis* (Vitoria), 72  
*De Jure Belli* (Vitoria), 72  
*Democracy on Trial* (Elshtain), 42–43  
demotic rationality, 128n27  
Denmark, abandonment of enslaving Christians, 69–70  
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, 137  
dignity:  
    and denial, 157–58;  
    virtue of, 163  
direct participation in hostilities, 101, 119–20  
discrimination:  
    *jus en bello* principle of, 120, 155;  
    and non-combatant immunity, 162.  
    *See also* innocence and discrimination  
disobedience, 16–17  
divine:  
    authority and human political authority, 92–93;  
    judgments, 59–61, 69, 96, 99, 105, 110, 112, 197;  
    ordination of American expansion, 79;  
    provenance of political authority, 19, 92, 93, 154;  
    providence, 19;  
    revelation, 31;  
    standard of forgiveness, 199.  
    *See also* God's will  
Dixon, Valerie Elverton, 5, 7  
*dominium* of Amerindians, 72

Donelan, Michael, 31, 33  
Douglas, Kelly Brown, 3–4, 79  
Douglass, Frederick, 9;  
    Augustinian political theology, 102–3;  
    on Civil War, 105–6;  
    on force protection, 112;  
    on just cause and political authority, 102–6;  
    moral legitimacy of using force to resist slavery, 124–25;  
    *My Bondage and My Freedom*, 103;  
    narration of the fight with Covey, 102–4;  
    *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 102, 124–25;  
    on permissibility of force between political communities, 104–5;  
    “The Day of Jubilee Comes,” 106;  
    “The Heroic Slave,” 104  
dualism, 8–9  
Dual Love Command in Matthew 22, 149  
Duarte, King, 70  
DuBose, Audrey, 201–2  
DuBose, Samuel, 3, 197, 201–2  
Dutch West India Company, 55, 56

East Bay Lottery, 90  
economic status and innocence, 117  
Edict of Thessalonica, 15  
Edmund Pettus Bridge, 144  
Egerton, Douglas R., 115  
Egypt (son of Ham), 77  
Elshtain, Jean Bethke, 7, 14;  
    on American exceptionalism, 42–43;  
    *Democracy on Trial*, 42–43;  
    emphasizing personal experience for political engagement, 43–44;  
    on injustice in U.S. civic life, 44–45;  
    on just war ethics, 38;  
    on moral language in the just war tradition, 47;  
    on terrorism, 45–46  
*encomienda* system in the Spanish colonies, 65, 73  
English language and racial superiority, 3  
enjoyment love, 16  
Enright, Robert D., 198  
enslavement of African people:  
    denial of “civilian” status, 102;  
    Genesis 9–10, interpretation to justify, 77–78;  
    as God’s will, 78  
enslavement of the enemy:  
    Augustine on, 60–62;  
    Christendom on, 62–63;



- Locke on, 66–67;
- Sepúlveda on, 65;
- Vitoria on, 63–65
- Enslow, John, 92
- Equiano, Olaudah, 2, 3
- Eternal law, 23
- Eternal Reason, 23
- Eugenius IV, Pope, 70
- European Christians, 63
- European Reformations, 29
- exaltation, 17
- Exodus narrative, interpretation of, 2, 92, 93, 137–38
- Ezekiel 9, 117

faith:

- and approximation of force, 192–95;
- in a Christian God, 110

the Fall, 17

fate in slavery justification, 76, 77, 78, 80

fearfulness, 120, 148

Fellmeth, Aaron, 35

Fellowship of Reconciliation, 139

Fitzgibbons, Richard P., 198

Floyd, George, 180, 188, 194

force:

- definition and usage of term, 9–10;

- protection imperative, 111–12;

- as punishment, 113;

- and virtue, connections between, 122–26

force and character:

- Douglass on, 124–25;

- Garnet on, 125–26;

- King Jr. on, 137;

- Vesey on, 122–23;

- Walker's *Appeal* on, 123–24;

- Western just war tradition, connections with, 121–22;

- Williams on, 157–58

forgiveness and *jus post bellum*:

- family responses, 200–202;

- forgiveness rhetoric, new pattern of, 197–98;

- theoretical framework of forgiveness, 198–200

France, Haitian Revolution against, 97

freedom from attack, right of, 32

Freedom House, 145, 146

Gaius, 58  
Gandhi, M. K., 139  
Garden of Eden, 16  
Garner, Eric, 3, 46, 180, 187, 197  
Garner, Esaw, 200–201  
Garnet, Henry Highland, 4;  
    connections between force and virtue, 125–26;  
    on just cause and political authority, 106–8  
Garrison, William Lloyd, 102, 103, 104, 105  
Gault, Erika D., 110  
gendered practice of enslavement of enemies in war, 58  
General Order 30, 119  
General Orders 100, 41  
Genesis 9, 10:6, interpretation of, 61, 77, 78  
Geneva Conventions 1949, 35  
Gentiles, 142  
GEO Group, 179  
George, Robert P., 25  
Georgia, 98  
*Germania* (Tacitus), 79  
Germanic tribes, 79  
Gerund, Katharina, 209  
Gillingham, John, 58, 69  
God's will:  
    Augustine on, 60–61;  
    and humiliation in warfare, 60;  
    and judgments, 59–61, 69, 96, 99, 105, 110, 112, 197;  
    and justice, 96–97;  
    and moral authority, 96.  
    *See also* divine  
*Good-Bye to All That* (Graves), 162  
Graves, Robert, 162  
Gray, Thomas R., 98  
Greek political philosophy, enslavement of enemy in, 64, 67  
Gregory I, Pope, 77  
Grimes, Katie Walker, 76  
Grotian paradigm:  
    on aggression and self-defense as just cause, 153;  
    conception of the human being, 29–30;  
    on enslaving fellow Christians, 75;  
    ethics, 67;  
    just cause, constructive account of, 33–34;  
    of just war theory, 104;  
    *On the Law of War and Peace*, 34, 66;  
    natural law reflection, 30–32;  
    task of war, reflection on, 32–33

Grotius, Hugo. *See* Grotian paradigm  
guilt, moral reflection on, 115, 118, 120

Guinea:

enslavement of people from, 71;

slave raiding of, 74

Guyger, Amber, 198

habitats, impact of war on, 56

Haitian Revolution of 1791-1804, 40, 90, 93, 97

Ham and Noah's curse, 61;

interpretation of, 77, 78

Hammet, Bacchus, 92

Hark, 98, 100

Harlem Ashram, 139

Harlem riots, 141

Harper's Ferry raid, 6, 112

Harris, Aaron, 100

Haun's Mill Massacre, 132n112

Hawke, Ethan, 9

Haynes, Steven R., 78

Hebrew Bible, 59, 92

Heebøll-Holm, Thomas K., 69

Helps, Arthur, 57

Henry, Prince, 55, 70–71

Henry of Livonia, 58

Heywood, Linda M., 71

Hicks, Bob, 147

hierarchical dualism, 8–9

Hill, Lance, 136, 147, 149, 150, 198

Hobbes, Thomas, 32, 104

Holt, John, Judge, 75

Holy Ghost, 99

honesty, virtue of, 164–65

Howard, Elbert "Big Man," 160

Howe, Julia Ward, 99

human:

equality, Jefferson on, 81;

intelligence and sociability, 31–32;

judgment and punishment, 197;

political authority and divine authority, 92–93;

sinfulness, Douglass on, 102–3

humiliation in warfare, Morose on, 60

Hutton, Lil' Bobby, 161–63

idolatry, 16–17

Igbo people of southern Nigeria, 2  
ignorance, Walker on, 97  
immorality, 78  
individuals and states, 104  
inferiority:  
    Black people in positions of, 168–69;  
    Jefferson on, 81;  
    Native Americans, 73;  
    and Newsome’s removal of the flag, 191–92;  
    and protection, 61–62, 64–65;  
    and self-regard, 149;  
    in slavery justification, 60–62, 64–66;  
    and submission, 125  
infidels, Negroes as, 75  
Inikori, Joseph E., 55  
injustice of slavery:  
    moral obligation to use of force against, 94–95, 97, 100, 102;  
    and natural law, 107;  
    theological and ethical positions against, 110  
innocence and discrimination:  
    identifying category of “combatant,” 118–20;  
    non-combatant immunity, 120–21;  
    Turner on, 116–18;  
    Vesey on, 114–16;  
    Walker on, 116  
innocence and forgiveness, 199  
*Institutes* (Calvin), 155  
*Institutes* (Justinian), 58  
insurgency warfare, Johnson on, 38–39  
intelligible truth, 23  
*The Interesting Life of Olaudah Equiano*, 2  
International Committee of the Red Cross, 101  
international relations, 42;  
    and armed conflict, 34;  
    law for, 32  
irrationality, 78  
Isaiah 59, 193  
Isidore of Seville, 77–78  
Israelites:  
    conquest of Jericho, 114–15;  
    departure from Egypt, 92;  
    enslavement, 92  
  
Japheth (brother of Ham), 77, 78  
Jean, Botham, 198  
Jefferson, Thomas, 43, 80–82;

*Notes on Virginia*, 81  
Jehovah, 95, 117  
Jericho, 114, 143–44  
Jews, 142  
John III, King, 55  
John of Salisbury, 40  
John Paul II, Pope, 165–66  
Johnson, James Turner, 7, 14, 15;  
    on American and French revolutions, 39–40;  
    *Can Modern War Be Just?*, 38–39;  
    on just war ethics, 33, 34, 38–39;  
    *The Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War*, 41;  
    on political authority in moral discourse on force, 39–40;  
    scholarship on Islamic reflection, 41–42;  
    on U.S. Civil War, 40–41  
Johnson, Kimberly P., 183, 191  
Johnson, Michael Xavier, 1  
Johnson, Nicholas, 137, 150, 151, 159, 169–70  
John XXIII, 21  
Jones, Charles E., 158  
Josephus, Flavius, 77  
Joshel, Sandra R., 58  
Joshua, Hebrew Bible texts of, 93, 114  
Journey of Reconciliation, 141  
judgments:  
    about justice in warfare, 61;  
    Aquinas on, 96;  
    Augustinian political theology on, 21–22, 25–26, 59–61, 95, 113, 184;  
    Douglass on, 106;  
    Grotius on, 33–34, 47;  
    interpretation of divine, 59–61, 69, 96, 99, 105, 110, 112, 197;  
    of sin, 18–22;  
    and virtue of subsidiarity, 165–66  
*jus ad bellum*:  
    criterion of aim of peace, 26, 27, 28;  
    criterion of just cause, 26, 27, 28, 34;  
    criterion of last resort, 108, 111–12;  
    criterion of proper authority, 26, 27, 28, 41, 63, 153;  
    criterion of reasonable hope of success, 26, 27, 28, 187;  
    criterion of right intention, 26, 27, 28;  
    reflection, 72  
*jus in bello*:  
    criterion of discrimination, 35, 120;  
    criterion of proportionality, 184;  
    principles in Western just war theory, 155  
*Just and Unjust Wars* (Walzer), 162–63

just cause, 26;  
and proper authority, 153–54;  
Sepúlveda on, 65;  
Walker on, 95.  
*See also* moral reflection on political authority

justice:  
Aquinas on, 96–97;  
Augustine on, 60–61;  
Garnet on, 108;  
Grotius on, 66;  
by human political authority from divine authority, 92–93;  
moral limits on boycotts for, 143;  
in slavery justification, 60–63, 65–67, 72–74;  
Turner on, 99

Justinian, 58  
*The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility* (Ramsey), 142, 143  
*The Just War Tradition and the Restraint of War* (Johnson), 41

Kant, Immanuel, 16, 67  
Kennedy, Lionel H., 93  
Kennedy, Magistrate, 114  
Kennedy, President, 162  
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 2–3, 9;  
assassination of, 160;  
on just cause and self-defense, 137–39;  
on manhood as a Black virtue, 150;  
as pacifist, 136–37  
Kingdom of Castile, 70  
Kingdom of God, 17  
Knowles, Beyoncé, 210  
Kokkonos, Kristina, 210  
Ku Klux Klan, 143, 144–45, 146, 147, 152, 154

Lacks, Henrietta, 45  
land acquisition and slavery, 79–80  
Lang, Anthony F., Jr., 112–13  
language of warfare, 1–2, 3, 57–58  
Larson, Kate Clifford, 112  
Las Casas, Bartolomé de, 65, 73–74  
law of nations (*ius gentium*), 32–33, 58, 66  
Lawrence-Sanders, Ashleigh, 91, 123  
Leavell, Lori, 96, 108, 126  
Leviticus 25, interpretation of, 105  
Lewis, Thomas, 56  
*The Liberator* (abolitionist magazine), 98, 102

Libya, bombing in, 113  
Lieber Code, 35, 41, 119  
life-principle, 23  
Lindsay, Lisa A., 53–54  
Lloyd, Vincent, 9  
Locke, John, 29, 66;  
    restrictions on permissible slavery, 67, 68;  
    *Second Treatise*, 67  
Louisiana, 98  
Lussu, 163  
lust for domination, 17  
Luther, Martin, 8

Macedonius, 19  
Machiavelli, 80  
Madison, James, 80  
*The Madonna of 115th St.* (Orsi), 8  
Mahomet, 71  
Malcolm X, 4;  
    *Autobiography*, 145;  
    on emergence of self-defense, 137, 144–45  
manhood as a Black virtue, 149–51;  
    King on, 150;  
    Walker on, 150, 151  
Manifest Destiny, 3, 79  
Mansfield, Judge, 56, 76  
Marcellinus, 20  
Maritain, Jacques, 25  
Marsh, Charles, 5  
Maryland plantation, 102  
masculinity, 124  
Massachusetts Bay Colony, 78–79  
mass incarceration era:  
    Black Lives Matter, non-violence stance of, 180–81;  
    economic element of, 179;  
    economic exploitation of Black Americans, 179–80, 188;  
    racial justice, advocacy for, 181–82  
mass incarceration era, approximation of force:  
    in Derek Chauvin’s murder trial, 194–96;  
    filming police brutality, 186–90;  
    Newsome’s Confederate flag removal, 182–85, 190–93;  
    Taylor’s writings on self-defense against police brutality, 185–86;  
    virtue of faith, 192–95  
mass incarceration era, forgiveness and *jus post bellum*:  
    family responses, 200–202;  
    forgiveness rhetoric, new pattern of, 197–98;

theoretical framework of forgiveness, 198–200

Matthew, interpretation of:  
22, 149;  
6:33, 99

Maxwell, John Francis, 59

Mayfield, Julian, 156

McBean, Adelene, 139

media, on forgiveness, 199, 201–2

Messer, Chris, 135

messianism, 40

military raids for enslavement, 69, 74

Milton, John, 80

modern political philosophy of sovereignty, 29–36

monopoly companies, 54–55

Monroe armed resistance, 155–56

Monroe Doctrine, 162

Montgomery Bus Boycott, 143, 150

Monticello, 80

moral agents, 21, 22

moral assumptions by European political and religious authorities, 65–68

moral authority:  
of African Americans, 95;  
in just war tradition, 95–96;  
role of, 27–28;  
of white slaveowners, 95–96

moral contract, 111

moral deficiencies of enslaved Black people, 43

moral distancing:  
and displacement, 64;  
of European and American political authorities, 57–58

moral exploitation, 64

moral frameworks in trans-Atlantic slave trade:  
American exceptionalism, 78–80;  
Christian justifications of slavery, theological ideas, 77–78;  
republicanism, 80–82

moral injury, 64

morality of force, Johnson on, 38–39

moral limits of noncombatant immunity, 117–18

*Moral Man and Immoral Society* (Niebuhr), 19

moral permissibility:  
enslavement of Amerindians, 65–66;  
of resistance/revolution against a tyrannical ruler, 28;  
of slavery, 59–60, 68;  
use of force based on just cause and proper authority, 93;  
Vitoria on, 63–64

moral principle of beneficence, 198



moral reasoning, 60  
moral redemption, 198  
moral reflection of Black non-violence:  
    King Jr.'s, 137–39;  
    Murray's, 139–41;  
    Niebuhr on, 141–42;  
    Ramsey on, 142–44  
moral reflection on political authority:  
    Douglass's, 102–6;  
    Garnet's, 106–8;  
    Tubman's, 108–12;  
    Turner's, 98–102;  
    Vesey's, 90–94;  
    Walker's, 94–98  
moral reflection on the use of force, 7, 13, 92;  
    Douglass's, 103, 124–25;  
    Garnet's, 125–26;  
    Vesey's, 114–15, 122–23  
moral relativism, 47  
moral resistance to enslaving fellow Christians, 70  
moral revelation, 30–31  
moral sensibility of Black people, 81  
moral suasion, 129n59  
moral thinking about warfare, 53  
Morose, 60  
Moses, 3, 92  
Mother Emmanuel Church, shooting at, 182, 192–93, 198  
Murch, Donna, 161  
Murray, Pauli, 136, 139–40, 171–72n28, 171n19  
*My Bondage and My Freedom* (Douglass), 103

NAACP, 137, 141, 151–52, 156  
naked soldier phenomenon, 162–63  
*Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* (Douglass), 102, 124–25  
Nassau, 104  
National Convention of Colored Citizens, Buffalo, 106–7  
Native Americans, 72–74  
Native people, 65  
natural law:  
    and Civil War, 105–6;  
    and human laws, 25;  
    individuals and states, 104;  
    and injustice of slavery, 107;  
    order in slavery justification, 65–66, 68, 72–73, 81;  
    reasoning, 25–26, 27, 72;  
    Sepúlveda on, 65;

and sociability, 30–31  
*The Nature and Destiny of Man* (Niebuhr), 142  
Negro Act of 1740, 90, 101  
Negro Seaman Acts of 1822–1823, 93, 98  
Nelson, Eric J., 98, 188–89, 194–95  
New Bern, 98  
New England, 94, 102, 103  
New Laws, 73  
New Orleans, 104  
Newsome, Bree, Confederate flag removal:  
  representation of approximation of force, 182–85;  
  on role of courage in resistance, 190–91;  
  on virtue of faith, 192–95;  
  on virtue of self-care/self-love, 192–93  
New Testament, 59  
Newton, Huey, 4;  
  acceptance of the possibility of death, 168, 185;  
  on police brutality, 158, 165;  
  and Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), 160, 161;  
  *Revolutionary Suicide*, 163, 164;  
  Sowers on, 168;  
  on virtues connected with use of force, 162–65  
New World, 65  
Nicholas V, Pope, 70–71  
*Nicomachean Ethics* (Aristotle), 121, 164  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, 8;  
  on Black advocates of force, 93, 141–42;  
  on forgiveness, 199;  
  *The Nature and Destiny of Man*, 142;  
  on self-love, 141–42, 149;  
  on sin, 17, 141–42, 150;  
  on use of force, 19–20;  
  on white just war, 93;  
  on white men sin, 45  
Nixon, E. D., 150  
Nixon, Richard, 3  
Noah's curse, interpretation of, 61, 77–78  
non-combatant immunity, 35, 58, 162;  
  and discrimination, 120;  
  distinction between combatants and, 116;  
  and supreme emergency, 120–21;  
  Vesey on, 114–15  
non-combatants, white owners as, 143  
non-resistance, 104–5  
non-white Christians, 8, 9  
Noonan, John T., 76

North Carolina, 98  
*Notes on Virginia* (Jefferson), 81

Oates, Stephen, 100, 101–2, 117  
Obama, Barack, 3  
obedience and prohibition, citizens', 19  
object of war, slave as, 57  
O'Donovan, Oliver, 26, 31  
Oldham, James, 56  
*On Christian Teaching* (Augustine), 16  
*On Kingship* (Aquinas), 96, 148, 184  
*On the Law of War and Peace* (Grotius), 34, 66  
organized armed groups, 100–101  
Orsi, Robert, 8  
Orta, Ramsey, 187  
Orwell, George, 162  
ostensible justice, 33  
Owen, Wilfred, 162

pacifism:

    Christian, 15;  
    of King Jr., 136–37  
pagan Roman Empire, 20  
Pagden, Anthony, 64–65  
Palestinian Talmud, 77  
papal documents, 70–71  
Paquette, Robert L., 91  
Parker, Mack, 141  
Parker, Magistrate, 114  
Parker, Nate, 209  
Parker, Thomas, 93  
patience, virtue of, 196  
Patterson, Catherine, 148–49  
Paul, apostle, 19  
permissible slavery, 67, 68  
perpetrator accountability and forgiveness, 202  
Perry, Albert E., 152  
2 Peter 3:5–12, interpretation of, 196–97  
Pettigrew, William A., 54–55  
Pharaoh, pursuit of Israelites, 2, 92  
piratical raids, 69  
Pius XI, Pope, 165–66;  
    *Quadragesimo Anno*, 165  
PLO's use of insurgency, Johnson on, 39  
police brutality:

- Black Lives Matter, 181–82;
- filming, 186–90;
- and self-defense, 158–59;
- Taylor’s writings on self-defense against, 185–86
- police patrols and self-defense, 160–61
- political authority:
  - Aquinas on, 96–97;
  - as God’s will, 27–28;
  - and involvement in slave trade, 54–55;
  - and use of force, 183–84;
  - and virtue of subsidiarity, 165.
  - See also* moral reflection on political authority
- political coercion, 21
- political communities, permissibility of force between, 104
- political corruption, acknowledging, 27–28
- political rights to enslaved people, 75–76
- political sovereignty, Grotius on, 31
- Pomponius, 66
- Portugal:
  - prohibition on enslaving Christians in Canary Islands, 70;
  - slave raiding by, 74;
  - in slave trade, 55
- positive law, 26, 74–75
- post-Reformation Europe, 32
- Powers, Bernard E., Jr., 93
- Poyas, Peter, 122–23
- pride:
  - as a Black virtue, 149–50;
  - and denial, 157–58;
  - as self-love, 16–17;
  - virtue of, 163–64
- principle of proportionality, 156
- proper political authority:
  - Aquinas on, 96–97;
  - Deacons on, 154;
  - interpretation from Exodus, 92–93;
  - Newsome on, 183–84;
  - and subsidiarity, 165;
  - Williams on, 154
- property:
  - ownership, 32;
  - rights and whiteness, 79
- protection/paternalism in slavery justification, 60–62, 64–66, 109
- Psalm 27, 193
- public citizen, 43
- public shame, 164

Punch, John, trial of, 57

punishment:

Augustine on, 60–61;

by human political authority from divine authority, 92–93;

in slavery justification, 60–61, 65, 67–68

Puritans, 63, 79, 94

Put (son of Ham), 77

*Quadragesimo Anno* (Pius XI), 165

race taboos, 141

racial arrogance, 117

racial difference:

in *Romanus Pontifex*, 71;

and slave trade, 74

racial disposition and innocence, 117

racial hierarchy:

to justify slavery, 75, 77;

orderly, 113

racial identity and moral characteristics, 77–78

racialized economic exploitation, 139, 188

racial justice. *See* justice

racial position and conceptions of order, 113

radical political instability, 46

Ramsey, Paul:

on Black advocates of force, 93, 142–43;

*Christian Ethics and the Sit-In*, 143;

*The Just War: Force and Political Responsibility*, 142, 143;

on sin, 37, 142;

on use of force, 19–20, 21, 25;

on white just war, 37–38

rationality, 23–24, 64, 73, 123, 128n27

Rawls, John, 120

Reagan, Ronald, 113

reasonable hope for success, as *jus ad bellum* criterion, 187

rebelliousness, 78

Reed, Mary Ruth, trial, 152–53

religious conversion, 72, 73

religious difference:

as basis of enslavement, 75;

as just cause, 26–27, 34, 73;

moral importance of, 70;

in *Romanus Pontifex*, 71;

and tolerance in prohibiting enslavement of enemies and wars, 71–72

repentance, 199, 200, 202;

Augustine on, 61  
restitution for harm, 32  
Revolutionary Action Movement (RAM), 160, 161  
*Revolutionary Suicide* (Newton), 163, 164  
*Rex v. Stapylton*, 56  
Rigby, Andrew, 199–200  
right intention, as *jus ad bellum* criterion, 26, 27, 28  
rights of states, 32  
Robillard, Michael, 64  
Roman Church, 29  
Roman Empire, pagan, 20  
Roman law, 58, 59  
Romans 13, 19, 27  
*Romanus Pontifex*, 70  
Roof, Dylan, 182–83, 184, 191  
Rosenberg, Rosalind, 139–40, 141, 171–72n28, 171n19  
Royal African Company, 54, 75  
Rustin, Bayard, 136, 137, 141  
Rwandan genocide of 1994, 200

Saint Domingue, 90–91  
Saracens, 70–71  
Satyagraha, 139  
Savannah, 93–94  
Schipper, Jeremy, 91, 93  
Schneewind, J. B., 30, 31, 34  
Scott, Walter, 3, 188, 197  
Seale, Bobby, 158, 161  
secularization, 66  
segregation:  
    and Christian love, 37;  
    King on, 2–3, 138;  
    Murray on, 139;  
    Niebuhr on, 142;  
    Ramsey on, 143;  
    through interpretation of Exodus narrative, 137–38;  
    Williams on, 151–52, 157  
self-assertion to use force, 122  
self-defense:  
    Augustine on, 147;  
    political nature of, 169;  
    right to, 34  
self-defense as just cause:  
    The Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, 158–66;  
    Deacons for Defense and Justice, 145–51;  
    Malcolm X's writing on, 144–45;

Taylor on, 185–86;  
and virtue of manhood, 150–51;  
Williams on, 144, 151–58  
self-determination, rights to, 32, 159  
self-estimation of African Americans, 191  
self-governance, denying the capability for, 78, 81  
self-interest, 30–31, 32  
self-love:  
Augustine on, 16–18, 60;  
Black, 192;  
Niebuhr, Reinhold, on, 141–42, 149;  
as a virtue, 191–92;  
and willing to use force, 149  
self-preservation, 30, 32  
self-regard, 149, 191  
self-reliance, 149  
semantic instability, 47  
Sepúlveda, Juan Ginés de, 65–66, 73  
Shames, Stephen, 159  
Shem (brother of Ham), 77, 78  
Shridharami, Krishnalal, 139  
Simonson, Jocelyn, 187, 188  
Sims, Charles, 146–47  
simultaneous ostensible justice, 33  
sin:  
Anderson on, 115;  
Aquinas on, 96;  
Augustine on, 16–22, 25–26, 59–61, 92–93, 95, 102, 166;  
Douglass on, 102, 105–6;  
interpretation of moral logic of, 69;  
judgments about, 33;  
Negroes, 142;  
Niebuhr on, 17, 141–42, 150;  
Ramsey on, 37, 142;  
restraining, 18–22;  
white men, 45  
sinfulness, 102–3, 197  
sit-ins, 37  
Skelley, Geoffrey, 180  
slave mutiny in Kentucky, 116  
slave rebellions, Johnson on, 39  
Smith, Ted A., 9;  
*Weird John Brown: Divine Violence and the Limits of Ethics*, 5–6  
sociability, 30–31  
social charity, 21, 128n19  
social contexts, 125

social contracts, 32, 36, 104  
*Somerset v. Stewart*, 56, 76  
Soul Students, 160  
Southampton County, Virginia, 98, 101, 117  
South Carolina, 90–91, 93–94  
sovereign authority:  
    for enslavement, 56–57;  
    Johnson on, 40  
sovereignty:  
    paradigm, 29, 32, 34, 35;  
    right of, 33  
Sowers, Brian P., 168  
Spain:  
    enslavement of Native Americans, 72–74;  
    slave law, 75  
*The Stacks* podcast, 185  
Stauffer, John, 106  
Stegall, G. Bruce, 155–56  
Stegall, Mabel W., 155–56  
Stelder, Mikki, 67  
stereotypes, 123, 163  
Sterling, Alton, 1, 188  
Stewart, Henry, 110  
Stono Rebellion of 1739, 90, 93  
Stout, Harry S., 41  
Strain, Christopher B., 150  
Strawser, Bradley J., 64  
Suarez, Francisco, 23, 27  
subsidiarity, virtue of, 165–66  
Sudan, strikes against, 113  
*Summa Theologica* (Aquinas), 25  
supreme emergency and non-combatant immunity, 120–21  
Sweet, David G., 61  
Synod of Koblenz, 71

Tacitus, 79  
Talbot County, Maryland, 112  
Taylor, Charles, 6  
Taylor, Karen D., 185–86  
territorial integrity, right of, 32  
terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, Elshtain on, 44  
Tertullian, 15  
“The Day of Jubilee Comes” (Douglass), 106  
“The Heroic Slave” (Douglass), 104  
Theodoret, 77  
Thomas, Earnest, 145



Thomas, Traci, 185

Thomist paradigm:

- on criterion of just cause, 95;
- differences from Augustinian political theologies, 25–26;
- on establishing bond between ruler and subordinate, 24;
- on human laws by state, 25;
- inspiration from Augustine, 22–23, 26–27;
- on just war cause, 62;
- On Kingship*, 96, 148, 184;
- on political relationships, 25;
- on politics and character, 121;
- on rational power of the human soul, 23–24;
- on sociality, 23–24;
- Summa Theologica*, 25;
- tranquility of order, use of term, 18;
- on virtue of faith, 193

Till, Mamie, 46

tolerance, 71–72, 78

Torre, Miguel de la, 9

Toure, Maj, 186

tranquility of order (*tranquilitas ordinis*), 18–19, 46, 113–14, 148, 154, 155

transatlantic slave trade, moral theory on warfare in:

- American exceptionalism, 79–80;
- Augustinian logic of warfare, 59–62;
- British legal evolution, 74–76;
- Catholic Church's teachings and political positions, 62–63;
- Christian theological framework for, 76–79;
- classical republicanism, 80–82;
- early Medieval shift in Christian ethics, 68–70;
- just war ethics, relevance of, 53–54;
- Las Casas's impact, 73–74;
- moral and political status of enslaved people, change in, 56–57;
- moral displacement, 57–58;
- moral exploitation by European authorities, 64;
- moral permissibility of enslavement, 63–68;
- political authorities, involvement of, 54–55, 56–57;
- religious distinction in slavery, 70–72;
- sovereign authority for enslavement, 56–57;
- Vitoria's contributions, 72;
- warfare in slave trade, salient features of, 54–55

trial of Davy, 117

true international justice, Elshtain on, 46

Tubman, Harriet, 4, 36;

- belief in using force last resort, 111–12;
- experiences as a slave, 109–10;
- on just cause and political authority, 108–12;

written record of, interpretation of, 108–9  
Tuck, Robert, 31, 32  
Tulsa Massacre of 1921, 135  
Turner, John Clark, 117  
Turner, Nat, rebellion, 39;  
    Black people against, 100;  
    “Confessions,” 99–100;  
    on innocence and discrimination, 116–17;  
    on just cause and political authority, 98–102;  
    white response to, 100–101  
Tuskegee syphilis experiments, 45  
*Two Treatises of Government* (Locke), 66–67  
tyrannical authority, revolution against, as just cause, 28  
Tyson, James Ian, 182

Umoja, Akinyele Omowale, 170  
UN Charter, 34, 153  
Union Army, 111  
unwillingness to use force, 121, 122  
U.S.:  
    military expansion, divine ordination of, 79;  
    moral discourse on force, 112–13;  
    political order and inferiority, 168–69;  
    war in Vietnam, Johnson on, 39  
use love, 16

Valladolid debates of 1550, 73  
value in religious beliefs, Newton on, 164  
Vesey, Denmark:  
    on innocence and discrimination, 114–15;  
    on just cause and political authority, 90–94;  
    on non-combatant immunity, 114–15;  
    reading of Joshua, 114–15;  
    use of force and character of, 122–23  
Vesey, Joseph, 90  
Vietnam and Falklands Wars, 54  
Vique, Fray Bernardino de, 63, 65  
virtue(s), 24, 25;  
    Anglo-Saxon, 79;  
    civic, 43, 124, 126;  
    connected with use of force, 163–66;  
    courage as a Black, 149, 190–91;  
    dignity, 163;  
    in ethics of force, 157;  
    faith, 192–95;

and force, 122–26;  
honesty, 164–65;  
patience, 196;  
pride as a Black, 149–50, 163–64;  
self-love, 191–93;  
of subsidiarity, 165;  
tolerance, 78

Visigoth, 15

Vitoria, Francisco de, 23, 26, 33, 47;  
on Amerindian rights, 72;  
*De Indis*, 72;  
*De Jure Belli*, 72;  
on enslavement of fellow-Christians, 70;  
on European “enslavement of blacks,” 63–65;  
on natural law reasoning, 72;  
on tolerance in just war ethics, 72–73, 74

Volf, Miroslav, 198–99, 200, 201

voluntary submission, 126

vulnerable agents, 64

  

Walker, David, 9, 36, 94–96;  
*Appeal*, 94, 96, 97–98, 116, 123;  
*Appeal to the Coloured Citizens of the World*, 4;  
on innocence and discrimination, 116;  
on just cause and political authority, 94–98;  
on manhood as a Black virtue, 150;  
on moral permissibility of violence, 184;  
on use of force and character, 123–24

Wallace (slave), 117

Waller, Odell, 139–40

Walzer, Michael, 118–21;  
*Just and Unjust Wars*, 162–63

war, defined, 54

*War Without Violence* (Shridharami), 139

Washington, Madison, 104

Watts Riots of 1965, 138, 150, 158

Weigel, George, 18, 93

*Weird John Brown: Divine Violence and the Limits of Ethics* (Smith), 5–6

Welchman, Jennifer, 67, 68

West African political authorities, 54–55

Western politics and ethics, use of force in, 112–13

*We Will Shoot Back: Armed Resistance and the Mississippi Freedom Movement* (Umoja), 170

white:  
abolitionists, 92;  
anxiety, 98;  
guilt, 198;

men sin, 45, 142;  
paternalistic attitudes, 60–62, 64–66, 109;  
slaveowners, 95;  
superintendence, 91;  
vigilantes, 101;  
writers, bias of, 98–99, 108.  
*See also* Niebuhr, Reinhold; Ramsey, Paul  
White, Charlie, 149  
Whitehead, Catherine, 117  
white just war:  
  Augustine paradigm, 14–22;  
  Grotian paradigm, 29–36;  
  significant gap in just war scholarship, 37–47;  
  terminology debate, 13;  
  Thomist paradigm, 22–29;  
  varied interpretation of just war tradition, 14  
whiteness:  
  associated with privileges, 79;  
  and property rights, 79  
Whitford, David M., 78  
Williams, Brian, 1  
Williams, Robert F., 137, 141, 147;  
  emergence of self-defense as just cause for, 151–57;  
  reflection on character and force, 157–58  
Williams II, Donald, 188–90, 194–96  
willingness to use force, 102, 111, 187;  
  for self-defense, 148, 153, 158, 164, 168  
Wilmington, North Carolina, 94, 98  
Wilmore, Gayraud, 90, 167  
Winthrop, John, 79  
womanist, defined, 191  
  
Yahweh's authority, interpretation of, 115, 117  
  
Zechariah, Hebrew Bible texts of, 93