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**ABSTRACT**

The first conference focused on specific approaches in the offering of minority studies (both as a collective unit and as separate entities) and on problems of "Anglo" educators in medium-sized Midwestern institutions. Topic panels focusing on various literatures and on specific minority groups were held at the second conference. Stemming directly from papers presented at both conferences, this anthology of 14 essays deals with the subject of identity and awareness in the minority experience of Latinos, Native Americans, and Afro-Americans. Topics covered include: the importance of literature in the emergence of Latino identity; drama as an important medium in a quest for Latino identity; the main thrust of the Chicano studies program at New Mexico Highlands University (Las Vegas); Navajo "nationalism" as a source of identity and awareness; the impact of urbanization on the identity of Native Americans; the importance of identity and awareness from a literary perspective as it relates to Native Americans; the mulatto tradition in literature, a search for identity in two worlds; black identity and awareness viewed from the negative side, as developed by the English; adolescent literature viewed as a method of developing awareness and self-identity; the development of racial pride among blacks (from an historical perspective); and the issue of educational programs in the context of resocialization. (NQ)

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**Identity and Awareness in the Minority Experience**

**SELECTED PROCEEDINGS OF THE  
1st and 2nd ANNUAL  
CONFERENCES ON  
MINORITY STUDIES**

**March, 1973 and April, 1974**

**BEST COPY AVAILABLE**

THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN  
INSTITUTE FOR MINORITY STUDIES  
SERIES IN MINORITY STUDIES  
NO. 1



Co-Editors: Dr. George E. Carter  
Dr. Bruce L. Mouser

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Volume

# Awareness in the Minority Experience

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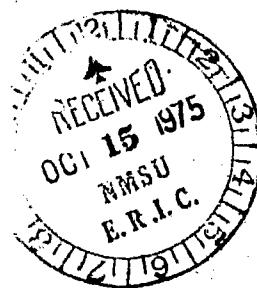
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Volume 1, Number 1

Price \$5.00

IDENTITY AND AWARENESS  
IN THE MINORITY EXPERIENCE:  
PAST AND PRESENT

Edited by

George E. Carter and Bruce Mouser

RECENTLY AVAILABLE

TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE.

Bruce L. Mouser, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. . . . . 1

INTRODUCTION.

"Minority Studies in the University: Uses and Abuses"  
George E. Carter, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse . . . . . 7

PART I. THE LATINO EXPERIENCE. . . . . 25

"The Chicanos: Emergence of a Social Identity Through  
Literary Outcry"  
Yvette Espinosa Miller, Carnegie-Mellon University. . . . . 27

"Symbolic Motifs in Two Chicano Dramas"  
Pedro Bravo-Elizondo, University of Wisconsin-Whitewater. . . . . 47

"Toward the Documentation of Mexican-American Literature in  
the Midwest"  
Nicolas Kanellos, Indiana University Northwest. . . . . 55

"The Chicano Studies Program in Northern New Mexico:  
Broken Promises and Future Prospects"  
Alvin Sunseri, University of Northern Iowa. . . . . 65

PART II. THE NATIVE-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE. . . . . 83

"The Rise of Navajo Nationalism: Diné Continuity Within  
Change"  
Peter Iverson, Fellow, Newberry Library, Chicago. . . . . 85

"Urbanization, Peoplehood and Modes of Identity: Native  
Americans in Cities"  
James H. Stewart, St. Olaf College. . . . . 107

"Indian Literature and the Adolescent"  
Anna Lee Stensland, University of Minnesota-Duluth. . . . . 137

PART III. THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE . . . . . 155

"Thematic Links in Shakespeare's Titus Andronicus and  
Othello: Sex, Racism and Exoticism, Point and  
Counterpoint"  
Jimmy Lee Williams, North Carolina A & T University . . . . . 157

"Race and Sexuality in American Literature"  
Roger Whitlow, Eastern Illinois University. . . . . 191

"The Heroine of Mixed Blood in Nella Larsen's  
W. Bedford Clarke, Fellow, Yale University.

"In the Mainstream or the Back of the Chapter"  
Nicholas J. Karolides, University of Wisconsin

"Black Bourgeois Nationalism at the Turn of the  
Some Problems for Scholars"  
Wilson J. Moses, University of Iowa . . . . .

"Black Studies: The Legacy of Booker T. Wash  
Carter G. Woodson"  
Elizabeth L. Parker, University of San Franci

"Resocialization of the Black Student Within  
Permissive Educational System?"  
Gerald E. Thomas, University of Wisconsin-Mad

TABLE OF CONTENTS

iv

University of Wisconsin-La Crosse . . . . .	1	"The Heroine of Mixed Blood in Nella Larsen's <u>Quicksand</u> " W. Bedford Clarke, Fellow, Yale University. . . . .	225
the University: Uses and Abuses" University of Wisconsin-La Crosse . . . . .	7	"In the Mainstream or the Back of the Chapter" Nicholas J. Karolides, University of Wisconsin-River Falls. . .	239
SCIENCE. . . . .	25	"Black Bourgeois Nationalism at the Turn of the Century: Some Problems for Scholars" Wilson J. Moses, University of Iowa . . . . .	253
ence of a Social Identity Through r, Carnegie-Mellon University. . . . .	27	"Black Studies: The Legacy of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson" Elizabeth L. Parker, University of San Francisco. . . . .	271
wo Chicano Dramas" University of Wisconsin-Whitewater. . . . .	47	"Resocialization of the Black Student Within a New Permissive Educational System?" Gerald E. Thomas, University of Wisconsin-Madison . . . . .	283
tion of Mexican-American Literature in iana University Northwest. . . . .	55		
Program in Northern New Mexico: and Future Prospects" University of Northern Iowa. . . . .	65		
ICAN EXPERIENCE. . . . .	83		
ationalism: Diné Continuity Within y, Newberry Library, Chicago. . . . .	85		
hood and Modes of Identity: Native es" Olaf College. . . . .	107		
d the Adolescent" University of Minnesota-Duluth. . . . .	137		
CAN EXPERIENCE . . . . .	155		
akespeare's <u>Titus Andronicus</u> and ism and Exoticism, Point and orth Carolina A & T University . . . . .	157		
n American Literature" n Illinois University. . . . .	191		

## PREFACE

by

Bruce L. Mouser

Anthologies on Minority Studies have generally focused on separate ethnic or racial groups (e.g., The Black American by Leslie H. Fishel, Jr., and Benjamin Quarles; Native Americans Today by Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day; or The Chicano by Edward Simmen) or on studies within particular disciplines (e.g., Minority Group Politics by Stephen J. Hersog; and Speaking for Ourselves by Lillian Faderman and Barbara Bradshaw, a collection of writings by authors from various racial, national, and religious backgrounds). To the student and educator, such anthologies have presented a convenient focus for study. Editors have produced collections which facilitate the teaching of specific curricula; and educators, too often ill-prepared to offer such courses, have allowed such anthologies to dictate the structure of their courses. Editors of most such collections, moreover, are affiliated with campuses with large minority enrollments and/or where the total enrollment is large enough to generate a proliferation of course offerings for various minority groups and disciplines.

While greeted by faculty and students with initial relief and anticipation, the flood of anthologies and specialization within collections has left many faculty at medium-sized and small institutions with the apprehension that such volumes inadequately serve their needs.

1

Time appeared ready for a new focus, an integration of "Multi-Cultural" studies into something which most institutions could reasonably expect to fund, to staff, perhaps as important, to staff.

The title for this collection of essays, The Minority Experience: Past and Present, perhaps more than the editors can reasonably expect, the essays demonstrate, however, that American minorities more than they have differences. The development of the realities of protest literature, the role of growing racial and social awareness, and identity well as social units-- all these transcend social boundaries. Perhaps these aspects of commonality best characterize "the Minority Experience." Specialization of programs and isolation of minority groups does raise the specter, moreover, that we have inherently neglect parallels in the minority experience. Each minority possesses experiences which bring to a focus and bring to Anglos as well as minority groups a perspective of that experience. This anthology attempts to provide a perspective.

The origins of this book, and more specifically the Conference on Minority Studies, took form enroute to the Conference of African Historians to La Crosse, Wisconsin, of 1972. We were concerned about a lack of communication among educators in the Upper Midwest who were attempting to convey to students the multivariied field encompassed

8

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Minority Studies have generally focused on separate (e.g., The Black American by Leslie H. Fishel, Native Americans Today by Howard M. Bahr, Bert C. Day; or The Chicano by Edward Simmen) particular disciplines (e.g., Minority Group Praeger; and Speaking for Ourselves by Lillian Schwab, a collection of writings by authors from various ethnic and religious backgrounds). To the student and educator, such anthologies have presented a convenient focus for reduced collections which facilitate the teaching of such anthologies to dictate the structure of such collections, moreover, are affiliated with large minority enrollments and/or where the enrollment is enough to generate a proliferation of course offerings in minority groups and disciplines. Such anthologies and specialization within college faculty at medium-sized and small institutions do not such volumes inadequately serve their needs.

Time appeared ready for a new focus, an integration of "Minority" or "Multi-Cultural" studies into something which medium-sized and small institutions could reasonably expect to fund, to recruit students and, perhaps as important, to staff.

The title for this collection of essays, Identity and Awareness: in the Minority Experience: Past and Present, perhaps promises to such educators more than the editors can reasonably expect to deliver. The essays demonstrate, however, that American minorities have more in common than they have differences. The development of minorities programs, the realities of protest literature, the role of tradition and myth, a growing racial and social awareness, and identity as individuals as well as social units -- all these transcend social and racial boundaries. Perhaps these aspects of commonality best characterize the "Minority Experience." Specialization of programs and isolated study of specific minority groups does raise the specter, moreover, that such programs inherently neglect parallels in the minority experience in America. Each minority possesses experiences which bring "being a minority" into focus and bring to Anglos as well as minority groups a fuller realization of that experience. This anthology attempts to reach that perspective.

The origins of this book, and more specifically of the 1973 Conference on Minority Studies, took form enroute from the Milwaukee Conference of African Historians to La Crosse, Wisconsin, in the spring of 1972. We were concerned about a lack of communications among educators in the Upper Midwest who were attempting to investigate and convey to students the multivariied field encompassed under the umbrella



designation of "Minority Studies." We were equally concerned about the proliferation of conferences and meetings which dealt somewhat myopically with separate group problems and with specific disciplinary interests. Few universities underwrote educators sufficiently for them to attend more than a sample of such conferences. As initiators of yet another conference, we based our decision on the belief that educators in the Midwest, specifically those located at smaller institutions, would attend an interdisciplinary gathering addressed to their immediate concerns. At most, we could identify a few problems; at least, we would become aware of collective interests.

We determined to limit and structure the first conference to specific approaches in the offering of minority studies, both as a collective unit and as separate entities, and more specifically to problems of "Anglo" educators in medium-sized Midwestern institutions whose administrators asked them to develop programs which would satisfy demands for minority courses. Moreover, we hoped to provide some answers for institutions (university, college, secondary, and elementary levels) with dominant white populations which faced a demand from students for awareness about minorities and their problems and which found themselves with decreasingly mobile and increasingly tenured "Anglo" faculties. The conference program reflected these concerns, with one session on "Directions in Minorities Programs," a second on aspects of "Black Studies," a third on "Latinos," "Native Americans," and "Specialized Approaches," and a fourth on specific problems at the secondary and elementary levels and the difficulty of keeping minority students in school.

The first conference, attended by representatives from eighteen states, demonstrated the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse were not uncommon in the Midwest (in that matter). But perhaps more important, there was a growing awareness that problems of minority groups are not restricted to that single group. The conference, which met in April, 1974, registered a further concern. Topics for panels included such titles as: "The Role of the Student Center," "The University's Responsibility to Minority Students in External Degree Programs," "Religion and the Minority," "Minority Business Development Input," "Pre-Service/In-Service Training Programs for Minority Teachers," "Racial and Ethnic Minorities," "The Role of the Minority in the Academic Spectrum," "Minority Literature and the Academic Racism and the University Ideal: A Critique of Administrators toward Integrated Education," "The Effect of Affirmative Action on Existing Programs," and "American Minorities in International Perspective." The conference also included topic panels which focused on specific minority groups.

The essays in this collection stem directly from the 1973 and 1974 conferences. The editor invited each panelist to submit a paper for inclusion in this volume. From those papers presented for

ity Studies." We were equally concerned about the conferences and meetings which dealt somewhat myopically with group problems and with specific disciplinary problems underwritten by educators sufficiently for them to be a sample of such conferences. As initiators of yet to be based our decision on the belief that educators specifically those located at smaller institutions, a disciplinary gathering addressed to their immediate needs, we could identify a few problems; at least, we could identify collective interests.

To limit and structure the first conference to deal with the offering of minority studies, both as a separate entity, and more specifically to deal with educators in medium-sized Midwestern institutions, we asked them to develop programs which would satisfy the needs of these courses. Moreover, we hoped to provide some information on the needs of white populations which faced a demand from students about minorities and their problems and which found themselves increasingly mobile and increasingly tenured "Anglo" educators. The conference program reflected these concerns; with one session on "Minorities Programs," a second on aspects of the experience of "Latinos," "Native Americans," and "Asian Americans," and a fourth on specific problems at the secondary levels and the difficulty of keeping minority

The first conference, attended by representatives of sixty-nine institutions from eighteen states, demonstrated that the concerns of the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse were not uncommon in the Midwest (nor in other regions, for that matter). But perhaps more important, the attendance showed that there was a growing awareness that problems which face one minority group are not restricted to that single group. "On-the-spot" formation of more than a dozen panels for an anticipated second conference which met in April, 1974, registered a further conference accomplishment. Topics for panels included such titles as: "The Future of Minority Student Centers," "The University's Responsibility to Minorities Students in External Degree Programs," "Religion and the Minority Experience," "Minority Business Development Input from Higher Education," "Pre-Service/In-Service Training Programs in Minority Studies," "Urban Racial and Ethnic Minorities," "The Role of Black Colleges in the Minorities Spectrum," "Minority Literature and the Adolescent," "Academic Racism and the University Ideal: A Continuing Problem," "Behavior of Administrators toward Integrated Education in Higher Education," "The Effect of Affirmative Action on Existing Minority Group Programs," and "American Minorities in International Affairs." The conference also included topic panels which focused on various literatures and on specific minority groups.

The essays in this collection stem directly from papers presented at the 1973 and 1974 conferences. The editorial board of the Institute invited each panelist to submit a paper for possible inclusion within this volume. From those papers presented for consideration, and from

the tenor of the conferences as a whole, it is immediately evident that "Identity" and "Awareness" are themes that dominated the concerns of minorities and educators alike. In the introduction, George E. Carter distinguishes between racial and ethnic minorities, delineates the perimeters of the field of Minority Studies, and focuses on "parallels of oppression" which have characterized the minority experiences in America. Few of the essays in Parts I, II, and III attempt to specifically build bridges between the experiences of different racial groups. Yet, as a whole, the essays act as threads which weave to produce a better understanding than if each were to stand on its own merits.

The editors are indebted to the administration at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse for their encouragement and financial support for a continuing series of conferences on Minority Studies from which these papers were drawn. Special appreciation is extended to Chancellor Kenneth Lindner without whose support these conferences could never have been held. The list of names of persons who made a contribution to the conferences is far too large to enumerate here, but each of them deserve a special word of appreciation.

## INTRODUCTION

### MINORITY STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY:

#### USES AND ABUSES

by

George E. Carter

An anthology which deals with the subject awareness in the minority experience must consider minority studies within the university. In large concern for identity and awareness among minority establishment of minority studies programs within the university. Further, minority studies programs need address the minority experience in the United States the questions of identity and awareness. Thus, what minority studies means becomes critical in abuses within the university community.

The term Minority Studies as used here is minorities, and more precisely to non-European Other oppressed groups, such as women, nationalities, are omitted. While recognizing the pluralistic society in all its diversity, non-European are singled out for special attention. The reason relates to the unusual nature of the history of European racial minorities in the United States oppression experienced by these groups.

Thus, minority studies, for present purposes, is a concept in the sense that it assumes an amalgamation of American Studies, Native-American Studies, Latin American Studies, and the related courses, into a single studies. This is not to deny the individual identity to imply they are somehow less important as individual

An anthology which deals with the subject of identity and awareness in the minority experience must consider the place of minority studies within the university. In large part, an increased concern for identity and awareness among minority students led to the establishment of minority studies programs within the university community. Further, minority studies programs need to respond to and address the minority experience in the United States in the light of the questions of identity and awareness. Thus, to understand precisely what minority studies means becomes critical in assessing the uses and abuses within the university community.

The term Minority Studies as used here is limited to racial minorities, and more precisely to non-European racial minority groups. Other oppressed groups, such as women, nationality or ethnic minorities, are omitted. While recognizing the pluralistic nature of American society in all its diversity, non-European racial minority groups are singled out for special attention. The reason for such exclusiveness relates to the unusual nature of the historical experience of non-European racial minorities in the United States and the degree of oppression experienced by these groups.

Thus, minority studies, for present purposes, is an umbrella concept in the sense that it assumes an amalgamation of Black or Afro-American Studies, Native-American Studies, Latino Studies, Oriental-American Studies, and the related courses, into one broad unit, minority studies. This is not to deny the individual identity of the parts or to imply they are somehow less important as individual fields of

## INTRODUCTION

### MINORITY STUDIES IN THE UNIVERSITY: USES AND ABUSES

by

George E. Carter

inquiry. In fact, the goal can be maintenance of the individual parts as essential elements of the broader whole.

Further, the concept of minority studies does not necessarily imply any acceptance of a melting pot or salad bowl. In fact, the concept does not arbitrarily accept or reject these notions as valid or invalid goals. Minority Studies should respect the individual integrity of each of its parts. There is no particular merit in assuming the individual parts of any given society must somehow fuse together to make something new. The historical evidence in the United States for the most part refutes such assumptions, and Minority Studies as a broad concept should not accept the desirability of fusion for the sake of fusion.

There is nothing inherently wrong with diversity within any given population. The individual parts can be respected, their integrity maintained, without destroying the society at large. Historians, among others, have long known that the melting pot theory as applied to the United States is a myth. Any student of American society can easily see that Black-Americans, Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, and, later, Latino-Americans have not been full participants in the American melting pot unless one wants to accept the idea of a melting pot in which those on the bottom get burned and the scum rises to the top.

The treatment of racial minorities in the United States from the very beginning of the country has involved racism of the worst order. Winthrop Jordan, in his important studies on the Black experience in early America, White Over Black and The White Man's Burden, stresses that in searching for the origins of racism in America he had to start

with an analysis of white attitudes, not only toward Native-Americans. Realizing he could not do this without including the Indians. However, Jordan writes, ". . . attitudes toward Negroes, Indians kept creeping up on him. Jordan makes is that white attitudes toward the beginnings of the country ". . . have done much to condition American responses to other racial minorities. For present purposes is the unstated assumption in the American experience there are "parallel histories" of racial minorities have had to face, both individual and group. In fact, white treatment of non-whites is for white Americans' treatment of non-whites.

At the same time, there are those who view the "uniqueness of oppression" among racial minorities. It is a mistake to attempt to compare the experiences of racial minorities. A good example of this is Vine Deloria's book, Custer Died for Your Sins, chapter entitled "The Red and the Black."<sup>2</sup> Minority Studies must recognize the validity of both views, important, must make students and others aware of both views, if not many more, and further that the process and identity will be influenced by which

Thus, there is a good deal of confusion over the well worn phrase, "American melting pot," and the treatment of racial minorities, racism, prejudice and discrimination. It is more than in the anthologies which purport to cover

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Concept of minority studies does not necessarily of a melting pot or salad bowl. In fact, the contrary accept or reject these notions as valid or Minority Studies should respect the individual integ- parts. There is no particular merit in assuming of any given society must somehow fuse together to The historical evidence in the United States for such assumptions, and Minority Studies as a broad concept the desirability of fusion for the sake of

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with an analysis of white attitudes, not only toward Blacks, but also toward Native-Americans. Realizing he could not do both, he dropped the Indians. However, Jordan writes, ". . . in continuing with attitudes toward Negroes, Indians kept creeping . . . back in." The point Jordan makes is that white attitudes toward Blacks from the early beginnings of the country ". . . have done a great deal to shape and condition American responses to other racial minorities."<sup>1</sup> Significant for present purposes is the unstated assumption in Jordan's work that in the American experience there are "parallels of oppression" which racial minorities have had to face, both individually and as a racial minority group. In fact, white treatment of Blacks became the model for white Americans' treatment of non-whites.

At the same time, there are those who would argue for the "uniqueness of oppression" among racial minorities and, further, that it is a mistake to attempt to compare the experiences of different racial minorities. A good example of this position can be found in Vine Deloria's book, Custer Died for Your Sins, particularly the third chapter entitled "The Red and the Black."<sup>2</sup> A program in Minority Studies must recognize the validity of both views and, perhaps more important, must make students and others aware that there are at least two views, if not many more, and further that the questions of awareness and identity will be influenced by whichever view is taken.

Thus, there is a good deal of confusion over the meaning of that well worn phrase, "American melting pot," and its relationship to minorities, racism, prejudice and discrimination, no better illustrated than in the anthologies which purport to cover the broad field of

minority studies. Melvin Steinfield's Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and Discrimination in American History, 1970, is a case in point. In the Introduction Steinfield writes: "This book is about the Melting Pot idea and its relationship to racism and discrimination. For most of America's history her theoreticians have painted the concept of the Melting Pot in glorious terms. According to this myth, America is the land of freedom, democracy, and golden opportunity in which people of all races, creeds, and colors are accepted on equal terms. Pride in the assimilation of huge numbers of immigrants is a vital companion to the myth of the Melting Pot."<sup>3</sup> He goes on to discuss the historical literature that accepted the vision of harmony inherent in the myth. However, if one looks at the experiences of racial minorities in America, it is apparent that they were not even part of the myth. It can be persuasively argued that the phrase "melting pot," myth or reality, applied to white immigrants or ethnic groups, but not to racial minorities.

In fact, through most of American history there was no intention that racial minorities should melt. Steinfield notes: "While Anglos and other immigrants from northern and western Europe were 'melting,' blacks were enslaved, sold, denied voting rights, and lynched; Indians were shoved off the paths of westward expansion and massacred, Chinese and Japanese were excluded or interred; Mexicans were conquered and oppressed, and other ethnic minorities were victimized. . . ." <sup>4</sup> Note: ethnic minorities were victimized; racial minorities were enslaved, lynched, massacred, interred, and conquered.

There is an inconsistency in a book about the devotes large sections to groups that were not to himself, in the Introduction, realizes that racism even part of the melting pot concept. The book, any melting pot or cracks therein; it is really sion. A major weakness in the anthology is the little effort is made to analyze the experience to discuss the fact that they were beyond the pa nition that the experiences of racial minorities the Jews were significantly different, and no ef any parallels. How can students gain awareness minority issues when such a hodge-podge effect l field himself further notes: "In 1970 Americans Melting Pot has just as often been a boiling cau which the vehement fury of racism and discrimina bubbling."<sup>5</sup> Even more important, Americans must least for racial minorities, the concept was not experience.

Another example of the limited usefulness o on minority studies is one edited by Leonard Din Cople Jaher, The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Mi 1970. The reader comes away from this work not ethnic minority is. There are sections in the b grant groups, racial minorities, and a religious is told near the beginning, "The persistence of prevents national unity from emerging out of eth



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 least for racial minorities, the concept was not even relevant to their  
 experience.

Another example of the limited usefulness of present anthologies  
 on minority studies is one edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic  
 Cople Jaher, The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America,  
 1970. The reader comes away from this work not even sure what an  
 ethnic minority is. There are sections in the book devoted to immi-  
 grant groups, racial minorities, and a religious minority. The reader  
 is told near the beginning, "The persistence of the minority problem  
 prevents national unity from emerging out of ethnic diversity."<sup>6</sup> But

then the authors go on to state: "One minority, however, is indeed a national concern today and 'minority problems' are frequently no more than a euphemism for black problems."<sup>7</sup> The Native-American student, or the Chicano student, just becoming aware of and sensitive to his or her past and cultural heritage, must cringe with such a narrow vision, and this kind of narrowness does little to provide understanding of the racial minority experience in the United States.

Further, Dinnerstein and Jaher seem to accept the melting pot myth judging from the following statement: "Although American attention focuses primarily upon the black minority today this may be a temporary phenomenon. Just as minority groups in the past have settled into comfortable anonymity, so too, hopefully, may the blacks. If in the future civilized societies make minority group adjustment a central concern, racial antipathies, riots, and tensions might be minimized or avoided."<sup>8</sup> Minority group adjustment to what? A society that still rejects racial minorities whenever possible. The Native-American student might question the statement that his or her ancestors settled into comfortable anonymity.

The Dinnerstein and Jaher collection, while containing some useful historical pieces, for the most part falls short because they do not recognize the differences and the parallels in the racial minority experience in America. In addition, there is an impreciseness in definition in the work which leaves the reader to wonder who is not a member of a minority group in America.

A final example of the limited value of the current literature in Minority Studies is Donald Keith Fellows' A Mosaic of America's Ethnic

Minorities, 1972. Fellows provides no definition of minority. There are chapters on Blacks, Mexican, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans. The book is really about ethnicities, not ethnic groups. The reader is left in confusion unless ethnic minority and racial minority are defined. One of the purposes of this introductory essay is to show that these two terms are not synonymous. In fact, the confusion perpetrated by university scholars has been to make the terms synonymous.

In the Preface to his anthology, Fellows expresses his confusion. He writes: "The United States has been the melting pot of the world--meaning, of course, that other countries and Americans in minority races have lost their unique self-identity, their culture and language, and become submerged by the overpowering dominant culture called the 'American way of life.'"<sup>9</sup> Fellows' distinction between racial and ethnic minorities is confusing. In fact, one discovers he uses ethnic minority when he means racial minority.

Fellows does recognize a distinction between assimilation and acculturation, and argues that for most immigrants assimilation was not. He then points out that many groups did not view "Americanization" either as a goal and cites as examples mid-nineteenth century immigrants and early nineteenth century immigrants.<sup>10</sup> He is actually

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In the Preface to his anthology, Fellows only adds to the  
 confusion. He writes: "The United States has often been regarded as  
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Fellows does recognize a distinction between acculturation and  
 assimilation, and argues that for most immigrants acculturation was  
 easy, but assimilation was not. He then points out that some "ethnic"  
 groups did not view "Americanization either necessary or desirable,"  
 and cites as examples mid-nineteenth century Germans and Blacks of the  
 early nineteen seventies.<sup>10</sup> He is actually discussing one ethnic

minority--the Germans, and one racial minority--the Blacks; yet he consistently refers to Blacks as an ethnic minority.

Another problem with Fellows' terminology is his use of the term "mosaic" as part of the title. The term has been used often to describe Canadian society and the position of immigrant groups there.<sup>11</sup> The mosaic concept depicts Canadian society as fostering a multi-cultural identity with the many cultures involved all contributing their unique characteristics to the whole. The concept rejects the melting pot idea of a homogenized ideal society. The difficulty in all this is that the "mosaic" has been a myth in the same sense as the "melting pot" in American society.<sup>12</sup> Thus, the use of the term as applicable to America does not really contribute any meaningful insight relevant to the American experience. In fact, it invokes another element of confusion.

Minority Studies programs need to alert the university community of the weaknesses in the emerging literature. Those interested in awareness, sensitivity, and identity need to confront the reality of the racial minority experience in America. A good starting place is the assumption that for most white Americans " . . . the minorities themselves almost always have been viewed as the problem; indeed social reformers continually have tried to solve the 'Negro problem' or the 'Indian problem' or the 'Mexican problem'! . . . The oppressing majority never has endured a searching examination of the white problem."<sup>13</sup> As Carlson and Colburn aptly point out, " . . . until whites understand why this country puts its minorities 'in their place,' there will be no escape from that 'place' by those still outside society's mainstream."<sup>14</sup> One of the goals for Minority Studies programs at

universities should include the awareness factor: all Americans aware that the race problem in the has always been in large part a white problem.

Minority Studies programs need to stress the studies is not the same as minority studies. One has arisen in the university community is the effort to group under some umbrella concept. Daniels and case persuasively as to why it is important to see racial minority studies. "What then is the nature of this ethnic crisis of our time? . . . For the first time almost all of the submerged groups in our country are entering into the major institutions of our society. The crisis are varied, but in the end the inescapable becomes clear, namely " . . . the root cause was of American racism--a racism which . . . consists in the denial of full membership in society to the vast majority of Americans."<sup>16</sup> The fact is, American society from its character, as noted earlier in discussing Winthrop Jordan, has

To discuss the immigrant analogy or the ethnic analogy indulges not only in confusion but fantasy. The analogy is often used to raise the question of why racial minorities "made it" in American society. The Germans, the Norwegians, the Jews, have "made it." Why has the African American, the Chicano, not "made it"? The implication is that those who have not "made it" are not will

and one racial minority--the Blacks; yet he lacks as an ethnic minority.

The 'Fellows' terminology is his use of the term 'ethnic'. The term has been used often to describe the position of immigrant groups there.<sup>11</sup> The Canadian society as fostering a multi-cultural culture involved all contributing their unique role. The concept rejects the melting pot idea of society. The difficulty in all this is that the term is used in the same sense as the "melting pot" in the past, the use of the term as applicable to America does not give any meaningful insight relevant to the present. In fact, it invokes another element of confusion. Minority Studies programs need to alert the university community to the emerging literature. Those interested in race and identity need to confront the reality of diversity in America. A good starting place is to look at "lost white Americans" . . . the minorities have not always been viewed as the problem; indeed social scientists have tried to solve the 'Negro problem' or the 'Mexican problem'! . . . The oppressing nature of society and a searching examination of the white problem. As Polburn aptly point out, ". . . until whites put their minorities 'in their place,' there is no 'place' by those still outside society's goals for Minority Studies programs at

universities should include the awareness factor; that is, in making all Americans aware that the race problem in the United States is and has always been in large part a white problem.

Minority Studies programs need to stress the fact that ethnic studies is not the same as minority studies. One of the abuses that has arisen in the university community is the effort to homogenize all groups under some umbrella concept. Daniels and Kitano have stated the case persuasively as to why it is important to separate ethnic and racial minority studies. "What then is the nature of what we call the ethnic crisis of our time? . . . For the first time in our history almost all of the submerged groups in our country . . . are demanding entrance into the major institutions of our society."<sup>15</sup> The causes of the crisis are varied, but in the end the inescapable conclusion becomes clear, namely ". . . the root cause was the pervasive nature of American racism--a racism which . . . consistently refused admission into full membership in society to the vast majority of colored Americans."<sup>16</sup> The fact is, American society from its earliest beginnings, as noted earlier in discussing Winthrop Jordan, has been racist in character.

To discuss the immigrant analogy or the ethnic analogy is to indulge not only in confusion but fantasy. The analogy argument is often used to raise the question of why racial minorities have not "made it" in American society. The Germans, the Irish, the Poles, the Norwegians, the Jews, have "made it." Why has the Black, the Native-American, the Chicano, not "made it"? The implication of the analogy is that those who have not "made it" are not willing to work and

struggle to "make it," as others have.<sup>17</sup> The key factor in this false analogy is the fact of color.

The white immigrant, the white ethnic group, can merge with white America any time. The racial minority member faces the fact of a pervasive white racism, a racism which has permeated every aspect of American society for over 300 years. Herein lies the difference, and herein lies the most difficult task for Minority Studies. The curriculum of Minority Studies programs must seek to alter false images of reality and re-assert the facts of the American experience. Minority Studies curriculum must first and foremost separate myth from reality. It must deal with things as they were, not as wished or hoped. And further, Minority Studies curriculum must be anchored solidly in an academic mold; it must maintain an integrity of its own as a discipline which deals with the multi-racial experience of America as a fact, not as a myth.

What is at stake here is not only a matter of awareness and identity, or understanding; these are not enough. Minority Studies must go beyond these goals in a search for realism. In one sense Minority Studies is more than any Black Studies program, or Chicano Studies program, or Native-American Studies program, more in the sense it respects the integrity of each and also strives to achieve a "united front" that, by its very nature, is diverse.

The achievement of an integrated Minority Studies program at any university or college is no easy task. Many academic programs for racial minorities established in the late 1960's were in response to a crisis situation. Many lacked academic soundness or even careful

reflection. Promises were made and often unyielding to pressures from minority students not accustomed to responding to, or coping with, were promised academic majors and minors and programs by institutions that had little character offers. The result often was rather obvious.

Given the resources and faculty of most many private ones, it was not in the best interest out hopes of major academic programs in Minority unrealistic to assume that most, if not all, in the country could or should field major academic Studies, or Native-American Studies, or Latin American Studies. At the prestigious Ivy League University, an Afro-American Studies Department until the fall of 1969 and required substantial backing necessary to support a sound program at major public institutions. Yet, promises student expectations were high.

There were other difficult issues. Even to create a program for Black students, what about racial minorities? In fact, this problem is common across the country. Yale University, for example, beat, if not the best, Afro-American Studies program today.<sup>19</sup> However, it has no structured academic programs for African-Americans, Asian-Americans, Chicanos or Puerto

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reflection. Promises were made and often unkept by institutions yielding to pressures from minority students and others that they were not accustomed to responding to, or coping with. Yet, minority students were promised academic majors and minors and, in some cases, graduate programs by institutions that had little chance of delivering on such offers. The result often was rather obvious abuses.

Given the resources and faculty of most public institutions, and many private ones, it was not in the best interest of anybody to hold out hopes of major academic programs in Minority Studies. It was unrealistic to assume that most, if not all, colleges and universities in the country could or should field major academic programs in Black Studies, or Native-American Studies, or Latino Studies, or Asian-American Studies. At the prestigious Ivy League schools such as Yale University, an Afro-American Studies Department was not established until the fall of 1969 and required substantial financial assistance from the Ford and Rockefeller Foundations.<sup>18</sup> The kind of financial backing necessary to support a sound program was even slower in coming at major public institutions. Yet, promises were being made, and student expectations were high.

There were other difficult issues. Even if a school was able to create a program for Black students, what about programs for the other racial minorities? In fact, this problem is still with many institutions across the country. Yale University, for example, has one of the best, if not the best, Afro-American Studies Departments in the country today.<sup>19</sup> However, it has no structured academic program for Native-Americans, Asian-Americans, Chicanos or Puerto Ricans.<sup>20</sup>

By 1970 it was time for careful re-assessment. It was time to admit that all schools were not equipped to offer majors or minors in Black Studies, or any other racial minority studies. Schools needed to take a stand and indicate emphatically their given limitations in terms of staff, resources, and demand. A search for alternatives was the next step, and many smaller colleges and universities did evaluate their programs and ideas. However, the record was and still is irregular and, in fact, abuses continue to handicap many programs. Retrenchment within many schools has caused the elimination of some programs and the curtailment of others. The old adage, last hired, first fired, was being applied on a programmatic basis, and the newness of minority studies programs placed many in jeopardy. The process is still going on at many institutions.

Another common abuse within the university community has been the decreed course or program. By administrative fiat a new course or program is called for to sensitize students to the problems of minorities. In Wisconsin, the Department of Public Instruction Guidelines for a course in Humanism in Education provides a classic case. Education departments in colleges and universities across the state were told that all prospective teachers had to have a course in humanism for certification. A six point guide was provided stressing racial minority issues and the need for sensitivity, awareness, and understanding.<sup>21</sup> On the surface such a requirement seems desirable; however, with closer examination some very basic questions arise, such as, who will teach such a course, are qualified instructors available, and, most important,

is it realistic to assume a prospective teacher could be taking a three-credit course.

As stated earlier, the university community and viable approach to minority studies. Admittedly, the approach will vary from school to school. At the same time, the university community has the responsibility of facing one of the most serious problems in the United States, racial misunderstanding and hostility. The response will in large part determine if the program will be useful or abuseful.

For far too many years, educators have operated in a world created in large part by the nature of their contact. They have assumed that white middle class values are functional and successful everywhere and at all times. Such, in fact, is not the case, and minority studies programs are an instrument for making the university community aware of the realities of the racial minority experience in a world of pervasive mythology that has saturated academia.

Without question, American society at large and the university community needs a re-definition of its values. Viable minority studies programs can be extremely helpful in this regard, about this re-definition, both for whites and racial minorities. At the heart of the re-defining a recognition needs to be made of individual cultural, racial, and other identities can be maintained, and at the same time a commitment to the maintenance of a racial society can be maintained. As the Black nationalist noted some years ago in his classic, Invisible Man



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Without question, American society at large and particularly the  
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 vidual cultural, racial, and other identities can be maintained with  
 pride, and at the same time a commitment to the multi-cultural, multi-  
 racial society can be maintained. As the Black novelist Ralph Ellison  
 noted some years ago in his classic, Invisible Man: "America is woxen

of many strands: I would recognize them and let it so remain. Our fate is to become one, and yet many--this is not prophecy but description."

What follows are essays which attempt to provide integrated insight on the issues of awareness and identity in the minority experience. The nature of our multi-racial society is explored from past to present using the problems of awareness and identity as a unifying theme. Such is the stuff of realistic minority studies curriculum.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Winthrop D. Jordan, The White Man's Burden pp. vii-ix, and Winthrop D. Jordan, White Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chicago, 1968). Jordan's new book, The White Man's Burden, is a shorter version of the much longer and definitive White Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812.
2. Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (New York, 1969), pp. 169-95.
3. Melvin Steinfield, Cracks in the Melting Pot: Discrimination in American History (Beverly Hills, 1971).
4. Ibid., p. xx.
5. Ibid.
6. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher, History of Ethnic Minorities in America (New York, 1969).
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. Ibid., p. 12.
9. Donald K. Fellows, A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Groups (New York, 1972), p. v.
10. Ibid.
11. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1964).
12. Marian C. McKenna, "The Melting Pot: Competition for the United States and Canada," Sociology and Social Research (July, 1969).
13. Ibid., p. ix.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Winthrop D. Jordan, The White Man's Burden (New York, 1974), pp. vii-ix, and Winthrop D. Jordan, White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, 1968), Intro. Jordan's new book, The White Man's Burden, 1974, is a condensed version of the much longer and definitive White Over Black.
2. Vine Deloria, Jr., Custer Died for Your Sins (New York, 1969), pp. 169-95.
3. Melvin Steinfield, Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and Discrimination in American History (Beverly Hills, 1970), p. xv.
4. Ibid., p. xx.
5. Ibid.
6. Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaher, Eds., The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America (New York, 1970), p. v.
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. Ibid., p. 12.
9. Donald K. Fellows, A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities (New York, 1972), p. v.
10. Ibid.
11. See John Porter, The Vertical Mosaic (Toronto, 1965).
12. Marian C. McKenna, "The Melting Pot: Comparative Observations in the United States and Canada," Sociology and Social Research (July, 1969).
13. Ibid., p. ix.

14. Lewis H. Carlson and George A. Colburn, In Their Place: White America Defines Her Minorities, 1850-1950 (New York, 1972), p. ix.
15. Roger Daniels and Harry H. L. Kitano, "The Ethnic Crisis of Our Time," in Viewpoints, p. 3. The use of the term "ethnic" in the title is unfortunate and misleading because it is clear that "racial crisis of our time" would be more precise and more apt.
16. Ibid., pp. 3-4.
17. Ibid., p. 5.
18. Afro-American Studies at Yale (New Haven, 1972), p. 1.
19. New York Times, April 21, 1974.
20. Yale University Director, 1973-1974 (New Haven, 1973), and Yale College Programs of Study (New Haven, 1973), pp. 5-8.
21. See State of Wisconsin, Department of Public Instruction, Administrative Code PI 3.03, "Administrative Code Requirement in Human Relations."

Part I

THE LATINO EXPERIENCE

There is an old adage that a person who knows no history is comparable to an individual with no memory. To be denied the existence of one's history and heritage, to pretend that a certain group has no heritage or history, is to deny an important part of an individual's identity. For years Americans denied the history and heritage of Afro-Americana, Native-Americans, and Latinos, or at least any that was worth recalling or preserving.

The four papers presented here all deal in some way with the question of identity and awareness in the Latino experience. The importance of literature in the emergence of identity is stressed as Yvette Miller writes: ". . . the Chicanos are determined to project their image and cultural heritage. They are equally determined to establish their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be diffused into the ranks of a subdued, acculturated society." The message of this first essay rings loud and clear, namely, Chicano authors view self-identity and social identity as critical to the survival of Chicano heritage and culture.

The second essay illustrates that drama is an important medium in a quest for identity. The two authors discussed, Louis Valdez and Nephthali de Leon, ". . . represent both a search of social and personal identity through two kinds of symbols . . . the heroic past of the Aztecs and the present, represented by Ruben Salazar." Further, Pedro

Bravo-Elisondo stresses that ". . . the two roots of their content in the sources the social and human identity."

Addressing himself to a regional issue, a peculiar problem for a racial minority in Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at Indiana Harbor church . . . came to be the largest and most Mexican identity." The evolution of Spanish area came about primarily out of a concern for identity in exile. The concern for preserving indicates the importance of identity and the past heritage of Mexican-Americans in the

The final essay in this section illustrates concern of Mexican-Americans. Chicano students respect ". . . they must first establish a them to respect themselves." Alvin Sunseri thrust of the Chicano studies program at New University is a matter of identity and awareness.

Taken together, the four essays illustrate identity and awareness in the Latino experience.

## Part I

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adage that a person who knows no history is individual with no memory. To be denied the existence of heritage, to pretend that a certain group has no history is to deny an important part of an individual's identity. Mexican-Americans denied the history and heritage of their ancestors, and Latinos, or at least any that was deserving.

presented here all deal in some way with the theme of identity and awareness in the Latino experience. The importance of identity in the emergence of identity is stressed as follows: ". . . the Chicanos are determined to project their cultural heritage. They are equally determined to assert their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be reduced to the status of a subdued, acculturated society." The message rings loud and clear, namely, Chicano authors view social identity as critical to the survival of their culture.

Further, it illustrates that drama is an important medium in the Latino experience. The two authors discussed, Louis Valdez and Ruben Salazar, represent both a search of social and personal identity through the use of various kinds of symbols . . . the heroic past of the Chicano, represented by Ruben Salazar." Further, Pedro

Bravo-Elizondo stresses that ". . . the two studied works look to fix the roots of their content in the sources that feed the search for a social and human identity."

Addressing himself to a regional issue, Nicolas Kanellas writes of a peculiar problem for a racial minority in the Midwest. Writing about Our Lady of Guadalupe Church at Indiana Harbor, he notes: ". . . this church . . . came to be the largest and most visible reminder of Mexican identity." The evolution of Spanish newspapers in the Chicago area came about primarily out of a concern for protecting the Mexican identity in exile. The concern for preserving documents in itself indicates the importance of identity and the need for awareness of the past heritage of Mexican-Americans in the heartland of America.

The final essay in this section illustrates the contemporary concern of Mexican-Americans. Chicano students believe that to gain respect ". . . they must first establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves." Alvin Sunseri demonstrates that the main thrust of the Chicano studies program at New Mexico Highlands University is a matter of identity and awareness.

Taken together, the four essays illustrate the importance of identity and awareness in the Latino experience, past and present.

THE CHICANOS: EMERGENCE OF A SOCIAL IDENTITY  
THROUGH LITERARY OUTCRY

by

Yvette Espinosa Miller  
Carnegie-Mellon University  
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania

The stentorian voice of the Chicanos is being heard through a profusion of publications which encompass the fields of sociology, anthropology, politics, religion, education, and folklore. Conscious of their force as the second largest ethnic group in the United States, the Chicanos are determined to assert their history and cultural heritage. They are equally determined to assert their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be relegated to the ranks of a subdued, acculturated minority. Rather than to enlighten the public about their epic past and the hardships they have suffered--and are suffering--in an alien land, the Chicano has attempted to engulf and subdue them. For the Chicano, asserting their social identity has become an essential task, made necessary by the discrimination to which they have been subjected.

The Chicano voices range from purely literary outcries with a deceptive appearance of resignation to a more ambivalent judgment of social criticism, to militant calls for resistance to "La Raza" to join and struggle. These last two attitudes are more clearly expressed in their writings.

The present purpose is to examine the Chicano literature within the scope of different Chicano anthologies and journals on fiction and poetry, but not excluding sociological studies. This study will include mainly surface analyses of the Chicano anthologies and journals: El Espejo, Yearnings, Aztlán, Voices, We Are Chicanos, El Grito, La Raza, Aztlán (the journal), and Magazín.

The stentorian voice of the Chicanos is being heard through a wide profusion of publications which encompass the fields of history and sociology, anthropology, politics, religion, education, literature, and folklore. Conscious of their force as the second largest minority in the United States, the Chicanos are determined to project their image and cultural heritage. They are equally determined to establish their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be diffused into the ranks of a subdued, acculturated minority. Rather, their wish is to enlighten the public about their epic past and reveal the injustices they have suffered--and are suffering--in an alien environment which has attempted to engulf and subdue them. For the Chicanos, demonstrating their social identity has become an essential step made necessary by the discrimination to which they have been subjected.

The Chicano voices range from purely literary accounts to muted outcries with a deceptive appearance of resignation which hides an ambivalent judgment of social criticism, to militant and outspoken calls for resistance to "La Raza" to join and strengthen the ranks for the struggle. These last two attitudes are more prevalent in Chicano writings.

The present purpose is to examine the Chicano literary outcry within the scope of different Chicano anthologies and journals focusing on fiction and poetry, but not excluding sociological essays. This study will include mainly surface analyses of the following Chicano anthologies and journals: El Espejo, Yearnings, From the Barrio, Aztlán, Voices, We Are Chicanos, El Grito, La Raza, Regeneración, Aztlán (the journal), and Magazín.

OS: EMERGENCE OF A SOCIAL IDENTITY  
THROUGH LITERARY OUTCRY

by

Yvette Espinosa Miller  
Carnegie-Mellon University  
Pittsburg, Pennsylvania



A worthy representative of the Chicano literary output in fiction and poetry is El Espejo,<sup>1</sup> an anthology of selected literature that includes short stories from Silvio Villavicencio, Miguel Méndez, Octavio I. Romano-V., Carlos Velez, Nick Vsca, Rudy Espinosa, and Juan García. Poetry is represented by Miguel Ponce, Alurista, José Montoya, and Estupinián. Most of the contributors are either graduate students or professors. The selections vary in theme and mood from lyrical outbursts to emphatic expressions of the Chicano plight and modus vivendi.

The title story, El Espejo, written in bilingual text by Silvio Villavicencio, shows an interesting stream of consciousness technique with multiple perceptions of reality, as the protagonist unveils the thoughts which gradually lead him to kill his pregnant lover, Elena.<sup>2</sup> Miguel Méndez, in "Workshop for Images" (also in bilingual text), writes in surrealistic prose with a profusion of imagery and bold ultraistic metaphors, all in a somber mood.<sup>3</sup>

In "Goodbye Revolution--Hello Slum," Octavio Romano, the renowned anthropologist, paints a bitterly satiric picture of the fate of the Mexicans who fled the revolution only to encounter the slum. In a caustic "expose" he deals with the strikes of the twenties and thirties and the ensuing deportations:

"Once again the raids in the night. Once again the military. Thousands and thousands and thousands of people deported; men, women and children. Twenty thousand men, women and children from one city alone, the rigidly segregated city of San Antonio, city of the Alamo. But now, thanks to the wonders of a developed industrial nation, the descendants of the Aztecs no longer have to walk slowly in search of

another home. Now they are abundantly welcomed on freight cars--over the tracks their backs bulging; on boats; by-products of an advancing civilization. They would have marvelled at the power and the glories of the steam and cattle boats."<sup>4</sup>

The Mexican Americans who remained behind in the United States during World War II, "at which time," he proceeds to describe, "sent forth to fight injustice in Europe and Asia" shows Octavio Romano's versatility in the composition of poetry that includes pathetic chants to the Mexican, continually beset by injustice and oppression.

The remainder of the selections in El Espejo deal with the theme: the pathos and inequity of the enforced segregation of Mexican Americans, sometimes resulting in a sense of hopelessness. "A Rosary for Doña Marina" is further evidence of this theme. On one level, he deals with a misadventure which leads a Mexican woman to excesses in prostitution. Doña Marina drives her fourteen-year-old daughter into prostitution when she tries to force her to undergo an abortion. On another level, the working conditions and daily life of Mexican-Americans laboring in fish canneries are portrayed realistically. Doña Marina keeps a young cousin, a railroad worker of thirty-two:

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The Mexican Americans who remained behind continued to strike until  
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The remainder of the selections in El Espejo convey the same  
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 when she tries to force her to undergo an abortion for an imaginary  
 pregnancy, at the hands of an unscrupulous doctor. She then takes  
 refuge in religion, in the form of weekly prayers at church. On  
 another level, the working conditions and daily life routine of  
 Mexican-Americans laboring in fish canneries and at the railroad are  
 portrayed realistically. Doña Marina keeps house for Pedro, her second  
 cousin, a railroad worker of thirty-two:

"Pedro was now employed in the nearby railroad yards where his task was to help carry a seemingly endless number of railroad ties soaked in creosote and placed, as he often said, 'where I sm told.' Across his right shoulder he wore a slab of leather for protection from the creosote. But the leather was not enough and the fiery liquid seeped through, causing his shoulder to be perpetually covered with callouses and watery blisters. When he returned home at the end of each day he always rubbed soft yellow olive oil over his shoulder sores. It was but a staying action, for on the following day they burst again. Often, in moments of bitterness over his lot, he would look upon the perpetually inflamed shoulder as a brand by which, he would exclaim, 'People around here can tell who is Mexican and who is not. It is not enough to be brown, but I must have this bloody brand in addition.'"<sup>7</sup>

Nick Vasca, another contributor to El Espejo, writes about the fate of old Mexicans in two of his short stories, which are set in the San Joaquin Valley. In "The Purchase," the elderly, widowed Doña Lupe agonizes over ways to buy Christmas gifts for her ten children out of a meager pension. She learns about the "lay-awwy plan" from a friend and proudly selects a series of trinkets at one of the town's stores. On the day she makes her next to last payment, she is accused of stealing. Bewildered and hurt by the injustice, she decides to forego store-bought presents and starts embroidering her usual gifts of towels and handkerchiefs.<sup>8</sup> In "The Visit," an old and ailing Mexican living in a dilapidated trailer--ironically built of packing boxes from Hunt and Heinz 57--receives a visit from his son. The author skillfully shows the old man's expectations as they reach the zenith and descend to the

nadir: he will be taken to a doctor, that imposition will get relief from his pains. The story ends with him he is left alone, knowing that the promises will not be kept that he must endure his crippling rheumatism to "Purchase" and "The Visit" are an outcry against the little or no protection against poverty and disease for Mexicans.

In the poetic chants, the cries of despair and solitude and protest, of nostalgia for the ancestors and of grief for the bygone glories of the bronze race, the resigned or defiant tones, as expressed in the poems of Montoya, and Estupinián.

Yearnings<sup>10</sup> affords an interesting thematic index of contents, grouped under nine self-explanatory headings: (1) Heritage, Customs, Legends; (2) Identity; (3) Love; (4) Conflict, Anger, Protest; (5) Pride; (6) Grief; (7) Nostalgia; (8) The Many Faces of the Human Spirit; and (9) Under "Heritage," the most powerful outcry of resistance is found in Apolinar Melero's manifesto, "Mi Gente":

"My people are the Chichimecas, Toltecs, Zapotecs, established great civilizations in the Valley of Mexico. My people swept down from Aztlán and conquered Aztlan. . . . My people were eagles who soared and fell. My people were defeated physically but not spiritually. . . ."

in the nearby railroad yards where his task was an endless number of railroad ties soaked in oil. He often said, 'where I am told.' Across his shoulder was a slab of leather for protection from the heat. The heat was not enough and the fiery liquid seeped through the leather. When he returned home at the end of each day he would pour olive oil over his shoulder sores. It was on the following day they burst again. In bitterness over his lot, he would look upon the brand on his shoulder as a brand by which, he would exclaim, 'I can tell who is Mexican and who is not. It is not enough for me, I must have this bloody brand in addition.'"<sup>7</sup>

A contributor to El Espejo, writes about the fate of his short stories, which are set in the San Juan de los Rios. "The Purchase," the elderly, widowed Dona Lupe buys Christmas gifts for her ten children out of a small store. She learns about the "lay-away plan" from a friend and goes to buy a pair of trinkets at one of the town's stores. On the next to last payment, she is accused of stealing. In protest of the injustice, she decides to forego store-bought gifts and starts embroidering her usual gifts of towels and shawls. "The Visit," an old and ailing Mexican living in a small house built of packing boxes from Hunt and Company. The author skillfully shows the lives of the people as they reach the zenith and descend to the

nadir: he will be taken to a doctor, that impossible luxury, and he will get relief from his pains. The story ends in a gripping tone as he is left alone, knowing that the promises will never be kept, and that he must endure his crippling rheumatism to the end.<sup>9</sup> Both "The Purchase" and "The Visit" are an outcry against social laws which offer little or no protection against poverty and disease for the aged Mexicans.

In the poetic chants, the cries of despair and bitterness, of solitude and protest, of nostalgia for the ancestral home left forever, of grief for the bygone glories of the bronze race, may take on resigned or defiant tones, as expressed in the poetry of Alurista, Montoya, and Estupinian.

Yearnings<sup>10</sup> affords an interesting thematic subdivision in its index of contents, grouped under nine self-explanatory titles: (1) Heritage, Customs, Legends; (2) Identity; (3) The Many Faces of Love; (4) Conflict, Anger, Protest; (5) Pride; (6) Hope; (7) Hopelessness; (8) The Many Faces of the Human Spirit; and (9) Word Portraits. Under "Heritage," the most powerful outcry of resentment and defiance is found in Apolinar Melero's manifesto, "Mi Gente."

"My people are the Chichimecas, Toltecs, Zapotecs, and others who established great civilizations in the Valley of Anahuac.  
My people swept down from Aztlan and conquered Anahuac.  
.....  
My people were eagles who soared and fell.  
My people were defeated physically but not spiritually.  
.....

We refuse to be labeled aliens in our own land which is so much a part of us, which at every turn reminds us that this, the Southwest, belongs to us.

Yet we now merely survive in the barrios of Los Angeles, San Antonio.

...

We, who once had the greatest civilization in the Americas, are now looked on as simple laborers.

Oh, woe to us for the backbreaking labor which we must do merely to survive for it hunches our backs and cuts our hour.

Think you, gringo, we do not despair at our condition? Think you, we do not know this is our land? Think you, we do not think of reclaiming it one day? Think, gringo.

My people are hungry; we are hungry not only of the stomach, but of the soul; we hunger for revenge. Virgen de Guadalupe, give my people the strength to do what must be done.

My people have tilled the Southwest, they have worked, sweated, and bled to make it prosper, yet they share in none of the rewards.

My people now slave in the fields as beasts of burden and are denied basic human working conditions. I ask you, gringo. Can you give my people back their dead, whom you murdered?

.....  
Can you give me my land back?

America has been built on the blood, the sweat, and shattered hopes of millions of Negroes, Indians, Mexicans . . . .<sup>11</sup>

In the section in Yearnings subtitled "Identity," the essay by Hilaria H. Contreras, "The Chicanos Search for Identity," focuses on a

comparative anthropological analysis of the Anglo-Americans and Chicanos. He notes that identity, since their society is ruled by competition oriented. In his words:

"In the United States of America, . . . culture in strict sense, do not exist. The only behavior society makes on the individual citizen is competition of the Anglo majority. And it is at the crises of members of minority groups have been purely materialistic ambition of the pioneer Anglo thinking . . . ."<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the Chicano does not conceal his pursuit of material happiness, and Contreras laments the tragedy of the Anglo-American's lack of identity. Chicano's loss of cultural identity is only to end on a proud note, "Although the Chicano may be fed, housed, and clothed, he feels his identity declares with pride: Por mi raza habla el español."

Variations on the theme of Chicano pride and identity are also evident in the poetry of Juan Barrera's short essay, "Mexican-American Is," "Mexican-American Is:

Persona non grata in the WASP neighborhood white. . . .

.....  
"Mexican-American is SHARING:

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comparative anthropological analysis of the concept of "identity" for  
 Anglo-Americans and Chicanos. He notes that the former lack spiritual  
 identity, since their society is ruled by conformity and is materially  
 oriented. In his words:

"In the United States of America, . . . cultural traditions, in a  
 strict sense, do not exist. The only behavioral demand American  
 society makes on the individual citizen is conformity to the life pat-  
 tern of the Anglo majority. And it is at this point where the identity-  
 crises of members of minority groups have been provoked. . . . The  
 purely materialistic ambition of the pioneer survives in contemporary  
 Anglo thinking . . . ."<sup>12</sup>

On the other hand, the Chicano does not conceive of culture as the  
 pursuit of material happiness, and Contredas concludes that "The  
 tragedy of the Anglo-American's lack of identity is final, while the  
 Chicano's loss of cultural identity is only temporary."<sup>13</sup> His essay  
 ends on a proud note, "Although the Chicano knows that the body has to  
 be fed, housed, and clothed, he feels his identity with the spirit and  
 declares with pride: Por mi raza habla el espíritu!"<sup>14</sup>

Variations on the theme of Chicano pride and individual or social  
 identity are also evident in the poetry of James Perez and in Homer  
 Barrera's short essay, "Mexican-American Is," some of which follows:

"Mexican-American Is:

Peisona non grata in the WASP neighborhoods in spite of being  
 white. . . .

"Mexican-American is SHARING:

race with the Anglo-Saxon

but not a welcomed place  
discrimination with the blacks

but not their rebelliousness  
stoicism with the Jews

but not their power  
religion with the Catholics

but not their hierarchy  
isolation with the Eskimos

but not their quiet bliss  
oblivion with the Indians

but not their federal patronage  
cultural pride with the Orientals

but not their determination.

.....  
"But far more importantly, Mexican-American is being infinitely more beautiful than any hostile or violent environment will allow you to believe you are and knowing that someday the anguish will be acknowledged with justice because, above all, Mexican-Americans are the brothers of peace! PEACE!"<sup>15</sup>

The flaws in the educational system, one of the first problems challenging the young Chicano in his search for identity, are elicited by Vince Villagran in "The Death of Miss Jones."<sup>16</sup> Appalled by the inadequacy of the methods used in teaching Mexican children, a young instructor tries to institute some reforms, but is thwarted in her efforts by an apathetic administration. The same subject is treated by

Juan García in "Time Changes Things,"<sup>17</sup> which decries children being taught in English--a language they do not understand--by teachers who know no Spanish. This leads to being retarded by the students, who are then herded into classes where they are further retarded. Criticism of the educational system is often seen in Chicano essays and fiction.

The editorial guidelines for the compilation are stated by Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman.

"The poets, fiction writers, and essayists in this text have one thing in common: they are Chicanos. Both as a political stance and as a literary style, the reader will discover, within the framework of the whole spectrum of attitudes, from unremitting political protest to placid praise for a Chicana lover.

"The two-part organization of the book suggests that Part I, My Revolution, presents literature that is a political statement. . . .

"Part II, My House, presents literature that is a personal statement. Sometimes the statement describes the barrio; sometimes it deals with the experiences of the world; sometimes it celebrates Chicano beauty; and sometimes it celebrates pain or happiness that transcends the ethnic."<sup>18</sup> In a comment on the writing experience of the author, From the Barrio, Salinas and Faderman concur: "A new literature a new voice--the Chicano voice--which has been read by readers and critics for far too long."<sup>19</sup>

Anglo-Saxon  
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 with the blacks  
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 Jews  
 power  
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. . . . .  
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 by the students, who are then herded into classes for the mentally  
 retarded. Criticism of the educational system in the United States is  
 seen often in Chicano essays and fiction.

The editorial guidelines for the compilation of From the Barrio  
 are stated by Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman in its Foreword:

"The poets, fiction writers, and essayists who are collected in  
 this text have one thing in common: they are Chicanos concerned with  
Chicanismo, both as a political stance and as a life style. However,  
 the reader will discover within the framework of that common concern a  
 whole spectrum of attitudes, from unrelenting political militancy to  
 placid praise for a Chicana lover.

"The two-part organization of the book suggests the spectrum:  
 Part I, My Revolution, presents literature that seeks to make a  
 political statement. . . .

"Part II, My House, presents literature that seeks to make a  
 personal statement. Sometimes the statement describes life in the  
barrio; sometimes it deals with the experiences of mixing in an Anglo  
 world; sometimes it celebrates Chicano beauty; and often it expresses  
 pain or happiness that transcends the ethnic."<sup>18</sup>

In a comment on the writing experience of the authors represented in  
From the Barrio, Salinas and Faderman concur: "All of them bring to  
 literature a new voice--the Chicano voice--which has been neglected by  
 readers and critics for far too long."<sup>19</sup>



The choice of selections for Part I, "My Revolution," varies from an objective account of the plight of the Mexican-American field worker, by Armando Rendón, to the bitter and sometimes defiant poetry of Omar Salinas. But even the realistic appraisal of Rendón in his essay, "How Much Longer . . . The Long Road?," becomes a plea for mercy, which is implicit in its title and explicit in part of the text:

"How much longer this long road for the migrant farm worker? How many more the years of kneeling and picking down the rows of tomatoes or strawberries, of bending to the short-handle hoe, of being cheated out of a fair day's wage for a fair day's work, of camping on a river bank or renting a broken-down shack, of pulling your children out of school before they get a chance to really learn or even make a friend?"<sup>20</sup>

Touching upon the same theme, we hear the threatening chant of Salinas in his poem, "Mestizo":

"In the fields  
and in the barrios  
our  
Mestizos  
are fed up with conditions/  
and we believe  
in our man from Delano  
César Chávez  
because the rich man  
has put us down  
for many years/

so when you hear Huelza  
watch it

'cause we're on our way/<sup>21</sup>

In the first part of From the Barrio, find two short stories. The first, "The Legend of Américo Paredes, is based on the life of a Mestizo in his own hands to revenge his brother, killed by the police.<sup>22</sup> The story takes a Mestizo confrontation between the hero and his Anglo-American contains a satire on the American judicial system. The second story, "'And Man Was Made WORD': Chicano Genocide," vividly depicts the polarity of the Mestizo boy trying to deliver papers is frightened in the face of bullies his own age, who monopolize the paper with an ironic twist when the boy, scared and determined to face his mother's epithets against his "landlord" of the editors, he is learning "to define the enemy without."<sup>24</sup>

The Introduction to the second part of From the Barrio provides an accurate description of its contents, and again states in part, the editors' intent:

"The selections in Part II, My House, illustrate a search for self-definition, for a definition of Mestizo existence and of his culture, and for an identity. The second part look either inward, at their immediate Mestizo collective past in the United States, and out

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In the first part of From the Barrio, fiction is represented by two short stories. The first, "The Legend of Gregorio Cortéz," by Américo Paredes, is based on the life of a Mexican hero who takes justice in his own hands to revenge his brother, who had been unlawfully killed by the police.<sup>22</sup> The story takes a Manicheistic approach to the confrontation between the hero and his Anglo-American pursuers, and contains a satire on the American judicial system. The second short story, "'And Man Was Made WORD': Chicano Genesis," by Alfredo Otero y Herrera, vividly depicts the polarity of the environment as a Chicano boy trying to deliver papers is frightened into submission by Anglo bullies his own age, who monopolize the paper route. The story ends with an ironic twist when the boy, scared and ashamed, runs home only to face his mother's epithets against his "laziness."<sup>23</sup> In the words of the editors, he is learning "to define the enemy within and the enemy without."<sup>24</sup>

The Introduction to the second part of From the Barrio gives an accurate description of its contents, and again it seems best to quote, in part, the editors' intent:

"The selections in Part II, My House, illustrate the Chicano's search for self-definition, for a definition of his community experience and of his culture, and for an identity. . . . The writers of this part look either inward, at their immediate surroundings, or at their collective past in the United States, and out of this material they

create a group identity. . . . But most frequently, the writers of this part are concerned with the immediacy of the Chicano experience--with what it means to live Chicano in the United States, now. And out of this concern come new voices in literature. . . . Chicano identity is defined by each brush with the Anglo, which serves to intensify a sense of separateness and bitterness as well as Chicano unity . . . . It is defined by the struggle against the shame which is treacherously implanted in the Chicano child . . . and by a victory over that shame. . . . And out of this spectrum of mood and character and situation comes a cohesive picture of the Chicano experience and of Chicanismo."<sup>25</sup>

An intimate knowledge of the barrio is reflected in the poetry of Ben Luna, Enrique Rodríguez, and José Rendón. The pathetic chant of the Chicano child is heard in "Roberto en Kindergarten" by Leonardo Adamé:

"They say you do not understand  
that you are quiet.

They do not hear

your mother at 5:00 in the morning

hum the warm song of flour tortillas,

or the grinding starter motor

of the '42 Ford pick-up

in whose bed you've slept."<sup>26</sup>

The same pathos is heard in Luis Omar Salinas' poem, "In a Farmhouse":

"I made two dollars and

thirty cents today

I am eight years old

and I wonder  
how the rest of the Mestizos  
do not go hungry  
and if one were to die  
of hunger  
what an odd way  
to leave for heaven."<sup>27</sup>

The last selections in From the Barrio are also deal with Mexican youth. The educational child are posed anew in an excerpt from Chicano. In Amado Muro's "Cecilia Rosas," the Chicano id Mexican boy's struggle and bitter triumph over inferiority in competition with an Anglo.<sup>29</sup>

Other Chicano anthologies, such as The Chic Voices,<sup>32</sup> rely heavily on essays relating to his cal aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry of Chicanos<sup>33</sup> is divided into two parts in which the and creative literature are equally represented. and The Chicanos contain excerpts of the novel, by Raymond Barrios, the most poignant Chicano no the best declamations for the Chicano field work is found in the short stories of Tomas Rivera, a no se lo tragó la tierra."<sup>35</sup> In all of these an voice is heard loudly and clearly, whether rejoic Mexican ancestry or Chicano identity, or raging proposing reforms.

. . . But most frequently, the writers of this the immediacy of the Chicano experience--with Chicano in the United States, now. And out of voices in literature. . . . Chicano identity is with the Anglo, which serves to intensify a sense of earnestness as well as Chicano unity . . . . It is against the shame which is treacherously child . . . and by a victory over that shame. spectrum of mood and character and situation of the Chicano experience and of Chicanismo."<sup>25</sup> ge of the barrio is reflected in the poetry of Vázquez, and José Rendón. The pathetic chant of heard in "Roberto en Kindergarten" by Leonardo

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The last selections in From the Barrio are short stories which also deal with Mexican youth. The educational problems of the Chicano child are posed anew in an excerpt from Chicano by Richard Vázquez.<sup>28</sup> In Amado Muro's "Cecilia Rosas," the Chicano identity is defined by a Mexican boy's struggle and bitter triumph over his feelings of inferiority in competition with an Anglo.<sup>29</sup>

Other Chicano anthologies, such as The Chicanos,<sup>30</sup> Aztlán,<sup>31</sup> and Voices,<sup>32</sup> rely heavily on essays relating to historical and sociological aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry or drama. We Are Chicanos<sup>33</sup> is divided into two parts in which the sociological essay and creative literature are equally represented. Both We Are Chicanos and The Chicanos contain excerpts of the novel, The Plum Plum Pickers, by Raymond Barrios, the most poignant Chicano novel and perhaps one of the best declamations for the Chicano field worker.<sup>34</sup> Its counterpart is found in the short stories of Tomas Rivera, and more pointedly in "Yo no se lo tragó la tierra."<sup>35</sup> In all of these anthologies, the Chicano voice is heard loudly and clearly, whether rejoicing in the pride of Mexican ancestry or Chicano identity, or raging in protest and proposing reforms.

Of the Chicano journals that have sprung up in the last few years, El Grito<sup>36</sup> offers more latitude in its contents and has national circulation. Aztlán<sup>37</sup> focuses more on the sociological scope of the Chicano problems, while La Raza<sup>38</sup> and Regeneración<sup>39</sup> are more politically oriented. Moreover, La Raza emphasizes the role of the woman in the Chicano community, where she is becoming increasingly active. Magazín,<sup>40</sup> with a format similar to the last two mentioned, includes graphic illustrations. The Revista Chicano-Riqueña,<sup>41</sup> recently launched at Indiana University by Nicolas Kanellos and Luis Dávila, is another outlet for the diffusion of Chicano literature.

In conclusion, it seems appropriate to quote from Herminio Ríos' Preface to Voices. The words of Ríos aptly represent the Chicano attitude that is producing "the literary outcry."

"To be swallowed by a shark while swimming in shark infested waters lies within the normal course of human events. To be swallowed by a shark without a heroic struggle would be purely a figment of someone's ferrely biased imagination and a complete negation of the determined struggle of Numancia before succumbing to Escipión Emiliano's Roman legions in 133 B.C., and a denial of the heroic death struggle of Tenochtitlán before falling to Cortés in 1521. To be in the belly of the shark without tearing its guts out would be another deleterious aberration of Man's history, and, indeed, of his very essence. . . . We are in the belly of the shark, and the question of whether or not to gut the shark is academic. It is clearly a question of method. For the time being, the shark is being effectively gutted by militant non-violence waged at an untouchable moral plane, and by the surgically

precise mental scalpels of Chicanos who are of the cultural mystique; by Chicanos who, with incisive cuts, are expertly dissecting the American social science; and by Chicanos who are writing the sociology of the Mexican American. . . .

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Journal similar to the last two mentioned, includes Revista Chicano-Riqueña,<sup>41</sup> recently published by the University of California at San Diego, is devoted to the diffusion of Chicano literature.

It seems appropriate to quote from Herminio Ríos' "The words of Ríos aptly represent the Chicano attitude toward the literary outcry."

"A shark while swimming in shark infested waters is the natural course of human events. To be swallowed by a shark in the heroic struggle would be purely a figment of someone's imagination and a complete negation of the determined course of events before succumbing to Escipión Emiliano's Roman Empire, and a denial of the heroic death struggle of Cortés in 1521. To be in the belly of a shark and to be tearing its guts out would be another deleterious course of events in history, and, indeed, of his very essence. . . . We must face the shark, and the question of whether or not to succumb to the shark is academic. It is clearly a question of method. For the shark is being effectively gutted by militant Chicano writers at an untouchable moral plane, and by the surgically

precise mental scalpels of Chicanos who are peeling away the thin veils of the cultural mystique; by Chicanos who, with penetrating probes and incisive cuts, are expertly dissecting the sacred cows of Anglo-American social science; and by Chicanos who are brilliantly rewriting the sociology of the Mexican American. . . ."42

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1. El Espejo--The Mirror, Selected American Literature, ed. Octavio I. Romano-V. (Berkeley, California, 1969).
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11. Yearnings, pp. 37-8.
12. Yearnings, pp. 25-6, 29.
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14. Yearnings, p. 32.
15. Yearnings, pp. 37-8.
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17. El Espejo, p. 237.
18. From the Barrio: A Chicano Anthology, ed. Luis Omar Salinas and Lillian Faderman (New York, 1973), p. vi.
19. From the Barrio, p. vi.
20. From the Barrio, p. 11.
21. From the Barrio, p. 32.
22. From the Barrio, p. 49.
23. From the Barrio, p. 65.
24. From the Barrio, p. 1.
25. From the Barrio, pp. 99-100.
26. From the Barrio, p. 107.
27. From the Barrio, p. 116.
28. From the Barrio, p. 119.
29. From the Barrio, p. 134.
30. The Chicanos: Mexican American Voices, ed. Santibañez (Baltimore, 1971).
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33. We Are Chicanos: An Anthology of Mexican-American Literature, ed. Philip D. Ortego (New York, 1973).
34. "Lupe's Dream," excerpt from The Plum Plum Prayers of the Chicanos, p. 310; excerpt in The Chicanos, p. 310.
35. Excerpted in El Grito, Vol. IV, No. 2 (1971).
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37. Aztlán. Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences, ed. American Cultural Center, University of California, San Diego, California.

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vi.

20. From the Barrio, p. 11.
21. From the Barrio, p. 32.
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SYMBOLIC MOTIFS IN TWO CHICANO DRAMAS

by

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Chicano literature is born from the encounter of two traditions, the Hispanic and the American. In the symbolic motifs in Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Chicano Valdez and Chicanos: The Living and the Dead<sup>2</sup> by [unclear] represent both a search of social and personal identity. Both kinds of symbols that they carry with their characters of the Aztecs and the present, represented by Ruben

Valdez uses as the historical framework for his drama. In Aztec rituals, the offering of a human heart to the Sun in order to introduce to us the history of Bernabe, "the idiot," who asks the Sun for the body of his daughter. Bernabe is taunted, then tempted by the Moon, who appears to protect his sister, the Earth. When the Moon asks the Earth to Bernabe, the Sun makes the Earth a virgin sacrifice of Bernabe.

It is interesting to examine the characterization of Bernabe. Bernabe is not only the protagonist of the story, but also the Aztecs, physically and spiritually. The Sun says, "Once there were men like you Bernabe--de tus mis hijos. They loved La Tierra and honored her padre. These men were mis hijos. They pierced the human heart into the stars and found the hungry fire that eats the heart. I saw what only a loco can understand: that life is a life" (373).

Bernabe accepts his sacrifice at the hands of the Sun. His death converts the Earth into a virgin, ready to

p. 46 blank

Chicano literature is born from the encounter of two cultural traditions, the Hispanic and the American. In the same way the symbolic motifs in Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Chicano Mythology<sup>1</sup> by Luis Valdez and Chicanos: The Living and the Dead<sup>2</sup> by Nephtali de Leon, represent both a search of social and personal identity through two kinds of symbols that they carry with their characters, the heroic past of the Aztecs and the present, represented by Ruben Salazar.

Valdez uses as the historical framework for his play one of the Aztec rituals, the offering of a human heart to the god Huitzilopochtli, in order to introduce to us the history of Bernabe, "the village idiot," who asks the Sun for the body of his daughter, the Earth. He is taunted, then tempted by the Moon, who appears as a "pachuco" to protect his sister, the Earth. When the Moon asks the Sun to give the Earth to Bernabe, the Sun makes the Earth a virgin again through the sacrifice of Bernabe.

It is interesting to examine the characterization in the drama; Bernabe is not only the protagonist of the story, but a prototype of the Aztecs, physically and spiritually. The Sun describes him thusly: "Once there were men like you Bernabe--de tus mismos ojos, tu piel, tu sangre. They loved La Tierra and honored her padre above all else. These men were mis hijos. They pierced the human brain and plunged into the stars and found the hungry fire that eats of itself. They saw what only a loco can understand: that life is death, and death is life" (373).

Bernabe accepts his sacrifice at the hands of the Sun and his death converts the Earth into a virgin, ready to procreate and to offer



ch as Bernabe, who do not exploit her but rather  
 be is reborn in the "here after" he recovers his  
 pearance has changed. He now is wearing an Indian  
 on him. As a musical background for the  
 ums and flutes, typical Aztec instruments.  
 as a beautiful soldier with cartridge belts  
 ment with most human and social content of the  
 the woman, the Adelita. She declares to Bernabe,  
 ocative way:

atyme. I'm La Tierra. Do you want me? Because  
 ar mujer. (Bernabe reaches out to embrace her.)  
 I'm not Consuelo (the prostitute), you know.  
 to get me. Que no sabes nada? Men have killed  
 ver me" (368-69).

sun, describes her in the following manner:  
 be. She has been married before. She has even  
 as. Look at her--this is La Tierra who has been  
 a. Madre, prostituta, mujer" (372).

goddess Cihuacoatl, "la Chingada," one of the  
 as of Maternity.<sup>3</sup>

ion given by the Sun carries the triple meaning  
 or whom she feeds and sustains when they work  
 those with money and power buying and exploiting  
 se like Emiliano Zapata, who fought to possess  
 synonym for liberty and happiness. As Bernabe;

"In town people even say I am crazy. But I do know that if somebody  
 has done wrong to La Tierra, it has not been the pobres. It has been  
 the men with money and power" (372).

The Moon, brother of the Earth, dresses like a "pachuco" 1945  
 style, with zoot suit, hat with feather, multisoled shoes, and small  
 chain and obviously symbolizes those that rebelled against the system  
 and challenged it in their own way, ushering in a new period in the  
 struggle for justice and human rights.

Finally we have the Sun, the Aztec Sun God:  
 "The Sun rises in the guise of Tonatiuh the Aztec Sun God. A golden  
 disk rises above the mountains; it turns to reveal a bearded face in a  
 golden feathered headdress" (370).

The god Huitzilopochtli, protector of the Aztecs, was the Sun God,  
 a young warrior who each day was reborn. Man had to nourish him with  
 the food of the gods, "chalchuiath" or precious liquid; that is, human  
 blood. For the Aztecs, the people of the Sun, to capture prisoners and  
 offer their blood and their hearts to the Sun was at the same time an  
 obligation and a privilege. This is the privilege that is promised to  
 Bernabe, who dies to revive and fertilize the Earth. The Sun expresses  
 it in this manner: "I am the beginning and the end of all things.  
 Believe in me, and you shall never die" (373-74).

The idea of a continuous cycle of life, representing the rebirth  
 of the Chicano, is one of the main themes in this play. The transposi-  
 tion of reality, indispensable to any poetic work, permits Valdez to  
 present a combative and artistic message with a protagonist touched by

the divinity and the madness and an atmosphere that recreates the cultural baggage of the Mexican-American.

Nephtalí de León, in Chicanos, is quite explicit in his presentations as a Chicano writer:

"A writer must be the conscience of the day's abuses. Whereas there are many kinds of writers, Chicano writers have one thing in common. We do not remain silent, nor do we accept. We protest the injustices of our times" (10).

León has selected two contemporary historical figures to establish a social and political contrast or counterpoint, Ernesto "Che" Guevara and Manuel: "a character based/ on the life and death/ of Rubén Salazar"<sup>4</sup> (46).

The symbolic motifs that both characters represent are clear and defined, as much so in the presentation that the author makes through each of them as in the action that befits them in the development of the drama.

"Che is defined as the militant revolutionary who believes in force and insurgency. Manuel doesn't believe in violence nor hatred, but in persuasive conviction; his son, Roberto, according to him will not hate the Gringo, but will repay evil with goodness, 'but he will also tell him that he's doing wrong!'" (69).

This counterpoint between "Che" and Manuel is passed down to the young Chicanos Roberto, Rosendo, Juan, Carmen, Mary Jo, Norma and Pete and later Dolores. The group is divided between these two positions; in addition, they strongly criticize their brothers and sisters who

tend to reject the help that some anglos lend, the demands. Roberto says:

"In fact, they make (the anglos) themselves uncomfortable when they come over to our side. How many comfort sticking their necks out as some anglos do?" (77)

Dolores presents another angle or point of view: "All we do is talk about hate, about killing the system, and crap like that. But do we ever talk ourselves? Do we ever give encouragement to those to educate themselves?" (81).

The symbolic motifs presented through the characters of "Che" and Manuel develop and widen the participation of the secondary characters, and the author imposing a final solution on us: "for each person her own way to carry on the battle for our salvation."

The symbolic motif emphasizes defined positions in the aforementioned work, instills greater dramatic color to make the theme of liberation more real. It carries a message to the cause of the underdogs. The struggling dominating system is polarized between the "pen" and "Che," Francisco Madero's idealism and the color as that of Emiliano Zapata. Manuel's son, Roberto does not accept for one moment the idea of returning to violence, as he makes clear to his friends: "No, kill, but it is right to defend yourself and those

ness and an atmosphere that recreates the Mexican-American Chicano. Chicano, is quite explicit in his writer: science of the day's abuses. Whereas there, Chicano writers have one thing in common. nor do we accept. We protest the injustices temporary historical figures to establish a trust or counterpoint. Ernesto "Che" Guevara based on the life and death of Robén that both characters represent are clear and the presentation that the author makes through action that befits them in the development of militant revolutionary who believes in force and n't believe in violence nor hatred, but in person, Roberto, according to him will not hate ay evil with goodness, "but he will also tell g!" (77). between "Che" and Manuel is passed down to the Rosendo, Juan, Carmen, Mary Jo, Norma and Pete group is divided between these two positions; ly criticize their brothers and sisters who

tend to reject the help that some anglos lend them in their rallies and demands. Roberto says:

"In fact, they make (the anglos) themselves uncomfortable and unpopular when they come over to our side. How many comfortable Chicanos are sticking their necks out as some anglos do?" (77).

Dolores presents another angle or point of view to the discussion: "All we do is talk about hate, about killing the Gringo destroying the system, and crap like that. But do we ever talk about bettering ourselves? Do we ever give encouragement to those that are trying to educate themselves?" (81).

The symbolic motifs presented through the intervention of the characters of "Che" and Manuel develop and widen through the participation of the secondary characters, and the author refrains from imposing a final solution on us: "for each person must construe his or her own way to carry on the battle for our salvation" (12).

The symbolic motif emphasizes defined positions in the aforementioned work, instills greater dramatic content and tends to make the theme of liberation more real. It carries a more universal image to the cause of the underdogs. The struggle against the dominating system is polarized between the "pen" and the "sword," Manuel and "Che," Francisco Madero's idealism and the combative attitude such as that of Emiliano Zapata. Manuel's son, Roberto, like his father does not accept for one moment the idea of returning violence with violence, as he makes clear to his friends: "No. It is not right to kill, but it is right to defend yourself and those you love" (87).

The symbolic motif in Bernabe is that the Chicano has regained dignity and pride in his history, culture, and race. In Chicanos the symbolic motif polarizes the conflicting currents that are found in every social movement, be it Chicano, Black, or Indian. What de León wishes to highlight is criticism not only of the system, but also of those who constitute a movement. His symbolic motifs are new men, new heroes.

Valdez examines the contemporary reality of the Chicano by mining the vein of mythology. The Azteca-Chichimecas began their migration in search of a promised land in which to create a new life, as ordained by their god, Huitzilopochtli. Bernabe undertakes a search for a new life and unifies his body and soul with his sacrifice. Just as Chicano literature springs from the union of two cultural traditions to arrive at a synthesis of literary expression, so the two studied works look to fix the roots of their content in the sources that feed the search for a social and human identity: the aboriginal inheritance and the new symbols that embody social change.

The use of these symbols on the dramatic situation concentrate with great intensity, thought and meaning, since the audience knows the outline of the plot through the heroic past in Bernabe or the near present in Chicanos.

The symbols used by both authors are converted to a mode of perception by which Chicanos make order out of chaos, make sense out of the manifold diversity existing in the system in which they live. The symbolic motifs help to explain the world and develop an attitude toward life.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Luis Valdez, Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Aztlan: An Anthology of Mexican American Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York, 1972), pp. 43-89.
2. Nephtalí de León, Chicanos: The Living (Denver, 1972), pp. 43-89.
3. See Octavio Paz, "The Sons of La Malinche" Solitude (New York, 1961).
4. See "The National Chicano Moratorium and Salazar," in The Chicanos: Mexican American Ed Ludwig and James Santibañez (Baltimore, 1972), pp. 100-101.



motif in Bernabe is that the Chicano has regained his history, culture, and race. In Chicanos the author analyzes the conflicting currents that are found in Chicano society, be it Chicano, Black, or Indian. What de León's criticism is not only of the system, but also of the Chicano movement. His symbolic motifs are new men, new realities, and the contemporary reality of the Chicano by mining the Azteca-Chichimecas began their migration in a new land in which to create a new life, as ordained by the gods. Bernabe undertakes a search for a new life and soul with his sacrifice. Just as Chicano society moves from the union of two cultural traditions to arrive at a new literary expression, so the two studied works look to their content in the sources that feed the search for identity: the aboriginal inheritance and the new social change.

The symbols on the dramatic situation concentrate with thought and meaning, since the audience knows the outcome through the heroic past in Bernabe or the near present in Chicanos. In both authors are converted to a mode of thought. Chicanos make order out of chaos, make sense out of the confusion existing in the system in which they live. The author seeks to explain the world and develop an attitude toward

## FOOTNOTES

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TOWARDS THE DOCUMENTATION OF MEXICAN  
AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE MIDWEST

by

Nicolas Kanellos  
Indiana University Northwest  
Gary, Indiana

The rediscovery of the Mexican American culture is mostly concentrated in studies of the Southwest. Cultural footprints of the Mexican American in the Midwest are preserved and studied, especially while we are still in the time period when the area began to be populated. The ephemeral nature of many of these cultural vestiges is evident now.

From as early as 1907, when the first Mexican seasonal laborers in the Chicago railyards,<sup>1</sup> the Mexican American migrant began to accommodate the rigors of the weather and the heavy industry in the Midwest. The industrial boom that accompanied and followed World War I led to enter the Midwest in considerable numbers, recruited from the markets of the Southwest to construct railroads, to tend the beet sugar fields, and later build automobiles.

According to América Paredes, the "Little Mexico" in large urban areas, like those in the Midwest, is composed of three kinds of newcomers: 1) migrants from the regions of the Southwest, 2) ex-braceros who gave up their nomadic life for the more stable factory work, and 3) political refugees and children who left Mexico during the Revolution.<sup>3</sup> The influx did not make for a homogeneous community nor produced a distinct culture, especially while experiencing the trauma of migration from one geographic area to another. Thus, the literature of the Mexican American members of these Mexican enclaves was of necessity fragmented, mirroring the life of the educated, middle and upper

The redisccovery of the Mexican American cultural past has been mostly concentrated in studies of the Southwest to date. But the cultural footprints of the Mexican American in the Midwest must also be preserved and studied, especially while we are still rather close to the time period when the area began to be populated by Mexicans. The ephemeral nature of many of these cultural vestiges demands that we act now.

From as early as 1907, when the first Mexicans were employed as seasonal laborers in the Chicago railyards,<sup>1</sup> the Mexican immigrant and the Mexican American migrant began to accommodate themselves to the rigors of the weather and the heavy industry in the Midwest. With the industrial boom that accompanied and followed World War I, they began to enter the Midwest in considerable numbers, recruited from the labor markets of the Southwest to construct railroads, man the steel mills, tend the beet sugar fields, and later build automobiles.<sup>2</sup>

According to América Paredez, the "Little Mexicos" that developed in large urban areas, like those in the Midwest, were made up of basically three kinds of newcomers: 1) migrants from the rural Hispanic regions of the Southwest, 2) ex-braceros who gave up work in the fields for the more stable factory work, and 3) political refugees and their children who left Mexico during the Revolution.<sup>3</sup> Such a cross-section did not make for a homogeneous community nor produce a monolithic culture, especially while experiencing the trauma of moving from one geographic area to another. Thus, the literature that was produced by the members of these Mexican enclaves was of necessity varied and rich, mirroring the life of the educated, middle and upper classes, on the

THE DOCUMENTATION OF MEXICAN  
AMERICAN LITERATURE IN THE MIDWEST

by

Nicolas Kanellos

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one hand, and the life of the common laborer and former country dweller on the other. The approach to such a diverse core of written and oral tradition requires, at least, some practical guidelines and orientation. How can the literary documents of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the Midwest that were produced from twenty to fifty years ago be located?

A literary profile of the Mexican colony of East Chicago, Indiana, from 1920 through 1950, presents a microcosm of the problem and perhaps practical avenues of investigation in other areas as well. East Chicago, from the 20's on, attracted settlement by each of the three groups that Paredes identified: migrants from the Southwest, ex-braceros from Mexico, and political refugees from the Mexican Revolution. In particular, the economic security that they derived from the fast-growing steel industry along Lake Michigan was a prime motivation for settlement in the area. By 1930, almost 10 percent of East Chicago's population was made up of Mexicans, with over a 30 percent concentration of Mexicans in its Indiana Harbor section.<sup>4</sup> Although the majority of the Mexican community consisted of laborers, many of whom had come from a rural setting, intellectuals and professional people were also represented in considerable numbers. Political and religious refugees from the Revolution, these intellectuals, now underemployed as manual laborers, led the community in preserving its cultural and religious identity in what they identified as "exile." Three institutions stood out historically in offering guidance and protection for that culture in exile: the mutualist society, the Church, and the press. Each one, relating exclusively to the Mexican community, helped to

create an alternative and self-sufficient community as an island or enclave within the larger society.

The mutualist society, in the same manner from the very beginning of Mexican settlement in the area. In the early days, East Chicago counted as many societies which attempted to serve the various social and political needs of the Mexican community. Under the leadership of the mutualist society, the following were organized: Unión Azul Mexicana, Sociedad Benito Juárez, Círculo "San José", Sociedad Católica Mexicana, Sociedad Moreles, Centro México, and Sociedad Hidalgo,<sup>5</sup> with Mexico while also establishing relationships with various social agencies, charitable organizations, and church organizations of preserving the Mexican culture in exile, through the activities which were of a literary nature.

Among the most active of the organizations was the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José", which was organized in 1925, for the express purposes of raising funds for a church, promoting the welfare of fellow Mexicans, the education of their children, raising funds for wholesome forms of recreation for the members. Through the efforts of the groups, the Círculo arranged socials at which the work of Mexican writers as well as that of such noted poets as Urbina was recited. Theatrical productions, also were also sponsored by the Círculo. Most noteworthy from the perspective, was the formation of the Cuadro Dramático and the publication of the newspaper, El amigo del hogar, from

of the common laborer and former country dweller reach to such a diverse core of written and oral at least, some practical guidelines and orientation. documents of Mexicans and Mexican-Americans in the aged from twenty to fifty years ago be located? of the Mexican colony of East Chicago, Indiana, presents a microcosm of the problem and perhaps investigation in other areas as well. East on, attracted settlement by each of the three identified: migrants from the Southwest, ex- and political refugees from the Mexican Revolu- the economic security that they derived from the industry along Lake Michigan was a prime motivation area. By 1930, almost 10 percent of East was made up of Mexicans, with over a 30 percent share in its Indiana Harbor section.<sup>4</sup> Although the community consisted of laborers, many of whom setting, intellectuals and professional people in considerable numbers. Political and religious solution, these intellectuals, now underemployed as the community in preserving its cultural and reli- they identified as "exile." Three institutions in offering guidance and protection for that mutualist society, the Church, and the press. exclusively to the Mexican community, helped to

create an alternative and self-sufficient community that could subsist as an island or enclave within the larger society.

The mutualist society as an institution has functioned much in the same manner from the very beginning of Mexican settlement in the area. In the early days, East Chicago counted as many as eleven such societies which attempted to serve the various social, religious, and political needs of the Mexican community. Under such names as Cruz Azul Mexicana, Sociedad Benito Juárez, Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," Sociedad Católica Mexicana, Sociedad Cuauhtemoc, Sociedad Morelos, Centro México, and Sociedad Hidalgo,<sup>5</sup> they kept alive the tie with Mexico while also establishing relationships with governmental agencies, charitable organizations, and church groups.<sup>6</sup> In their role of preserving the Mexican culture in exile, they sponsored many cultural activities which were of a literary nature.

Among the most active of the organizations of the time was the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," which was founded on April 12, 1925, for the express purposes of raising funds for the construction of a church, promoting the welfare of fellow Mexicans and working for the education of their children, raising funds for a library, and providing wholesome forms of recreation for the members.<sup>7</sup> Like many of the other groups, the Círculo arranged socials at which the poetry of local writers as well as that of such noted poets as Amado Nervo and Luis G. Urbina was recited. Theatrical productions, a library, and a newspaper were also sponsored by the Círculo. Most noteworthy, from our present perspective, was the formation of the Cuadro Dramático and the publication of the newspaper, El amigo del hogar, from 1925 to 1930.<sup>8</sup>

According to the newspaper, the Cuadro Dramatico produced nine plays during the period from March, 1927, to May, 1928.<sup>9</sup> These types of cultural activities could bear important fruit for consideration: theatre manuscripts, receipts, and lists of performances; literary prose and poetry from the newspaper; and manuscripts from local authors as well as valuable editions of work printed in Mexico from the Círculo's library.

While the full-run of El amigo del hogar has been salvaged and microfilmed,<sup>10</sup> the library and the literary manuscripts have not as yet been located. Moreover, the newspaper leads us to believe that similar resources may have been produced by the other societies, also. It must be remembered, however, that the membership of any individual society was not likely to represent a true cross-section of the Mexican community. In fact, the organizers of groups like the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," as described by Spencer Leitman:

"may have been too elitist for the common laborer and too Mexico oriented for the colony's Mexican Americans. . . . In addition, residential proximity to their Mexican American 'compatriots' presented problems. The staff failed to take into consideration the class, education, and regional differences existing within the Mexican American community. Two years after the newspaper's start, the staff was still surprised and pained at the distance between themselves and the Mexican Americans."<sup>11</sup>

It becomes apparent then that the societies and their publications may not assist us tremendously in collecting literary documents relevant to the sector of the community represented by ex-braceros and Mexican-

American migrants. Their expression, probably the only one of its kind in all, can to some extent still be collected from oral tradition in Chicago in the form of legends like that of "La Llorona" on La Llorona Avenue,<sup>12</sup> songs, riddles, tales, and ethnic jokes and caló.

An institution that did cut across the boundary between Mexican groups, however, was the Church. Our Lady of Guadalupe, constructed by and for Indiana Harbor's Mexican colony, remains to this date the central institution in the community. Not only the representation of their Catholic faith, but the mystical symbol of their nationality, this church's patron saint of Mexico, came to be the largest and most visible reminder of Mexican identity. The Our Lady of Guadalupe played an important organizing role in community and religious activities, including sermons in the Spanish language media, and stories which testify to the community's labors in the church. Like Reverend José Lara directed religious plays like "La Virgen," coordinated jamaicas and bazaars, and a small college at the church. Play manuscripts and other documents were stored for a long time in the church's attic; but were destroyed just prior to our gaining access to the church's files.

By far the most valuable institution for preserving a permanent record of the culture is the press. In the Mexican settlement in East Chicago there seems to have been a generation of periodicals. El amigo del hogar has preserved

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poetry, prose, and essays by writers from East Chicago and as far away as Lorain, Ohio. From the flowery prose of Francisco M. Figueroa's political essays to the satirical sketches of the misadventures of Pantaleón Manzo,<sup>13</sup> a poor soul who represents the misfortunes of the Mexican in American society, El amigo del hogar provided the community not only with an up-to-date account of current events in Mexico and the United States, but also the necessary cultural reinforcements to protect the Mexican identity in exile. Other newspapers, like La Luz, El Evangelista, La Chispa, and La Avispa, although organs of various religious groups, also incorporated much cultural material, from historical essays to poetry. Of particular interest is the publication of La Chispa by the Mexican Baptist Church. During the Depression it was popularly believed that the Baptists were trying to attract converts from Catholicism with free food and clothing and other services.<sup>14</sup> The Catholic forces, under the leadership of Reverend José Lara, through their own publication La Avispa, entered into a polemic with La Chispa over this and other matters. One of the notable contributors to La Avispa was the rather well known and respected local poet, Jesús Acevedo.

The heir to this tradition today is the very polemic Latin Times, the wary guardian of local politics that was founded by the children of the publishers of El amigo del hogar twenty years ago.<sup>15</sup> To be found in its columns, for instance, is an exchange of satirical décimas used in a debate by two local poets, corridos based on local events, and much witty commentary on the ups and downs of the local políticos. One

of the major changes, however, is that the news is now as much as 50 percent in English.

The field is still fertile. A good deal has been done. The various newspapers must be located and must be searched, files of churches and mutual aid societies surveyed, and the surviving participants in the project interviewed and taped, if possible. Two essential areas of progress: time and urban renewal. The longer it takes, the more likely it is that the documents will be destroyed forever. The longer the wait, the more likely it is that the storehouses of the treasures of the past will be removed. Chicago today, the beautiful, victorian style houses from whom the author obtained El amigo del hogar are being removed. Her attic is full of trunks with many items. The Lady of Guadalupe Church is also due for a move. The removal of the Círculo de Obreros Católicos' Library is another, from house to trailer in the wake left by the Urban renewal as a political arm has functioned here. It is one of the oldest Latin communities in the city. It forms today probably 40 percent of the population.



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The field is still fertile. A good deal of work remains to be done. The various newspapers must be located and microfilmed, attics must be searched, files of churches and mutualist societies must be surveyed, and the surviving participants in these activities must be interviewed and taped, if possible. Two enemies are harassing our progress: time and urban renewal. The longer the wait, the more likely it is that the documents will be destroyed, misplaced, or lost forever. The longer the wait, the more likely it is that urban renewal will remove the storehouses of the treasures that are sought. In East Chicago today, the beautiful, victorian style home of Mrs. Figueroa, from whom the author obtained El amigo del hogar, is slated for removal. Her attic is full of trunks with mementos from the past. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church is also due for a move. The author has followed the Círculo de Obreros Católicos' Library from one hand to another, from house to trailer in the wake left by urban renewal. Urban renewal as a political arm has functioned in East Chicago to disperse one of the oldest Latin communities in the Midwest, one that forms today probably 40 percent of the population of that city.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Paul S. Taylor, Mexican Labor in the United States: Chicago and the Calumet Region (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1932), p. 28.
2. Ibid., p. 277.
3. Américo Paredes, "El folklore de los grupos de origen mexicano en los Estados Unidos," Folklore Americano, 14 (1966), p. 150.
4. Taylor, Mexican Labor, p. 36.
5. Hilario S. Silva, one of the founders of the Benito Juárez and later Secretary of the Unión Benéfica Mexicana, informed me that only the Cuauhtemoc and the Benito Juárez survived the Depression and the Repatriation, but that about 1945 these two societies merged to form the Unión Benéfica Mexicana which is still active today.
6. See Spencer Leitman, "Exile and Union in Indiana Harbor: Los Obreros Católicos 'San José' and El Amigo del Hogar, 1925-1930," Revista Chicano-Riqueña, 2 (Invierno, 1974), p. 52.
7. Estatutos del Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José" (Indiana Harbor, 1925), p. 16.
8. The first sixteen issues of El amigo del hogar are missing; thus, there may have been plays produced by the Cuadro Dramático prior to March, 1927.
9. See my article, "Mexican Community Theatre in a Midwestern City," LATR, 7 (Fall, 1973), pp. 43-8.
10. Microfilm copies of El amigo del hogar are possessed by the East Chicago Public Library and the Indiana University Northwest Library.
11. See Leitman, "Exile and Union," p. 52.
12. See Philip Brandt George, "The Ghost of Clina in the Calumet," Indiana Folklore, 5 (1972),
13. See Nicolás Kanellos, "Un relato de Asteca (D Chicano-Riqueña, 1 (Primavera, 1973), pp. 5-8
14. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro Chicago.
15. Before founding El amigo del hogar, Mr. and M Figueroa ran a newspaper in Guadalajara, Mexico.

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11. See Leitman, "Exile and Union," p. 52.
12. See Philip Brandt George, "The Ghost of Clins Avenue: 'La Llorona' in the Calumet," Indiana Folklore, 5 (1972), pp. 56-91.
13. See Nicolás Kamellos, "Un relato de Asteca (Bromeando)," Revista Chicano-Riquena, 1 (Primavera, 1973), pp. 5-8.
14. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro Prieto of East Chicago.
15. Before founding El amigo del hogar, Mr. and Mrs. Francisco M. Figueroa ran a newspaper in Guadalajara, Mexico.

THE CHICANO STUDIES PROGRAM IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO:  
BROKEN PROMISES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

by

Alvin Sunseri  
University of Northern Iowa  
Cedar Falls, Iowa

Although not as publicized as the revolt of the Southwest today is being swept by a wave of pro-Americans who are belatedly flexing their muscles. Cesar Chavez, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Jesse G. recently; Reies Tijerina, these people are now a new class citizenship that has been their lot following the conquest of New Mexico in 1846.

This paper is concerned with but one aspect of the relations between the Anglo-Americans and the Northern New Mexico in the aftermath of the American conquest. It is in this region that the fears, prejudices, and hostilities that characterize the conflict in the Southwest became, and remain, apparent on a large scale.

The author's interest in the plight of the Mexican-Americans dates back to his childhood. An American Catholic he was thrust into a rural Louisiana environment. As a native of New Orleans he had "Dago" prejudice until his family moved to the north of Lake Pontchartrain. There, his teacher following the Italo-Ethiopian War, "Alvin, why ain't you beat those Niggahs?" It was an immediate invitation to WASP in class to have a go at him during recess. That even at this early date his interest in the man was aroused, as he was perceptive enough to see that they were the only ones who occupied a lower rung on the Louisiana ladder than Italian-Americans.

Although not as publicized as the revolt of the Blacks, the Southwest today is being swept by a wave of protests by Mexican-Americans who are belatedly flexing their muscles. Led by men like Cesar Chavez, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Jose Gutierrez and, until recently, Reyes Tijerina, these people are now rejecting the second-class citizenship that has been their lot following the American conquest of New Mexico in 1846.

This paper is concerned with but one aspect of this phenomenon-- the relations between the Anglo-Americans and the Mexican-Americans of Northern New Mexico in the aftermath of the American occupation. For it is in this region that the fears, prejudices, tensions, and anxieties that characterize the conflict in the Southwest today first became, and remain, apparent on a large scale.

The author's interest in the plight of depressed peoples such as the Mexican-Americans dates back to his childhood when as an Italian-American Catholic he was thrust into a rural Louisiana Protestant environment. As a native of New Orleans he had never encountered anti-"Dago" prejudice until his family moved to the town of Abita Springs north of Lake Pontchartrain. There, his teacher asked him one day following the Italo-Ethiopian War, "Alvin, why ain't you Dagoes able to beat those Niggahs?" It was an immediate invitation for every little WASP in class to have a go at him during recess. One consequence was that even at this early date his interest in the plight of the black man was aroused, as he was perceptive enough to realize that Blacks were the only ones who occupied a lower rung on the social ladder in Louisiana than Italian-Americans.

STUDIES PROGRAM IN NORTHERN NEW MEXICO:  
NEW PROMISES AND FUTURE PROSPECTS

by

Alvin Sunseri

University of Northern Iowa

Cedar Falls, Iowa

The writer continued to note instances of prejudice for eight years in the army where he served as an integration officer. And, following his return to Louisiana, he was so disturbed by continued conditions of inequality that he left the state in 1956 and embarked upon a teaching career in New Mexico. The writer includes this brief survey of his earlier background as a means of better enabling the reader to discern if he, the observer-writer, is able to maintain the degree of objectivity that forms the razor's edge between scholarly study and emotional polemic.

From the very beginning of his stay in New Mexico the author was shocked by conditions among the masses of Mexican-Americans and Indians. The bigotry and prejudice directed at them by the Anglos equaled that encountered by Blacks in the South and other parts of the country. Unforgotten is the time when members of the Mexican-American track team which he coached had to travel two-hundred miles through west Texas and eastern New Mexico before they could find eating and sleeping accommodations because restaurant and motel owners found excuses not to feed or bed them. Neither was it possible to ignore the scenes of grinding poverty and the instances of human misery in the barrios (ghettos) of Albuquerque and the Agua Fria district of Santa Fe as well as in the rural regions of San Miguel and Mora counties.

In addition, the author's historical curiosity was sufficiently aroused by these scenes of distress to prompt him to employ his discipline in an effort to relieve that curiosity and answer the questions that continued to plague him. Why are cultural cleavages of such an extreme nature present in the serene geographic setting that deserves

to be characterized by social harmony? What are the instances of grim social injustice and subsequent that resulted in such human misery? Can the historical concepts and tools of his craft discover the answers? Finally, if so, is it possible to gain the past that is essential to a better understanding of social conflict between the Anglo and Mexican-American?

The importance of these questions is indisputable. Two of particular significance not only to the student cleavages in New Mexico, but to the basic worth of the discipline. Particularly does this statement hold true in attacks being leveled against the discipline by those who seek only "relevancy," and by those behavioral scientists inclined to condemn traditional methodology and general historical analytical technique with emphasis on quantitative measurement. Complete acceptance of this "new history" could mean the dehumanization of the discipline.

Therefore, as the decade of the sixties emerged and engrossed in the situation in New Mexico, both as a student and historian, and by 1963 became aware of a certain awareness beginning to emerge among the Mexican-Americans who were inferior status that had been imposed on them since the occupation.

While he was pleased with this protest movement, he did not help but ask himself further questions. Why are we not until the fifth generation that the sleeping giant

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While he was pleased with this protest movement, the writer could  
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 not until the fifth generation that the sleeping giant was aroused?

Why did it take a full century for the rebellion of the Chicanos to take place? Aside from the Blacks and Indians, other ethnic groups had gained social, economic, and political equality by the second or third generations. It was with these questions in mind that the writer conducted an examination of New Mexican history since the Anglo occupation which can be summarized as follows.

In 1846 a traditional Mexican-American agrarian society possessed of a unique cultural heritage was conquered by the Anglo-Americans. In the years following the conquest the Mexican-American Ricos, who had dominated the paternalistic society, formed a partnership with the invaders which enabled them to continue exploiting the masses. Pedro Perea, Jose D. Sena, and Miguel Otero, among others, joined with such men as Thomas B. Catron, Stephen B. Elkins, and L. Bradford Prince to form political machines that controlled New Mexico after the Civil War. One reason the Mexican-Americans did not break the power of the ruling class was that they did not possess the educational tools to enable them to do so. The power elite, for obvious reasons, was not interested in providing educational opportunities, and the Federal government, which might have furnished support, refused under pressure to act. This neglect of education continued until the 1960's. Mexican-American children were forced to attend schools that were segregated on a de facto basis or, when allowed to share school accommodations with Anglos, were encouraged to drop out as soon as possible. While some were fortunate enough to attend trade schools, the vast majority were doomed to remain unskilled workers the remainder of their lives.<sup>1</sup>

Discriminating education persisted in New Mexico II when great numbers of defense workers forced that period many rich Anglos sent their sons to the Institute, founded in 1891 at Roswell. The Ricos fortunate Mexican-Americans, sent their sons to the Institute (high school) while both elitist Mexican-Americans sent their daughters to Loretto Academy and other private schools. The children of the masses of Mexican-Americans, however, attend poorly supported and sometimes segregated schools whenever the Anglos dominated the community.

The church under Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy, while it expressed interest in saving souls, paid little attention to the socio-economic needs of Mexican-Americans. Churches were constructed, but in the midst of social distress avenues for advancement were all but closed to Mexican-Americans. As a result, the church was by a white French and American priest who allowed but a comparatively few of the native Mexican-Americans into the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom able to attain a high office.<sup>4</sup> If the Church had shown more concern for the needs of its members, quite possibly some of the problems that afflict present-day New Mexico might have been avoided.

Those problems are many and serious, some the result of the Mexican-American society, others the result of the impact of the Anglo-American on a native one. Alcoholism is becoming an increasing social issue. Drug addiction is high, and the diet of



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Discriminating education persisted in New Mexico until World War II when great numbers of defense workers forced a revision. Before that period many rich Anglos sent their sons to the New Mexico Military Institute, founded in 1891 at Roswell. The Ricos, and more financially fortunate Mexican-Americans, sent their sons to St. Michael's College (high school) while both elitist Mexican-Americans and Anglos sent their daughters to Loretto Academy and other private schools.<sup>2</sup> The children of the masses of Mexican-Americans, however, were forced to attend poorly supported and sometimes segregated parochial and public schools whenever the Anglos dominated the community.<sup>3</sup>

The church under Bishop Jean Baptiste Lamy and his successors, while it expressed interest in saving souls, paid scant attention to the socio-economic needs of Mexican-Americans. Beautiful edifices were constructed, but in the midst of social distress. And in the clergy, avenues for advancement were all but closed to Mexican-Americans, dominated as the church was by a white French and WIC (White Irish) Clergy who allowed but a comparatively few of the natives to enter their ranks. Moreover, until recently, those Mexican-Americans who were admitted to the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered the opportunity to attain a high office.<sup>4</sup> If the Church had shown a greater interest in the needs of its members, quite possibly some of the problems that afflict present-day New Mexico might have been avoided.<sup>5</sup>

Those problems are many and serious, some of them common to all American society, others the result of the impact of an alien culture on a native one. Alcoholism is becoming an increasingly major social issue. Drug addiction is high, and the diet of poverty-stricken

Mexican-Americans is yet so poor that it causes mental retardation.<sup>6</sup> The existence of an ethnic caste system has resulted in a sense of defeatism among Mexican-Americans. "Society," says Rodolfo ("Corky") Gonzales, "even when it is trying to be benevolent, . . . is an Anglo controlled society within which the Gringo makes all the major decisions . . . as a result, my people have been politically destroyed and economically exploited."<sup>7</sup>

The Chicanos, however, will no longer tolerate this situation of inequality. They are insisting on rapid changes to correct such conditions of social injustice in all categories of activity.

In a questionnaire submitted to 500 Mexican-American students at the College of Santa Fe and New Mexico Highlands University in the fall of 1971,<sup>8</sup> a question concerned with inequality was included: In your everyday interaction with the Anglo, how frequently do you feel he regards you as an equal? The responses to this question are as follows:

Always	- 15.4%
Usually	- 26.6%
Sometimes	- 37.0%
Seldom	- 14.1%
Never	- 3.9%
Uncertain	- 3.0%

Those who noted instances of inequality were then asked to state why they felt the Anglos seldom or never regarded them as equals. Following are their replies:

Anglos feel superior  
 Anglos discriminated against Mexican-Americans  
 Language and cultural barriers  
 Anglos feel superior and are inclined to discriminate  
 Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use culture  
 All of the above

Far different were the answers when the Chicanos often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicated

Always	- 27.9%
Usually	- 34.9%
Sometimes	- 26.4%
Seldom	- 4.7%
Never	- 6.1%

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-Americans their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immortalized and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul [redacted] to evaluate the famous church leader, the students

Very favorable	- 6.1%
Favorable	- 10.8%
Undecided	- 27.7%
Unfavorable	- 17.6%
Very unfavorable	- 13.5%
Don't know him	- 24.3%

The consensus of opinion among a large number of concerning Lamy is best expressed by a comment made [redacted] viewed him as "unfavorable" that reads: "A typical

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When asked to state  
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as:

Anglos feel superior	- 10.9%
Anglos discriminated against Mexican-Americans	- 3.1%
Language and cultural barriers	- 0.8%
Anglos feel superior and are inclined to discriminate	- 1.6%
Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use cultural barriers	- 2.3%
All of the above	- 81.3%

Far different were the answers when the Chicanos were asked how  
 often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicated below:

Always	- 27.9%
Usually	- 34.9%
Sometimes	- 26.4%
Seldom	- 4.7%
Never	- 6.1%

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-Americans have lost  
 their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immortalized by Willa Cather  
 and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul Morgan. When asked  
 to evaluate the famous church leader, the students responded as follows:

Very favorable	- 6.1%
Favorable	- 10.8%
Undecided	- 27.7%
Unfavorable	- 17.6%
Very unfavorable	- 13.5%
Don't know him	- 24.3%

The consensus of opinion among a large number of Chicanos  
 concerning Lamy is best expressed by a comment made by one of those who  
 viewed him as "unfavorable" that reads: "A typical 'colonial lord.'

Upper classman who looked down on lower classmen (most New Mexicans). A racist who surrounded himself by a French clergy, and did away with all native-born New Mexican priests."

Manuel Armijo, the Mexican Governor at the time of the occupation, has been all but forgotten by the Chicanos or remembered as a villain by a few. When asked to evaluate him, the students gave the following responses:

Very favorable	-	1.4%
Favorable	-	8.3%
Undecided	-	34.7%
Unfavorable	-	6.9%
Very unfavorable	-	7.0%
Don't know him	-	41.7%

On the other hand, the younger Mexican-Americans expressed the following praise for Cesar Chavez, Reies Tijerina, and Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales:

	<u>Reies Tijerina</u>	<u>Cesar Chavez</u>	<u>"Corky" Rodolfo Gonzales</u>
Very favorable	18.4%	36.1%	21.1%
Favorable	44.4%	38.1%	22.2%
Undecided	12.3%	10.3%	23.3%
Unfavorable	10.5%	2.1%	6.7%
Very unfavorable	4.4%	13.4%	4.4%
Don't know him	4.4%	--	20.0%
Right, but uses wrong tactics	6.6%	--	2.3%

To be respected, however, the Chicanos be establish a cultural identity enabling them to. They feel that they must be taught their histo grams dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-Am over, they insist, the Anglo-American must end and disdain that has characterized Anglo-Amri Mexican-Americans since the moment of first co two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and bility that he might resort to violence. "The insists Gonzales, "is more white fathers . . . . . I don't think we'll ever be violent exce continued, "but if we must defend ourselves, we

Realizing the seriousness of the situation start was made in the right direction at New M sity following a Chicano student rebellion in cause of the troubles on that campus was the ap Graham as president to succeed Dr. Thomas Donno who was retiring. Graham, a member of the facu University at Whitewater, had absolutely no exp the needs of Mexican-Americans. Consequently, students, constituting 54 percent of the campus rebellion that subsided only after Graham agree ance of the presidency. Professor Ralph Carlis had the trust of the Chicanos, served as interfi Board of Regents searched for a more acceptable

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12.3%	10.3%	23.3%
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4.4%	13.4%	4.4%
4.4%	--	20.0%
6.6%	--	2.3%

To be respected, however, the Chicanos believe they must first  
 establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves.  
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 insists Gonzales, "is more white fathers . . . what we need is brothers  
 . . . I don't think we'll ever be violent except in self defense," he  
 continued, "but if we must defend ourselves, we will."<sup>9</sup>

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, in the fall of 1971 a  
 start was made in the right direction at New Mexico Highlands Univer-  
 sity following a Chicano student rebellion in the spring of 1970. The  
 cause of the troubles on that campus was the appointment of Dr. Charles  
 Graham as president to succeed Dr. Thomas Donnelly, longtime president  
 who was retiring. Graham, a member of the faculty at Wisconsin State  
 University at Whitewater, had absolutely no experience with Chicanos or  
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 students, constituting 54 percent of the campus population, initiated a  
 rebellion that subsided only after Graham agreed to withdraw his accept-  
 ance of the presidency. Professor Ralph Carlisle Smith, an Anglo who  
 had the trust of the Chicanos, served as interim president while the  
 Board of Regents searched for a more acceptable candidate. Finally,

they settled on a Chicano, Dr. Frank Angel, Jr., a member of the faculty at the University of New Mexico.

Almost immediately Dr. Angel announced he "did not plan to stand on tradition and that the needs of the Mexican-Americans, or Chicano, community are among the most important items on his agenda."<sup>10</sup> He then authorized the formulation of an ethnic and Chicano studies program designed to accomplish the following:

(1) Improvement of the fluency of Chicanos in Spanish through courses which are meant to deal with the unique language situation of the Chicano.

(2) Stress on the history and heritage of the Chicano rather than treating it as a subtopic under Anglo oriented courses and curricula.

(3) The use of Chicano teachers insofar as possible because they can relate to the students better both culturally and ethnically.

(4) Insistence that the Chicano student be given a good well-rounded and relevant overview of what the Chicano situation actually was and is today.

In attaining this goal the student is required to have a basic bilingual ability and to take at least 48 hours, including such courses as follows:

(1) An Introduction to Chicano Studies that is interdisciplinary in nature and which studies the historical and contemporary development of the Chicano community.

(2) A History of the Southwest that stresses the northern movement of the Spanish and Mexican people into the present-day United States,

with emphasis on the conflict between the races that since the Anglo-American conquest of 1846.

(3) A course entitled Chicano Politics which sees Chicano political opinion, voting behavior, and political behavior.

(4) A course in Southwestern Minorities which studies the behavior of Chicanos, Indians and Blacks--designed to show how they have been exploited by the Anglo-Americans.

(5) Chicano Participation in Social Welfare Systems which is intended to develop the skills enabling Chicanos to participate in programs that will positively affect social development in Chicano communities.

(6) A course entitled Economics of Poverty that studies the relationship between economics and racism and further analyzes actual and proposed policies for dealing with poverty in the barrios of the Southwest.

One of the most important of the programs is Chicano Philosophic Thought, which correlates 20th century philosophy with the development of Chicano thought in the United States. This is the course that is particularly designed to study "Chicano identity." Finally, there are courses in Chicano art, Chicano graphics, the Chicano theater, drama, literature. These are revolutionary in nature inasmuch as for the first time Americans of the Southwest are made aware of the extensive cultural contributions on the part of Chicanos, further emphasizing that this ethnic group has contributed extensive contributions of world literature. Particularly emphasized is the

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of world literature. Particularly emphasized is the fact that while

the Chicano ethnic group is an outgrowth of Latin-American cultural development, there is present and always has been a unique subcultural development. Northern New Mexico formed as a consequence a geographic isolation and the continuing process of mestizaje.<sup>11</sup>

Now in its third year, the ethnic studies program which includes native American, Black, and Chicano studies, has experienced a great deal of controversy with charges and counter-charges being hurled by defenders and opponents of the program. The defenders insist that the university must take up new social, economic, and political roles if the Chicanos are to be made aware of the projects designed to grant them equality that can only be taught them by educated Chicano students. The critics of the program insist that the "academic excellence" of the university is threatened by the overemphasis on social work. They point out, for example, that the science enrollment now includes but 40 students of the 2,300 enrolled at the university.<sup>12</sup> In response, defenders insist their opponents employ the term "academic excellence" as the Watergate gang employed the term "national security" to justify any action on their part in defense of their "vested interests."<sup>13</sup> In fairness to the supporters of the ethnic studies program, it should be noted that a leading proponent of the program, Benny E. Flores, a Chicano member of the Board of Regents, has stated that he does not believe that students should be educated solely in ethnic studies at the risk of becoming deficient in other academic fields.<sup>14</sup>

The moment of extreme crisis came in September of 1973 when the students staged demonstrations and occupied academic and administrative buildings when they felt the promises made in 1970 were once again

being broken. In retaliation, the administrative ethnic studies program offices. Not to be intimidated, Professor William Lux, the director, ordered re-made and reopened the offices. Unfortunately, during the crisis he lost one of his close associates, a program, Pedro Rodriguez who, after being refused admission to Stanford University. However, federal funds increased by 30 percent, in part the result of key positions in Washington.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, the program was revived, and today is in a very viable state. The student body now includes Chicanos with an equal number of Blacks and native Americans. Moreover, the program has three to ten members. The only drawback, according to the program in native American studies is, in his opinion, not fully developed.<sup>16</sup>

It is difficult to evaluate the success or failure of the ethnic studies project. From the perspective of the students and faculty members who are experiencing difficulty in their disciplines and fields, the program is a failure. As stated before, threatening their concept of academic excellence, the formulators of the Chicano movement, however successful. Chicanos are being taught to go to the past in the oral history tradition; teachers are being trained in Chicano courses at all grade levels; vital records are being removed and placed in the archives; library holdings are being removed; include more works dealing with Chicano studies;



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being broken. In retaliation, the administration closed down the ethnic studies program offices. Not to be intimidated by such actions, Professor William Lux, the director, ordered replacement keys to be made and reopened the offices. Unfortunately, however, in the midst of the crisis he lost one of his close associates, the coordinator of the program, Pedro Rodriques who, after being refused tenure, transferred to Stanford University. However, federal funds for H.E.W. were increased by 30 percent, in part the result of the support of Blacks in key positions in Washington.<sup>15</sup> Consequently, the floundering program was revived, and today is in a very viable state. Over 65 percent of the student body now includes Chicanos with another 10 percent made up of Blacks and native Americans. Moreover, the staff has increased from three to ten members. The only drawback, according to Flores, is that the program in native American studies is, in his opinion, yet to be fully developed.<sup>16</sup>

It is difficult to evaluate the success or failure of the Highlands ethnic studies project. From the perspective of the Anglo administrators and faculty members who are experiencing drops in enrollment in their disciplines and fields, the program is a failure, as it is, as stated before, threatening their concept of academic excellence. To the formulators of the Chicano movement, however, it is a grand success. Chicanos are being taught to go to the people and educate them in the oral history tradition; teachers are being trained to offer Chicano courses at all grade levels; vital records are being gathered and placed in the archives; library holdings are being expanded to include more works dealing with Chicano studies; cooperative programs

with Blacks and native Americans are being encouraged; jobs are available, in a time of job shortages, for graduates of the studies program; and finally, the Mexican-Americans are satisfied with the prospect of the University becoming totally committed to the needs and interests of minority groups. As Dr. Willie Sanchez, Assistant to the President for External Affairs, has noted, under Dr. Donnelly only 5 of 130 faculty members were Chicano. Then "there seemed to be a ceiling above which they the Chicanos could not rise . . ." Now that the University has taken up new social, moral, and political roles, as Dr. Angel promised, the University has ceased to be a "pallid reflection . . . of the University of New Mexico . . ."17

In conclusion, the promises of education and cultural preservation first made by General Stephen Watts Kearny to the people of New Mexico at Las Vegas, which afterwards were so often broken by Anglo-Americans, are finally being kept. The prospects for continued success, however, are dependent on continued financial support by the Federal government and a willingness to compromise on the part of both Mexican and Anglo Americans.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Walter Fogel, "Education and Income of Mexican-Southwest," Mexican-American Study Project, Adv. Angeles, 1965), p. 8; Interviews with Mexican-Americans and Las Vegas, New Mexico, Summer, 1969, 1970 Fall 1973.
2. J. R. Kelly, History of the New Mexico Military 1941 (Albuquerque, 1953), passim; graduates of prominent positions in the State and were inclinations to the institute; Alvin R. Sunseri, "St. Michael's La Salle Auxiliary, XXXIX (Spring, 1960), passim; Gabriel, The Christain Brothers in the United States (New York, 1948), pp. 472-77.
3. Interviews with Mexican-Americans, Santa Fe and Las Vegas, New Mexico, Summer, 1969, 1970, Fall 1971, Summer, 1972.
4. It was not until recently that a Mexican-American was appointed as Chancellor. He had since married and is now a professor in Santa Fe.
5. Indeed, in response to a petition from the Alien Projects for supporting funds, Archbishop James Hickey of the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had no money for such a project. The Episcopal Church granted the project \$40,000 but lost the support of Episcopalians in New Mexico.
6. Interview with Dr. John M. Lucas, resident psychologist, Mexico State Hospital, Las Vegas, New Mexico, July 1973.

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6. Interview with Dr. John M. Lucas, resident psychologist, New Mexico State Hospital, Las Vegas, New Mexico, July 5, 1963. See

- also, Jack Shepherd, "Snack City," Harper's Magazine, February, 1974, pp. 32-5. According to some prominent New Mexicans, however, the article exaggerated the extent of the drug problem in Las Vegas. Nevertheless, it is a critical one for both Mexican Americans and Anglos.
7. The Denver Post, May 13, 1969, Supplement, p. 2.
  8. Questionnaires distributed among students at New Mexico Highlands University and the College of Santa Fe, Fall and Winter, 1971-1972. The questionnaires were developed and processed under the direction of Professor Robert K. Kramer, Head of the Social Research Center at the University of Northern Iowa.
  9. The Denver Post, May 13, 1969, Supplement, pp. 1-2.
  10. New York Times, September 19, 1971, Sec. 1, p. 63.
  11. New Mexico Highlands University Bulletin, 1972; New Mexico Highlands University Bulletin, 1973-1975; Information in a letter to the author from Pedro Rodriguez, Coordinator of Chicano Studies, New Mexico Highlands University, November 14, 1972. Interview with Professor William Lux, Assistant Academic Dean and Director of Ethnic and Chicano Studies, New Mexico Highlands University, April 2, 1974.
  12. Interview with Benny E. Flores, member of the Board of Regents at New Mexico Highlands University. Flores is a Chicano who graduated from Highlands and is now an attorney in Las Vegas. He attempts, as much as possible, to play a moderating role in the campus conflict.
  13. Interview with Professor William Lux, Assistant Academic Affairs, and Director of the Ethnic and Chicano Studies, New Mexico Highlands University, April 2, 1974.
  14. Information in a letter to the author from a member of the Board of Regents at New Mexico Highlands University, April 8, 1974.
  15. Interview with Professor Lux, April 2, 1974.
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## Part II

The three essays in this section illustrate the  
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### THE NATIVE-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The three essays presented here deal with the same questions raised in Part I, except the approach is different. Nationalism as a source of identity and awareness is the major theme of Peter Iverson's paper. The insistence by Navajos that their language be preserved illustrates their concern for preserving awareness and their unique identity. Thoughtful reflection raises the question, is Navajo nationalism any different from Black nationalism or among Mexican-Americans in Aztlan. On the other hand, are there any similarities in the quest for national identity.

The second essay deals with the impact of urbanization on identity. While some may want to quarrel with James H. Stewart's analysis and conclusions, his essay does indicate that in an urban setting ". . . most Native-Americans experience an increased positive sense of identity both personal and social. . . ." The question of multiple identity is raised, and the parallels of this issue for other racial minorities is obvious.

Anna Lee Stensland discusses the importance of identity and awareness from a literary perspective as it relates to Native-Americans. An awareness of Indian literature and heritage for Anglo and exposure to Indian myth and legend are seen as critical components for classroom teachers involved in American literature.

## Part II

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## NATIVE-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

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THE RISE OF NAVAJO NATIONALISM:  
DINÉ CONTINUITY WITHIN CHANGE

by

Peter Iverson  
Fellow  
Newberry Library  
Chicago, Illinois

Some time ago the author of this essay encountered Edward Curtis, perhaps the most well-known photographer of American life. Curtis had entitled it "The Vanishing Race." The photograph showed a group of Navajos, on horseback, in a line, with the final rider barely visible in the distance. This became one of Curtis' famous works, probably the most famous. It typified the prevalent American attitude early in the 20th century that Native Americans would no longer be unique and distinctive in American life.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, Curtis was wrong. The Navajos are today the most populous of any Native American group they possess as well the largest land base. While their numbers are notoriously underestimated, it seems reasonable to estimate that their population now is easily in excess of 130,000. Their area is 25,000 square miles, covering a large part of Arizona, a part of northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah. The usual comparison is with West Virginia, which is slightly smaller.

While such statistics are impressive, they do not indicate the degree to which Diné, or The People, have a way of life, flexible and changing, which is clearly distinct from the Navajo. Moreover, as Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorotyn Kluckhohn in their classic study, The Navaho,<sup>3</sup> a steady increase in "national" consciousness has arisen among The Navaho. Leighton saw it only as a "beginning" but noted



Some time ago the author of this essay encountered a photograph by Edward Curtis, perhaps the most well-known photographer of Native American life. Curtis had entitled it "The Vanishing Race." The photograph showed a group of Navajos, on horseback, each figure less distinct, with the final rider barely visible in the distance. The image became one of Curtis' famous works, probably in part because it so typified the prevalent American attitude early in this century that Native Americans would no longer be unique and important participants in American life.<sup>1</sup>

Of course, Curtis was wrong. The Navajos were perhaps the worst choice he could have made for a prototype of "the vanishing race." They are today the most populous of any Native American people, and they possess as well the largest land base. While Navajo census estimates are notoriously underestimated, it seems clear that the Navajo population now is easily in excess of 130,000. The Navajo Nation's area is 25,000 square miles, covering a large portion of northeastern Arizona, a part of northwestern New Mexico, and a small section of southeastern Utah. The usual comparison is with the state of West Virginia, which is slightly smaller.

While such statistics are impressive, they do not begin to indicate the degree to which Diné, or The People,<sup>2</sup> have maintained a way of life, flexible and changing, which is clearly and identifiably Navajo. Moreover, as Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton wrote in 1946 in their classic study, The Navaho,<sup>3</sup> a steadily growing "tribal" or "national" consciousness has arisen among The People. Kluckhohn and Leighton saw it only as a "beginning" but noted that "The People are

RISE OF NAVAJO NATIONALISM:  
TIME CONTINUITY WITHIN CHANGE

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becoming increasingly conscious of common background, common problems, a common need to unite to protect their interests against the encroachments of whites."<sup>4</sup>

There are two critical, interlocking questions to be faced, if not answered: what are the unifying features of Navajo life and what is it about this stage of Navajo life which has caused the growth of Navajo nationalism? The first question is certainly less the main focus of this study than the second. Yet it is an important, necessary one. Without a certain degree of agreement and unity among Navajos, the development of Navajo nationalism would not have been possible. Anthropologists and other students of Navajo history and culture have been impressed with the flexible, borrowing, adaptive quality of The People. It seems as though the course of Navajo history has seen a steady persistence of what Evon Vogt in 1961 in his summary article, "The Navaho," called the incorporative nature of Navajo culture.<sup>5</sup> Diné willingness, even eagerness, to change has been coupled with what Vogt termed a "resistant institutional core," "composed of systems of social relations, ecological adjustments, and values forming a coherent and distinctive Navajo pattern."<sup>6</sup>

To these unifying features at the local or community level must be added the factors contributing to a Navajo national feeling. Again, to quote Kluckhohn and Leighton, these elements include:

". . . a common language; a common designation for themselves as The People as distinct from all others; a cultural heritage which is, in general, the same; a territory with a certain topographical unity, where the occupants are mostly Navahos and where many mountains and

other natural features are enshrined in a common myth that almost all the People constitute a single governmental unit with a single elected council for the whole. In sum, language, heritage, land, and government are of the four, government is surely the most recent. Only recently, in the Navajo way, has it become more so in part due to time: the Tribal Council from a Navajo fairly young; only in this year (1974) did it celebrate its anniversary. And only lately has it truly had the power to matter to Navajos at the local level.

To understand Navajo nationalism we must come to grips with the ironic consequences of greater Anglo<sup>8</sup> encroachment on once isolated Navajo land and resources. As Diné have had increasing contact with Anglo institutions, ideas, and technology, they have had as well ample reason to re-enforce their identity as a People.<sup>9</sup> Moreover, some of the very elements of Anglo culture seem to be the most threatening to Navajo life have been the building of a national Navajo state. For example, the introduction of technology has altered the economic and social network. At the local level has the Navajo Nation been perceived as a national

Technology and white demands, often couched in the name of progress, have threatened, and thus unified, most Navajos and their loyalty to the national Navajo government as the only ally strong enough to counter alien forces.<sup>10</sup> As distinct minority states and, to an even greater degree, minority nations in the States, the Navajos cannot hope to influence significant

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In sum, language, heritage, land, and government are the basic forces.  
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Technology and white demands, often couched in ethnocentric terms,  
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States, the Navajos cannot hope to influence significantly state and

United States actions. As Richard Goodwin recently noted:

"The nation is not merely a convenient form of social organization, but an aspect of individual existence which fulfills irrevocable human needs. If alternative sources of identity, of power, and of self-mastery continue to crumble, we can expect national feelings to intensify."<sup>11</sup>

The creation of the Navajo Nation must be viewed of course in the light of earlier developments in Navajo history. Of particular importance has been the time at which certain conflicts with outside societies have occurred. In 1868 the Navajos signed one of the last domestic treaties with the United States government. While they had been forced to make the Long Walk in 1864 to Bosque Redondo, New Mexico, they were thus allowed to return and maintain at least part of their homeland, rather than being moved to a new land with consequent cultural destruction and disintegration. The People consolidated their land base through late nineteenth and early twentieth century additions before the value of Navajo mineral resources<sup>12</sup> became realized. In addition, Navajo land was not sought for agricultural purposes nor was it near an area of large Anglo population growth. This land base and this relative isolation allowed for the growth and development of a working, changing Navajo tradition in the post-European initial contact era. It permitted the creation of a kind of common heritage which has made the assimilation of Navajo people and Navajo life into the larger American society not only unlikely, but from the standpoint of most Navajos, undesirable.

This heritage may be analyzed profitably in full consideration of Navajo nationalism. To be essential to establish some sense of Navajo history, one must have perceived it. For it is The People's view of history that has so strongly influenced Navajo actions of the past. This perspective, however, is not easily gained. Any study of Navajo (or Native American) history quickly discloses the lack of evidence. There is no denying the central importance of oral tradition, yet great difficulty in obtaining it, let alone convincing non-Navajos by and large written records. Not only have non-Navajos by and large written records, but Navajos have written down the records needed for the history. Without exception, these accounts are in English.

To the uninitiated, the vitality of the Navajo language in many years may come as a surprise. While an increasing number of Navajos are bilingual, there is little question of the first language, the preferred form of communication. A recent study estimated that almost three of every four Navajos do not know enough English to do first grade. Moreover, Diné bizaad is a very different language. Robert W. Young notes, "although Navajo and English are related phonologically, the difference is extreme in the logical and structural features."<sup>14</sup> Finally, Navajo is an oral language. Written forms of Navajo have been developed by the most part Navajos have not utilized them. Linguists, and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel, have employed written Navajo for their own special

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 have employed written Navajo for their own specialized purposes.<sup>16</sup>

Navajo-initiated programs are of most recent origin, and though exciting and promising in scope and direction, have yet to have widespread effect.<sup>17</sup> Written Navajo history in Navajo remains a rarity.

Fortunately, three developments in the twentieth century have allowed all to share in the Navajo perspective to some degree. White anthropologists and other observers have produced translations from testimony given by Navajo informants. To a large extent this work has centered on ceremonialism and Navajo social structure. As William Adams has remarked, such matters as the Navajo economy have been virtually ignored.<sup>18</sup> In addition, a body of Navajo oral history survives, passed down by generations about how The People came to be and about significant events in the history of Diné. Navajos, particularly at Rough Rock Demonstration School and Navajo Community College, have started to publish accounts of their own history. With the growth of the Navajo tribal government, Navajo-authored and authorized accounts have issued increasingly as well from the Navajo national capital, Window Rock. New trends in film making also have been encouraged, including John Adair and Sol Worth's pioneering work in helping Navajos to produce and develop their own movies.<sup>19</sup>

These developments lead one to a very central question about much of this material and its applicability to the writing of Navajo history. The following point is raised not to doubt the sincerity, dedication, or deep knowledge of and respect for Navajo history and culture displayed by many Anglo observers of Navajo life. But ultimately, one must come to appreciate the limitations of the outsider's view. In the Navajo Nation, the distinction between the non-Navajo and the Navajo is

still sharply, for some painfully, drawn. If an Anglo Navajo, married a Navajo, assumed the trappings and Navajo life, he would still be, irremediably, a Bill were fully committed to living the rest of their life. The Nation found that this presented a very real dilemma: restricted, some more than others, in what they could be. Just so, non-Navajo observers (including course) are limited in what they can see and in how perceptions.

To be sure, this is a problem with all history cultural transmission in the Navajo situation access. Translation from Navajo to English is not only difficult, really subject to the whims and biases of the translator, even transcribed directly in the Navajo, is a special limitations. Oral historians, though, are the importance of recording not only voices, but pe gestures, movements. The portrait which thus emerges complete and therefore more true representation. The transcription can be provided in a way for the reader the speaker as he communicates.<sup>20</sup> Given the central communication in Navajo life, such a creation is more is written down in books," said a wise old Navajo grandfather. "A book will never say a prayer for you."<sup>21</sup>

Even Navajo-authored work has not always been free of Anglo influence. For example, the Navajo Times, the newspaper, has usually had an Anglo editor.<sup>22</sup> NA

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To be sure, this is a problem with all history, but the cross-  
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Even Navajo-authored work has not always been entirely free from  
 Anglo influence. For example, the Navajo Times, the official tribal  
 newspaper, has usually had an Anglo editor.<sup>22</sup> Navajo Community College

Press publications have been affected by the input and perspectives of Anglos.<sup>23</sup> This is not to say that the Navajo contribution to these publications has been negligible. Far from it. Anglo editors of the Navajo Times are tribal employees whose editorial stance tends to be sympathetic to the current tribal administration. Navajos have consistently had responsible positions on the newspaper. In the end, Diné are the publishers of Navajo Community College Press volumes. The point is that outsiders not sufficiently familiar with the Navajo scene may use these sources uncritically, and misleading interpretations may then result.

Nonetheless, these sources are still among the very best we have for contemporary Navajo history. They do largely succeed in providing more of a Navajo perspective than previously was available. They also are written primarily for a Navajo audience (though in English for the most part) and have won a growing audience.<sup>24</sup> In many instances, they may be regarded as outside the traditional academic western historical pattern. But without them, our view is woefully incomplete and inadequate. With them, our perspective may still be incomplete, but it is at least vastly enhanced.

Three final elements in the difficulty of studying Navajo history properly deserve explicit consideration here. One is the degree of change that has taken place in certain aspects of Navajo life during the past one hundred years, with an acceleration in some areas in the past thirty years. A synchronic picture of The People will not do. As Adams puts it: "When have conditions ever been 'normal' for the Navajos? For one hundred years we've been trying to photograph on slow

film people who won't hold still long enough to image."<sup>25</sup> The flexible quality of Navajo life it has allowed over time for striking variety in lived and the kind of perspectives they have developed has surely increased recently, and with it the phrases as "it's up to him."<sup>26</sup> There are many certainly more than merely "traditional" and "modern" the term "Navajo" is unavoidable, it should be a monolithic analysis is simply wrong. This is point made by Mary Shepardson: Navajos are more goals and differ over how to achieve them. The be over means, not ends.<sup>27</sup> A final matter is the Nation. Given its enormity, and the emphases of studies, many important chroniclers of the Navajo seen a more restricted area within which they covations and cultivate the good will of potential generalizations about all Navajos do not always these limited analyses.<sup>28</sup> There are still important different areas of the Nation.

Navajo personal ties with an area are based on relationships with people and on traditional individual relationship with the land, and to a broad forces of Nature, forms a basic part of the sea a focal point in Navajo life. What the Navajos land and how they have chosen to utilize its various fundamental impact on the development of the Nav



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 a focal point in Navajo life. What the Navajos have done with their  
 land and how they have chosen to utilize its varied resources has had a  
 fundamental impact on the development of the Navajo Nation.<sup>29</sup> Thus,

after an initial examination of earlier Navajo history, one must turn to an evaluation of the process of land use by Diné. By land use, here, is meant not merely what is grown or raised (or not grown or not raised) but how the land is perceived.<sup>30</sup> This attitude, land ethic if you will,<sup>31</sup> may be readily scrutinized during two distinct stages.

The first includes the evolution of traditional Navajo land usage and the growing complications with this usage which eventually disrupted established economic and cultural patterns. These patterns revolved around both the raising of livestock and the growing of agricultural crops whose utilization contributed to economic reciprocity and self-sufficiency, and to harmony with the universe.<sup>32</sup> For a time, the continued growth of the Navajo population coincided with the additions made to the Navajo land base. Yet the increase of Navajo demands upon the land, marked especially by larger numbers of sheep, did not cease with the essential establishment of reservation boundaries. This period culminated in the economic and cultural disruption of the stock reduction era<sup>33</sup> and created a permanent issue: what portion of The People could continue with the sheep and goat raising life of old?<sup>34</sup>

The discovery of valuable mineral deposits on Navajo land added a pivotal element to the debate over land utilization. Outside pressure quickly intensified for "development" of these resources. This changed pattern of circumstances led to a change of activities, and eventually to an "increased rate of non-reciprocal allocations."<sup>35</sup>

In recent years, varied approaches to economic development have been attempted. The key question is to what extent can Navajos control use of their considerable resources for their own benefit? Black Mesa

coal strip mining and the Four Corners power plant blessings which "development" may bring. Spurred to alleviate massive unemployment and by the specter of making coal resources obsolete, the Navajos made decisions which, from today's perspective, seem to many to be an economic standpoint. Navajo-controlled industries fared better,<sup>36</sup> but in some instances have been unsuccessful.<sup>37</sup>

Royalties from mineral exploitation in the 1940s went to the tribal treasury and thereby changed the power and structure of tribal government. The Navajo Tribal Council took over, and the Council chairman became a Navajo national leader. Representatives are often caught between local needs and national priorities, but there has been a seemingly irreversible trend to Window Rock. Not all Navajos are pleased by these attempts. Some have been made to divert revenue sharing (check or) level. But the tribal government still suffers from hopelessness, factionalism or to financial incapacity. The imposed structure has become incorporated to a great extent into Navajo life. Through it the Navajos have sought and must maintain self-sufficiency and political sovereignty.<sup>38</sup>

A generally neglected area of inquiry is the role of lawyers, and legal assistance have played in promoting self-sufficiency and sovereignty. The formal emphasis coincides with the hiring of The People's first attorney, Littell, after the second World War. Henry Dobyns'

tion of earlier Navajo history, one must turn to the process of land use by Diné. By land use, we mean what is grown or raised (or not grown or not raised) as it is perceived.<sup>30</sup> This attitude, land ethic if you will, is scrutinized during two distinct stages. The first is the evolution of traditional Navajo land usage and its relations with this usage which eventually disrupted economic and cultural patterns. These patterns included the raising of livestock and the growing of agriculture. The evolution of agriculture and the growing of agriculture contributed to economic reciprocity and harmony with the universe.<sup>32</sup> For a time, the Navajo population coincided with the available land base. Yet the increase of Navajo demands, especially by larger numbers of sheep, did not lead to the establishment of reservation boundaries. This led to economic and cultural disruption of the stock raising and a permanent issue: what portion of The Navajo land should be used for the sheep and goat raising life of old?<sup>34</sup> The discovery of valuable mineral deposits on Navajo land added a new dimension to the debate over land utilization. Outside pressure for "development" of these resources. This changed the Navajo way of life, led to a change of activities, and eventually to non-reciprocal allocations.<sup>35</sup> Various approaches to economic development have been tried. The question is to what extent can Navajos control their own resources for their own benefit? Black Mesa

coal strip mining and the Four Corners power plant illustrate the mixed blessings which "development" may bring. Spurred by the pressing need to alleviate massive unemployment and by the specter of nuclear power making coal resources obsolete, the Navajos made leasing agreements which, from today's perspective, "seem to many to be questionable from an economic standpoint. Navajo-controlled industries have not always fared better,<sup>36</sup> but in some instances have been unqualified successes.<sup>37</sup>

Royalties from mineral exploitation in the 1950's swelled the tribal treasury and thereby changed the power and function of Navajo tribal government. The Navajo Tribal Council took on new standing and the Council chairman became a Navajo national leader. Council representatives are often caught between local needs and Navajo national priorities, but there has been a seemingly irreversible flow of power to Window Rock. Not all Navajos are pleased by this trend; recent attempts have been made to divert revenue sharing funds to the local (chapter) level. But the tribal government still appears not subject to hopeless factionalism or to financial incapacity. Its foreign, imposed structure has become incorporated to a great extent into Navajo life. Through it the Navajos have sought and must seek economic self-sufficiency and political sovereignty.<sup>38</sup>

A generally neglected area of inquiry is the role which law, lawyers, and legal assistance have played in promoting that self-sufficiency and sovereignty. The formal emphasis on Navajo nationalism coincides with the hiring of The People's first attorney, Norman Littell, after the second World War. Henry Dobyns' view of the

positive effects of tribal attorney actions is certainly applicable to the close, if not always cordial, relationship between the tribal government and its employed counsel.<sup>39</sup> The impact of attorneys on Navajo life has not, however, been limited to the influence of the tribal attorney's office. Dinébeilna Nahiilna Be Agaditaha ("attorneys who contribute to the economic revitalization of the people"), the legal services program in the Navajo Nation, has been most important in its short history because of its promotion of sovereignty (as in the recent McClanahan case),<sup>40</sup> economic alternatives (as in the Pinon cooperative),<sup>41</sup> and individual rights (especially in consumer protection). In its various efforts, DNA has not always won favor with the Navajo national government, particularly during the administration of Raymond Nakai. By representing individual Navajos, it has often represented them against the tribe itself; in so doing, it has revealed an intriguing problem in the growth of Navajo nationalism: the relationship between Navajo national growth and individual Navajo well-being.

Perhaps nowhere is the growth of Navajo nationalism more apparent and nowhere has it been more strongly emphasized than in the area of formal education. This traditional testing ground of Navajo and Anglo values and goals has been the source of conflict ever since the Treaty of 1868 provided for the establishment of a school class and a teacher for every thirty Navajo children. Both the Bureau of Indian Affairs and the Navajos over time have had various views about the form and substance of schooling. Beginning in the mid-1960's with the creation of community-controlled schools<sup>42</sup> in several isolated locales, Navajos have started to participate at new levels of responsibility for the

education of their children. The recent creation of a separate division of education is a logical outgrowth from the experience at these pioneering institutions; former Rough School principal Dillon Platero, for example, and his associates are now moving to bring the power of this national department, and not unexpecting some resistance.<sup>43</sup> As they do so, they are raising fundamental questions about the nature of education for Navajo children.

Surely education is one potential means for maintaining harmony within one's self and with others; it would contribute toward it rather than entirely disharmony is primarily the function of what we call religion--an inadequate term for the complex system of Navajos. Medicine, as one understands the term within Navajo religion. And in this area, there are efforts to develop cooperation between traditional Anglo medical practices. While still in its infancy, it can be seen here a final example of Navajo continuing to share analysis between Navajo singer and Anglo medical facilities, and expanding Navajo medical care for The People, a Health Authority, without a denial of the valid traditional ways.<sup>44</sup>

The Navajos thus persist in their determination that Navajo nationalism is really the latest scene in

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 traditional ways.<sup>44</sup>

The Navajos thus persist in their determination to remain Navajo.  
 Navajo nationalism is really the latest scene in an ongoing drama in

which The People assert their uniqueness. A resolution passed in 1969 by the Navajo Tribal Council's Advisory Committee calls for the use of the term "Navajo Nation." The concluding portion reads:

The Deneh--the Navajo People existed as a distinct political, cultural, and ethnic group long before the establishment of the States of Arizona, Colorado, New Mexico, and Utah, and

The Government of the United States of America recognized this fact and entered into treaties with the sovereign Navajo Tribe, and down through the years both the Congress of the United States and the Supreme Court of the United States have recognized the inherent right of the Navajo People to govern themselves, and

When the geographical area occupied by the Navajo People was incorporated into the union of states of the United States of America, no one asked the Navajo People if they wished to be so included, and It is becoming increasingly difficult for the Navajo People to retain their identity and independence, and

It appears essential to the best interests of the Navajo People that a clear statement be made to remind Navajos and non-Navajos alike that both the Navajo People and Navajo lands are, in fact, separate and distinct.<sup>45</sup>

This history, then, is a study of the effort to maintain Navajo separation and distinction: an assertion which has meant the creation of the Navajo Nation.

## FOOTNOTES

1. D'Arcy McNickle notes the same element of "incaptured by the popular 1915 statue, "The End McNickle, Native American Tribalism, p. 3.
2. Diné, meaning literally "The People," is what themselves. It is a common term used by Athap thus not really satisfactory for solitary uti is a term used by Navajos for themselves when and of course is the phrase used by non-Navajo Navajo Nationalism: Diné Continuity Within C title of the author's dissertation now being o History Department, the University of Wisconsin author first encountered the concept of contir through the work of David Warren, an advisory Center for the History of the American Indian, Library. See his "Cultural Studies in Indian 1972)," an unpublished position paper for Rese Studies, Development Section, Institute of Ame Santa Fe. Director of the Center for the Hist Indian, D'Arcy McNickle has also influenced my Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals o York, 1973) called the author's attention to t Barth. Frederik Barth, "On the Study of Socia Anthropologist, 69, No. 6 (1967), rpt. as "Stu in The Meaning of Culture, ed. Morris Freilich

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## FOOTNOTES

1. D'Arcy McNickle notes the same element of "inevitable doom" captured by the popular 1915 statue, "The End of the Trail." McNickle, Native American Tribalism, p. 3.
2. Diné, meaning literally "The People," is what Navajos call themselves. It is a common term used by Athabaskan peoples and is thus not really satisfactory for solitary utilization. "Navajo" is a term used by Navajos for themselves when English is spoken, and of course is the phrase used by non-Navajos. "The Rise of Navajo Nationalism: Diné Continuity Within Change" is as well the title of the author's dissertation now being completed for the History Department, the University of Wisconsin-Madison. The author first encountered the concept of continuity within change through the work of David Warren, an advisory board member of the Center for the History of the American Indian, the Newberry Library. See his "Cultural Studies in Indian Education (September, 1972)," an unpublished position paper for Research and Cultural Studies, Development Section, Institute of American Indian Art, Santa Fe. Director of the Center for the History of the American Indian, D'Arcy McNickle has also influenced my thinking. His Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals and Renewals (New York, 1973) called the author's attention to the work of Frederik Barth. Frederik Barth, "On the Study of Social Change," American Anthropologist, 69, No. 6 (1967), rpt. as "Studying Social Change" in The Meaning of Culture, ed. Morris Freilich (Lexington,

- Massachusetts, 1972), pp. 239-52, pays particular attention to institutionalization as the key phase of change. See Jane Christian, "The Navajo: A People in Transition," Southwestern Studies, 2, Nos. 2-3 (Fall, 1964; Winter, 1965). Christian's work introduced the author to the problem of Navajo nationalism and many of the ideas brought forth in this essay have clearly been influenced by her perceptive analysis. The author's interest in Navajo history began with the stories told him by his mother's father, a principal in Indian Service schools in the Navajo area during the 1930's and early 1940's. The author taught at Navajo Community College from September, 1969, to June, 1972, and then returned to the University of Wisconsin to complete graduate work.
3. "Navaho" has been the spelling preferred by many anthropologists, but "Navajo" is the official spelling adopted by the Tribe.
  4. Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (New York, 1962), pp. 122-23.
  5. Evon Vogt, "The Navaho," in Perspectives in Indian Culture Change, ed. Edward Spicer (Chicago, 1961), pp. 278-336.
  6. Vogt contends that the "structural framework" of Navajo life is maintained by putting borrowed elements into earlier patterns of sociopolitical organization, religion, transportation, dress, economy and technology, and language. Ibid., pp. 327-29.
  7. Kluckhohn and Leighton, The Navaho, p. 123.
  8. "Anglo" is the term generally employed in the southwest for White.
  9. Christian, "The Navajo," p. 8.
  10. Ibid., p. 57.
  11. Richard Goodwin, "The American Condition: January 28, 1974, p. 41.
  12. These mineral resources are primarily two utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to be
  13. See Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, "Literacy: The Case of the Navajo," University of New Mexico Study Progress Report No. 8 (March, 1971)
  14. Robert W. Young, "A Sketch of the Navajo," Yearbook (Window Rock, Arizona, 1961), 8,
  15. The most commonly employed orthography was developed decades ago by Robert W. Young and William Dr. Morgan tried his best to instruct the students in the Navajo language at Navajo Community College.
  16. See Penny Murphy, "A Brief History of Navajo Reading," Analytical Bibliography of Navajo Reading, ed. Spolsky, Agnes Holm, and Penny Murphy (Window Rock, Arizona, 1972). See as well Wayne S. Holm, "Some Aspects of Navajo Literacy," Diss. University of New Mexico, 1972; Holm, "The Navajo Community School of Rock Point, Arizona."
  17. The main impact has been in the community school at Rock Point, Ramah Navajo High School, Rock Point, and at Navajo Community College. The Navajo Education Association, Dine' Bi'Olta Association, has lately taken an active role in promoting Navajo literacy. See Holm, "Some



1972), pp. 239-52, pays particular attention to transition as the key phase of change. See Jane Christian, "Navajo: A People in Transition," Southwestern Anthropologist 2-3 (Fall, 1964; Winter, 1965). Christian's work is the author to the problem of Navajo nationalism and the solutions brought forth in this essay have clearly been the result of perceptive analysis. The author's interest in the subject began with the stories told him by his mother's father, who served as a principal in Indian Service schools in the Navajo area from the late 1930's and early 1940's. The author taught at Navajo Community College from September, 1969, to June, 1972, and then returned to the University of Wisconsin to complete graduate work. The author's interest in the spelling preferred by many anthropologists, and the official spelling adopted by the Tribe, is discussed by Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (New York, 1962), pp. 123-124. Leighton, "Navaho," in Perspectives in Indian Culture Change, ed. by J. H. Steward (Chicago, 1961), pp. 278-336. The author's interest in the "structural framework" of Navajo life is discussed in the author's book, Navajo, pp. 123-124. The author's interest in the organization, religion, transportation, dress, technology, and language. Ibid., pp. 327-29. Leighton, The Navaho, p. 123. The term generally employed in the southwest for White Mountain Navajo, p. 8.

11. Richard Goodwin, "The American Condition: II," The New Yorker, January 28, 1974, p. 41.
12. These mineral resources are primarily twentieth century in their utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent southwestern population growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to be sought elsewhere.
13. See Bernard Spolsky and Wayne Holm, "Literacy in the Vernacular: The Case of the Navajo," University of New Mexico Navajo Reading Study Progress Report No. 8 (March, 1971), p. 8.
14. Robert W. Young, "A Sketch of the Navajo Language," Navajo Yearbook (Window Rock, Arizona, 1961), 8, pp. 430-510.
15. The most commonly employed orthography was developed over three decades ago by Robert W. Young and William Morgan (Navajo). Dr. Morgan tried his best to instruct the author in the Navajo language at Navajo Community College.
16. See Penny Murphy, "A Brief History of Navajo Literary," in Analytical Bibliography of Navajo Reading Materials, ed. Bernard Spolsky, Agnes Holm, and Penny Murphy (Washington, 1970), pp. 4-25. See as well Wayne S. Holm, "Some Aspects of Navajo Orthography," Diss. University of New Mexico, 1972; Holm is the principal at the community school of Rock Point, Arizona.
17. The main impact has been in the community schools, such as Rough Rock, Ramah Navajo High School, Rock Point, and Borrego Pass, and at Navajo Community College. The Navajo Education Association, Diné Bi'Olta Association, has lately taken an active role in promoting Navajo literacy. See Holm, "Some Aspects," pp. 16-17.

18. More recently, there have been some important studies, including David Aberle, "A Plan for Navajo Economic Development," in Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities (Washington, 1969), 1, pp. 223-76. Adams' Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Trader in a Modern Navaho Community (Washington, 1963) remains useful.
19. See John Adair and Sol Worth, Through Navajo Eyes (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972).
20. Dennis Tedlock, "Learning to Listen: Oral History as Poetry," unpublished paper presented at the session, "Answers Without Questions: An Evaluation and Critique of Oral History," at the 1973 meeting of the Organization of American Historians.
21. This is the English translation provided by Milton Bluehouse, Navajo Studies instructor at Navajo Community College, during a talk in Navajo by Descheeny Nez Tracy at a Navajo Community College in-service session, May, 1971.
22. Dillon Platero, Navajo, founded the newspaper and Marshall Tome, Navajo, served as editor for a period of time. But Chester MacRorie, the current editor, and previous editor Dick Hardwick, are Anglo; and they alone have held the position for the past eight years.
23. Broderick Johnson, an Anglo, has been director of the Navajo Community College Press, and the College's first president, Robert Roessel, perhaps its strongest advocate.
24. Navajo Community College Press books emphasize they are "by Navajos, for Navajos, about Navajos."
25. William Adams, "Navajo Social Organization," Anthropologist, 73, No. 1, p. 273.
26. Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond considered Navajo Mountain Community "It's Up to Him: A Social Organization." Shepardson and Hammond, Community (Berkeley, 1970), p. 241.
27. Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 96, 65, No. 3.
28. The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhohn over the years by dozens of others are the primary.
29. See Christian, "The Navajo," pp. 6-8.
30. This discussion of Navajo land usage has been done by Bahe Billy, "Population, Pollution, and Land Use by Navajos" (unpublished paper, n.d.).
31. See Scott Momaday, "An American Land Ethic," Journal of American Studies (New York, 1970).
32. Billy notes the value shared by older Navajos: "The old Navajos are in contention." Billy, "Population," p. 12.
33. The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their herd size in the interest of soil conservation succeeded in the 1930s. Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a permit for the Navajo goat. See Edward Spicer, "Sheepmen and Technicians," Problems in Technological Change, ed. Edward Spicer (Berkeley, 1952), pp. 185-207.
34. James F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Modes of Acculturation of the Rate of Acculturation among the Pinon Navajo."

There have been some important studies, including "An Approach for Navajo Economic Development," in Toward Economic Development for Native American Communities (Washington, D.C., 1963). Adams' Shonto: A Study of the Role of the Navajo Community (Washington, 1963) remains the most important. SoI Worth, Through Navajo Eyes (Bloomington, 1963) "Learning to Listen: Oral History as Poetry," presented at the session, "Answers Without Questions and Critique of Oral History," at the meeting of the Organization of American Historians. A translation provided by Milton Bluehouse, professor at Navajo Community College, during a session presided by Tracy at a Navajo Community session, May, 1971. The Navajo, founded the newspaper and Marshall Tome, editor for a period of time. But Chester Tompkins, former editor, and previous editor Dick Hardwick, and others have held the position for the past several years. An Anglo, has been director of the Navajo Community College Press, and the College's first president, Robert Tompkins, is its strongest advocate. The Navajo Community College Press books emphasize they are "by Navajos," about Navajos."

25. William Adams, "Navajo Social Organization," American Anthropologist, 73, No. 1, p. 273.
26. Mary Shepardson and Blodwen Hammond considered calling their The Navajo Mountain Community "It's Up to Him: A Study in Navajo Social Organization." Shepardson and Hammond, Navajo Mountain Community (Berkeley, 1970), p. 241.
27. Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, American Anthropological Association, Memoir No. 96, 65, No. 3, Pt. 2 (1963).
28. The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhohn and carried out over the years by dozens of others are the prime example.
29. See Christian, "The Navajo," pp. 6-8.
30. This discussion of Navajo land usage has been aided by a reading of Bahe Billy, "Population, Pollution, and Land Use Among the Navajos" (unpublished paper, n.d.).
31. See Scott Momaday, "An American Land Ethic," Eco-tactics (New York, 1970).
32. Billy notes the value shared by older Navajos: "land should never be in contention." Billy, "Population," p. 12.
33. The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their livestock holdings in the interest of soil conservation succeeded only in making Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a perpetual Navajo scapegoat. See Edward Spicer, "Sheepmen and Technicians," in Human Problems in Technological Change, ed. Edward Spicer (New York, 1952), pp. 185-207.
34. James F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Models as a Determinant of the Rate of Acculturation among the Pinon Navajo," Kroeber

- Anthropological Society Papers, No. 29 (Fall, 1963), rpt. in Native Americans Today, ed. Howard M. Bahr, Bruce A. Chadwick, and Robert C. Day (New York, 1972), pp. 275-90.
35. Barth, "Studying Social Change," pp. 249-51.
36. As Aberle comments, the Navajo Tribal Utility Authority, while an important accomplishment and a revenue producer for the Tribe, is in the odd position of having to buy the electricity produced by coal reserves leased to outside companies. Aberle, "A Plan," p. 255.
37. Navajo Forest Products Industries is the best example.
38. The most thorough analyses of Navajo tribal government are Robert W. Young, "The Origin and Development of Navajo Tribal Government," in Young, Navajo Yearbook, 8, pp. 371-411; and Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government.
39. Henry Dobyns, "Therapeutic Experience of Responsible Democracy," in The American Indian Today, ed. Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie (Baltimore, 1968), pp. 268-94.
40. The March 27, 1973, United States Supreme Court decision held that Arizona could not collect state income tax from Indians working and living on the Navajo Nation.
41. In addition to aiding the establishment of the Pinon co-operative, DNA brought a class action suit against the operators of the Pinon trading post. The suit was settled eventually out of court.
42. The degree of control actually practiced has been a highly controversial issue, particularly at Rough Rock. At the very

least, however, a greater degree of community control has been achieved.

43. The Navajo Division of Education has sought to have the O'Malley funds slated for Navajo schools. The Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Director Tom Gorman attempted to block such a takeover. See "Gorman, Area Director," Navajo Times, 16, No. 13 (April 1972).
44. Created by a June, 1972, resolution of the Navajo Tribal Council, the Navajo Health Authority is now directed by Dr. MacKenzie, the only Navajo M.D. It has as one of its objectives the goal of establishing an American Indian health school. At the same time, the health authority has supported such as Carl Gorman in the area of Native American art. Gorman, a distinguished artist, reaffirmed the value of traditional Navajo medical practices in a recent article in the Times.
45. Navajo Tribal Code (Orford, New Hampshire: Navajo Tribal Council, Chapter 5, p. 1).

Society Papers, No. 29 (Fall, 1963), rpt. in  
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 Times.
45. Navajo Tribal Code (Orford, New Hampshire, 1970), Title 1,  
 Chapter 5, p. 7.

URBANIZATION, PEOPLEHOOD AND MODES OF IDENTITY:

NATIVE AMERICANS IN CITIES

by

James H. Stewart  
St. Olaf College  
Northfield, Minnesota

The urban migration of Native Americans from rural areas has been an unnoticed process until very recently. The presence of Native Americans in cities is not generally noticed, and we are not aware of a new, or perhaps a renewed, vibrancy in their culture, building and, more recently, power movements. The migration of Native Americans, though at best a mixed blessing in many situations, has been gaining increased attention from social scientists, lawyers, social leaders, municipal policy makers, and others. Evidence of the academic interest is found in two recent books (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day, 1972, and Waddell and Waddell, 1972).

The problem with much of the literature is that it does not show how poorly Native Americans adjust or adapt to urban culture. There are few statistical accounts of a people in trouble. The concepts of assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a positive thing in a sociological sense.

We do not have sufficient knowledge about how Native Americans live in the cities, their primary and secondary structures, their values and peer groups, their value and interest orientations, and their relationships to the broader society, especially to the state and the functions of the outside world. Since we have very few studies of urban Indians of the quality of Gans, Littlejohn, and others, our analysis and interpretation is correspondingly tentative. It is meant as a criticism but rather points to the methodological difficulties in studying Native Americans in an urban setting. It states: "It's hard to find them, they don't stay in one place."

The urban migration of Native Americans from reservations and rural areas has been an unnoticed process until very recently. While the presence of Native Americans in cities is not new, we are becoming aware of a new, or perhaps a renewed, vibrancy in terms of people building and, more recently, power movements. The urbanization of Native Americans, though at best a mixed blessing under current conditions, has been gaining increased attention from such diverse groups as lawyers, social leaders, municipal policy makers, and social scientists. Evidence of the academic interest is found in two recent collections (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day, 1972, and Waddell and Watson, 1971).<sup>1</sup>

The problem with much of the literature is that it deals with how poorly Native Americans adjust or adapt to urban culture. Thus, we have statistical accounts of a people in trouble. Acculturation and assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Furthermore, upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a value in the sociological sense.

We do not have sufficient knowledge about how Native Americans live in the cities, their primary and secondary structures such as kin and peer groups, their value and interest orientations. We know little about their relationships to the broader society, especially the caretaker functions of the outside world. Since we have no ethnographic studies of urban Indians of the quality of Gans, Liebow or Suttles, our analysis and interpretation is correspondingly weak. This is not meant as a criticism but rather points to the methodological difficulties in studying Native Americans in an urban setting. As Tax states: "It's hard to find them, they don't stay long enough to study

PEOPLEHOOD AND MODES OF IDENTITY:  
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by

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anyway . . ."<sup>2</sup> One reason they are hard to find in some urban areas is due to the stated purpose of the Bureau's Employment Assistance Program, namely, to disperse the Native Americans among the general population to encourage assimilation.

What is meant by Urban Indians? Ecologically it means they dwell in the city, but even here many are mobile, moving back and forth to home folk. But they have not embraced Urbanism or urban culture as described by Wirth.<sup>3</sup> They are not competitive, money oriented, adherents to predictable routines, and hierarchically structured. Their salient relationships are not secondary, impersonal, or segmental. They do not value associations with more people with less intimate knowledge nor do they value freedom from personal and emotional control of intimate groups. But if transitoriness is characteristic of urban culture, and Gans thinks it is,<sup>4</sup> then urban culture has taken on the characteristic of the nomadic life of the Native American with one difference. The typical urbanite moves from place to place for instrumental purposes such as a better job, education, place to live. Though the urban Indians have this concern, they do not move so much from place to place as back and forth. Their movements are more expressive, seeking a change of scenery, freedom to be with kin and friends, to go to celebrations and pow-wows. Being person oriented rather than object oriented, Native Americans find fulfillment, status, identity with their kinship's peer group relationships. These relationships take on a saliency and exclusiveness which provides a strong structural base for cultural persistence. This structural base has been strengthened in urban areas by the use of Pan-Indianness. This movement and

ideology offers a secondary support to person. Instead of destroying Indianness, urbanism as heightened the awareness of these people's identity. I think of Native Americans within the framework of a community based on kinship structures.

The adaptation to urban culture and especially its values from their perspective has been in the framework. However, many studies described the terms, and the result is an analysis of "poor" economic base of the local community and tribe has been taken away or controlled by the federal government. Life and satisfactions of Native Americans is bonded to the value of community lands. From adjustment has been difficult. These difficulties for the Native Americans in contrast to white society is achievement as such in increased income, education, whatever progress and achievement has been made give strain on community ties.

Achievement in urban society is based on economic, or social--ideology that emphasizes individualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic utility, not persons. Persons can be replaced but roles. Indians have adapted to these forces of mass socialization and in the city by relying on their structural expressive values of kin and peer group ties. But full in not assimilating the former values. But



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ideology offers a secondary support to personal and social identity.  
 Instead of destroying Indianness, urbanism as a contrast factor has  
 heightened the awareness of these people's identity. Thus we must  
 think of Native Americans within the framework of a very local  
 community based on kinship structures.

The adaptation to urban culture and especially the job system and  
 its values from their perspective has been in terms of this community  
 framework. However, many studies described this adjustment in other  
 terms, and the result is an analysis of "poor adjustment." The eco-  
 nomic base of the local community and tribe has been either largely  
 taken away or controlled by the federal government. Yet the community  
 life and satisfactions of Native Americans is still intrinsically  
 bonded to the value of community lands. From this point of view,  
 adjustment has been difficult. These difficulties are not measured by  
 the Native Americans in contrast to white society by the degree of  
 achievement as such in increased income, education, and so forth. But  
 whatever progress and achievement has been made is viewed as an expen-  
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Achievement in urban society is based on corporate--be it political,  
 economic, or social--ideology that emphasizes power inequality, indi-  
 vidualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic utility. Roles are important,  
 not persons. Persons can be replaced but roles cannot. Native Ameri-  
 cans have adapted to these forces of mass society both on the reserva-  
 tion and in the city by relying on their structural strengths--the  
 expressive values of kin and peer group ties. They have been success-  
 ful in not assimilating the former values. But they have not been

successful in the power game. They have not been allowed to regain their lands nor some functional alternative such as community development corporations in order to pursue their community life within an economic structure conducive to their ways. The problem of Native American maintenance and survival is not the unwillingness to take on the technological culture and advancements in the areas of jobs, education, health and so forth, but the unwillingness of white America to allow and assist the Native Americans to utilize these advancements for supporting their own identity. In sum, Native Americans have been singularly successful despite tremendous outside pressures in maintaining their sense of peoplehood, but have not been able to sufficiently pluralize the economic base for it to be conducive to self determination and community control.

The purpose of this paper is primarily to review the literature on urbanization and urban living of Native Americans for the purpose of delineating some of the disagreements and contradictory points of view about the nature of adjustment and acculturation. Perhaps one can resolve some of the confusion through a consideration of a model of adaptation and identity based on Gordon's concept of structural pluralism,<sup>5</sup> and consideration of the following questions: What are the push and pull factors accounting for urban migration? Who comes? Who stays? Who leaves? What happens to those who homestead in urban areas? What is meant by assimilation, acculturation, mobility, and adjustment? What are the major planes or levels of adjustment? What correlates are associated with these adjustments? What theoretical contributions hopefully will aid in further research? In particular,

the author intends to present a fourfold typology maintaining identity and discuss factors accounting for different modes. Because the typology is simplistic as are the author has tried to refine it by developing a streamlining model.

#### Another Trail

Native Americans began to migrate to cities in large numbers during World War II seeking job opportunities in various parts of the country. The urbanization process has accelerated since 1950. Though population statistics on urban Indian migration are not reliable, White and Chadwick state that in 1950 only 10 percent of Native Americans lived in urban centers and projected that 60 percent will have moved to urban centers by 1970.<sup>6</sup> There is no reliable data on how many return to reservations, but one can estimate a very high return. A great many, however, have chosen reservation and the city.<sup>7</sup>

The push and pull factors accounting for rapid migration are varied. Price, in a study of Indians in Los Angeles, found the primary incentive for migration to be an economic one: higher wages, better living conditions.<sup>8</sup> Garbarino, in discussing the job opportunities from the industrial boom of World War II as largely influential for long term stays in cities, in a study of the Navajo in Denver emphasizes the "push" factors of reservation noting that many Indians leave the reservation because they expect better living conditions as much as the

game. They have not been allowed to regain functional alternative such as community development to pursue their community life within an conducive to their ways. The problem of Native survival is not the unwillingness to take on and advancements in the areas of jobs, education, but the unwillingness of white America to Native Americans to utilize these advancements for identity. In sum, Native Americans have been since tremendous outside pressures in maintaining good, but have not been able to sufficiently plus for it to be conducive to self determination

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the author intends to present a fourfold typology of modes for maintaining identity and discuss factors accounting for different modes. Because the typology is simplistic as are all Ideal Types, the author has tried to refine it by developing a strategic culturalism model.

#### Another Trail

Native Americans began to migrate to cities in greater numbers during World War II seeking job opportunities in war production industries. The urbanization process has accelerated dramatically since 1950. Though population statistics on urban Indians are not completely reliable, White and Chadwick state that in 1950 only 16 percent of the Native Americans lived in urban centers and project that close to 50 percent will have moved to urban centers by 1970.<sup>6</sup> Researchers have no reliable data on how many return to reservations, but most studies estimate a very high return. A great many, however, fluctuate between reservation and the city.<sup>7</sup>

The push and pull factors accounting for rapid migration are many and varied. Price, in a study of Indians in Los Angeles, found the primary incentive for migration to be an economic one: better jobs, higher wages, better living conditions.<sup>8</sup> Garbarino supports this citing the job opportunities from the industrial build-up during World War II as largely influential for long term stays in Chicago.<sup>9</sup> Weppner's study of the Navajo in Denver emphasizes the "push" factors of the reservation noting that many Indians leave the reservation not because they expect better living conditions as much as the reservation does

not provide economic opportunities.<sup>10</sup> Other "push" factors such as reservation poverty, public health service, housing, education have been well described by Cahn.<sup>11</sup>

Hodge<sup>12</sup> presents a rural-urban migration model based on his study of the Navajos in Albuquerque. Here the family is used as the framework for comparing factors which promote or retard migration. The push and pull factors of urbanization are similar to the ones cited above. What is of interest in the push and pull factors back to the reservation? These factors are summarized under the following headings:

(1) forces that pull individuals back to the reservation from the cities--chance to use skills acquired in cities, family ties and more relaxed atmosphere, inability to make a satisfactory living, language barriers, and unfulfilled obligations to tribesmen; and (2) forces that push individuals toward the reservation--unsatisfied job aspirations, lack of satisfying interpersonal urban relations, general dissatisfaction with urban life, and Navajo's spouse. The return to the reservation will be discussed more fully later on. Since 1950 the most important facilitating condition for stimulating urbanization of Native Americans has been the BIA's Employment Assistance Program.<sup>13</sup> In sum the Native American comes to the city primarily for job opportunities. Many leave because of dissatisfactions with jobs and personal relations. Many are trapped and stay because conditions on the reservations are worse. Ablon states that Indians who remain in the San Francisco Bay area do so involuntarily because there are no job opportunities on the reservation.<sup>14</sup>

Who migrates? Those who come to urban areas are years old, better educated, had some prior income through either military experience or work sites. However, ever, makes a distinction between those who migrate on their own or through the Employment Assistance Program). Relocates tend to be younger and speak their native language. This group who stay on the reservation but stay, as Ablon states, without job opportunities.

The most frequently cited factor explaining return to reservation is the lack of economic success after migration to city. Sorokin found that those with no economic resources were likely to return if they were over forty, had less than high school, and had no previous occupational experience. Sorokin reports Sorkin's and Ablon's findings that economic factors on arrival are the crucial factors in returning. Sorkin in Denver found that post-migration experiences are more important than pre-migration experiences in determining the likelihood of stay. Those most likely to return were those (1) who had a long time to get a job, (2) who received wages less than \$1000, (3) who were "labelled" detrimentally by an employer. Sorokin says that there aren't other important factors which would return to reservation life, such as congenial family.

It would be a mistake to view the organization of the reservation as a linear development as if the Native American came to the city permanently and become assimilated or retreated.

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(1) forces that pull individuals back to the reservation from the skills acquired in cities, family ties and more inability to make a satisfactory living, language unmet obligations to tribesmen; and (2) forces that ward the reservation--unsatisfied job aspirations, interpersonal urban relations, general dissatisfaction, and Navajo's spouse. The return to the reservation is discussed more fully later on. Since 1950 the most important condition for stimulating urbanization of Native Americans is the BIA's Employment Assistance Program.<sup>13</sup> In sum, individuals come to the city primarily for job opportunities. Many return because of dissatisfactions with jobs and personal relationships. Many have stayed on the reservation because they have stayed and stay because conditions on the reservation are better. Ablon states that Indians who remain in the San Juan area do so involuntarily because there are no job opportunities on the reservation.<sup>14</sup>

Who migrates? Those who come to urban areas tend to be under 35 years old, better educated, had some prior interaction with whites through either military experience or work situations.<sup>15</sup> Price, however, makes a distinction between those who migrate to urban centers on their own or through the Employment Assistance Program (formerly Relocation Program). Relocates tend to be younger, have lower incomes, and speak their native language. This group would prefer to return to the reservation but stay, as Ablon states, unwillingly because of the lack of job opportunities.

The most frequently cited factor explaining the return to the reservation is the lack of economic success after migrating to the city. Sorokin found that those with no economic success were most likely to return if they were over forty, had less than four years of school, and had no previous occupational experience.<sup>16</sup> Weppner supports Sorokin's and Ablon's findings that economic problems after migration are the crucial factors in returning. His study of the Navajos in Denver found that post-migration experiences were more critical than pre-migration experiences in determining the migrant's decision to stay. Those most likely to return were those (1) who had to wait a long time to get a job, (2) who received wages lower than expected, and (3) who were "labelled" detrimentally by an employer.<sup>17</sup> This is not to say that there aren't other important factors which influence the return to reservation life, such as congenial family ties.<sup>18</sup>

It would be a mistake to view the organization of Native Americans as a linear development as if the Native Americans either come to the city permanently and become assimilated or retreat back to the

traditional life of the reservation. The literature documents a cyclical migration pattern of many Native Americans. Many migrants arriving in the city and unable to find employment return to the reservation only to find that jobs are scarce and thus return to the city.<sup>19</sup> Graves and Hurt find another reason for this cyclical movement, namely, Indians who go back and forth as seasonal migratory laborers. They characterize this group as more "traditional" than those living on the reservations having strong ties to the reservation in terms of kin and friends and rejecting identification with white society.<sup>20</sup>

One can classify three categories of migrants to the city:

(1) those who become permanent residents, (2) those who stay for a short period but leave permanently, and (3) those who are engaged in cyclical movement between the reservation and the city. Native Americans come to the city for a higher standard of living through better jobs, education, and the like. Yet they have deep commitments to kin and peer relationships which are more available on the reservation. This creates great personal strain and role conflict as breadwinner and kin. Some cope and stay, others leave for a while or permanently. At the present stage of research development, we do not have a systematic analysis of the factors accounting for the urban homesteaders, nomads, and temporaries. It is helpful to distinguish two types of homesteaders, those who are economically mobile and those who are trapped. According to Ablon, pre-migratory experiences, such as level of education, social and economic background, acculturation experiences, made no difference with those who stayed and those who left.<sup>21</sup> Many stay because of early and continued economic success, but others stay

because they are trapped. The reservation does not help. One possible factor that helps explain why the mobile stay is their ability to create functional communities. Communities are composed of kin, quasi-kin, friends, and are shored up by a multitude of Native American organizations by Pan-Indianness. Hurt's classification of rejecting and accepting Indians are helpful formulations in the study of these adaptations.<sup>22</sup>

#### What Happens Once You Get There: Structural and Cultural

The homesteaders who come to urban areas often do so to live close together. For those who come under the BIA's Employment Assistance program, proximity is often because of the Bureau's policy of dispersal. But new arrivals cluster together in local groupings and often in ethnic Indian organizations. Ablon found that Indians who migrated to the San Francisco Bay area have chosen to live primarily with other Indians in both informal and formal settings. Home visitation is most frequent among kin, tribal acquaintances from the reservation. This is due to the contribution to a sense of peoplehood among Native Americans through traditions and values, common rural backgrounds, and the support of tribesmen for mutual aid, and security of ties against an urban environment considered hostile. This supports Ablon's finding although Price notes that the stability is due to length of residence and tribal affiliations.

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 these adaptations.<sup>22</sup>

#### What Happens Once You Get There: Structural and Cultural Adjustments

The homesteaders who come to urban areas on their own power tend  
 to live close together. For those who come under the auspices of the  
 BIA's Employment Assistance program, proximity is more difficult  
 because of the Bureau's policy of dispersal. But given the opportunity,  
 new arrivals cluster together in local groupings and develop particu-  
 laristic Indian organizations. Albon found that Indians who had  
 migrated to the San Francisco Bay area have chosen to associate prima-  
 rily with other Indians in both informal and formal associations.<sup>23</sup>  
 Home visitation is most frequent among kin, tribesmen, and previous  
 acquaintances from the reservation. This is due to factors which con-  
 tribute to a sense of peoplehood among Native Americans such as common  
 traditions and values, common rural backgrounds, obligations among kin  
 and tribesmen for mutual aid, and security of ties and traditions  
 against an urban environment considered hostile. Both Wax and Price  
 support Albon's finding although Price notes that there is variation  
 due to length of residence and tribal affiliations. For instance, the

five civilized tribes usually live outside the city center of Los Angeles and associate less with other Indians.<sup>24</sup> Hurt's analysis of Yankton Indians seems to concur with Price. He finds that the most urban-oriented "selecting" Indians tend to associate with other Indians while Indians that are accepting of white culture--usually long term residents--are less likely to associate with Indians and are heavily involved in formal organizations.<sup>25</sup>

From the above discussion, one can conclude that settlement patterns vary based on the degree of assimilation and length of urban residence. Long term assimilation oriented Native Americans can be properly called urban Indians. They live as individual families in an urban aggregate. These Indians according to Price tend to take their Indianness lightly. On the other end of the continuum, the greater majority of Native Americans maintain a functioning small community. This is not ecologically based but consists of kin, tribesmen, and a few friends. They may or may not be oriented to the middle class, but this is not a salient element. What is important is the congeniality of the group.<sup>26</sup>

One must emphasize the notion of group rather than neighborhood community. Native American ties and identity are formed not by neighborhood proximity nor by class variables, but by kinship, tribal affiliation, race and Pan-Indianness, and peer group relations. A word is in order concerning the structure of the very local community. Native Americans manifest many of the structural characteristics of the lower working class described by Gans.<sup>27</sup> The internal structure of the group revolves around age, sex, and life cycle factors. There is a

fairly strong segregation among these groups. are emphasized in contrast to instrumental ori American stresses his individuality, but its mo found in a group context. Values, beliefs, and on the kin structure but articulated through th influence of the kin based peer group is pervas social anchorage for identity and a buffer aga urban life. In fact, the peer group community salient in urban life than on reservations.

Like immigrants from the old country, Nat urban areas viewed as foreign countries. Inst tity through acculturation and assimilation, mo increased positive sense of identity, both per less of marital or SES status.<sup>29</sup> This process building peoplehood has been noted with other e the peer group structure that carries much of t functions to maintain Indian awareness. It is condition in voluntary segregation. It acts as mechanism exacting a certain behavioral conform retard individual mobility through its emphasis son oriented values, it is capable of successfu mobility. The Mohawks and the five civilized t of this structural pluralism and middle class o revitalization of Native American has raised th people to a higher level of awareness manifesti ideological and political levels.<sup>32</sup>



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fairly strong segregation among these groups. Expressive personal ties  
 are emphasized in contrast to instrumental orientations. The Native  
 American stresses his individuality, but its meaning and expression are  
 found in a group context. Values, beliefs, and life itself are based  
 on the kin structure but articulated through the peer group.<sup>28</sup> The  
 influence of the kin based peer group is pervasive. It provides a  
 social anchorage for identity and a buffer against foreign values of  
 urban life. In fact, the peer group community becomes much more  
 salient in urban life than on reservations.

Like immigrants from the old country, Native Americans come to  
 urban areas viewed as foreign countries. Instead of losing their identi-  
 tity through acculturation and assimilation, most experience an  
 increased positive sense of identity, both personal and social, regard-  
 less of marital or SES status.<sup>29</sup> This process of ethnogenesis or  
 building peoplehood has been noted with other ethnic groups.<sup>30</sup> It is  
 the peer group structure that carries much of this cultural freight and  
 functions to maintain Indian awareness. It is the chief structural  
 condition in voluntary segregation. It acts as a powerful control  
 mechanism exacting a certain behavioral conformity. Although it may  
 retard individual mobility through its emphasis on expressive and per-  
 son oriented values, it is capable of successful adaptation and group  
 mobility. The Mohawks and the five civilized tribes are illustrative  
 of this structural pluralism and middle class orientation.<sup>31</sup> This  
 revitalization of Native American has raised the consciousness of these  
 people to a higher level of awareness manifesting itself on both  
 ideological and political levels.<sup>32</sup>

Once in the city to stay, the homesteader stakes out a life filled with ambiguities, insecurities, and conflict. Most often he suffers the conditions of poverty with other urban lower class, but he differs from other poor in that he belongs to a People. The Native American brings his kin and ethnic life with him with its distinctive value system. The ensuing value conflicts have resulted in problems of cultural identity on one hand, namely, the problems of assimilation and pluralism, and on the other hand the problems of personal, social, and economic adjustments.

#### A Model of Cultural Identity

Our concern in this paper is an examination into the nature of cultural identity, the different modes of identity and their causes. Certainly value conflicts arising out of a meeting of two cultures will disturb the personal and social identity of people embracing the "subordinate" culture.

The homesteader throughout his stay in the city encounters bewildering forces of urbanism. What are these opposing forces? According to Lee, urbanism means greater opportunity for anonymity, mobility, and gives a utilitarian purpose to human associations.<sup>33</sup> Persons are more often cultivated for specific gains and objectives, rather than on an intimate face to face basis.<sup>34</sup> The homesteaders bring a particularistic cultural heritage to this urban world. As mentioned previously, these people tend to stay within their own kinship and friendship circle without developing an expansive network of relationships. As tribal people and kin oriented, they enter a highly

individualistic urban environment. They bring basic values which are to be incompatible to the macro culture which emphasizes these values and beliefs include emphasis and respect for cooperation and generous sharing with members of the community, disinterest in accumulating material possessions for status, private exclusive individualistic ownership, and competitive competition for gain as opposed to sport. In this environment authority is more equalitarian based on the kinship system, and belief in the harmony and order of nature and the environment. Participation has no meaning because identity does not change. Schedules are viewed as constrictive of the spirit. In their emphasis on harmony, they tend to emphasize peace, and a withdrawal from conflicts and unpleasantness which upset their view of order.<sup>35</sup>

What we have here is a people with structural gemeinschaft and pre-industrial cultural orientation who carry on a way of life in a society which is at the other end of the continuum. Human comfort and material well being are compatible with Indian ways, but the competitive nature of the city to reach these goals are not. Normative confusion is operative.

The remainder of this paper will deal with how the structural networks of Native Americans articulate their worlds of urbanism and Indianism and the factors that influence the adjustments and maintenance of different modes

stay, the homesteader stakes out a life filled with priorities, and conflict. Most often he suffers with other urban lower class, but he differs because he belongs to a People. The Native American life with him with its distinctive value systems and conflicts have resulted in problems of cultural identity. Namely, the problems of assimilation and pluralism and the problems of personal, social, and

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Throughout his stay in the city encounters with urbanism. What are these opposing forces? Individualism means greater opportunity for anonymity, but the utilitarian purpose to human associations is not cultivated for specific gains and objectives, but on a face to face basis.<sup>34</sup> The homesteaders bring their cultural heritage to this urban world. As men and women people tend to stay within their own kinship without developing an expansive network of relationships. People and kin oriented, they enter a highly

individualistic urban environment. They bring basic values that tend to be incompatible to the macro culture which emphasizes competition. These values and beliefs include emphasis and respect for the person, cooperation and generous sharing with members of the tribal community, disinterest in accumulating material possessions for the sake of prestige, private exclusive individualistic ownership together with aggressive competition for gain as opposed to sport is foreign, power and authority is more equalitarian based on the kinship autonomy, religious belief in the harmony and order of nature and the spirit; future orientation has no meaning because identity does not change and thus fixed schedules are viewed as constrictive of the spirit; and because of their emphasis on harmony, they tend to emphasize passive acceptance of events and a withdrawal from conflicts and unpleasant disturbances which upset their view of order.<sup>35</sup>

What we have here is a people with structural characteristics of gemeinschaft and pre-industrial cultural orientations attempting to carry on a way of life in a society which is at the other end of the continuum. Human comfort and material well being are of themselves compatible with Indian ways, but the competitive individualistic norms to reach these goals are not. Normative confusion and conflict becomes operative.

The remainder of this paper will deal with how the different structural networks of Native Americans articulate within the cultural worlds of urbanism and Indianism and the factors that may account for the adjustments and maintenance of different modes of identity.

There is a great deal of ambiguity about the meaning and measures of assimilation and acculturation. One finds Gordon's typology helpful in our understanding of these processes.<sup>36</sup> Complete assimilation refers to the total absorption or fusion of cultural behavior and social structural participation of two groups. It includes important sub-processes which are analytically and empirically distinct. Each of these sub-processes may take place in varying degrees or not at all. The most important processes are cultural assimilation or acculturation, structural assimilation, marital assimilation or amalgamation, and identificational assimilation. The obverse processes are cultural, structural, marital, and identificational pluralism.

Our primary interest will be with the acculturation and structural assimilation processes. Acculturation means that in the meeting of two peoples behavioral changes take in either one or both groups. Social relationships in terms of primary ties and intermarriage and group self-identification are variables in the situation. Acculturation does imply a fair amount of secondary intermingling in such institutional settings as school, job market, commercial exchanges, and civic interaction. Cultural patterns and traits that are absorbed or traded include material and technological traits such as dress, use of the automobile, TV, punching a time clock and the like, and non-material complexes such as values, beliefs, language, thought ways, emotional structures and the like.

Acculturation of an ethnic group into the American way of life means essentially the taking on its major value orientations such as competition, individualism, success, efficiency, etc.<sup>37</sup> We consider

these core values as comprising what is considered economic success.<sup>38</sup> People through upward mobility varying degrees in the major values of the core research to determine the variability. There is Native Americans become "White Indians" losing altogether, or Indianness becomes only one of . . . This last point is important to the understanding and modes of identity.

Structural assimilation and pluralism is . . . is widespread interactions by the ethnic group level. Marital and identificational assimilation specific cases of this process. The evidence so far demonstrates that the majority of Native . . . istic in their structural relationships. They kin and close friends. There is a high degree kin structure, as opposed to tribal affiliation Indian identity found in Pan-Indianism. Part of Americans remains primarily instrumental, even larger world of education, work, and commerce. of taking on the values attendant to these inst their saliency remains in the specific spheres. do not bring these values home. Others, like . . . less of the urban culture and remain a people . . .

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deal of ambiguity about the meaning and measures of acculturation. One finds Gordon's typology helpful of these processes.<sup>36</sup> Complete assimilation or absorption or fusion of cultural behavior and socialization of two groups. It includes important sub-analytically and empirically distinct. Each of these processes may take place in varying degrees or not at all. The processes are cultural assimilation or acculturation, marital assimilation or amalgamation, and identificational pluralism. The obverse processes are cultural assimilation and identificational pluralism. Interest will be with the acculturation and structural changes. Acculturation means that in the meeting of two groups changes take in either one or both groups. Social variables of primary ties and intermarriage and group variables are variables in the situation. Acculturation does not mean a loss of secondary intermingling in such institutional spheres as the job market, commercial exchanges, and civic interrelationships and traits that are absorbed or traded. Technological traits such as dress, use of the telephone, a time clock and the like, and non-material values, beliefs, language, thought ways, emotional traits, and the like. The taking on of an ethnic group into the American way of life means the taking on its major value orientations such as individualism, success, efficiency, etc.<sup>37</sup> We consider

these core values as comprising what is considered to be urbanism. We do not agree with others that acculturation can be measured by socioeconomic success.<sup>38</sup> People through upward mobility may acculturate in varying degrees in the major values of the core society. It is for research to determine the variability. There is evidence that some Native Americans become "White Indians" losing their Indian identity altogether, or Indianness becomes only one of several identities.<sup>39</sup> This last point is important to the understanding of cultural adaptations and modes of identity.

Structural assimilation and pluralism is the degree to which there are widespread interactions by the ethnic group on a primary group level. Marital and identificational assimilation or pluralism are specific cases of this process. The evidence presented in this paper so far demonstrates that the majority of Native Americans are pluralistic in their structural relationships. They intermingle mainly with kin and close friends. There is a high degree of endogamy, and their kin structure, as opposed to tribal affiliation, is the basis of a new Indian identity found in Pan-Indianism. Participation with white Americans remains primarily instrumental, even though they enter the larger world of education, work, and commerce. Many are quite capable of taking on the values attendant to these institutional spheres, but their saliency remains in the specific spheres. In other words, they do not bring these values home. Others, like the Navajo, absorb much less of the urban culture and remain a people much to themselves.

It is helpful in the understanding of these modes of identity of the urban homesteaders to develop a typology of responses based on the

above two processes of acculturation and structural assimilation. This will hopefully aid in the systematic research on the factors accounting for a different identity. A fourfold classification is presented in Figure I.

Models based on Ideal Types by definition exaggerate social reality but are useful in delineating and classifying potential predictors of behavior. This model can be viewed either synchronically or diachronically. Research reports developmental stages of "assimilation" moving from cells 4 to 3 to 1 or 2. Factors such as length of residence, SES standing, mixed blood, and structural (primary ties) assimilation, are employed as explanatory variables. Later some refinements of this model will be discussed, in terms of the cultural "strategist" adaptation. The conclusion that will be reached is that Native Americans assume several cultural identities which have a different importance in terms of differing social worlds. We will now discuss some of the factors associated with these fourfold adaptations, keeping in mind that these four responses are variable processes, not discrete conditions.

Hurt's research revealed a significant group of Indians whom he designated "urban oriented accepting Indians," ones who accepted both the structure and the culture of the dominant urban society. They attempt to integrate into the American middle class. No attempt is made to preserve an Indian identity nor to maintain ties with the reservation.<sup>40</sup> Factors accounting for "White" Indians are being descendants of mixed marriage, being exogamous themselves, born off the reservation and long term urban residents and socio-economic success.

Figure I

FOURFOLD MODES OF IDENTITY BASED ON ACCULTURATION AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

Structural Relations	Acculturation	
	Urbanism	
Structural Assimilation	1 "White" Indian	The "C"
Structural Pluralism	3 The Cultural "Strategist" Indian	The "

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Structural Relations	Acculturation	
	Urbanism	Indianism
Structural Assimilation	1 "White" Indian	2 The "Cosmopolitan" Indian
Structural Pluralism	3 The Cultural "Strategist" Indian	4 The "Traditional" Indian

White discovers the same response in Rapid City.<sup>41</sup> Their sole identification is with the upper middle class white society. White cites mixed blood and making it good economically as the major explanatory factors. These Indians typify the response found in cell 1. Their kinship and primary ties, as well as the culture they embrace, are that of the white society.

McFee's study finds a small Indian population which corresponds to our "Cosmopolitan" Indian in cell 2.<sup>42</sup> These individuals whom he calls "interpreters" are active respected members of the Indian culture but also have a wide experience in the white ways and compete successfully with whites and have their respect. They are Indian oriented but move with ease within white culture. They are highly bicultural. Factors accounting for these creative marginals are dual socialization processes, dual primary relationships, leadership aspirations, understanding of leadership requirements, and a bicultural system calling for cultural brokers. These people are able to maintain two functioning identities.

We have learned from our previous discussion that the homesteaders, those who have made a stake in the city and stay, are most likely to associate primarily with other Native Americans based on kin and peer group ties. They have a strong sense of Indianness which becomes more positive after living in the city for a time. Ablon speaks of a "neo-Indian" social identity which is pan-Indian in its orientation. This latter phenomenon is a functional alternative to tribal identity. They form a "community" which is neither traditional nor white middle class.

This identity is in the process of creation. incubator.

The same phenomenon is described by Wax Indian. Although Pan-Indianism provides a general (Gordon's notion of identificational pluralism) possess multiple identities revolving around residential attachments as well as Indianness. enclosed primary networks, these Native American social worlds to the extent that these are functional for harmonious relations. Often enough acculturation in these socio-economic spheres and social disorganization. In our model we are a cultural strategist. Factors which aid our urban cultural strategist are, on one hand, conditions in the city such as length of residence, occupational alternatives, increased institutional alternatives, control, and residential scattering; on the other, commitment to certain Indian values, maintenance of ties, physical appearance, perception of urban environment as hostile, and identificational pluralism through

Our fourth response is what we call the "neo-Indian". Hurt refers to these people as "reservation oriented" long term residents who intensely dislike the reservation if it were economically feasible. The reservation is home, and preservation of Indian identity is very important. Most families live isolated



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 g in the city for a time. Ablon speaks of a "neo-  
 ity which is pan-Indian in its orientation. This  
 a functional alternative to tribal identity. They  
 hich is neither traditional nor white middle class.

This identity is in the process of creation. Urban life is the  
 incubator.

The same phenomenon is described by Wax as the "generalized"  
 Indian. Although Pan-Indianism provides a general social identity  
 (Gordon's notion of identificational pluralism), many of these people  
 possess multiple identities revolving around occupational, religious,  
 residential attachments as well as Indianness.<sup>43</sup> While maintaining  
 enclosed primary networks, these Native Americans acculturate into dif-  
 fering social worlds to the extent that these identities are func-  
 tional for harmonious relations. Often enough, however, "successful"  
 acculturation in these socio-economic spheres is paid for by personal  
 and social disorganization. In our model we call this response the  
 cultural strategist. Factors which aid our understanding of the cul-  
 tural strategist are, on one hand, conditions and opportunities within  
 the city such as length of residence, occupational training, SES aspi-  
 rations, increased institutional alternatives, less mechanistic social  
 control, and residential scattering; on the other hand, continued com-  
 mitment to certain Indian values, maintenance of kin and peer group  
 ties, physical appearance, perception of urban society as foreign and  
 hostile, and identificational pluralism through Pan-Indianism.

Our fourth response is what we call the "Traditional" Indian.  
 Hurt refers to these people as "reservation oriented." They are often  
 long term residents who intensely dislike the city and would return to  
 the reservation if it were economically feasible. For this group the  
 reservation is home, and preservation of Indian identity and language  
 is very important. Most families live isolated from other tribal

groups and whites while in the city. They tend to be more nomadic with frequent trips to the reservation. Price's study of the Navajo's adaptation is similar to Hurt's. While the Navajos have the same educational level as other tribes, they associated almost exclusively with other Navajos. About 90 percent spoke Navajo and almost 50 percent married within their own tribe, thus evidencing a strong cultural and structural pluralism. Factors accounting for the "traditional" urban Indian are newness to the city; exclusive primary ties within the city; relative proximity of the reservation; greater involvement in the political, religious, and social life of the reservation; expectations of moving back; and frequency of visitations. In sum, the "traditional" urban Indian maintains a single exclusive identity.

Acculturation processes have several possible avenues to follow. Native Americans can completely absorb the white culture and structural networks, remain functionally aloof, or they in varying degrees participate in bicultural worlds as "Strategists" and "Cosmopolitans." Urbanism and Indianism should not be confused with class standings. Our contention is that SES indicators are not proper measures of urban acculturation. They may or may not contribute to the taking on of urban values. We have previously discussed what we consider proper dimensions of urban and Indian values. Table I lists the important correlates of the acculturation processes.

Turning to some refinements of the "Strategist" response, the Native Americans who become urban homesteaders add and subtract from their cultural repertoire in relationship to different institutional worlds and their constraints. Most urban Indians claim their

Table I

## CORRELATES OF INDIAN AND URBAN ACCU

## Reservation Factors

1. Little or no reservation experience (e.g., born on reservation).
2. Degree of personal adjustment required in the city.
3. Relative proximity of the reservation to the city.
4. Degree of institutional involvement on the reservation.
5. Frequency of visits to the reservation.
6. Degree of strong expectations to return to the reservation.

## Conditions in the City

1. Degree of residential scattering.
2. Length of residence in the city.
3. Availability of alternative choices in the city (e.g., housing, life chances and style).
4. Degree of peer group social control.
5. Relative size of the ethnic and white groups.
6. Plural power structures and the absence of the dominant group.

## Structural Networks (Primary Relationships)

1. Degree of involvement and commitment to kin and community relationships.
2. Degree of interracial marriage.
3. Degree of identification with Pan-Indianism.

in the city. They tend to be more nomadic with reservation. Price's study of the Navajo's adaptation. While the Navajos have the same education levels, they associated almost exclusively with the reservation. 50 percent spoke Navajo and almost 50 percent of the population were from the reservation, thus evidencing a strong cultural and social identity. Factors accounting for the "traditional" urban Indian are: exclusive primary ties within the city; exclusive ties to the reservation; greater involvement in the social life of the reservation; expectations of frequent visits. In sum, the "traditional" Indian has a single exclusive identity.

Urban Indians have several possible avenues to follow. They may completely absorb the white culture and structure, remain socially aloof, or they in varying degrees participate as "Strategists" and "Cosmopolitans." Urban Indian identity should not be confused with class standing. Our indicators are not proper measures of urban Indian identity or may not contribute to the taking on of urban Indian values. We have previously discussed what we consider proper indicators of urban Indian values. Table I lists the important factors in the acculturation processes.

Elements of the "Strategist" response, the elements that some urban homesteaders add and subtract from the "Cosmopolitan" response in relationship to different institutional contexts. Most urban Indians claim their

Table I

## CORRELATES OF INDIAN AND URBAN ACCULTURATION

## Reservation Factors

1. Little or no reservation experience (e.g., born off the reservation).
2. Degree of personal adjustment required in the transition.
3. Relative proximity of the reservation to the city.
4. Degree of institutional involvement on the reservation.
5. Frequency of visits to the reservation.
6. Degree of strong expectations to return to the reservation.

## Conditions in the City

1. Degree of residential scattering.
2. Length of residence in the city.
3. Availability of alternative choices in the city (i.e., in terms of life chances and style).
4. Degree of peer group social control.
5. Relative size of the ethnic and white groups.
6. Plural power structures and the absence of the BIA.

## Structural Networks (Primary Relations)

1. Degree of involvement and commitment to kin and peer group relationships.
2. Degree of interracial marriage.
3. Degree of identification with Pan-Indianism.

Table I (Continued)

4. Degree of successful dual socialization in urban and Indian institutions.

#### Power and Socio-Economic Factors

1. Degree of awareness and aspiration for leadership roles.
2. Degree to which a bicultural system calls forth leadership opportunities.
3. Degree of adaptive capacity (e.g., social, technological skills, etc.).
4. Degree of achievement orientation.

#### Racial Factors

1. Degree to which physical appearance is noticed.
2. Degree of actual racial and class discrimination.
3. Degree to which white society is perceived hostile.

Indianness as their major social identity. The kin and peer group structures and supported by provides the overall sense of Peoplehood. But beings, Native Americans form other social identities will have different salencies. These identities group cultures rather than some all pervasive.

The present author offers a strategic cultural understanding the complex processes of pluralism that people are able to maintain multiple cultural networks. Society comprises many rings of social in varying degrees with these social worlds. behavioral patterns to meet the differing role institutional circle, and in the process they identities.

The constitutive elements of each milieu institutional settings intersected by the ecology. Persons may identify themselves as a member kin and relatives. They may identify themselves drinking buddies within peer group relationships themselves blue collar on the job, Native American in commercial and civic interactions. world will effect one's conception of self in precisely, these areas have built-in structural more or less successful in strategizing these consistency.

## Table I (Continued)

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## Racial Factors

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Indianness as their major social identity. This is maintained by the kin and peer group structures and supported by Pan-Indianness. This provides the overall sense of Peoplehood. But like other social beings, Native Americans form other social identities which, of course, will have different saliencies. These identities are based more on group cultures rather than some all pervasive sub-culture.

The present author offers a strategic culturalism model to help in understanding the complex processes of pluralism. This model suggests that people are able to maintain multiple cultural patterns and group networks. Society comprises many rings of social life, and people cope in varying degrees with these social worlds. They strategize their behavioral patterns to meet the differing role demands of each institutional circle, and in the process they maintain multiple identities.

The constitutive elements of each milieu are a wide range of institutional settings intersected by the ecological structure of the city. Persons may identify themselves as a member of a band when with kin and relatives. They may identify themselves simply as buddies or drinking buddies within peer group relationships. Persons may consider themselves blue collar on the job, Native American at church, and American in commercial and civic interactions. Factors in one social world will effect one's conception of self in other circles. More precisely, these areas have built-in structural conflicts. People are more or less successful in strategizing these identities in an over all consistency.

This model views a specific people simultaneously having a variety of cultural ways such as voluntarily embracing common values in some institutional areas, involuntarily assimilating in other areas, maintaining distinctiveness in a third area, modifying or refining its distinctiveness in still another area. What additional variables account for the differential outcomes of strategic culturalism? The following conditions are important explanatory factors: 1) the degree of institutional tolerance for diversity, 2) the degree to which an institutional area has strong insulating mechanisms, 3) the ecological opportunities to sustain cultural diversity, 4) the degree to which gemeinschaft qualities are strongly held values, and 5) the degree to which the common culture demands standardization of behavior for its functioning. Paying attention to these factors will hopefully aid research on the dynamic nature of a new pluralism.

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specific people simultaneously having a variety of voluntarily embracing common values in some voluntarily assimilating in other areas, mainly in a third area, modifying or refining its distinctiveness in other areas. What additional variables account for the emergence of strategic culturalism? The following are explanatory factors: 1) the degree of institutional diversity, 2) the degree to which an institution is assimilating mechanisms, 3) the ecological diversity, 4) the degree to which strongly held values, and 5) the degree to which demands standardization of behavior for its adaptation to these factors will hopefully aid in the emergence of a new pluralism.

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INDIAN LITERATURE AND THE ADOLESCENT

by

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A few years ago, in the wake of the Black schools began to introduce units in Black literature that not long after would come Indian literature, Oriental-American; and now we find Norwegian and other ethnic literatures. American Indian literature, however, holds a very special place in relation to our history and culture. If our American culture differs from the European-American, a large part of that difference comes from the influence of the Native American. In our states from the Native American--Tennessee, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Dakota. We gave names for our cities--Omaha, Yankton, Yakima. In our creation of the stereotyped Indian hunter on the prairies, we forgot that it was the Indian from the European-American how to cultivate potatoes, corn, and squash. We took political concepts from the Iroquois and incorporated them eventually into our own. We adopted from the Indian such common items as bows and arrows, and moccasins. Our standards of literature, knowing the Indian very superficially, created characters as Chingachgook and Uncas, Ramona, Hiawatha and Boon Hogganbeck.

Yet, in spite of the many reminders that there is in it a strong Indian element, an examination of the published high school literature series reveals a dearth of titles from Indian authors. One series, a 1972 publication,

A few years ago, in the wake of the Black Civil Rights Movement, schools began to introduce units in Black literature. It was inevitable that not long after would come Indian literature, Chicano, Oriental-American; and now we find Norwegian, Swedish, Polish, and many other ethnic literatures. American Indian literature and culture, however, holds a very special place in relationship to American literature and culture. If our American culture differs from British culture, a large part of that difference comes from the historical relationship of the European-American with the Native American. We took the names of our states from the Native American--Tennessee, Massachusetts, Connecticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Dakota. We used his words and names for our cities--Omaha, Yankton, Yakima, Peoria, and Bemidji. In our creation of the stereotyped Indian hunter who "roamed" the prairies, we forgot that it was the Indian farmer who first showed the European-American how to cultivate potatoes, melons, corn, beans, pumpkin, and squash. We took political concepts from the League of the Iroquois and incorporated them eventually into our Constitution. And we adopted from the Indian such common items as canoes, snow shoes, bows and arrows, and moccasins. Our standard American writers, although knowing the Indian very superficially, created such Indian characters as Chingachgook and Uncas, Ramona, Hiawatha and Minnehaha, Sam Fathers and Boon Hogganbeck.

Yet, in spite of the many reminders that American culture contains in it a strong Indian element, an examination of three recently published high school literature series reveals few representative works from Indian authors. One series, a 1972 publication, contains in six

AN LITERATURE AND THE ADOLESCENT

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volumes six traditional Indian poems, all very short; one song by a modern Indian, Buffy Sainte Marie; two sections from N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn; and a short story by two modern authors, one of whom is Indian. In this series, each volume, except the British literature text, has at least one Indian work. A second series, 1973 publication, in six volumes has four legends; a poem by a modern Indian poet, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell; a section from Black Elk Speaks and one from Momaday's The Way to Rainy Mountain. In this series, the seventh grade book contains the most, the four legends, and the tenth grade book has nothing. A third series, twelve small paperbacks developed especially, the teacher's guide says, for disadvantaged students, has nine volumes which contain nothing by Indian authors. Two volumes have one short poem each, and one has two poems and a short essay by Momaday.<sup>1</sup>

If these series are typical, it seems that a few very short traditional poems, an occasional modern short story or poem, a few legends, N. Scott Momaday, and Black Elk seem to be the token Indian representations.

Where is the real Indian, the Native American who has played such a large part in our American history, language, and literature, the Indian who is not vanishing but, in many parts of the country, is increasing in numbers and expressing himself ever more fluently and impressively?

The goal here is to suggest a few of the kinds of works which might be in the American junior and senior high school curriculum, works which students, Indian and non-Indian alike, could read in order to understand the important part which the Native American heritage has

played in the American culture. These works might be included in units or elective courses, as is most often happening, or incorporated into American literature sequences.

First, all students should be introduced to the legends. Such study is particularly appropriate in elementary grades and the junior high. For a teacher without introducing Manabozho is simply perpetuating a stereotype. Better yet, let us eliminate Hiawatha and instead choose some of the Manabozho legends, or stories of tricksters. Manabozho, the Great Hare, is only one of the Algonquian tribes, but an especially appropriate legend of the country. Stories of Old Sayday of the Kiowa of the prairie tribes, or Raven of the west coast, or a trickster tales which bring us closer to what the real Indian is. There are many other types of heroes besides the traditional tales, heroes who go on marvelous adventures into the unknown, of rainbow bridges and arrow chains and successful feats of bravery and skill.

In selecting editions of mythology, the teacher has many choices he needs to make. If he wants a volume of the mythology of a number of tribes, he can select the early collection which has been around for a long time, Tales of the North American Indians.<sup>2</sup> Two short learned collections are The Storytelling Stone, by Paul F. Feldmann, and American Indian Mythology, edited by Carol K. Rachlin. A teacher might choose, on the

Indian poems, all very short; one song by a  
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 Feldmann, and American Indian Mythology, edited by Alice Marriott and  
 Carol K. Rachlin. A teacher might choose, on the other hand, to use a

collection of the stories of one particular tribe. The Zunis, the Nez Perce, and the Navajo all have collections done under the auspices of the present-day tribe, in some cases approved by the tribal council, giving them an authority other collections might not have. There are also collections done by individual members of the tribe--Gerald Vizenor's Anishinabe Adisokan, tales of the Chippewa; Jesse J. Cornplanter's Legends of the Longhouse, Iroquois tales; and Anna Moore Shaw's Pima Legends--for example. A different kind of work, but one which is still within the area of legends, is The Way to Rainy Mountain by N. Scott Momaday who combines, in a fairly short prose poem, the mythology of his tribe, the Kiowa, with the history of their journey from the headwaters of the Yellowstone River to their present home in Oklahoma, a journey which the author reconstructed in modern times on a pilgrimage to his grandmother's grave. The work is beautifully illustrated by the author's father, a well-known Kiowa artist.

The legends should be supplemented by the reading of some traditional poetry and some oratory. Quite a number of collections of poetry are available, but two are especially useful: John Bierhorst's In the Trail of the Wind and William Brandon's The Magic World. A recent review of Indian poetry collections is critical of Brandon for taking too much license in his translations. The same reviewer finds Bierhorst's poems closer to the original Indian versions.<sup>3</sup> Again the teacher has some decisions to make. Brandon says his only criterion in selecting and translating has been, "do the lines feel good, moving."<sup>4</sup> But in the process of making them so, he has changed the meaning and spirit considerably. The question the teacher must answer is, is it

more important that the work be as true to the Indian song as it can be, or that it be "good" decision is the teacher's. If one teaches it there is another volume by the Chippewa author Anishinabe Nagamon, containing a limited number with pictographs, explanations, and notes.

The stereotyped, silent, granite-faced than "ugh" on the television western has been of collections of Indian oratory. Especially either W. C. Vanderwerth's Indian Oratory or Have Spoken. A study of the mystical importance of Indians is demonstrated in their poetry as well. Who can forget the Priest of the Sun in Momaday when he says of his grandmother: "You see, she was a witch; they were magic and invisible. They carried a meaning and meaning. They were beyond price; they could not be sold. And she never threw words away."<sup>5</sup>

American fiction and modern television have perpetuated stereotypes and half-truths about Indians that a high school teacher should choose very carefully about Indians. There are several books by Momaday which have been recognized by Indians as accurate pictures of Indian life. Deloria recommends two which are readily available: the Legends Die by Hal Borland and Little Boy. The third which he recommends, Stay Away, Joe, is available in paperback.<sup>6</sup> A useful novel for



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more important that the work be as true to the spirit of the original  
 Indian song as it can be, or that it be "good English poetry"? The  
 decision is the teacher's. If one teaches in Minnesota or Wisconsin,  
 there is another volume by the Chippewa author, Gerald Vizenor,  
Anishinabe Nagamon, containing a limited number of short poems, along  
 with pictographs, explanations, and notes.

The stereotyped, silent, granite-faced Indian who says no more  
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 Who can forget the Priest of the Sun in Momaday's House Made of Dawn  
 when he says of his grandmother: "You see, for her words were medi-  
 cine; they were magic and invisible. They came from nothing into sound  
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American fiction and modern television have created so many  
 stereotypes and half-truths about Indians that the junior or senior  
 high school teacher should choose very carefully the fiction he teaches  
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 Deloria recommends two which are readily available in paperback: When  
the Legends Die by Hal Borland and Little Big Man by Thomas Berger.  
 The third which he recommends, Stay Away, Joe, by Dan Cushman is not  
 available in paperback.<sup>6</sup> A useful novel for junior high school readers,

if it could be published in paperback, is D'Arcy McNickle's Runner in the Sun. Certainly every high school library should have the existing edition in hard cover. The author, a Flathead Indian scholar and anthropologist, plays upon the theory that the Indians who disappeared mysteriously from their pueblos in Arizona during prehistorical times were related to the Indians of Mexico. In this novel, Salt, a young cliff-dwelling Indian before the time of the white man, is sent on a mission to the Land of Fable (Mexico) to find a way to help his people, who are without water and the victims of plots among their own clans. The book has action and intrigue and at the same time informs the student about recognized theories of ancient Indian life.

The best senior high school fiction by an Indian author, of course, is N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn, a Pulitzer Prize novel. Its possible faults as a novel have been readily recognized. It has a rather hazy plot line and a well-known hero type, the angry young man who finds solace in alcohol, drugs, and sex. In this case he happens to be a modern Indian. Abel returns to his Jemez pueblo home, where ancient beliefs and traditions are still strong, following his experience in service during World War II. His inability to find a place between the old and new leads him ultimately to commit murder and to have to go through a period of rehabilitation, which fails. Only the fact that the hero is a modern "type," which senior high school students and teacher will recognize, makes possible the teaching of the book at all. Incidents and motivation are so deep in ancient Indian culture, which most moderns cannot understand, that without this familiarity the modern reader would be lost. But for students who make

the effort, even though they do not understand the experience of a life very different from their own.

Indian biography and autobiography offer a good choice of materials for introducing the adolescent to Indian life. For the junior high school my first choice would be Indian Boyhood. This has one great advantage over other Indian autobiographies of the same period. Although written from 1858 until 1873 in the tribal society, he was educated at Dartmouth and to an M.D. Degree at Boston University. It is not an "as told to" autobiography. It is entirely the recorder's own. The recorder intervened to misinterpret the events. He calls this the story of his "wild life," in which he tells of his tombs, the stories told in the lodge, the games told in his life the family lived in a shifting, frightening world during the Sioux Uprising in Minnesota. This book has a certain boyishness to appeal to junior high school young men. At the same time it is unique in its authority and in the control with which it is written.

The most often read and taught senior high school autobiography is John Neihardt's Black Elk Speaks. This Oglala Sioux holy man, his visions and his disappearance, is the classic among "as told to" autobiographies, and it has gone far to capture the essence of his subject. The student does have to recognize that John Neihardt is a literary artist. Because of its difficulty and strangeness for most

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Indian biography and autobiography offer perhaps the greatest  
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 For the junior high school my first choice would be Charles Eastman's  
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 Indian autobiographies of the same period. Although the author lived  
 from 1858 until 1873 in the tribal society, he went on to school at  
 Dartmouth and to an M.D. Degree at Boston University, so his story is  
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The most often read and taught senior high school Indian  
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 has gone far to capture the essence of his subject. But the reader  
 does have to recognize that John Neihardt is a large part of that book.  
 Because of its difficulty and strangeness for most modern students,

reading and trying to comprehend Black Elk's mystical experiences should perhaps come only after a considerable amount of prior reading from Indian materials.

A vast number of "as told to" autobiographies are in print. Some, like Geronimo's story told to S. M. Barrett, or Black Hawk's story told to Donald Jackson, were recorded because the subject was famous historically; others because the subject was related to or fought for a famous chief, such as Ciyó "Niño" Cochise who told his story to A. Kinney Griffeth, or Jason Betzinez, whose story, I Fought with Geronimo, was edited by Wilbur Sturtevant Nye. The degree of the editor's or recorder's intrusion into the story depends to some extent on the subject's facility with English, but to some extent also on the recorder's eagerness to intrude or his willingness to stay out. Black Elk did not know English, so his story had to be told to his son, Ben, who then told it in English to Neihardt, who wrote it down, edited it, and particularly imposed his own order on it. Somewhat the same procedure was used in the case of Geronimo who, while he was a prisoner of war at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, told his story to Ana Daklugie, a chief who had fought with him. Daklugie, who had received some education from whites, translated the story for S. M. Barratt, a white Superintendent of Education in nearby Lawton, Oklahoma. The editor in this case chose not to rearrange the work in order to make it coherent but rather kept it as much as Geronimo told it as he could. One story--that of Mountain Wolf Woman, a Winnebago--was told by the subject in Winnebago into a tape recorder. She then translated her own words into English. This work was then edited by Nancy Lurie.

More recent Indians have told their stories either their way of life in the Indian society making the transition into white society. An example of biography is Kay Bennett's Kaibah, a fine journal biography of special interest to girls. Kaibah is a young Navajo growing up from 1928 to 1935, carrying on attending festivals, and suffering sadness as she went away to school, until finally it was Kaibah's biography has no editor or recorder. Two autobiographies, No Turning Back and Helen Sekaquaptewa's Me and My People, written by Hopi women, both also told through an editor. If women have good educations, the reader assumes some degree of editing. In Miracle Hill: the Story of a Navajo Blackhorse Mitchell tells through his character the story of his desire to learn about the white man's world. It was written during a creative writing course at the University of Indian Arts. The teacher, Mrs. T. D. Allen, could do only what she had to in order to make the work readable.

Two collections of many kinds of materials have been done by Indian editors. One, American Indian Stories by Scott Momaday, the mother of N. Scott Momaday and written in her own right, is a kind of ready-made unit, containing some traditional poetry, chapters from autobiographies, short stories and poetry. Supplemented by a collection of a novel, or a full-length autobiography, this small

comprehend Black Elk's mystical experiences only after a considerable amount of prior reading. . . .

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Ciyo "Niño" Cochise who told his story to A. Jason Betzinez, whose story, I Fought with Geronimo, Sturtevant Nye. The degree of the editor's or into the story depends to some extent on the sub- English, but to some extent also on the recorder's or his willingness to stay out. Black Elk did not story had to be told to his son, Ben, who then c Neihardt, who wrote it down, edited it, and par- s own order on it. Somewhat the same procedure was Geronimo who, while he was a prisoner of war at told his story to Asa Daklugie, a chief who had klugie, who had received some education from the story for S. M. Barrett, a white Superintendent by Lawton, Oklahoma. The editor in this case chose work in order to make it coherent but rather kept mo told it as he could. One story--that of Moun- innebago--was told by the subject in Winnebago into e then translated her own words into English. This: by Nancy Lurie.

More recent Indians have told their stories in order to explain either their way of life in the Indian society or their problems in making the transition into white society. An example of the first type of biography is Kay Bennett's Kaibah, a fine junior high school auto- biography of special interest to girls. Kaibah tells of her life as a young Navajo growing up from 1928 to 1935, caring for the family sheep, attending festivals, and suffering sadness as each child in the family went away to school, until finally it was Kaibah's turn. This auto- biography has no editor or recorder. Two autobiographies of the second type, adjustment from the Indian world into the white world, are both by Hopi women, both also told through an editor--Polingaysi Qoyawayma's No Turning Back and Helen Sekaquaptewa's Me and Mine--but since both women have good educations, the reader assumes there has been a minimum of editing. In Miracle Hill: the Story of a Navaho Boy, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell tells through his character, Broneco, his own story of his desire to learn about the white man's world. This work was written during a creative writing course at the Institute of American Indian Arts. The teacher, Mrs. T. D. Allen, conscientiously changed only what she had to in order to make the work understandable.

Two collections of many kinds of materials by Indian authors have been done by Indian editors. One, American Indian Authors, by Natachee Scott Momaday, the mother of N. Scott Momaday and an editor and author in her own right, is a kind of ready-made unit, including four legends, some traditional poetry, chapters from autobiographies, and some modern short stories and poetry. Supplemented by a collection of legends, a novel, or a full-length autobiography, this small and inexpensive

publication could be used at either junior or senior high school level. Although big and expensive, any teacher who is going to teach Indian literature should have at least one copy of Thomas E. Sanders and Walter W. Peek's Literature of the American Indian available. The introduction to the book as a whole, as well as the introductions to each section of the book, are invaluable to the teacher. The book also contains a wealth of selections from legends to traditional poetry, to oratory, to modern short stories, poetry, and protest literature.

The preparation of the teacher for Indian literature, especially the non-Indian teacher, is quite important. The teacher needs to know and understand more than the students do in order to prevent inadvertently teaching the stereotypes which are so prevalent in our society. Reading Indian myth or poetry, for example, can lead students to think that Indians worshiped the Great Hare, or the Sun, or stone images, perpetuating the 'athen savage stereotype. Charles Eastman, in The Soul of the Indian, wrote, ". . . the Indian no more worshiped the Sun than the Christian adores the Cross."<sup>7</sup> The Indian worshiped the Great Spirit or the Great Mystery. But that God was not one which, like the Judeo-Christian God, created man in his own image, thereby placing man above the animals. The Indian god is a spirit found in birds, animals, rocks, clouds, and thunder, just as well as in man. For this reason in myths and poetry, man, animals--anything in nature--fuse and exchange places. Animals and birds talk to man. Man speaks to Loon, Bear, Raven, or Coyote, not the individual animal, but the essence or spirit of the animal. And the trickster becomes a cloud or a man or an

animal, as the situation requires. All of life Mystery permeates it all.

What follows is a brief outline of a unit of used in the junior high school and one for the s would build on it.

For the junior high school, Natachee Scott Indian Authors, supplemented by Feldmann's The S Scott Momaday's The Way to Rainy Mountain, and C Boyhood, are musts. All of these works have some study at this level would be centered. The Way Indian Boyhood would also give students a bit of way of life. If the teacher then wanted students about modern Indian problems and feelings, the M Authors would offer a good selection of modern s poetry. Hopefully, the school library would also individual reading and reports McNickle's Runner Kaibah, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell's Miracle

For the senior high school, continued use of collection of legends, and the Thompson collection of the legends of a particular tribe such critical. In addition, a good collection of trad as Bierhorst's, and House Made of Dawn and Black important. Individual student reading could be d raphies and autobiographies from different tribes idea of the great diversity of values and life st

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 Mystery permeates it all.

What follows is a brief outline of a unit or course which could be  
 used in the junior high school and one for the senior high school which  
 would build on it.

For the junior high school, Natachee Scott Momaday's American  
Indian Authors, supplemented by Feldmann's The Storytelling Stone, N.  
 Scott Momaday's The Way to Rainy Mountain, and Charles Eastman's Indian  
Boyhood, are musts. All of these works have some legends on which the  
 study at this level would be centered. The Way to Rainy Mountain and  
Indian Boyhood would also give students a bit of history and the Indian  
 way of life. If the teacher then wanted students to think a bit more  
 about modern Indian problems and feelings, the Momaday American Indian  
Authors would offer a good selection of modern short stories and  
 poetry. Hopefully, the school library would also have available for  
 individual reading and reports McNickle's Runner in the Sun, Bennett's  
Kaibah, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell's Miracle Hill.

For the senior high school, continued use of the Feldmann  
 collection of legends, and the Thompson collection, or perhaps a col-  
 lection of the legends of a particular tribe such as Vizenor's, are  
 critical. In addition, a good collection of traditional poetry, such  
 as Bierhorst's, and House Made of Dawn and Black Elk Speaks are also  
 important. Individual student reading could be done in the many biog-  
 raphies and autobiographies from different tribes, giving students an  
 idea of the great diversity of values and life styles among Indians.

With these works students will know at least a little about their Indian cultural heritage.

Before anyone starts such a study, our non-Indian high school students will mistakenly believe that they know Indians. Haven't they played Cowboys and Indians? Haven't they watched TV westerns and even historical documentaries about the Indian Wars? Hiawatha, the Lone Ranger's Tonto, Ramona, the Indians of Buffalo Bill's Wild West Show and their successors in numerous Indian ceremonials performed for tourists, the "Indian Love Call," and the cigar-store Indian are all so familiar to our adolescents as the proverbial hot dogs and apple pie. But these are not the real Native American who inhabited these lands. Ohiyema, Kaibah, Black Elk, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell are. Because of well-intentioned educators of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries who tried to stamp out the Indian language and culture, many of our modern Indian students do not really know their heritage as well as they might. But whether our students are Indian or non-Indian, Native American culture is a part of American culture, and it should be recognized as such.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Philip McFarland, ed., Houghton Mifflin Library (Boston, 1972); Leo B. Kneer, ed., American Indian Literature (Illinois, 1973); Bethel Bodine, et al, eds. (Menlo Park, California, 1974).
2. Fuller entries for books discussed and reviewed be found in the accompanying bibliography. Where quoted or used as authority is it footnoted.
3. William Bevis, "American Indian Verse Translated into English," 35 (March, 1974), pp. 693-703.
4. William Brandon, ed., The Magic World (New York, 1974).
5. N. Scott Momaday, House Made of Dawn (New York, 1968); Vine Deloria, Custer Died for Your Sins (New York, 1971).
7. Charles Eastman, The Soul of the Indian (New York, 1907).



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1. Philip McFarland, ed., Houghton Mifflin Literature Series, 6 vols. (Boston, 1972); Leo B. Kneer, ed., America Reads, 6 vols. (Glenview, Illinois, 1973); Bethel Bodine, et al, eds., Voices of Man, 12 vols. (Menlo Park, California, 1974).
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3. William Bevis, "American Indian Verse Translations," College English, 35 (March, 1974), pp. 693-703.
4. William Brandon, ed., The Magic World (New York, 1971), p. XIV.
5. N. Scott Momaday, House Made of Dawn (New York, 1968), p. 89.
6. Vine Deloria, Custer Died for Your Sins (New York, 1969), p. 23.
7. Charles Eastman, The Soul of the Indian (Rapid City, 1970), p. 3.

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### Part III

#### THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

The seven essays in this section deal with a variety of approaches to the question of identity and awareness in the minority experience. Historical, literary, and contemporary efforts are discussed in ways that illustrate the special importance of the questions, past and present, for Black Americans. The range and scope of the essays suggest a variety of parallels and differences within the minority experience.

Winthrop Jordan, as noted in the Introduction, in his important study White Over Black implies that many Americans have too easily blamed the English for American racial attitudes. The first essay in this section puts that thesis to the test, and Jimmy Lee Williams concludes that Shakespeare was reflecting the prevailing attitudes of his time in the plays discussed. The question of Black identity and awareness are viewed from the negative side, as developed by the English. The carry-over of the theme is seen in the essay by Roger Whitlow and his penetrating discussion of race and sexuality. The entire issue is really a matter of identity, for all involved, and the race-sex problem distorted in a plethora of ways to either deny the Black man's identity or uplift the white man's.

W. Bedford Clark examines the mulatto tradition in literature, a search for identity in two worlds. The essay illustrates the continuity of concern over identity and self-awareness in Black fiction.

The essay by Nicholas J. Karolides brings the question of awareness in a literary sense to contemporary times. The literature is viewed as a method of developing awareness.

While the first four essays in this section take a historical perspective, the Wilson Moses contribution shifts to a contemporary perspective. The quest for self-improvement and nationalism are linked to the problem of individual identity. Elizabeth Parker's essay takes a contemporary perspective in examining the development of racial pride. The "Legacy" of Washington and Woodson have to do with the past which in turn relates to individual Black experience.

The concluding essay by Gerald E. Thomas adds to the discussion of educational programs in the context of resocialization. The identity of the Black student and the bi-cultural experience in America suggest significant parallels with the experience of Native-Americans, Latinos, and other racial minorities. The temporary emphasis of this essay brings the historical perspective to the end, and the reader can see that Shakespeare's "Othello" is more potent than any other hue. . . ." (see Williams' essay) is a more potent phrase than "Black is beautiful"; and in the existence of the phrases would be important to the development of identity and awareness among both Blacks and whites.

## Part III

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As noted in the Introduction, in his important essay, [unclear] implies that many Americans have too easily accepted American racial attitudes. The first essay in this section is a thesis to the test, and Jimmy Lee Williams contributes an essay reflecting the prevailing attitudes of his time. The question of Black identity and awareness is discussed. The question of Black identity and awareness is discussed on the negative side, as developed by the English.

This theme is seen in the essay by Roger Whitlow and [unclear] on the issue of race and sexuality. The entire issue is devoted to the question of identity, for all involved, and the race-sex problem. The essays offer a variety of ways to either deny the Black man's identity or to affirm it.

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While the first four essays in this section deal with a literary perspective, the Wilson Moses contribution shifts the emphasis to the historical. The quest for self-improvement and the tradition of Black nationalism are linked to the problem of individual uplift, and individual identity. Elizabeth Parker's essay takes an historical perspective in examining the development of racial pride among Blacks. The "Legacy" of Washington and Woodson have to do with an awareness of the past which in turn relates to individual Black awareness and identity.

The concluding essay by Gerald E. Thomas addresses the issue of educational programs in the context of resocialization. The self-identity of the Black student and the bi-cultural nature of the Black experience in America suggest significant parallels in the experiences of Native-Americans, Latinos, and other racial minorities. The contemporary emphasis of this essay brings the historical precedents to an end, and the reader can see that Shakespeare's "Coal-black is better than any other hue. . . ." (see Williams' essay) is perhaps a more potent phrase than "Black is beautiful"; and in either case, knowing the existence of the phrases would be important in developing identity and awareness among both Blacks and whites.

THEMATIC LINKS IN SHAKESPEARE'S TITUS ANDRONICUS AND OTHELLO:  
SEX, RACISM AND EXOTICISM, POINT AND COUNTERPOINT

by

Jimmy Lee Williams  
North Carolina A & T University  
Greensboro, North Carolina

The first thematic link between Titus Andronicus discussed here is Shakespeare's treatment of black passionate figures. Although Shakespeare, as we probably had the opportunity to observe black perceptions of them probably came from popular lore. Because of that, some background information may be necessary.<sup>1</sup>

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Europeans were increasingly interested in distant lands and the Americas were especially interested in Africa because of the notions of Africa and Africans did not, of course, exist during the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> But books of travel during the period served as fuel for already fired-up imaginations and contributed greatly to a widespread fixation of many Europeans on blacks.

In 1555 William Waterman published The Fardle of Facions containing the auncient manners, customes and the inhabitants inhabiting the two parts of earth called Affricke. Jones described the effect of this work:

The effects of the Fardle of Facions was not to enlighten the world, but rather give currency to old stories in the book does for Africa. . . . Occasionally an old story is given by the addition of some new detail or a rather modern touch. . . . Of the Ichthiophagi, we learn that after the men have suppon their women, even as they come to hande with . . ." This had of course been less vividly said



The first thematic link between Titus Andronicus and Othello discussed here is Shakespeare's treatment of black men as exotic and passionate figures. Although Shakespeare, as we shall later see, probably had the opportunity to observe black people, most of his conceptions of them probably came from popular lore and books of travel. Because of that, some background information may be both useful and necessary.<sup>1</sup>

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Englishmen became increasingly interested in distant lands and their inhabitants. They were especially interested in Africa because of its exoticism. Exotic notions of Africa and Africans did not, of course, begin in England during the sixteenth century.<sup>2</sup> But books of travel published during the period served as fuel for already fired-up imaginations. They contributed greatly to a widespread fixation of many unfavorable images of blacks.

In 1555 William Waterman published The Fardle of Facions containing the ancient manners, customes and the lawes of the peoples inhabiting the two parts of earth called Affricke and Asie. Eldred Jones described the effect of this work:

The effects of the Fardle of Facions was not to give new knowledge of the world, but rather give currency to old stories. This is all the book does for Africa. . . . Occasionally an old subject is highlighted by the addition of some new detail or a rather more vivid description. . . . Of the Ichthiophagi, we learn that after their meals "they falle upon their women, even as they come to hande withoute any choyse. . . ." This had of course been less vividly said before. Passages

SHAKESPEARE'S TITUS ANDRONICUS AND OTHELLO:  
AND EXOTICISM, POINT AND COUNTERPOINT

by

Jimmy Lee Williams

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like this . . . would be responsible for the association of dark people with lust. (This would be in line with what by the mid-sixteenth century had become part of the popular lore, namely that the nearer the sun people lived, the more hot-blooded they tended to be.)<sup>3</sup>

Also in 1555 Richard Eden published (along with his translation of Peter Mart: 's Decades) the first two accounts of English voyages to Africa--Thomas Windham's voyages to Guinea in 1553 and John Lok's voyage to Mina in 1554-1555. From the standpoint of truth, Eden marred both of these accounts by adding incredible stories, but at least one significant literary work capitalized on and was enriched by the fantasy he added. In Lok's account, Eden

". . . parades the men without heads--Blemines--along with Strucophagi, Anthropophagi, and all the other strange peoples of Pliny, with a gullibility surprising in such an otherwise far-sighted man. But had he not given these tales currency, Othello's life history would have been poorer, and his language less picturesque."<sup>4</sup>

Books of travel, that supposedly told the truth, simply reinforced Elizabethans' "psychologically" based aversion for Moors.

"The theory of the humors, the basis of Elizabethan psychology, maintained that men were of different complexions, statures, and countenances of mind and body according to the climate of the country of their birth. This theory conveniently reserves most of the virtues for the people of the North and characterizes those of the South as jealous, superstitious, cowardly, lascivious, cruel and inhuman."<sup>5</sup>

Shakespeare's image of the black man was not only influenced by popular lore and books of travel (and, as we have seen, the two are

often not distinct), it was probably also influenced by The Battle of Alcazar. Peele's play "gave the English a full portrait of a Moor."<sup>6</sup> It is based upon the ". . . famous battle of Alcazar in which the young Sebastian perished along with the flower of Portugal, which the almost legendary Englishman captain Thomas had lost his life. In the historical accounts of the battle the Moorish hero is the main of the piece. The son of a Negro mother, he is called 'the black King,' and was represented as luring an Englishman to his death in the deserts of Africa. . . . Peele's play did a good deal to fix the stereotype of 'Moor.'<sup>7</sup>

From the foregoing, one may deduce that the stereotype was mirrored in the minds of Englishmen during Shakespeare's time, and was highly unfavorable. During that time Englishmen had preconceptions of foreigners in general, but they seem to have had more contempt for the people they called Moors. They were contemptuous of Italians, Jews, and Turks.

With the above background in mind, we will see that Shakespeare's treatment of black men--Aaron and Othello--to some extent he makes use of the stereotypic notions and goes against the grain. Before beginning that examination we establish Shakespeare's fundamental conception of blackness, for if their basic roles in their respective plays are then anything we say about them can easily become distorted. Levin, in The Power of Blackness--a study of the role of blackness in the writings of Poe, Melville, and

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With the above background in mind, we will soon begin to examine  
 Shakespeare's treatment of black men--Aaron and Othello--to see to what  
 extent he makes use of the stereotypic notions and to what extent he  
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 Levin, in The Power of Blackness--a study of the force of negative  
 romanticism in the writings of Poe, Melville, and Hawthorne--makes that

fundamental distinction rather succinctly and forcefully.

"When Shakespeare first addressed himself to tragedy, he made his villain a black man, Aaron the Moor in Titus Andronicus. Later, with more understanding of life's complexities, he could make a noble Moor his hero, and portray Othello victimized by a white villain known as 'honest Iago.'"<sup>8</sup>

Indeed, as Marion Smith puts it, "In Othello black is white with a vengeance."<sup>9</sup>

By and large, Aaron's character is in accord with two of the stereotyped notions held about blacks during the Elizabethan period--notions, which persist even today in much of the Western world, that they are lascivious and extremely cruel. Aaron is certainly not superstitious, nor is he jealous. Whether or not he is a coward is perhaps a debatable point. The present writer is more inclined to see his manipulations and opportunisms as an exploitation of Machiavellian tactics similar to those employed by Iago rather than as cowardice.

Aaron both promotes and destroys the myth that blacks are by nature lascivious. In his first speech, a soliloquy, we see him plotting to "mount aloft" with his "imperial mistress," Tamora, who by her marriage to Saturninus is out of "fortune's shot." Here he is boasting about how his sexual prowess has enslaved her:

. . . Aaron, arm thy heart, and fit thy thoughts to Mount aloft with thy imperial mistress,  
And mount her pitch, whom thou in triumph long  
Has prisoner held fetter'd in amorous chains

And faster bound to Aaron's charming eyes  
Than is Prometheus tied to Caucaus. (II, i, 12)  
Yet, when the opportunity for love-making comes  
enough, it is not he, but Tamora, who takes the  
thoughts are on revenge:

No, madam, these are no veneral signs.  
Vengeance is in my heart, death in my hand,  
Blood and revenge are hammering in my head.  
Hark, Tamora, the empress of my soul,  
Which never hopes more heaven than rests in the  
This is the day of doom for Bassianus;  
His Philomel must lose her tongue to-day,  
Thy sons make pillage of her chastity  
And wash their hands in Bassianus' blood. (II,  
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And Iago went to Aaron's chamber, even  
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 This is the day of doom for Bassianus;  
 His Philoel must lose her tongue to-day,  
 Thy sons make pillage of her chastity  
 And wash their hands in Bassianus' blood. (II, III, 37-46)  
 But, as later events in the play reveal, Aaron did, in spite of his  
 business in plotting revenge, manage to squeeze in some of the work of  
 Venus. Proof lies in the birth of his son by Tamora.

Aaron is not simply speaking in the guise of a lover when he tells  
 Tamora that he "never hopes [for] more heaven than rests" in her.  
 throughout the play Shakespeare explodes the notion that all Moors are  
 religious. But Moors at the time were believed to be religious, though  
 that was not held in their favor--because, for the most part, they cer-  
 tainly were not Christian. That Aaron is atheistic is evident in the  
 dialogue which follows his avowal to Lucius that he will tell him nothing  
 about the "wonderful things he has performed unless Lucius will  
 swear that "if I shall live."

That granted,  
 nature for there is no nature in him.<sup>10</sup> Although  
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 humanity. Aaron's passionate defense of his son  
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 Shakespeare is the great Christian moralist that  
 have us believe he is, "there is a Christian cate  
 ner--that will not constrict the humanity of anyo  
 human being can be a sinner."<sup>11</sup>

After Lucius swears that his son will live, Aaron summarizes all  
 of his evil deeds, and he certainly lives up to the notion that Moors  
 are by nature cruel. It is he who instructed Demetrius and Chiron to  
 rape Lavinia and murder Bassianus. He wrote the letter and planted the  
 gold which implicated Titus' sons in Bassianus' murder. He played the  
 deceiver of Titus' hand and cuckolded Saturninus. After Aaron recounts  
 all of this to Lucius, Lucius asks him, "Art thou not sorry for these  
 heinous deeds?" (V, ii, 123). Aaron replies, "Aye that I had not done  
 a thousand more" (V, ii, 124). Yet, for all of that we cannot accept  
 what Mark Van Doren says about Aaron: "Aaron the Moor is the kind of  
 villain concerning whose character there can be no curiosity, and whose

deeds therefore can not be felt horrible. They of  
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In our discussion of Aaron, we have seen the  
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 explicitly say so, the implication is that he sees Aaron as a morality  
 figure; there is more to him than that. Aaron does evidence some  
 humanity. Aaron's passionate defense of his son is noble; indeed, he  
 exhibits a much more normal filial devotion than Titus who slays one of  
 his sons simply because the latter backs Bassianus rather than  
 Saturninus for Lavinia's hand in marriage. Moreover, Titus sacrificed  
 twenty-two of his other sons in the various battles against Rome's  
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 Shakespeare is the great Christian moralist that many critics would  
 have us believe he is, "there is a Christian category--that of the sin-  
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 human being can be a sinner."<sup>11</sup>

In our discussion of Aaron, we have seen that Shakespeare places  
 man and type side by side. His juxtaposition of the black man as a man  
 and as a type is much more elaborate and intricate in *Othello* than it  
 is in *Titus*. Shakespeare creates dramatic tension by having many of  
 the major characters voice the various stereotypic notions about Moors  
 and by letting Othello's true nature belie the notions. He also

inferent; the testimony of "great ones" witnesses by "low ones" that the testimony is prejudicial.

Let us look at some of the actions that the characters voice about Othello. Iago tells Roderigo that Othello is a proud man who would not listen to the great ones who interceded on his behalf for the lieutenantcy. He says that Othello was unable to defend his choice of Cassio and evaded the "great ones" with bombastic phrases "Horribly stuffed with epithets of war" (I, i, 14). Othello, as we shall see, is not an unsound soldier; neither is he a loud-mouthed soldier. When Brabantio and others brandish their swords at Othello, the latter replies calmly: "Put up your bright swords or the dew [blood] will rust them. / Good signior, you shall more command with years / Than with your weapons" (I, ii, 59-61). Othello, then, is confident of his prowess, but he is not a braggadocio.

In telling Brabantio about Desdemona's and Othello's elopement, Iago depicts Othello as an ugly, subhuman creature who is contaminating the pure Desdemona:

Even now, now, very now, an old black ram

Is tupping your white ewe: (I, i, 88-89)

The devil will make a grandsire of you. (I, i, 91)

You'll have your daughter covered with a Barbary horse, you'll have your nephews neigh to you, you'll have coursers for cousins, and jennets for Germans. (I, i, 111-113)<sup>12</sup>

In this beastly image, Roderigo adds the charge that Othello is a "vicious . . . lascivious Moor" (I, i, 127). We cannot accept the testimony of prejudiced witnesses. That they are prejudiced is all too

clear. Roderigo is a rejected suitor, and Iago wronged by Othello on two counts--that he deserved it and that Othello has made him a cuckold. Iago's ranting about Iago's character when he goes off to "fight of love" (I, i, 157) to the very man that he has also got a sense of his perverted logic when he says "of war the Venetians have not another of Othello to lead their business" (I, i, 153-154). Is it the choice of Cassio for the lieutenantcy is wrong? Iago cuts the testimony of these two witnesses before Brabantio and asks us to judge him.

When Othello appears he shows no sign of being provoked by "scurvy and provoking terms" (I, ii, 8) that Brabantio uses against him. Nor is he provoked by the insults of the senators. Iago is very careful to show that there has been no fault in Othello's and Desdemona's relationship:

That I did love the Moor to live with him,

My downright violence and storm of fortunes

May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdued

Even to the very quality of my lord.

I saw Othello's visage in his mind,

And to his honors and his valiant parts

Did my soul and fortunes consecrate.

So that, dear lords, if I be left behind,

A oath of peace, and he go to the war,

The titles for which I love him are bereft me,



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 Iago tells Roderigo that Othello is a proud man  
 to the great ones who interceded on his behalf. Iago  
 says that Othello was unable to defend his choice  
 the "great ones" with bombastic phrases "Horribly  
 of war" (I, I, 14). Othello, as we shall see, is  
 ; neither is he a loud-mouthed soldier. When  
 brandish their swords at Othello, the latter  
 up your bright swords or the dew [blood] will  
 or, you shall more command with years/ Than with  
 59-61). Othello, then, is confident of his  
 a braggadochio.

tio about Desdemona's and Othello's elopement,  
 s an ugly, subhuman creature who is contaminating  
 w, an old black man  
 ewe: (I, I, 224-25)  
 grandsire of you. (I, I, 21)

ter covered with a barbarous horse, you'll have  
 you, you'll have banners for couriers, and I  
 (I, I, 111-113)<sup>12</sup>

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 peare is very careful to show that there has been no sexual promiscuity  
 in Othello's and Desdemona's relationship:

That I did love the Moor to live with him,  
 My downright violence and storm of fortunes  
 May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdued  
 Even to the very quality of my lord.  
 I saw Othello's visage in his mind,  
 And to his honors and his valiant parts  
 Did my soul and fortunes consecrate.  
 So that, dear lords, if I be left behind,  
 A moth of peace, and he go to the war,  
 The rites for which I love him are bereft me,

And I a heavy interim shall support

By his dear absence. Let me go with him. (I, iii, 249-260)

Othello very quickly seizes upon Desdemona's request to accompany him to the impending war, but he minimizes the importance of the "rites" which he, as well as she, will be bereft of if she does not accompany him:

Let her have your voices,

Vouch with me, Heaven, I therefore beg it not

To please the palate of my appetite,

Nor to comply with heat--the young affects

In me defunct--and proper satisfaction,

But to be free and bounteous to her mind.

And Heaven defend your good souls, that you think

I will your serious and great business scant

For she is with me. No, when light-winged toys

Of feathered Cupid seel with wanton dullness

My speculative and officed instruments,

That my disports corrupt and taint my business,

Let housewives make a skillet of my helm,

And all indign and base adversities

Make head against my estimation! (I, iii, 261-275)

Othello, it seems, is clearly aware of the belief that Moors are considered lascivious, and he wants to dispel that notion. We may add that Shakespeare wanted to repudiate that notion too, because "the young affects" in his "defunct" is Shakespeare's invention.

Yet, when Othello and Desdemona are united in neutral territory, Othello shows that his love for her is totally platonic, that the passion of youth is not. Come, my dear love,

The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue--

That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you. (I, iii, 276-277)

Iago knows that Desdemona's body is very important to him, a fact, Iago's allegation that Desdemona has given up her virginity puts Othello "into a jealousy so strong/ That judgment stands against my tale" (II, i, 310-311).

Shakespeare does not predispose Othello to jealousy into him, via Iago, of course. Stoll is absolutely correct. "There can be no question, for those who either hearken to critical authority, of Othello's lack of judgment before temptation, and being jealous thereupon when he is running counter to his source in doing so, the matter certain, not only at first hand, in the character, but by the comment of the villain and the hero in the story, the hero included."<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, Shakespeare is so careful not to predispose Othello to jealousy that, when he actually does become jealous, Desdemona is it though the worldly-wise Emilia can. Observe the difference between Desdemona and Emilia regarding the loss of Othello. Des. Believe me, I had rather have lost my purse Full of crusados. And, but my noble Moor Is true of mind and made of no such baseness

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Yet, when Othello and Desdemona are united in Cyprus, a more neutral territory, Othello shows that his love for Desdemona is not totally platonic, that the passion of youth is not dead:

Come, my dear love,

The purchase made, the fruits are to ensue--

That profit's yet to come 'tween me and you. (II, iii, 8-10)

Iago knows that Desdemona's body is very important to Othello. In fact, Iago's allegation that Desdemona has given her body to Cassio puts Othello "into a jealousy so strong/ That judgment cannot cure" (II, i, 310-311).

Shakespeare does not predispose Othello to jealousy; he breeds it into him, via Iago, of course. Stoll is absolutely right when he says, "There can be no question, for those who either heed the text or hearken to critical authority, of Othello's lacking the jealous nature before temptation, and being jealous thereupon without it. . . . Though he is running counter to his source in doing so, Shakespeare has made the matter certain, not only at first hand, in the presentation of the character, but by the comment of the villain and almost everybody else in the story, the hero included."<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, Shakespeare is so careful not to predispose Othello to jealousy that, when he actually does become jealous, Desdemona cannot perceive it though the worldly-wise Emilia can. Observe the following dialogue between Desdemona and Emilia regarding the loss of the handkerchief:

Des. Believe me, I had rather have lost my purse  
 Full of crusades. And, but my noble Moor  
 Is true of mind and made of no such baseness

As jealous creatures are, it were enough

To put him to ill thinking.

Emil. Is he not jealous?

Des. Who, he? I think the sun where he was born

Drew all such humors from him. (III, iv, 29-30)

Mikhail Morozov has done analyses of the major characters in Othello based on the imagery which the characters themselves used. His study reveals that Othello's imagery falls into two distinct categories: the very lofty or poetic and the bestial.<sup>14</sup> The beast imagery parallels Iago's, but Othello never uses it until his mind has been poisoned by Iago. The poetic or lofty imagery is never completely abandoned, but it reappears very strongly after Othello recognizes Iago's plot. Thus, we see the Moor of a free and open nature is transformed by jealousy, "the green-eyed monster which doth mock/ the meat it feeds on" (III, iii, 166-167). Part of the effectiveness of Othello's character lies in his not being predisposed to jealousy; his free and open nature is precisely the reason Iago is able to work his heinous plan so well.

Although Shakespeare did not start out with a jealous man, he did start out with an insecure one. Matthew Proser, in The Heroic Image, makes a strong argument that Othello suffers from an inferiority complex. Othello's references to his "service to the state" as a shield against Brabantio's wrath and in defense of his reputation in his dying moments support that view. Moreover, a feeling of insecurity is probably the only significant characteristic (other than physical ones), which Aaron and Othello share. Their shared feeling of insecurity has a common source--alienation, the result of their being black in an all

white society. If one can really believe that have a credible motive for what they do, one can Aaron's behavior only in terms of the effect of alien, in an all white society. Moreover, would wedding night, as Othello does, have to emphatically officials that he will not "scant" their green "light-winged toys of . . . Cupid"? Hardly.

Closely, perhaps inherently, related to the passionate and exotic figures are the themes of miscegenation. Let me say at the outset that it is about what Shakespeare's attitudes are towards miscegenation. If relations are made they should be made on the basis of themselves. Employing that method is still the best way to deal with the difficulties inherent in the method. First, the author's work may be, but need not be, his own. Aaron, Shakespeare was probably capitalizing upon Hamlet. Therefore, although we are perhaps not Shakespeare as a great moralist, philosopher, poet, we must never forget that he was first and foremost wrote for a living. Yet, as shown implicitly in the treatment of black men as exotic and passionate figures more explicitly in what follows, Shakespeare was well aware as we must remember that Shakespeare was well aware of the dangers of miscegenation, conversely we must remember that he was an imitator of the success of others. In treating miscegenation and hatred and miscegenation, he creates a dramatic

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white society. If one can really believe that villains have or should have a credible motive for what they do, one can rationally explain Aaron's behavior only in terms of the effect of his being black, an alien, in an all white society. Moreover, would any Venetian on his wedding night, as Othello does, have to emphatically assure the governing officials that he will not "scant" their great business for the "light-winged toys of . . . Cupid"? Hardly.

Closely, perhaps inherently, related to the theme of black men as passionate and exotic figures are the themes of racial hatred and miscegenation. Let me say at the outset that it is dangerous to speculate about what Shakespeare's attitudes are towards blacks, but if any speculations are made they should be made on the basis of the plays themselves. Employing that method is still the best in spite of the difficulties inherent in the method. First, the ideas expressed in an author's work may be, but need not be, his own. In his creation of Aaron, Shakespeare was probably capitalizing upon the success of Muly Hamet. Therefore, although we are perhaps not wrong in praising Shakespeare as a great moralist, philosopher, psychologist, or whatever, we must never forget that he was first and foremost a playwright who wrote for a living. Yet, as shown implicitly in Shakespeare's treatment of black men as exotic and passionate figures, and demonstrated more explicitly in what follows, Shakespeare was not a racist. Just as we must remember that Shakespeare was well attuned to what his audiences liked, conversely we must remember that he was never a slavish imitator of the success of others. In treating the themes of racial hatred and miscegenation, he creates a dramatic tension very similar to

that in his treatment of the black man as a passionate and exotic figure. His treatment of Aaron, notwithstanding the role in which he is cast, is, at worst, neutral; and his treatment of Othello is certainly favorable. One can arrive at a true picture of Shakespeare's attitudes toward blacks and miscegenation only after a careful consideration of his method of dramatic portraiture. That method is very complex, especially with the two characters with which we are concerned. Shakespeare's juxtaposition of type and man, interweaving and intertwining the two throughout his plays, has led to charges of inconsistency in character portrayal.

Critics are right in saying that he is inconsistent in portraying his characters, but it does not necessarily follow that the inconsistency is a flaw. Shakespeare possessed a vision which allowed him to peer deeply beneath the surface of things. Probably more than any other dramatist, he knew that the only consistent thing about human nature is its inconsistency. This inconsistency is probably nowhere more clearly demonstrable than in the way critics have discussed Aaron and Othello as black men.

The significance of Aaron's blackness, not whether he is black, has been questioned. Those who have questioned its significance wonder whether or not Shakespeare is concerned with his racial identity or the color of his soul. N. V. McCullough believes that Aaron's blackness is merely symbolic of his soul:

"Shakespeare no doubt was using the blackness of Aaron's complexion as a symbol for the blackness of his soul; and the blackness of his offspring is to show figuratively and dramatically how black and vile evil

begets confusion, chaos, horror, and more evil. seems to be concerned with the evil inherent in A racial characteristics; yet as black has universal with evil, Shakespeare does well to make Aaron black. McCullough is right about the symbolic nature of similar lore during Shakespeare's time supports his view. "To the Elizabethan audience, the Moor was identified because of his color. Reginald Scott states in Draught (1594) that 'Of all human forms that of a Negro is the favorite one with demons.' Since the time of the traditional color of the devil on the stage had been the first play of the York cycle, The Creation and the Devil after his fall, bemoans the change in his complexion from 'brightness' to 'blackkest' (line 100)."<sup>16</sup>

But McCullough's explanation does not completely explain the significance of Aaron's blackness. He would have to say "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan merely thought of black, or off-colour as exotic, undesirable, evil." He does not think that there are overtones of race in Shakespeare's portrayal of black men. "It is truly difficult to conceive that twentieth-century race consciousness is in the thinking of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan." If McCullough says is true, then why does Shakespeare use Aaron in Act IV in Titus Andronicus with abusive racist dialogue and forth by Aaron, the Nurse, Demetrius and Chiron? To note here that before any of the villainy that

of the black man as a passionate and exotic of Aaron, notwithstanding the role in which he neutral; and his treatment of Othello is certain; and his treatment of Othello is certain can arrive at a true picture of Shakespeare's and miscegenation only after a careful consideration of dramatic portraiture. That method is very with the two characters with which we are concerned juxtaposition of type and man, interweaving and throughout his plays, has led to charges of character portrayal.

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begets confusion, chaos, horror, and more evil. Shakespeare, then, seems to be concerned with the evil inherent in Aaron, rather than his racial characteristics; yet as black has universally been associated with evil, Shakespeare does well to make Aaron black as coal."<sup>15</sup>

McCullough is right about the symbolic nature of the color black; popular lore during Shakespeare's time supports his view:

"To the Elizabethan audience, the Moor was identified with the devil because of his color. Reginald Scott states in Discoverie of Witchcraft (1594) that 'Of all human forms that of a Negro is considered a favorite one with demons.' Since the time of the mystery plays, the traditional color of the devil on the stage had been black. In the first play of the York cycle, The Creation and the Fall of Lucifer, the Devil after his fall, bemoans the change in his physical appearance from 'brightness' to 'blackeste' (line 100)."<sup>16</sup>

But McCullough's explanation does not completely explain the significance of Aaron's blackness. He would have us believe that "Shakespeare and the Elizabethan merely thought of that which was dark, black, or off-colour as exotic, undesirable, evil, or of ill omen."<sup>17</sup> He does not think that there are overtones of racial hatred in Shakespeare's portrayal of black men. "It is truly difficult," he holds, "to conceive that twentieth-century race consciousness was a dominant trait in the thinking of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan."<sup>18</sup> If what McCullough says is true, then why does Shakespeare thicken Scene Two of Act IV in Titus Andronicus with abusive racist dialogue--banded back and forth by Aaron, the Nurse, Demetrius and Chiron? It is sufficient to note here that before any of the villainy that Aaron contrives is

actually committed, Lavinia and Bassianus chide Tamora for her involvement with Aaron in language which indicates that they are not merely concerned with the fact that Saturninus is being cuckolded, but also with the color of the one who is doing the cuckolding:

Lav. Under your patience, gentle Empress,  
'Tis thought you have a goodly gift in horning,  
And to be doubted that your Moor and you  
Are singled forth to try experiments.

Jove shield your husband from his hounds today!

'Tis pity they should take him for a stag.

Bas. Believe me, Queen, your swarth Cimmerian

Doth make you honor of his body's hue,

Spotted, detested, and abominable.

Why are you sequestered from all your train,

Dismounted from your snow-white goodly steed,

And wandered hither to an obscure plot,

Accompanied but with a barbarous Moor,

If foul desire had not conducted you?

Lav. And, being intercepted in your sport,

Great reason that my noble lord be rated

For sauciness--I pray you, let us hence,

And let her joy her raven-colored love.

This valley fits the purpose passing well. (II, iii, 66-84, emphasis mine)

McCullough's assertion that "The race concept, though probably only incidental to Shakespeare and the Elizabethan, has been magnified to major proportion, but this reaction is doubtless the result of

modern-day Negrophobia"<sup>19</sup> is at best only a half-magnification of the racial problem has happened time, simply if for no other reason than the fact that both the contemned and contemners has increased, the race concept is only incidental to Shakespeare is a gross exaggeration of the facts, both historical. We may gain some notion of the Elizabethan's sense of race by the action Queen Elizabeth took against them. There were so many Negroes in London by 1601 that they were to be "discontented at the great number of 'Negroes' which are crept into the realm since the troubles of the King of Spain," and for her to appoint Willem Zeuden, merchant of Lubeck, to transport them out of the country. Statements that Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists what Moors or Negroes looked like merely ignore the evidence.<sup>20</sup>

This excerpt implies that Elizabeth's actions were more than racially oriented, but the political implications do not necessarily negate racism since the popular lore, both in England and the theory of the humors had already conditioned at the time.

The last sentence of the above passage is significant for several reasons. First, underscoring it fulfills my purpose of this paper to show that Shakespeare probably did not observe blacks. Second, it conveniently leads to the attempts of some critics to change Othello's racial identity. The words of McCullough are



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The last sentence of the above passage is italicized for two  
 reasons. First, underscoring it fulfills my promise at the beginning  
 of this paper to show that Shakespeare probably had the opportunity to  
 observe blacks. Second, it conveniently leads into my discussion of  
 the attempts of some critics to change Othello's, but not Aaron's,  
 racial identity. The words of McCullough are illuminating here.

"Some scholars . . . say that Othello is not a Negro; others contend that he is; and even some insist that he is white. Seemingly the general approach to Shakespeare's use of men of colour is emotional and based upon the culture attitude toward race. Othello's marriage to Desdemona naturally causes nausea to all who fear miscegenation of the races; but since the marriage is a fact, it is more convenient for some to say that Othello is not a Negro, thus alleviating, somehow, that which is considered repugnant."<sup>21</sup>

McCullough is undeniably right that the approach is "emotional and based on the culture attitude toward race."

A. C. Bradley demonstrates very pointedly how differently critics view the two black characters we are considering. The following passages indicate that some critics have attempted to whitewash Othello to make his hue more acceptable:

There is a question, which though of little consequence, is not without dramatic interest, whether Shakespeare imagined him [Othello] as a negro [sic] and not as a Moor. Now I will not say that Shakespeare imagined him as a negro and not as a Moor, for that might imply that he distinguished negroes and Moors precisely as we do; but what appears to me nearly certain is that he imagined Othello as a black man, and not as a light-brown one.

In the first place we must remember that the brown or bronze, to which we are now accustomed in the Othellos of our theatres is a recent innovation. Down to Edmund Kean's time, so far as is known, Othello was always quite black. This stage-tradition goes back to the Restoration, and it almost settles our question. For it is impossible that

the colour of the original Othello should have been after Shakespeare's time, and most improbably that it should have changed from brown to black."<sup>22</sup>

Yet in 1941 G. L. Kittredge asserted unequivocally that Othello was a Moorish noble of royal lineage. . . . Shakespeare's Othello is oriental."<sup>23</sup>

Let us now return to Bradley to get to the heart of the matter. He attempts to bleach Othello, but not Aaron:

No one who reads Titus Andronicus with an open mind can fail to see that Aaron was, in our sense, black; and he appears to be. The horror of most American critics (Mr. Furness included) at the idea of a black Othello is very amusing, and highly instructive. But they were anticipated, I think, by Coleridge, and we will hear from him. "No doubt Desdemona's Othello's visage in his mind. Yet, as we are conversant with the play surely as an English audience was disposed in the seventeenth century, it would be something monstrous to see a beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a very black man. I would argue a disproportionateness, a want of balance, which Shakespeare does not appear to have in the play. Ah, there's the rub! Had Tamora merited the sympathy she has, and had Aaron been noble, then attempts would have been made to whitewash him. Regarding the absurdity of Coleridge's argument, he continues:

Could any argument be more self-destructive? It is absurd to call Brabantio "something monstrous" to conceive his daughter



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That I did love the Moor to live with him,  
My downright violence, and storm of fortune  
May trumpet to the world. My heart's subdued  
Even to the very quality of my lord.

I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . .  
She knows what she is doing, and she knows it for  
firmness and clarity that astonishes her father.  
The regret with which Cinthio's heroine was shal  
ness signalled the respect never occurs to Shake  
had never seen him!" cries Emilia, whose inclin  
are entrenched on the lower levels of reality.  
replies Desdemona, "My love doth so approve him

To be sure then, Desdemona's and Othello's  
not lustful; if it is anything it is spiritual.  
their relationship as spiritual does not negate  
Lust is defined here as excessive passion for se  
brief, spiritual is not to be equated with Plato  
there are so many persons in the play who believ  
is based on lust and because Othello eventually  
Desdemona has broken her marriage vows, we must  
and the reactions of certain principal character



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Coleridge and other . . .  
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the villain . . .  
writing as late as 1897, will take the reverse  
osom" to mean that he had a "black eye."<sup>26</sup> Crim

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t in my mind . . .  
ernard Spivack . . .  
one of the . . .  
s it in order . . .

the Moor . . .  
lities in human . . .  
which finds its . . .  
the rany of . . .  
ection of soul . . .  
s, manners, . . .

she . . .  
with open eyes . . .  
in "his honours and his valiant parts,"  
she will not overlook in him or in their union what all the world  
will see and point at; and so she replies directly to the  
and upon the main issue:

I do not love the Moor to live with him,  
My bondage, and my want of fortunes,  
My trip to the world. My heart's subdued  
Even to the very quality of my lord.

I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . . (I, iii, 249-253)  
she knows what she is doing, and she knows it forever with that kind of  
firmness and clarity that astonishes her father, and us today as well.  
The regret with which Cinthia's heroine was shaken when gathering dark-  
ness signaled the tempest never occurs to Shakespeare's. "I would you  
had never seen him!" cries Emilia, whose inclinations, honest enough,  
are entrenched on the lower levels of reality. "So would not I,"  
replies Desdemona, "My love doth so approve him."<sup>28</sup>

If he were then, Desdemona's and Othello's love for each other is  
not lustful, if it is anything it is spiritual. (My description of  
their relationship as spiritual does not negate "normal" sexual desires,  
and is defined here as excessive passion for sexual indulgence. In  
short, spiritual is not to be equated with Platonic.) But, because  
there are so many persons in the play who believe that their marriage  
is based on lust and because Othello eventually comes to believe that  
Desdemona has broken her marriage vows, we must look at the allegations  
and the reactions of certain principal characters which brought about

...and by reasoning how to "merely a lust o  
...of the will" (I, iii, 336-337):  
The lust change for good. When she is sated with  
...the error of her choice. She must have chan  
...to be put money in thy purse. If thou wilt needs  
...one delicate way than drawing. Make all the mo  
...satisficing and a frail vow betwixt an erring barb  
...subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and a  
...then shalt enjoy her; therefore make money. A po  
...self! If it clean out of the way. Seek thou rat  
...compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go with

...I have a name which shall be still in the  
...of the world; and I will not be so much  
...as an opinion of the world; and I will not be so much  
...reveler as

...of the world; and I will not be so much

...of the world; and I will not be so much

...of the world; and I will not be so much

...of the world; and I will not be so much

...of the world; and I will not be so much

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...satisficing and a frail vow betwixt an erring barb  
...subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and a  
...then shalt enjoy her; therefore make money. A po  
...self! If it clean out of the way. Seek thou rat  
...compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go with  
(336-337)

Though he asks for Iago's help in being able to e  
...does not really believe Iago's slanderous remarks  
...When Iago tells him that Desdemona loves Cassio,  
...cannot believe that in her. She's full of/ most  
(I, iii, 336-337). Yet, he is willing to help Iago in  
...Iago's lieutenant because he foolishly believe  
..."rather than to / his / desires" (II, i, 284).

It is worth noting at this point that Iago ha  
...believe that the marriage is based on lust. As s  
...he was into another stock-taking soliloquy (II,  
...filled with contradictions. He admits that Othello  
...about his which will make Desdemona "a most dear b  
...had told Iago (II, i, 223-230) that Othello is  
...condition for the rest. But, if one lies to him

lucifer and by retaining love to "scarcely a lust of the blood and  
 persistence of the will" (I, iii, 338-339):

She must change for youth. When she is sated with his body, she will  
 find the error of her choice. She must have change, she must--there-  
 fore get money in thy purse. If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it a  
 more delicate way than drowning. Make all the money thou canst. If  
 sanctimony and a frail vow betwixt an erring barbarian and a super-  
 subtle Venetian be not too hard for my wits and all the tribe of Hell,  
 thou shalt enjoy her--therefore make money. A pox on drowning thy-  
 self! It is clean out of the way. Seek thou rather to be hanged in  
 compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go without her. (I, iii,  
 336-356)

Though he asks for Iago's help in being able to enjoy her, Roderigo  
 does not really believe Iago's slanderous remarks about Desdemona.  
 When Iago tells him that Desdemona loves Cassio, Roderigo replies, "I  
 cannot believe that in her. She's full of/ most blest condition" (II,  
 i, 228-229). Yet, he is willing to help Iago in his plan to displace  
 Cassio as lieutenant because he foolishly believes that Iago will make  
 "another journey to [his] desires" (II, i, 234).

It is worth noting at this point that Iago himself does not  
 believe that the marriage is based on lust. As soon as Roderigo leaves,  
 he falls into another stock-taking soliloquy (II, i, 295-321), which is  
 filled with contradictions. He admits that Othello has a nobility  
 about him which will make Desdemona "a most dear husband," although he  
 had told Roderigo (II, i, 227-228) that Othello is defective in all the  
 qualities for that role. Yet, if she lies to himself long enough and

hand cannot, he eventually comes to realize the lies for truth. Iago has  
been too busy to do the deed for "love" for Iago to speak for  
Desdemona:

Now, I do love her too,  
Not out of absolute lust, though peradventure  
I stand accountant for as great a sin,  
But partly led to diet my revenge  
For that I do suspect the lusty Moor  
Hath leaped into my seat. The thought whereof  
Doth like a poisonous mineral gnaw my inward,  
And nothing can or shall content my soul  
Till I am evened with him, wife for wife. (II, ii, 300-308)

What are we to make of the first three lines of the speech when the  
same man has already told us that love is "merely a lust of the blood  
and a possession of the will" (I, iii, 311-319)? This is the second  
time that he says he believes Othello has whored his wife (cf. I, iii,  
287-294). In lines which follow the passage quoted above, he tells us  
for the first time that he has a second reason for wanting to diet his  
revenge on Cassio: "I fear Cassio with my nightcap too" (II, i, 316).

Cassio fits well into Iago's scheme of double knavery for three  
reasons. First of all, in Iago's words,  
He hath a person and a smooth dispose  
In be suspected, frank to make women false. (I, iii, 403-404)  
Second, he has very "poor and unhappy brains for drinking" (II, iii,  
36-38). Drinking causes him to become involved in a brawl with  
Roderigo and to wound Montano; as a result, Othello dismisses him from

his position. Upon Iago's suggestion, Cassio asks  
his reinstatement. When he does, Iago plants the  
mind that Desdemona wishes him reinstated so that  
she is not her lust (cf. II, iii, 359-363). Iago is  
not believing his charge because he knows that  
she is not her life. Because he is loose in that respect,  
he uses the device by which Othello is given the "proof"  
to believe Desdemona has been false to him (cf. IV, i, 1-10).

To conclude our discussion of the outside  
tragedy in Othello, let us return briefly to Brabantio  
at two ways in which Iago utilizes his charges  
and craft to seduce Desdemona. Iago reiterates those  
charges to achieve two things--to get Roderigo to aid him  
and to keep Roderigo both his fool and his pursuer.  
Iago, however, is the admonition Brabantio gives  
to Othello failed in all attempts to retrieve his daughter:  
Look to her Moor, if thou hast eye to see.

She has deceived her father, and may thee. (I, iii, 37-38)  
Iago is present when these words are spoken; he  
uses the transformation scene (III, iii) to work some wit  
on Othello. The potion contains only one ingredient--his skill.

Brabantio's words seem to be echoing in Iago's  
transformation scene:

Iago. Look to your wife. Observe her well with  
mine eyes. Wear your eye thus, not jealous, nor secure.  
I would not have your free and noble nature



ally cannot speak the truth. (I, iii, 300-301)

Why does Iago "I will not speak for

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es him to become involved in a brawl with

Montano; as a result, Othello will punish him for

his position. Upon Iago's suggestion, Cassio asks Desdemona to sue for his reinstatement. When he does, Iago plants the notion in Othello's mind that Desdemona wishes him reinstated so that he may conveniently serve her lust (cf. II, iii, 359-363). Iago is able to trap Othello into believing his charge because he knows that Cassio is loose in his sex life. Because he is loose in that respect, Iago is able to engineer the device by which Othello is given the "proof" he needs to believe Desdemona has been false to him (cf. IV, i).

To conclude our discussion of the outside forces which lead to the tragedy in Othello, let us return briefly to Brabantio. We have looked at two ways in which Iago utilizes his charges that Othello used witchcraft to seduce Desdemona. Iago reiterates those charges to Roderigo to achieve two things--to get Roderigo to aid him in defaming Cassio and to keep Roderigo both his fool and his purse. More instrumental to Iago, however, is the admonition Brabantio gives Othello after he has failed in all attempts to retrieve his daughter:

Look to her Moor, if thou hast eye to see.

She has deceived her father, and may thee. (I, iii, 293-294)

Iago is present when these words are spoken; he later uses them in the transformation scene (III, iii) to work some witchcraft of his own, and the potion contains only one ingredient--his skillful manipulation.

Brabantio's words seem to be echoing in Iago's head in the transformation scene:

Iago. Look to your wife. Observe her well with Cassio.

Swear your eye thus, not jealous, not secure.

I would not have your free and noble nature

and will-beating to know, but to't.

I know our country's disposition well.

In Venice they do let Heaven see the pranks

They dare not show their husbands. Their best conscience

Is not to leave it undone, but keep it unknown.

Oth. Hast thou say so.

Iago. He did deceive her father, marrying you,

And when she seemed to chafe and tear your looks,

The loved then best.

Oth. And so she did.

Iago. Why, go to, then.

She that so young could give out such a seeming

To seal her father's eyes as clear as day-

He thought 'twas witchcraft-but I am well to blame.

I humbly do beseech you of your pardon

For too much loving you.

Oth. I am bound to thee forever.

Iago. I see this hath a little dashed your spirits.

Oth. Not a jot, not a jot. (III, III, 107-214)

But Desdemona's spirits have been dashed; and as Iago lays it on thicker,

observe what happens to "Oth. A jot, not a jot":

Oth. A jot, not a jot (II, 322)

Oth. A jot, not a jot

That we can call these delicate creatures ours,

And trust their appetites! (II, 322-323)

Oth. A jot, not a jot

I swear 'tis better to be much abused

Than to know 't a little. (II, 335-337)

Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,

Be sure of it, give me the ocular proof. (II, 337)

The black magic that Iago works in the transform

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Her rather, carrying you,

shake and fear your hands,

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of your pardon

forever.

a little day of my life

lot. (III, iii, 322-323)

have been dashed in a sea of blood and fire,

"Not a jot," (III, iii, 324)

225)

delicate creature and

! (II, ii, 20-21)

r 11.

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than to know 't a little. (II, 335-337)

Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,

be sure of it, give me the ocular proof. (II, 359-360)

The black magic that Iago works in the transformation scene, then, is heavily dependent upon his invoking Brabantio's admonition. Before he invokes these words Othello is determined to see before doubting and once doubting prove. He is so shaken by the power of Iago's words that he doubts before he sees, and the "proof" turns out to be "Trifles light as air" (III, iii, 322). Thus, we see clearly how the "marriage of true minds," between Othello was destroyed by racial hatred.

In a sense there is a "marriage of true minds" between Tamora and Aaron too. Though they are not married in a legal sense, their minds are one in villainy, and they deserve each other as much as Othello and Desdemona do. Taking into consideration the prevailing attitudes towards blacks during Shakespeare's time, his treatment of the corollary themes of racial hatred and miscegenation in Titus and in Othello is not only favorable, but very objective as well. (We must always keep in mind that the greatest degree of objectivity is but subjectivity minimized.) No one who has read Othello with some knowledge of Shakespeare's artistry and with careful attention to detail can deny that Othello is anything except noble and heroic. Aaron, though rather crudely portrayed when compared to Shakespeare's other villains, is certainly no more ignoble than they. To be sure, he possesses almost as much, if not as much, humanity as his later counterparts. And if anyone believes that Aaron is less liked by Shakespeare because he is

black, he need only be reminded that Shakespeare has Aaron utter words which use the current expression, "black is beautiful," seem impotent: "What black is better than another hue? In that it seems to bear another hue" (IV, ii, 9-10a), emphasis mine).

Yet, despite the foregoing, one should not minimize the importance of the racism that exists in either of these plays (and this is not the same thing as labeling Shakespeare a racist). Neither Othello nor Aaron can be fully appreciated if the effects of their being black in white societies are not taken into consideration. E. W. Evans is absolutely right in his assessment of Renaissance dramatists' use of African characters:

Dramatists using African characters could play upon certain social and religious prejudices, and these characters also ministered to a taste for the strange and exotic. The care taken to distinguish white from black Moors probably indicates that the former were regarded as intermediate, in colour and civilized refinement, between the negro Esia and the European. The white Moor was half-civilized, so to speak, and might at any time relapse into the barbarism of his darker cousin. These circumstances left the dramatist free to manipulate such diverse reactions as wonder, fear, revulsion, amusement and even qualified respect in constructing a particular African character. It would, though, be very difficult to produce a fully sympathetic Moorish portrait.<sup>39</sup>

Presently, the present author wishes not only to buttress the assertion that Othello is a black Moor, but also show that Shakespeare clearly had Aaron in mind when he created Othello.

When Desdemona tells Othello that he is "Foll so" (V, ii, 37-38), it seems that Shakespeare's reference to his "deadly-standing eye" while he "cutt ion" (II, iii, 32 & 36) and Lucius' reference to the "eyed slave" (V, i, 44). When the Nurse calls Othello "black" (IV, ii, 64) and "A joyless, dismal, black and tuppung your white ewe/ . . . the Devil will ma" (I, i, 38-91). When trying to convince Roderigo of his chance of winning Desdemona in spite of her being black, Iago speaks of the couple in this manner:

Her eyes must be fed, and what delight shall she have with Devil? (II, i, 227-229, emphasis mine)

Lucius refers to Aaron as "the incarnate devil"

Roderigo describes Othello's lips as thick and Aaron's "thick-lipped" (IV, ii, 175) son certain lips from Tamora. Moreover, Aaron calls his son "me and half thy dam" (V, i, 27). Nowhere in Othello is mentioned that Othello is a "tawny" or half-white Moor. He is associated with the devil, whose color, as we know, is typically black. Brabantio says that Othello's lips are "black" (I, i, 70). He himself says, "I am black" (III, iii, 2). Othello's counterpart is likened to a "black ill-favored fly" (I, i, 122). Emilia compares herself to a "black dog" (I, i, 122). Emilia is referred to as a "filthy bargain," "gull," "black" (I, i, 157 & 164). No reference is made to the texture

be revealed that Shakespeare has Aaron utter words of contempt and revulsion, "black" is "beastly," with impotent force rather than another word in that it seems to bear more weight (I, 99-100, emphasis mine).

In the foregoing, one should not minimize the importance of race which exists in either of these plays (and this is not the only place where Shakespeare insists). Neither Othello nor Desdemona are appreciated if the effects of their being black are not taken into consideration. E. W. Evans is also correct in his assessment of Renaissance dramatists' use of

African characters could play upon certain social and racial prejudices, and these characters also ministered to a taste for the exotic. The care taken to distinguish white from black indicates that the former were regarded as inter-tribal and civilized refinement, between the negro [sic] and the white Moor was half-civilized, so to speak, and the latter would elapse into the barbarism of his darker cousin.

Shakespeare left the dramatist free to manipulate such diverse emotions as love, fear, revulsion, amusement and even qualified contempt by using a particular African character. It would be difficult to produce a truly sympathetic opinion of

the author who would only buttress the assertion that the black Moor, but also show that Shakespeare clearly intended when he created Othello.

When Desdemona tells Othello that he is "fatal" when his "eyes roll so" (V, ii, 37-38), it seems that Shakespeare has in mind Aaron's reference to his "deadly-standing eye" while he is plotting "fatal execution" (II, iii, 32 & 36) and Lucius' reference to Aaron as a "Walled-eyed slave" (V, i, 64). When the Nurse calls the black child a "devil" (IV, ii, 64) and "A joyless, dismal, black and sorrowful issue" (IV, ii, 66), she sounds like Iago telling Brabantio "an old black ram/ is tugging your white ewe/ . . . the Devil will make a grandsire of you" (I, i, 89-91). When trying to convince Roderigo that he still has a chance of winning Desdemona in spite of her being married to Othello, Iago speaks of the couple in this manner:

Her eyes must be fed, and what delight shall she have to look on the Devil? (II, i, 227-229, emphasis mine)

Lucius refers to Aaron as "the incarnate devil" (V, i, 40).

Roderigo describes Othello's lips as thick (cf. I, i, 66). Aaron's "thick-lipped" (IV, ii, 175) son certainly did not inherit his lips from Tamora. Moreover, Aaron calls his son a "tawny slave, half me and half thy dam" (V, i, 27). Nowhere in Othello is there any indication that Othello is a "tawny" or half-white Moor. Numerous times he is associated with the devil, whose color, as we have seen, is traditionally black. Brabantio says that Othello's bosom is "sooty" (I, ii, 73). He himself says, "I am black" (III, iii, 263). His earlier counterpart is likened to a "black ill-favored fly" (III, ii, 66) and compares himself to a "black dog" (V, i, 122). Emilia describes Othello as a "filthy bargain," "gull," "dolt," and "ignorant as dirt" (V, ii, 167-169). No reference is made to the texture of Othello's hair--

Aaron describes his as "woolly" (II, iii, 34)--but in all other respects Othello and Aaron share the same physical characteristics. The absence of any reference to that one characteristic which would make Othello an almost exact physical replica of Aaron certainly cannot overwhelm the other evidence. Their moral fiber is, of course, another matter; and, as already asserted, they both share a deep-rooted sense of insecurity.

While Othello's characterization is "certainly remote from stereotyping," his "portrait draws heavily upon an established stage tradition, and clearly Shakespeare could hardly have avoided such a connection entirely. Even when it diverges from the tradition, attention is still directed to associated ideas. . . ."<sup>31</sup> There can be no doubt, then, either for those who heed textual evidence and/or sound critical judgment that Shakespeare draws heavily upon the prevailing attitudes towards Moorishness in his treatment of the themes of the black man as an exotic and passionate figure, racial hatred, and miscegenation in Titus and Othello.

1. For a more detailed examination than I can influence of travel literature on the African Eldred Jones' Othello's Countrymen: The African Renaissance Drama (London, 1965), pp. 1-26. In addition, one should also see Chapter I-Initial English Confrontations with African Jordan's White Over Black: American Attitudes 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, 1968). Jordan (pp. nature of his study, gives a more extensive sance travel literature than Jones. Jordan applicable to the drama.
2. Mandeville's Travels, which Jones character significant publication in the realm of regy to be published in the fifteenth century Englishmen (for the first time on a large scale of Prester John, a rich, white Christian king Prester John was supposedly nine-hundred years Travels was published, his longevity the result a "miraculous stream." Travels also helped that all Africans were black, despite the fact many Africans whose complexions approximated
3. Jones, p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 11.

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## FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed examination than I can give here of the influence of travel literature on the African image, consult Eldred Jones' Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Renaissance Drama (London, 1965), pp. 1-26. Hereafter cited as Jones. In addition, one should also see Chapter I--"First Impressions: Initial English Confrontations with Africans"--of Winthrop Jordan's White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550-1812 (Chapel Hill, 1968). Jordan (pp. 1-43), because of the nature of his study, gives a more extensive treatment to Renaissance travel literature than Jones. Jordan's treatment is applicable to the drama.
2. Mandeville's Travels, which Jones characterizes as "the most significant publication in the realm of regional and human geography to be published in the fifteenth century" (p. 5), acquainted Englishmen (for the first time on a large scale), with the legend of Prester John, a rich, white Christian king who lived in Africa. Prester John was supposedly nine-hundred years old at the time Travels was published, his longevity the result of his bathing in a "miraculous stream." Travels also helped to create the notion that all Africans were black, despite the fact that there were many Africans whose complexions approximated that of Europeans.
3. Jones, p. 8.
4. Ibid., p. 11.

5. Philip Butcher, "Othello's Racial Identity," Shakespeare Quarterly, 3 (1952), pp. 246-47.
6. Jones, p. 14.
7. Ibid.
8. (New York: Knopf, 1958) p. 31.
9. Dualities in Shakespeare (Toronto, 1966), p. 36. Hereafter cited as Smith.
10. Shakespeare (Garden City, New York, 1939), p. 28.
11. Robert E. Fitch, Shakespeare: The Perspective of Value (Philadelphia, 1969), p. 101.
12. W. H. Auden claims that passages like these three I have quoted "are evidence that the paranoid fantasies of the white man in which the negro [sic] appears as someone who is at one and the same time less capable of self-control and more sexually potent than himself, fantasies with which, alas, we are only too familiar, already were rampant in Shakespeare's time." "The Alienated City: Reflections on 'Othello,'" Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.
13. Elmer Edgar Stoll, Art and Artifice in Shakespeare (New York, 1962), p. 11.
14. "The Individualization of Shakespeare's Characters Through Imagery," Shakespeare Survey, 2 (1949), pp. 84-7.
15. Norman Verrle McCullough, The Negro in English Literature (Devon, England, 1962), p. 32. Hereafter cited as McCullough.
16. Henning Cohen, "Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice II. viii. 72-79," Shakespeare Quarterly, 2 (1951), 79.
17. McCullough, p. 26.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Jones, pp. 12-13. Auden, then, is right when he speaks of the flourishing slave trade "the Elizabethan innocents to whom a negro [sic] was simply sold." "The Alienated City," Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.
21. McCullough, p. 23.
22. Shakespearean Tragedy (London, 1965), p. 16. Bradley.
23. Ed., The Tragedy of Othello, The Moor of Venice, p. xi.
24. Bradley, pp. 163-4.
25. Ibid., p. 164.
26. According to McCullough (pp. 39-40), Blanchard's is an absurd conjecture in her Shakespeare's Four Tragedies (Hampshire, 1957), p. 80.
27. Smith, Dualities, p. 31.
28. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1962), p. 10.
29. Brabantio reiterates his charge on three more occasions (II, i, 163-79; I, iii, 60-63; and I, iii, 95-105). He is held up, because as the Duke says, "To vouch against him, / He hath no enemy." (II, i, 163-79).
30. "The Racial Factor in Othello," Shakespeare Quarterly, 2 (1951), pp. 124-5.
31. Ibid., p. 125.



Othello's Racial Identity," Shakespeare  
(1958), pp. 246-47.

(1958) p. 31.

Shakespeare (Toronto, 1966), p. 36. Hereafter cited

in The Alienated City, New York, 1939), p. 28.

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able of self-control and more sexually potent  
fantasies with which, alas, we are only too familiar,  
at in Shakespeare's time." "The Alienated City:  
Othello," Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.

Art and Artifice in Shakespeare (New York,

in The Alienated City, New York, 1939), p. 28.

Shakespeare Survey, 2 (1949), pp. 84-7.

McCullough, The Negro in English Literature (Devon,

1932). Hereafter cited as McCullough.

Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice II. viii. 78-79,"

Shakespeare Survey, 2 (1951), 79.

18. Ibid.

19. Ibid.

20. Jones, pp. 12-13. Auden, then, is right when he said that because  
of the flourishing slave trade "the Elizabethans were certainly no  
innocents to whom a negro [sic] was simply a comic exotic." "The  
Alienated City," Encounter, August, 1961, p. 10.

21. McCullough, p. 23.

22. Shakespearean Tragedy (London, 1965), p. 162. Hereafter cited as  
Bradley.

23. Ed., The Tragedy of Othello: The Moor of Venice (Boston, 1941),  
p. xi.

24. Bradley, pp. 163-4.

25. Ibid., p. 164.

26. According to McCullough (pp. 39-40), Blanche Cole makes this  
absurd conjecture in her Shakespeare's Four Giants (Rindge, New  
Hampshire, 1957), p. 80.

27. Smith, Dualities, p. 31.

28. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1958), p. 421.

29. Brabantio reiterates his charge on three more occasions (I, ii,  
63-79; I, iii, 60-63; and I, iii, 95-105). His charge does not  
hold up, because as the Duke says, "To vouch it is no proof."

30. "The Racial Factor in Othello," Shakespeare Studies, 5 (1969),  
pp. 124-5.

31. Ibid., p. 125.

RACE AND SEXUALITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

by

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Like many of the issues which must be under-  
explained by humanists and social scientists, the  
race and sexuality in America is one which is, a  
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dicting, and infrequently harmonious human desires  
and historical accidents. While some of the factors  
ship are not yet fully understood--or, as seems to  
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treated in American literature.

The issue of race and sexuality--usually the  
of black sexuality--is one which runs through both  
erary documents from virtually the beginning of Am-  
"The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature,"<sup>1</sup>  
out that, though the first blacks in America were  
"slaves," because blacks were immediately "set apart"  
never treated as the equal of the white settler, and  
assurances that the discriminatory word 'slave' was  
the Negro in the early decades of settlement are  
about the portrayal of blacks in literature, Cantor  
"colonial literature touching on the Negro is explained  
settlers viewed him as different and inferior."<sup>2</sup>

Like many of the issues which must be understood and subsequently explained by humanists and social scientists, the relationship between race and sexuality in America is one which is, at best, ambiguous to treat. The ambiguity is the logical product of the nature of the relationship itself--a plethora of intersecting, intertwining, contradicting, and infrequently harmonious human desires, cultural prejudices, and historical accidents. While some of the facets of this relationship are not yet fully understood--or, as seems more often the case, remain rather badly misunderstood--a rapidly growing consensus of opinion among social theorists indicates that the relationship itself lies very near the core of that historical tangle called "American race relations." This fundamental position in race consciousness explains, no doubt, why the race-sexuality subject is one of the most frequently treated in American literature.

The issue of race and sexuality--usually the issue of the nature of black sexuality--is one which runs through both historical and literary documents from virtually the beginning of America. In his essay, "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature,"<sup>1</sup> Milton Cantor points out that, though the first blacks in America were not technically "slaves," because blacks were immediately "set apart from the first and never treated as the equal of the white settler, free or servant, assurances that the discriminatory word 'slave' was rarely applied to the Negro in the early decades of settlement are irrelevant." And about the portrayal of blacks in literature, Cantor continues that "colonial literature touching on the Negro is explicit: the earliest settlers viewed him as different and inferior."<sup>2</sup>

## SEXUALITY IN AMERICAN LITERATURE

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Given this widespread assumption in Colonial America, then, that blacks were different in kind from whites, the corollary assumptions are, of course, predictable: namely that blacks therefore had "different"--i.e., more primitive--physical, social, and intellectual ideas and impulses than their white Colonial counterparts. A summary of these assumed impulses is found in the blatantly racist poem written by John Saffin titled "The Negroes' Character":

"Cowardly and cruel, are those Blacks Innate,  
Prone to Revenge, Imp of Inveterate hate,  
He that exasperates them; soon espies  
Mischief and Murder in their eyes.  
Libidinous, Deceitful, false and Rude,  
The spume issue of Ingratitude."<sup>3</sup>

Of all the denigrating characteristics attributed to blacks, however, by Saffin and by others, "libidinous" has proven to be the most threatening, in day-to-day social situations as well as in the white reception to the literature of black Americans. Thomas Detter, for example, the author of Nellie Brown, or The Jealous Wife, With Other Sketches (1871), felt compelled by conventions of the time to have his name appear on the title page of his book as "Thomas Detter, (Colored)." More important, he felt compelled to promise, immediately following his name, "This work is perfectly chaste and moral in every particular." One of America's finest authors, Claude McKay, found himself, a half-century after Detter, facing assumptions similar to those which Detter tried to allay with his title-page apologies. McKay describes in his autobiography, A Long Way From Home (1937), one of the English reviews

of his early collection of poems, "Spring in New

"Said the Spectator critic: 'Spring in New extrinsically as well as intrinsically interesting man who is a pure-blooded Negro . . . Perhaps the first impulse in realizing that the book is by a man who inquires into its good taste. Not until we are a little more inquisitive does not overstep the barriers which a not quite instinct in us is ever alive to maintain can we be fair. Mr. Claude McKay never offends our sense of poetry is clear of the hint which would put our hands against him, whether we would or not.'

So there it bobbed up again. As it was among the class-conscious working class: the bugaboo of some whether he is a poet or pugilist."<sup>4</sup>

McKay is right, of course; the critic's problem (the "first impulse") on the matter of "good taste," or "barriers," is indeed quite explicable: McKay, as a poet, must not reveal "distasteful impulses" in his poetry.

One of the most useful theories for explaining black sexuality, hence the stormy relationship between black sexuality in America generally, is the archetypal schizophrenia described by Eldridge Cleaver in the "Mitosis" section of Soul on Ice. Here Cleaver projects "The Class Society projects a fragmented sexual image coinciding with its class

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So there it bobbed up again. As it was among the elite of the  
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McKay is right, of course; the critic's problem ("the ordinary reader's  
 first impulse") on the matter of "good taste," or not overstepping "the  
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 as poet, must not reveal "distasteful impulses" in his love (sex?)  
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One of the most useful theories for explaining the white fear of  
 black sexuality, hence the stormy relationship between race and sexu-  
 ality in America generally, is the archetypal schema of class-  
 fragmented sexuality described by Eldridge Cleaver in the "Primeval  
 Mitosis" section of Soul on Ice. Here Cleaver postulates that  
 "The Class Society projects a fragmented sexual image. Each class  
 projects a sexual image coinciding with its class-function in society.

. . . The source of the fragmentation of the Self in Class Society lies in the alienation between the function of man's Mind and the function of his Body. Man as thinker performs an Administrative Function in society. Man as doer performs a Brute Power Function. These two basic functions I symbolize, when they are embodied in living men functioning in society, as the Omnipotent Administrator and the Supermasculine Menial."<sup>5</sup>

In a class society, Cleaver posits, the Omnipotent Administrator, as he competes for power with others like himself, repudiates the "component of Brute Power" in himself, in effect abdicating the "doer," or performer in himself as he becomes more exclusively concerned with his role as thinker and power manager. In short, he turns the male body functions over to the Supermasculine Menial in the socio-economic classes under his control. On a strictly economic level, this arrangement is a satisfactory one for the Omnipotent Administrator, for he has attained the power that he aspired to, and he has, in the Supermasculine Menial, a strong and efficient work force on which an economy thrives.

What has occurred, of course, is that the Omnipotent Administrator has purchased his socio-economic power at the cost of his own sexuality—and it happens so gradually that he is unaware of his own diminution of sexual power until it is impossible to reclaim the vital loss. The lateness of his awareness of his own loss of body power, Cleaver shows, is made possible by the woman who is his counterpart in the ruling class--the Ultrafeminine who, because she senses the process of self-emasculatation, or "effeminizing," that her man is undergoing, "is required to possess and project an image that is in sharp contrast

to his, more sharply feminine than his, so that the other man can still, by virtue of the sharp contrast, be perceived as masculine."<sup>6</sup> The female counterpart for the Ultrafeminine is the Subfeminine, the woman of the lower classes who gradually assumes more and more of the characteristics of the Ultrafeminine. The result of this transfer of power added to the Ultrafeminine's greater and greater dominance of herself, is that the Subfeminine becomes a kind of doer and the Ultrafeminine becomes something of a sexual controller.

While Cleaver's class-sex theory applies to various social arrangements, from European class structures to Fascist systems, it is particularly informing to note its correlation with the history of the relationships between race and sex in America. As revealed in both the social theory and the literature of the Americans. Put simply, Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator is the white male; the Supermasculine Menial becomes the black male; the Ultrafeminine becomes the white female (especially the dominant female); and the Subfeminine becomes the black female.

Adding to Cleaver's foundation theory the contributions of social researchers, psychologists and psychiatrists, and the work of American authors of fiction, drama, poetry, and the social sciences, that clear answers begin to emerge to questions like: Why have American males historically been paranoid about the sexual attraction of black males to white women? What lies at the base of the repulsion sexual impulses of white women toward black males? What is at the base of the attraction/retribution sexual impulses

the fragmentation of the Self in Class Society lies between the function of man's Mind and the function. The thinker performs an Administrative Function in the office; the worker performs a Brute Power Function. These two basic functions are embodied in living men functioning as the Omnipotent Administrator and the Supermasculine

Cleaver posits, the Omnipotent Administrator, in contrast with others like himself, repudiates the "doer" in himself, in effect abdicating the "doer," or "manager." He becomes more exclusively concerned with his own power. In short, he turns the male body into the Supermasculine Menial in the socio-economic system. On a strictly economic level, this arrangement is the one for the Omnipotent Administrator, for he has what he aspired to, and he has, in the Supermasculine Menial, an efficient work force on which an economy thrives. The one flaw, of course, is that the Omnipotent Administrator loses economic power at the cost of his own sexual power. He gradually realizes that he is unaware of his own diminution until it is impossible to reclaim the vital elements of his awareness of his own loss of body power, a loss made possible by the woman who is his counterpart in the Ultrafeminine who, because she senses the process of "effeminizing," that her man is undergoing, she can project an image that is in sharp contrast

to his, more sharply feminine than his, so that the effeminate image of her man can still, by virtue of the sharp contrast in degrees of femininity, be perceived as masculine.<sup>16</sup> The female who serves as contrast for the Ultrafeminine is the Subfeminine, the woman of the lower classes who gradually assumes more and more of the "Domestic Function" of the Ultrafeminine. The result of this transfer of responsibility, added to the Ultrafeminine's greater and greater effeminizing of herself, is that the Subfeminine becomes a kind of domestic beast while the Ultrafeminine becomes something of a sexual cipher.

While Cleaver's class-sex theory applies to various economic arrangements, from European class structures to Far Eastern caste systems, it is particularly informing to note its correspondence to the history of the relationships between race and sexuality in America, as revealed in both the social theory and the literature produced by Americans. Put simply, Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator becomes the white male; the Supermasculine Menial becomes the black male; the Ultrafeminine becomes the white female (especially the white southern female); and the Subfeminine becomes the black female.

Adding to Cleaver's foundation theory the conclusions of social researchers, psychologists and psychiatrists, and literally hundreds of American authors of fiction, drama, poetry, and the essay, one finds that clear answers begin to emerge to questions like: Why have white American males historically been paranoid about the sexual "threat" of black males to white women? What lies at the base of the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses of white women toward black men? What lies at the base of the attraction/retribution sexual impulses of black men

toward white women? What are the fundamental differences between the sexual impulses operating in the black man/white woman relationship and those operating in the black woman/white man relationship?

The first question must be answered before the others are approached, for the momentum which drives forward many of the race-sexuality tensions comes from the social projections of the white male's sexual insecurity. Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator suddenly becomes aware that he has created, in the Supermasculine Menial, the literal seeds of his own destruction--the mindless body which can, as he fearfully sees it, perform indefatigably those basic human acts which he, as bodiless mind, has largely lost the capacity for. Hence the onset of paranoia: He must now, through rationalization and sublimation, devise the myths which either diminish his need for racial competition in sexual performance or diminish the Supermasculine Menial's capacity for, or access to, sexual performance--at least with white women. Ironically, the white male's persistent diatribes about the threat of the black male to the white woman appears historically to have provided in the mind of the white woman at least as much fascination as fear. In Blues for Mister Charlie, James Baldwin recreates the principal myth in American race-sex relations when the character Ellis admonishes several white women about the dangers of black men:

"Ellis: Mrs. Britten, you're married and all the women in this room are married and I know you've seen your husband without no clothes on-- but have you seen a nigger without no clothes on? No, I guess you haven't. Well, he ain't like a white man, Mrs. Britten.

George: That's right.

Ellis: Mrs. Britten, if you was to be raped by the jungle or a stallion, couldn't do you no work wouldn't be no good for nobody. I've seen it.

George: That's right.

Ralph: That's why we men have got to be so vigilant have to be away a lot of nights, you know--and I I taught her how to use it, too."<sup>7</sup>

Implicit in Ralph's declaration, of course, Susan joins him in the desire that the gun be used with sexual designs--an assumption that history usually questionable and frequently false. Indeed, sexual myth has backfired badly in all ways. The myth to frighten white women away from black men. But may, indeed, be true, he becomes neurotically concerned about sexual performance."<sup>8</sup> At this point it becomes clear that the Omnipotent Administrator, or the white male, to inform a barrier against black male/white female sexual intercourse. Baldwin's characters with a variety of legal and moral arguments. It is interesting to note that most of the legal arguments, all of which were formulated, legislated, and enforced have been aimed at preventing interracial sexual activity from being initiated by either blacks or whites. In part, confirms the theory that white men have been conscious that the black sexual "threat" myths, which are almost solely responsible for establishing, may, as much titillation in white women as terror.



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Implicit in Ralph's declaration, of course, is the assumption that  
 Susan joins him in the desire that the gun be used on any black man  
 with sexual designs--an assumption that history has demonstrated to be  
 usually questionable and frequently false. Indeed, Beth Day says, "The  
 sexual myth has backfired badly in all ways. The white man invented it  
 to frighten white women away from black men. But when he fears that it  
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 as much titillation in white women as terror.

On June 12, 1967, the U. S. Supreme Court, in the case Loving v. Virginia, voided Virginia's 1691 law prohibiting interracial marriage ("abominable mixture and spurious issue")<sup>9</sup> and thereby simultaneously voided similar laws in sixteen other states as well.<sup>10</sup> This legal stroke finally eliminated the remnants of the volatile patchwork of white-male-designed laws against interracial sex and marriage, the first of which was legislated in Maryland in 1661.<sup>11</sup> The following year Virginia enacted a law prescribing a heavy fine for "any christian [who] shall committ fornication with a negro man or woman."<sup>12</sup> And for the next three hundred years, in many sections of the United States--\ thirty-one states in all--a complicated, and often contradictory, network of laws was designed to accomplish the widespread, and largely white-male, admonition about blacks expressed by Thomas Jefferson in Notes on Virginia: "When freed, he [all blacks] is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture."<sup>13</sup>

The price of interracial sexuality, in short, was very high. Beth Day says: "The state miscegenation laws were aimed primarily at preventing black men from marrying white women. . . . The fines ranged from \$50 (Colorado) to \$5,000 (Kentucky), and penalties of imprisonment from one month (Arkansas) to ten years (Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, and South Dakota)." She notes, incidentally, the legal difficulty of determining what exactly constitutes being "black": "A glance through the wording of the individual states' statutes shows a certain confusion among the white lawmakers about precisely what the definition of Negro was. The prohibition of marriage of a white to a black ranged from West Virginia's straightforward edict against a known

'Negro' to 'any person of African descent,' any descent 'back to the third generation,' or anyone fourth' or 'one-eighth' Negro. Louisiana sliced judging a person black who was known to have 'one ancestry. As to how the upholders of the law were such a judgment, short of the accused's own testimony, the laws provided, no guidelines."<sup>14</sup>

This matter of defining what is "black," indeed appeared in both serious and humorous literature and it is pointed out, rather amusingly, in the D. Schuyler's satiric novel, Black No More: "This black all Caucasians in the great republic who can trace ten generations and confidently assert that there twigs, limbs or branches on their family trees."<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the white-male-designed sexual white-male-legislated sexual laws, the white American a plethora of "extra-legal barriers" for the prevention of sexual activity of the black male/white female kind. Recognizing that his myths have caused considerable fear of male sexuality and that certainly one of his fundamental creating a strong anti-miscegenation legal network always many more laws barring interracial marriage (racial sexual activity) was the unspoken fear that to be trusted in matters of interracial relationships (marriage is nearly always a voluntary relationship), physically to eliminate the possibility of "violat

the U. S. Supreme Court, in the case Loving v. Virginia's 1691 law prohibiting interracial marriage and spurious issue")<sup>9</sup> and thereby simultaneously sixteen other states as well.<sup>10</sup> This legal act of the remnants of the volatile patchwork of laws against interracial sex and marriage, the first legislated in Maryland in 1661.<sup>11</sup> The following law prescribing a heavy fine for "any christian communication with a negro man or woman."<sup>12</sup> And for years, in many sections of the United States--all--a complicated, and often contradictory, networked to accomplish the widespread, and largely unspoken about blacks expressed by Thomas Jefferson in 1776 when freed, he [all blacks] is to be removed from the mixture."<sup>13</sup> Interracial sexuality, in short, was very high. Both anti-miscegenation laws were aimed primarily at preventing white women. . . . The fines ranged from \$5,000 (Kentucky), and penalties of imprisonment (Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, etc.) to ten years (Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, etc.) he notes, incidentally, the legal difficulty of defining "black": "The wording of the individual states' statutes shows that among the white lawmakers about precisely what the prohibition of marriage of a white to a black. Virginia's straightforward edict against a known

'Negro' to 'any person of African descent,' any person of African descent 'back to the third generation,' or anyone known to be 'one-fourth' or 'one-eighth' Negro. Louisiana sliced it rather fine by judging a person black who was known to have 'one-sixteenth' Negro ancestry. As to how the upholders of the law were supposed to make such a judgment, short of the accused's own testimony or that of his mother, the laws provided no guidelines."<sup>14</sup>

This matter of defining what is "black," incidentally, has appeared in both serious and humorous literature in the United States, and it is pointed out, rather amusingly, in the dedication to George S. Schuyler's satiric novel, Black No More: "This book is dedicated to all Caucasians in the great republic who can trace their ancestry back ten generations and confidently assert that there are no Black leaves, twigs, limbs or branches on their family trees."<sup>15</sup>

In addition to the white-male-designed sexual myths and the white-male-legislated sexual laws, the white American male has devised a plethora of "extra-legal barriers" for the prevention of interracial sexual activity of the black male/white female kind. Perhaps recognizing that his myths have caused considerable fascination about black male sexuality and that certainly one of his fundamental impulses in creating a strong anti-miscegenation legal network (and there were always many more laws barring interracial marriage than merely interracial sexual activity) was the unspoken fear that white women were not to be trusted in matters of interracial relationships (after all, marriage is nearly always a voluntary relationship), the white man set out physically to eliminate the possibility of "violation of his white

woman." This, at least, seems the most convincing explanation for the otherwise rather unaccountable fact that, especially in the American South, sexual mutilation so frequently accompanied the lynching of black men. Now, among other things, the hanging, burning, and mutilating of human beings, while it satisfied a white male sexual insecurity so deep as to be properly termed paranoiac, required a rationale so cogent as to convince literally millions of individuals of their justification--and that rationale was what Laurence A. Baughman calls the "Southern Rape Complex."

In his book of the same title, Baughman explains that the rape of a white woman by a black man was extremely rare prior to Reconstruction, and was not substantially more common even after that stormy period. The fact of rape, however, as Baughman points out, had virtually nothing to do with the allegation of rape--an allegation, not surprisingly, made far more often by white men who assumed the frequency of such activity than by white women who presumably would have been its victims. With the rape-rationale (or, as was far more often the case, the attempted-rape-rationale) established, however, bands of white males, under a variety of Christian, patriotic, and masculine guises--and motivated by the same nightmares, as well as daydreams, highlighted by perpetual close-up visions of black and white genitals in union--set out to reassert their own sexuality by literally denying black men theirs.

This paranoiac impulse explains why thousands of black men, especially in the South, have been "lynched," why "lynching" is one of the most common subjects treated by black (and, to a considerably

lesser extent, white)-southern writers and, very often, sexual mutilation has been in evidence in such a way as to appear in both historical and literary accounts. (As in his novel, The Garies and Their Friends, 1853, the northern penalty for "amalgamation" was, in fact, frequently simply mob shooting or beating.) Far more than simply describing the inhuman details of the lynchings, Richard Wright does it brilliantly in what is probably his best literary work, a poem titled "Between the World and I." He has also attempted to explain the far-reaching cultural implications of the lynchings. Claude McKay, for example, in his short poem titled "Lynch," says:

"His Spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven.  
His father, by the cruelest way of pain,  
Had bidden him to his bosom once again;  
The awful sin remained still unforgiven.  
All night a bright and solitary star  
(Perchance the one that ever guided him,  
Yet gave him up at last to Fate's wild whim)  
Hung pitifully o'er the swinging char.  
Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to view  
The ghastly body swaying in the sun.  
The women thronged to look, but never a one  
Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue.  
And little lads, lynchers that were to be,  
Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee

seems the most convincing explanation for the undeniable fact that, especially in the American South, so frequently accompanied the lynching of black men and women, the hanging, burning, and mutilation, while it satisfied a white-male sexual insecurity, properly termed paranoiac, required a rationale so convincing to literally millions of individuals of their justification was what Laurence A. Baughman calls the "lynch rationale." In a book of the same title, Baughman explains that the rape of black men was extremely rare prior to Reconstruction, but became much more common even after that stormy period. However, as Baughman points out, the "lynch rationale" of rape--an allegation, not surprising, often by white men who assumed the frequency of rape by white women who presumably would have been its victims--rationale (or, as was far more often the case, the "lynch rationale") established, however, bands of white men, often of Christian, patriotic, and masculine guises--and some nightmarish, as well as daydreams, highlighted the "lynch rationale" of rape--visions of black and white genitals in union--set the "lynch rationale" of rape--own sexuality by literally denying black men the "lynch rationale" of rape--pulse, explains why thousands of black men, and women, have been "lynched," why "lynching" is one of the most heinous crimes treated by black (and, to a considerably

lesser extent, white) southern writers and, very importantly, why sexual mutilation has been in evidence in such a large number of cases, in both historical and literary accounts. (As Frank J. Webb explains in his novel, *The Garies and Their Friends*, 1857, set in Philadelphia, the northern penalty for "amalgamation" was, instead of lynching, frequently simply mob shooting or beating.) Far more important than simply describing the inhuman details of the lynch scene--though Richard Wright does it brilliantly in what is probably his finest literary work, a poem titled "Between the World and Me"--a number of writers have attempted to explain the far-reaching cultural impact of lynching. Claude McKay, for example, in his short poem titled "The Lynching" says:

"His Spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven.  
His father, by the cruelest way of pain,  
Had bidden him to his bosom once again;  
The awful sin remained still unforgiven.  
All night a bright and solitary star  
(Perchance the one that ever guided him,  
Yet gave him up at last to Fate's wild whim)  
Hung pitifully o'er the swinging char.  
Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to view  
The ghastly body swaying in the sun.  
The women thronged to look, but never a one  
Showed sorrow in her eyes of steely blue.  
And little lads, lynchers that were to be,  
Danced round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee."<sup>16</sup>

Here McKay makes clear that far more is at stake than the destroyed human life; for what is being perpetuated by this southern folk ritual is the systematic dehumanization of each coming generation, as the "little lads, lynchers that were to be" are taught by their society that it is appropriate to dance "round the dreadful thing in fiendish glee." Their perception of their world is perverted virtually from infancy. The most poignant illustration of what these "little lads" are to become is a character in James Baldwin's short story, "Going to Meet the Man." Jesse is a middle-age southern deputy sheriff whose sexuality was shaped at age eight when he was taken to his first lynching. Here, as he, his parents, and most of his community breathlessly watch the slow and calculated torture and mutilation of a human being; and as Jesse observes that his mother's "eyes were very bright, her mouth was open: she was more beautiful than he had ever seen her, and more strange"; and, sitting atop his father's shoulders, as he feels "his father's hands on his ankles slip and tighten" as the torture progresses; and as Jesse feels "a joy he had never felt before"; and, following the inevitable castration, as his "head, of its own weight, [falls] downward toward his father's head"<sup>17</sup>--as all of this occurs, Jesse, a victim of his own culture as surely as, though less painfully than, the man lynched, becomes a "man," that is, his sexual nature is tragically formed in such a way that he can never experience sexual fulfillment without fantasies of the racial-sexual torture.

Many other bizarre forms of racially inspired sexual development in white men are recorded in the writing of such authors as William Melvin Kelley and Aldridge Cleaver. In his novel Dem, Kelley treats

the rather unlikely subject of "superfecundation"--a woman with spermatozoa from two men within a short time, causing twins, each the product of a different father. Kelley's Mrs. Pierce, one of the fathers is Mr. Pierce, the other is Mrs. Pierce's black lover--hence, when born, one child is black and one is white. Mr. Pierce, having found himself emasculated by the power of black sexuality, reverts to the role of the "Inferior" at the close of the novel as he "sank down deep in his chair, and, on his side, his eyes closed and his hands clasped over his thighs, he filled the darkness with fantasies."<sup>18</sup> In "The Black Eunuchs," Cleaver has "the Infidel" describe the "Inferior" as "the Administrator no longer capable of being the performer for his female, can at least be the provocateur in her ecstasy:

"There is a sickness in the whites that lies at the heart of their madness and this sickness makes them act in many different ways. . . . There is one way it makes some of them act that seems to be everything we know about whitey and shakes many black men at their first encounter it. . . . There are white men who will tell you their wives. . . . There is a certain type who will tell you their wife alone and tell you to pile her real good. . . . There are some who like to peep at you through a keyhole and tell you about a woman. . . ."<sup>19</sup>

Interestingly, in such an arrangement the white man is able to maintain his Omnipotent Administrator position--that

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 some who like to peep at you through a keyhole and watch you have his  
 woman. . . ."19

Interestingly, in such an arrangement the white male continues to  
 maintain his Omnipotent Administrator position--that is, oddly enough,

he is still the manager of the sexual activity. It is, in short, a power structure still controlled by the white male, just as the mythical, legal, and extra-legal sexual restraints have been controlled by white men. Indeed critic Leslie Fiedler, in discussing primarily the South, says that there is "no absolute distinction of black and white, merely an imaginary line--crossed and recrossed by the white man's lust. . . ."20

The second major question about race and sexuality in America, "what lies at the base of the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses of white women toward black men?" has been partly answered in the discussion about the origins and manifestations of white-male paranoia on the matter of black male/white female sexual relations--the insecurity which has bred the myths, laws, and vigilante repression so widely documented in American writing. The white female responses to the idea of interracial sexual intimacy, as reflected in American literature at least, have predictably been ambivalent ones, and the attraction/repulsion designation provides a fair though general summary of these attitudes. Interestingly, even in the writing of mid-nineteenth-century white female authors of a clearly racist persuasion, such as Caroline Lee Hentz and Mrs. Henry R. Schoolcraft, there appears a penchant for lingering over the physical details of black men. In her novel, The Planter's Northern Bride (1854), Mrs. Hentz, a self-styled authority on black Americans, explains:

"You think, perhaps, it must be a curse to work under the burning sun of our sultry climate. It would be for me; it would be for the white man; but the negro, native of a tropic zone, and constitutionally adapted to

its heat, luxuriates in the beams which would have studied him physiologically as well as men find some remarkable characteristics, perhaps upon minute examination, is very different respects as well as colour. It secretes a far moisture, which, like dew, throws back the heat could mention many more peculiarities which prove situation he occupies, but I fear I weary you, To which Eulalia, as enthralled in the subject "Oh, no!" Though substantially more vicious in Hentz, Mrs. Henry Schoolcraft, especially in her Gauntlet; A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina betrays on occasion a suspiciously "unladylike" physiology.

In twentieth century literature, the attraction of white women toward black men has been quite different. Returning to Cleaver's archetype, briefly, we find both the repulsion and the attraction. The repulsion is the culturally inspired disdain for close association with the inferior that is usually experienced by the alien. The attraction, on the other hand, is somewhat more complex in origin and its manifestations. Cleaver explains the feminine [the white woman], in the continual process of "masculinity" of the Omnipotent Administrator by effeminizing of herself, becomes a "psychic cell" who, in sexual union with the Omnipotent Administrator



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It must be a curse to work under the burning sun. It would be for me; it would be for the white man; of a tropic zone, and constitutionally adapted to

its heat, luxuriates in the beams which would parch us with fever. I have studied him physiologically as well as mentally and morally, and I find some remarkable characteristics, perhaps unknown to you. . . . his skin, upon minute examination, is very different from ours, in other respects as well as colour. It secretes a far greater quantity of moisture, which, like dew, throws back the heat absorbed by us. I could mention many more peculiarities which prove his adaptedness to the situation he occupies, but I fear I weary you, Eulalia."<sup>21</sup>

To which Eulalia, as enthralled in the subject as her narrator, cries, "Oh, no!" Though substantially more vicious in her racism than Mrs. Hentz, Mrs. Henry Schoolcraft, especially in her novel, The Black Gauntlet; A Tale of Plantation Life in South Carolina (1852-1860), also betrays on occasion a suspiciously "unladylike" interest in black physiology.

In twentieth century literature, the attraction/repulsion impulse of white women toward black men has been quite openly explored. Returning to Cleaver's archetype, briefly, we find an explanation for both the repulsion and the attraction. The repulsion, quite simply, is the culturally inspired disdain for close association with the alleged inferior that is usually experienced by the allegedly superior class. The attraction, on the other hand, is somewhat more complicated in its origin and its manifestations. Cleaver explains that the Ultra-feminine [the white woman], in the continual process of protecting the "masculinity" of the Omnipotent Administrator by greater and greater effeminizing of herself, becomes a "psychic celibate"--that is, a woman who, in sexual union with the Omnipotent Administrator, cannot

coordinate the impulses of both the mind and the body to achieve complete gratification. Though her class position has largely de-sexed this woman, it has not eliminated the need for sexual fulfillment; it has simply substantially reduced her access to that fulfillment--hence perpetual frustration. At this point her fantasies fix on the individual who, she imagines, can relieve her frustration, as the Omnipotent Administrator cannot, and who can, at the same time, restore her sense of sexual self-esteem, as the Omnipotent Administrator dare not, lest he add to his already present burden of sexual insecurity and suspicion. Of the Ultra-feminine's attraction impulses, Cleaver says:

"Though she may never have had a sexual encounter with a Super-masculine Menial, she is fully convinced that he can fulfill her physical need. . . . But what wets the Ultra-feminine's juice is that she is allured and tortured by the secret, intuitive knowledge that he, her psychic bridegroom, can blaze through the wall of her ice, plumb her psychic depths . . . detonate the bomb of her orgasm, and bring her sweet release."<sup>22</sup>

A number of American authors--interestingly, mostly male authors--have treated this "sweet release" of the white female which is alleged to be possible through union with black males. In his autobiographical Letters to a Black Boy (1969), Robert Teague explores the pent-up fantasies that some white women bring to an interracial sexual encounter. Teague describes an "interracial party" that he attended in Milwaukee shortly after he finished college at which he met a young white socialite whom he calls Paula Hotchkiss. He continues:

"And later--after some furtive necking in the kite alone together in a guest bedroom upstairs. . . . stepped out of her underthings, Paula threw her ar Her voice was intimate, warm and husky in my ear. go easy with me,' she whispered. 'I understand ab make Negro men so much better--the way you tear in animal.'

Well. Another one of those. As a matter of a little unsure of myself at that moment, and my e boudoir at that stage of my life was not impressiv

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As it turned out, all I had to do was penetra hair. Almost immediately, her body stiffened; she her fingernails, moaned and quivered violently. I as I was getting started. Her vivid imagination ha potent than any expertise at my command."<sup>23</sup>

An added dimension of white female attraction sexuality which is not revealed in the motivation of Hotchkiss"--though it certainly may have been prese punishment. In fact, one may cogently theorize the reasons for the attraction/repulsion ambivalence in the desire for "sweet release" described by Cleaver because of the "naughtiness factor," intensified by Victorian sense of sex guilt, which, at least until appears to have been commonplace in American women.

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An added dimension of white female attraction to black male  
 sexuality which is not revealed in the motivation of Teague's "Paula  
 Hotchkiss"--though it certainly may have been present--is self-  
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 reasons for the attraction/repulsion ambivalence in white women lies in  
 the desire for "sweet release" described by Cleaver coupled with--and,  
 because of the "naughtiness factor," intensified by--the Puritan-  
 Victorian sense of sex guilt, which, at least until rather recently,  
 appears to have been commonplace in American women. Such a woman,

then, may have the best of both pleasure and pain. The pleasure results from the physical-psychic fulfillment which Cleaver describes, together with the sense of perverse joy which often accompanies performance of some act culturally identified as "evil," and together further, at least on occasions, with the satisfaction of "revenge" for wrongs, or imagined wrongs, perpetrated by her white husband or lover. The pain, or guilt, on the other hand, can result from a personal sense of unworthiness, which can be inspired by innumerable past acts or impulses, reinforced by both the guilt about her sexual appetite itself and the further guilt of having that appetite sated by an individual that her culture has dictated to be inferior to her.

In the heroine of his novel, Pretty Leslie (1963), R. V. Cassill well portrays the plethora of pleasure-pain impulses just described. The frustrated and guilt-ridden doctor's wife, Leslie, has carefully chosen for her lover a white man named Don Patch, who seduced, belittles, and physically punishes her hour after hour:

"He heard the woman groan in misery and fulfillment. . . . Now her guilts begged with her hungers, like novices soliciting beside the tanks with the whores. Punishment and lust were simultaneous. There was no longer any limit, within or without, which could enforce an end to the looting or betrayal.

So his refusal to stop became her leisure to enjoy--enjoy not merely the stretch and impact of their bodies, so terribly exposed, but also, in recollection, the cunning expedients of the day by which she had singled (chosen? Yes, chosen) this man from the crowd at Bieman's farm. . . . With a sure instinct of choice, had she not goaded

him on to follow her even when the light part of was trying to squelch him?

[. . . Was she not now served as she loved disguised as black? Nigger, she gloated silent the sweat of his back.]"<sup>24</sup>

Leslie, then, in the climactic throes of masoch ultimate pleasure [and guilt] by mentally transmutable lover into a black man. An interesting transformation fantasy is found, incidentally, "Going to Meet the Man," in which Jesse, the mis described earlier as he came to perverted sexual ing a lynching, finds that to achieve sexual fulfillment in addition to creating fantasies about mutilation, himself into a black man. Then, in a powerful nature of his own sexual needs, as well as those thought of the morning and grabbed her, laughing laughing, and he whispered, as he stroked her, on, sugar, I'm going to do you like a nigger, ju on, sugar, and love me just like you'd love a ni

There have been numerous recent attempts to historical literature in which highly contempor sexual behavior have been imposed upon character or two centuries ago. One of the most striking "contemporized" writing is Clifford Mason's play like the historical event on which it is based, Virginia plantation of Charles Prosser.<sup>26</sup> To the

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There have been numerous recent attempts to write "revisionist"  
 historical literature in which highly contemporary interpretations of  
 sexual behavior have been imposed upon characters and settings of one  
 or two centuries ago. One of the most striking illustrations of this  
 "contemporized" writing is Clifford Mason's play Gabriel (1968), which,  
 like the historical event on which it is based, is set in 1800 on the  
 Virginia plantation of Charles Prosser.<sup>26</sup> To the rather elaborate

plans of insurrection laid by the slave Gabriel and his followers, however, Mason has injected the element of sado-masochistic sexuality between Gabriel and his master's wife, Lucy Prosser. The rather unconvincing first exchange between Gabriel and Lucy reveal Mason's purpose--to portray Gabriel as a disinterested sexual superman and Lucy as a panting Victorian nymphomaniac:

"Lucy: . . . You've got to come tonight. Please, say you'll really come.

Gabriel [moves away]: When I think of the days I've spent pleasing massaah and the nights I've spent pleasing you and all the beatings I've taken from the foreman in between. . . .

Lucy: And you'll come early, please.

Gabriel: Just don't touch me; I'll come early and stay late if you just don't touch me.

Lucy: I won't.

Gabriel: I'm sick to death of you. I can't even stand the smell of you. So don't touch me. Even when you're getting undressed don't touch me. I don't want to see your face until it's too black out for it to make a difference what you look like.

Lucy: Yes. But I remember when you used to go on and on because you enjoyed it so. I remember when you kissed me until my body was bruised from kisses. I remember when I had to beg you to stop because the pleasure turned to pain. [She tries to touch him again.]<sup>27</sup>

The motivation for the disdain felt by black males such as Gabriel for white women is central to any attempt to answer the third race-sexuality question; "What lies at the base of the attraction/retribution

sexual impulses of black men toward white women?" not difficult to understand. It is, in fact, the sexual coin from the "repulsion" aspect of white black male sexuality--both impulses are the logic which for three and a half centuries has und whitensess with superiority and blackness with in understandably enough, just as a part of many wh toward black men is based upon the awareness of " least a part of many black male impulses toward upon an awareness of "elevation." This black mal lated by the character Drummage in Kyle Onstott's Falconhurst (1964) [one of the "Mandingo" series] struction on an Alabama plantation, describes his child--his child--which Sophie, the late master's carrying:

"If Sophie was completely indifferent to the life her, not so Drummage. All his pride, all his van thought of fathering a child by Sophie. What if himself to the necessary performance, or if his Sophie was still a white woman and the daughter of still the head of Falconhurst, a member of that wo hoped to enter--a white world which had been as fa own as earth from heaven. He was only Drummage, Maxwell, with the blood of Maxwells and Hammonds

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"If Sophie was completely indifferent to the life burgeoning within  
 her, not so Drummage. All his pride, all his vanity was aroused by the  
 thought of fathering a child by Sophie. What if he had had to force  
 himself to the necessary performance, or if his favors had been bought?  
 Sophie was still a white woman and the daughter of Hammond Maxwell,  
 still the head of Falconhurst, a member of that world he had never  
 hoped to enter--a white world which had been as far removed from his  
 own as earth from heaven. He was only Drummage, but she was Sophie  
 Maxwell, with the blood of Maxwells and Hammonds in her veins!"<sup>28</sup>

While Kyle Onstott is a white novelist,<sup>29</sup> similar attitudes have  
 been expressed by black social theorists and authors. In one of the

most useful sociological works on the whole subject, Sex and Racism in America (1965), Calvin C. Hernton explains his own culturally inspired awareness of, and fascination for, white women:

"To every Negro boy who grows up in the South, the light-skinned Negro woman--the 'high yellow,' the mulatto--incites awe. The white woman incites more awe. As a boy I was, to say the least, confused. As I grew older, the desire to see what it was that made white women so dear and angelic became a secret, grotesque burden to my psyche. It is that to almost all Negro men, no matter how successfully they hide and deny it. And for these reasons--the absurd idolization of the white woman and the equal absurdity of the taboo surrounding her--there arises within almost all Negroes a sociosexually induced predisposition for white women."<sup>30</sup>

Likewise in the "Allegory of the Black Eunuchs" section of Soul on Ice, Cleaver records the nearly fanatical, and presently somewhat dated, pronouncements of "the Accused" on his attraction to white women:

"Ain't no such thing as an ugly white woman. A white woman is beautiful even if she's baldheaded and only has one tooth. . . . It's not just the fact that she's a woman that I love; I love her skin, her soft, smooth, white skin. I like to just lick her white skin as if sweet; fresh honey flows from her pores, and just to touch her long, soft, silky hair. There's a softness about a white woman, something delicate and soft inside her. . . . Ain't nothing more beautiful than a white woman's hair being blown by the wind. The white woman is more than a woman to me. . . . She's like a goddess, a symbol. My love for

her is religious and beyond fulfillment. I work a white woman's dirty drawers."<sup>31</sup>

The "retribution" aspect of the ambivalent retribution impulse toward white women seems more than the well-documented "attraction" aspect. One way to approach this impulse to punish is to explore exploitation in the historical victor-conquered Women in White America (1972), the editor, Gerda practice of raping the women of a defeated enemy found in every culture. . . . It is the ultimate for a defeated foe since it symbolizes his help any other conceivable act."<sup>32</sup>

Certainly the history and literature treat the defeated nation by victorious military forces and actions of the sexual abuse heaped upon the conqueror useful to bring that military analogy to bear on between black males and white females in a culture as well as outright hostility, has historically racial attitudes. Accepting Lerner's premise the ultimate expression of contempt for a defeated foe understand the possibilities for cultural revenge and voluntary interracial sexual encounters. Lerner "There was a time when the rape of a white woman unknown throughout the South. During the entire slavery, it did not, for all practical purposes,



ical works on the whole subject, Sex and Racism in  
 in C. Hernton explains his own culturally inspired  
 fascination for, white women:

who grows up in the South, the light-skinned Negro  
 low, the mulatto--incites awe. The white woman  
 a boy I was, to say the least, confused. As I  
 re to see what it was that made white women so dear  
 secret, grotesque burden to my psyche. It is that  
 men, no matter how successfully they hide and deny  
 reasons--the absurd idolization of the white woman  
 lity of the taboo surrounding her--there arises  
 groes a sociosexually induced predisposition for

"Allegory of the Black Eunuchs" section of Soul on  
 the nearly fanatical, and presently somewhat  
 of "the Accused" on his attraction to white  
 as an ugly white woman. A white woman is  
 's baldheaded and only has one tooth. . . . It's  
 t she's a woman that I love; I love her skin, her  
 kin. I like to just lick her white skin as if  
 ows from her pores, and just to touch her long,  
 here's a softness about a white woman, something  
 ide her. . . . Ain't nothing more beautiful than  
 being blown by the wind. The white woman is more  
 . . . She's like a goddess, a symbol. My love for

her is religious and beyond fulfillment. I worship her. I love a  
 white woman's dirty drawers."<sup>31</sup>

The "retribution" aspect of the ambivalent black male attraction/  
 retribution impulse toward white women seems somewhat more complicated  
 than the well-documented "attraction" aspect. Probably the most useful  
 way to approach this impulse to punish is to explore the use of sexual  
 exploitation in the historical victor-conquered relationship. In Black  
Women in White America (1972), the editor, Gerda Lerner, says: "The  
 practice of raping the women of a defeated enemy is world-wide and is  
 found in every culture. . . . It is the ultimate expression of contempt  
 for a defeated foe since it symbolizes his helplessness more fully than  
 any other conceivable act."<sup>32</sup>

Certainly the history and literature treating the occupation of a  
 defeated nation by victorious military forces are alive with descrip-  
 tions of the sexual abuse heaped upon the conquered women. It seems  
 useful to bring that military analogy to bear on sexual activities  
 between black males and white females in a culture in which antagonism,  
 as well as outright hostility, has historically characterized cross-  
 racial attitudes. Accepting Lerner's premise that sexual abuse "is the  
 ultimate expression of contempt for a defeated foe," one can quickly  
 understand the possibilities for cultural revenge in both involuntary  
 and voluntary interracial sexual encounters. Laurence Baughman says:  
 "There was a time when the rape of a white woman by a Negro was almost  
 unknown throughout the South. During the entire period of Negro  
 slavery, it did not, for all practical purposes, exist. Nor did it

exist to any great extent until some years after the Emancipation. But what cases there were were particularly brutal."<sup>33</sup>

The question naturally arises as to how exactly either the involuntary or the voluntary sexual activity between a black male and a white female can constitute cultural "retribution." The answer to the question cannot emerge until there is an understanding about the nature of the relationship between the American white woman (particularly, but by no means exclusively, the southern white woman) and American cultural values (again, particularly southern values). This relationship has been explored in at least two significant ways. On one hand, W. J. Cash asserts that "in the settling dust of the Civil War, any attempt on the part of the Negro to iterate his new equality was not just a simple aggression against Southern ideology but was an attack on Southern womanhood, as surely as if she were indeed physically violated."<sup>34</sup>

Richard Christy, on the other hand, reverses the causal order of the relationship by claiming, more convincingly, it seems, that

"the Southern white woman was a symbol of Southern ideology, not vice versa. She meant less than nothing without the ideal of the South. When a Southerner was chivalrous to his woman he was paying homage to the South. The woman meant no more to his ideal than a rosary to a diocese. The violence of the Southern mind was greater not when a Southern ideal was attacked and he associated it with his woman but, rather, when his woman was attacked and he subconsciously related it to his ideals."<sup>35</sup>

Regardless, however, of the actual first cause of this chicken-and-egg relationship, the fact remains that white American

women (again, particularly southern women), and their sexuality, are inextricably associated with American (southern) values, and, therefore, any assault on women (even a voluntary "assault") has become, for many, simultaneously an assault on the "ideals" which America represents. And, unlike the black-revolution literature of authors like Bontemps (Black Thunder, 1936), Imamu Baraka (The Black Liberation, 1966), Styron (The Confessions of Nat Turner, 1966), Sam Williams (Who Sat by the Door, 1969), and John A. Williams (Sons of Light, 1969), in which open go-for-broke sexual assault allows, in addition to the gratification of a culturally "forbidden fruit," the relative security of retribution which may be repeated many times.

An interesting corollary of the white female-equation emerges in any attempt to answer the final question posed early in this article: "What are the differences between the sexual impulses operating in the white woman relationship and those operating in the black woman relationship?" Interestingly, in the first black novel, Clotel; or, The President's Daughter (1853)--a novel about the legend of Thomas Jefferson's quadroon daughters--Williams, in describing a slave auction at which Clotel (Jefferson's daughter) is being sold, reveals that Clotel's value is enhanced by her possession of a gentle temper, Christianity, and chastity:

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(even a voluntary "assault") has become, for many black males, simul-  
taneously an assault on the "ideals" which America holds most dear.  
And, unlike the black-revolution literature of authors like Arna  
Bontemps (Black Thunder, 1936), Imamu Baraka (The Slave, 1964), William  
Styron (The Confessions of Nat Turner, 1966), Sam Greenlee (The Spook  
Who Sat by the Door, 1969), and John A. Williams (Sons of Darkness,  
Sons of Light, 1969), in which open go-for-broke military attacks are  
made by blacks upon the actual physical institutions of America, the  
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being sold, reveals that Clotel's value is enhanced in direct propor-  
tion as she reflects such fundamentally American values as light skin,  
a gentle temper, Christianity, and chastity:

"Clotel" had been reserved for the last, because she was the most valuable. 'How much gentlemen? Real Allino, fit for a fancy girl for any one. She enjoys good health, and has a sweet temper. How much do you say?' 'Five hundred dollars.' 'Only five hundred for such a girl as this? Gentlemen, she is worth a deal more than that sum; you certainly don't know the value of the article you are bidding upon. Here, gentlemen, I hold in my hand a paper certifying that she has a good moral character.' 'Seven hundred.' 'Ah, gentlemen, that is something like. This paper also states that she is very intelligent.' 'Eight hundred.' 'She is a devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy.' 'Nine hundred.' 'Nine fifty.' 'Ten.' 'Eleven.' 'Twelve hundred.' Here the sale came to a dead stand. . . . 'The chastity of this girl is pure; she has never been from under her mother's care; she is a virtuous creature.' 'Thirteen.' 'Fourteen.' 'Fifteen.' 'Fifteen hundred dollars,' cried the auctioneer, and the maiden was struck for that sum. This was a Southern auction, at which the bones, muscles, sinews, blood, and nerves of a young lady of sixteen were sold for five hundred dollars; her moral character for two hundred; her improved intellect for one hundred; her Christianity for three hundred; and her chastity and virtue for four hundred dollars more."<sup>36</sup>

The more common portrayal of black women in American literature, however, is one which emphasizes their difference from white women, rather than their similarity. Again, of course, the white superiority-black inferiority attitudes are operating, with the effects nowhere better articulated than in the book by psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs titled Black Rage (1968). Among the many case

studies outlined in the book is that of a black woman who sums up her perception of the sexual role assigned to her in black history: "I know I am a whore at heart--society knows I am suitable only for casual sexual use--and Bertha here reveals the devastating residue of a process like slavery, and later institutional discrimination on the female psyche. In their chapter titled "Achievement and Cobbs state: "In the world of women an abundance of success is not only a cheerful attribute but a vital component of emotional well-being."<sup>38</sup> But it is exactly this character of Bertha that has been denied.

The hundreds of thousands of Berthas have been the result of a conspiracy among white males--and the tacit approval of white females. To make her own social niche which was to be her lot, Bertha had to give up a part of that sense of feminine self-esteem which Grier and Cobbs deem essential to sound emotional adjustment. She became the property of her master, as well as for his "cracker" neighbor, through the denial of the sexual gratification which he could not afford to dare not request, at least not too often) with her. In "Going to Meet the Man," Jesse, unable to perform with his wife, thinks: "He could not ask her to do just a little just to help him out, just for a little while, through the nigger girl to do it."<sup>39</sup> Black females became, through which white male sexual fantasies could be satisfied, the master's and cracker's twentieth-century counterparts.

erved for the last, because she was the most gentlemen? Real Albino, fit for a fancy girl for good health, and has a sweet temper. How much do red dollars.' 'Only five hundred for such a girl she is worth a deal more than that sum; you certainly value of the article you are bidding upon. Here, my hand a paper certifying that she has a good even hundred.' 'Ah, gentlemen, that is something to states that she is very intelligent.' 'Eight devoted Christian, and perfectly trustworthy.' 'Eighty five.' 'Ten.' 'Eleven.' 'Twelve hundred.' 'A dead stand. . . . 'The chastity of this girl is been from under her mother's care; she is a virgin.' 'Fourteen.' 'Fifteen.' 'Fifteen hundred the auctioneer, and the maiden was struck for that northern auction, at which the bones, muscles, sinews, a young lady of sixteen were sold for five hundred character for two hundred; her improved intellect Christianity for three hundred; and her chastity hundred dollars more."<sup>36</sup>

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studies outlined in the book is that of a black woman named Bertha, who sums up her perception of the sexual role assigned her by American history: "I know I am a whore at heart--society confirms it. . . . I know I am suitable only for casual sexual use--society confirms it."<sup>37</sup> Bertha here reveals the devastating residue of a cultural conditioning process like slavery, and later institutional discrimination, upon the female psyche. In their chapter titled "Achieving Womanhood," Grier and Cobbs state: "In the world of women an abundance of feminine narcissism is not only a cheerful attribute but a vital necessity to emotional well-being."<sup>38</sup> But it is exactly this characteristic which Bertha has been denied.

The hundreds of thousands of Berthas have been created largely as the result of a conspiracy among white males--and with at least the tacit approval of white females. To make her compatible with the social niche which was to be her lot, Bertha had early to be stripped of that sense of feminine self-esteem which Grier and Cobbs describe as essential to sound emotional adjustment. She became for the slave master, as well as for his "cracker" neighbor, the "animal-like" source of the sexual gratification which he could not achieve (or which he dared not request, at least not too often) with his white wife. (In "Going to Meet the Man," Jesse, unable to perform sexually with his wife, thinks: "He could not ask her to do just a little thing for him, just to help him out, just for a little while, the way he could ask a nigger girl to do it."<sup>39</sup>) Black females became, then, the objects through which white male sexual fantasies could be acted out. The master's and cracker's twentieth-century counterparts are, in addition

to southern white men of all classes, urban landlords, employers, and an almost endless variety of others whose superior social and economic position makes many black women, like Lutie Johnson in Ann Petry's The Street (1946) automatically vulnerable.

The most fundamental difference, then, between the historical and literary treatment of the black man/white woman relationship and that of the black woman/white man relationship is that the first has always been considered taboo (at the present time even more in the black community than in the white), while the second has been covertly tolerated. The qualifications imposed upon that toleration, however, are revealing. In viewing the black woman/white man relationship from the white woman's perspective, Beth Day, not altogether accurately, says:

"It forces her to live a lie in regard to her own position in life and her relationship to her husband. For him, black sex is always available, regardless of her feelings. For her, the door of sexual choice is closed."<sup>40</sup> This sexual double-standard problem, intensified by the

racial factor, is treated by Baldwin in Blues for Mister Charlie, in which the murder Lyle Britten, his wife Jo, and his friend Parnell discuss what, for Lyle and Parnell at least, is the obvious difference in the two kinds of relationships:

"Jo: It's not different--how can you say that? White men ain't got no more business fooling around with black women than--

Lyle: Girl, will you stop getting yourself into an uproar? Men is different from women--they ain't as delicate. Man can do a lot of things a woman can't do, you know that.

Parnell: You've heard the expression, sowing wild men we know sowed a lot of wild oats before they and got married.

Lyle: That's right. Men have to do it. They a

And here is the crux of the entire race-and-America--the glib and simple vision of a nation of what they perceive as the obvious differences in beings and human needs. Black men simply "ain't Black women "ain't like" white women. Men "ain't most central to the race-sexuality issue, black people white people. With such a simplistic and inhuman only boundaries for the behavior, prejudices, and Lyle Britten--attitudes and actions shaped by the sophistication and superiority and black animalism there is little reason to marvel at the legion of debasement and bitterness recorded so tragically America.

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Parnell: You've heard the expression, sowing wild oats? Well, all the  
 men we know sowed a lot of wild oats before they finally settled down  
 and got married.

Lyle: That's right. Men have to do it. They ain't like women."<sup>41</sup>

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 debasement and bitterness recorded so tragically in the literature of  
 America.

## FOOTNOTES

1. This essay is included in the Seymour Gross and John E. Hardy collection, Images of the Negro in American Literature (Chicago, 1966).
2. Ibid., pp. 29-30.
3. Ibid., p. 39.
4. Claude McKay, A Long Way From Home (New York, 1970), p. 88.
5. Eldridge Cleaver, Soul on Ice (New York, 1969), pp. 178-9.
6. Ibid., p. 181.
7. James Baldwin, Blues for Mister Charlie (New York, 1964), p. 71.
8. Beth Day, Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites (New York, 1972), pp. 7-8.
9. Robert J. Sickels, Race, Marriage, and the Law (Albuquerque, 1972), p. 64.
10. According to Robert Sickels, those sixteen remaining states were Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, Missouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia.
11. Sickels, Race, p. 64.
12. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 42 (footnote).
13. Ibid., p. 43.
14. Day, Sexual Life, p. 99.
15. On p. 19 of Sexual Life Between Blacks and Whites, Beth Day notes: "Between seventy and eighty percent of all so-called black Americans have white ancestors. An estimate of so-called white Americans have black ancestors."
  16. Claude McKay, Selected Poems (New York, 1919).
  17. James Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man (New York, 1961).
  18. William Melvin Kelley, Dem (New York, 1969).
  19. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 170.
  20. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 94.
  21. Caroline Lee Hentz, The Planter's Northern (New York, 1970), pp. 303-4.
  22. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, pp. 185-6. In addition, psychiatrist Dr. Frances Welsing, in a recent television confrontation ("Black Journal") with Malcolm X, advanced the theory, based upon the work of Welsing as well as those of other psychiatrists, that white women wish for darker skin pigmentation. Welsing noted further her conclusion that caucasian women have a deep-seated desire for darker color."
    23. Robert Teague, Letters to a Black Boy (New York, 1961).
    24. R. V. Cassill, Pretty Leslie (New York, 1961).
    25. Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man, p. 218.
    26. A more historically accurate and convincing example is found in Arna Bontemps fine novel, Black Thunder (New York, 1936).
    27. Woodie King and Ron Milner, Black Drama and the Negro (New York, 1971), p. 176.



## FOOTNOTES

cluded in the Seymour Gross and John E. Hardy  
Essays of the Negro in American Literature (Chicago,

Long Way From Home (New York, 1970), p. 88.

Soul on Ice (New York, 1969), pp. 178-9.

Quests for Mister Charlie (New York, 1964), p. 71.

Life Between Blacks and Whites (New York, 1972),

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 ouri, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina,  
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64.

Images, p. 42 (footnote).

p. 89.

Life Between Blacks and Whites, Beth Day notes:

and eighty percent of all so-called black

Americans have white ancestors. An estimated twenty percent of  
 so-called white Americans have black ancestry."

16. Claude McKay, Selected Poems (New York, 1953), p. 37.
17. James Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man (New York, 1966).
18. William Melvin Kelley, Dem (New York, 1969), p. 141.
19. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 170.
20. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 94.
21. Caroline Lee Hentz, The Planter's Northern Bride (Chapel Hill,  
 1970), pp. 303-4.
22. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, pp. 185-6. In addition, Howard University  
 psychiatrist Dr. Frances Welsing, in a recent "Genetics-of-race"  
 television confrontation ("Black Journal") with Dr. William  
 Shockley, advanced the theory, based upon her own case studies, as  
 well as those of other psychiatrists, that a significant number of  
 white women wish for darker skin pigmentation, hence the vast num-  
 ber of hours spent sunbathing and applying darkening makeup. Dr.  
 Welsing noted further her conclusion that a large number of  
 caucasian women have a deep-seated desire to conceive a child "of  
 color."
23. Robert Teague, Letters to a Black Boy (New York, 1969), pp. 99-100.
24. R. V. Cassill, Pretty Leslie (New York, 1964), p. 148.
25. Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man, p. 218.
26. A more historically accurate and convincing account of Gabriel is  
 found in Arna Bontemps fine novel, Black Thunder (1936).
27. Woodie King and Ron Milner, Black Drama Anthology (New York,  
 1971), p. 176.

28. Kyle Onstott, Master of Falconhurst (Greenwich, Conn., 1964), p. 326.
29. Another popular white novelist, William Styron, treats, though lightly, the race-sexuality issue, particularly in the masturbation fantasies of Nat in The Confessions of Nat Turner (1966).
30. Clavin C. Hernton, Sex and Racism in America (New York, 1965), pp. 64-5.
31. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, p. 159.
32. Gerda Lerner, Black Women in White America: A Documentary History (New York, 1972), p. 172.
33. Laurence Alan Baughman, Southern Rape Complex: Hundred Year Psychosis (Atlanta, Ga., 1966), p. 105.
34. Ibid., p. 12.
35. Ibid., p. 13.
36. William Wells Brown, Clotel; or, The President's Daughter (New York, 1970), p. 43.
37. William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs, Black Rage (New York, 1968), p. 11.
38. Ibid., p. 39.
39. Baldwin, Going to Meet the Man, p. 198.
40. Day, Sexual Life, p. 93.
41. Baldwin, Blues for Mister Charlie, pp. 83-4.

THE HEROINE OF MIXED BLOOD IN  
NELLA LARSEN'S QUICKSAND

by

W. Bedford Clark

Fellow

Yale University

New Haven, Connecticut

The last stanza of the Langston Hughes poem with the ambiguous title "Cross" contains a succinct and traditionally confronting the person of mixed blood throughout much of American literature:

My old man died in a fine big house.

My ma died in a shack.

I wonder where I'm gonna die,

Being neither white nor black?<sup>1</sup>

The fictionalized mulatto, torn between the two societies which divides itself primarily into the two categories of white and black, is a character-typical for inner dramatic conflict, and a substantial part of his life has grown up around his attempts to find himself in the larger community from which he is estranged. In the genetic "cross" he is forced to bear. In attitude from Hughes to the beginning of her first novel, Nella Larsen immediately signals her reader that she is following this same tradition, and it is against the "tragic mulatto" tradition that her novel should also be noted that Quicksand is a psychological whole, and, as such, its action and interest center on the life of the heroine, Helga Crane, to an extent that Helga does in a physical sense is largely the thinks and feels. Any ultimate assessment of the novel then, hinges upon a detailed evaluation of the

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The last stanza of the Langston Hughes poem which bears the richly ambiguous title "Cross" contains a succinct expression of the quandary traditionally confronting the person of mixed blood as he is portrayed throughout much of American literature:

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The fictionalized mulatto, torn between the racial polarities of a society which divides itself primarily into the mutually exclusive categories of white and black, is a character-type rich with the potential for inner dramatic conflict, and a substantial literary tradition has grown up around his attempts to find himself and his proper place in the larger community from which he is estranged as a result of the genetic "cross" he is forced to bear. In attaching the above quatrain from Hughes to the beginning of her first novel, Quicksand, Nella Larsen immediately signals her reader that she is working within precisely this same tradition, and it is against the backdrop of the "tragic mulatto" tradition that her novel should be understood. But it should also be noted that Quicksand is a psychological novel on the whole, and, as such, its action and interest center around the inner life of the heroine, Helga Crane, to an especially marked degree. What Helga does in a physical sense is largely the expression of what she thinks and feels. Any ultimate assessment of the novel's meaning, then, hinges upon a detailed evaluation of the character of Helga

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herself, as well as of the way in which she both resembles and differs from the "tragic mulattos" who proceed her in Black fiction.

Hugh Gloster has suggested Reha Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnutt's The House Behind the Cedars, as a representative prototype of Helga Crane.<sup>2</sup> But for purposes of contrast, perhaps a better choice would be the title character in Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper's 1893 novel, Iola Leroy, or Shadows Uplifted. Iola, like innumerable of her fictional counterparts, is the child of a white planter and a quadroon woman. Her black blood is physically indiscernable, and she is raised as a white girl until, as a consequence of her father's untimely demise, she is sold into slavery. Of particular interest to us here, however, are Iola's actions once she is free to exercise her own will in determining the course of her life. Rescued by the Union army, she contributes to the winning of the war and the liberation of the black race by nursing wounded soldiers with tireless selflessness. Her beauty and devotion attract the attention of a white physician, and gradually command his love. In the best sentimental tradition, love wins out over all obstacles, including the physician's racial biases, and the white lover proposes. A white writer, like George Washington Cable in "Tite Poulette," might well have been content to end his narrative on this happy note. But Mrs. Harper carries the story considerably further. Iola refuses to live as a white man's wife out of a sense of loyalty to the black race. Education, she believes, is the key to racial "uplift," and she accordingly becomes a teacher, rewarded at last for all her sacrifices with marriage to a brilliant mulatto

physician who shares her determination to dispense ignorance and poverty alluded to in the novel's title.

For Mrs. Harper, who in the years prior to the war was a leading black abolitionist, the role of novelist is quite different from that of spokeswoman for the grievances and needs of black Americans of her day. Nella Larsen is, on the other hand, the product of another age and literary inheritance. A realist with a pronounced penchant for irony, a precocious and well-read writer for all the quiet gentility of her background, the fact that accounts for her success in creating original and compelling female characters to emerge from the mold of the

As Quicksand opens, Helga Crane, the issue of marriage between a white Danish woman and a black man, stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vision." The school at Naxos with a sense of mission worthy of Mrs. Harper's dream of black education that Iola pursued has become, in pictures it, a nightmare in which a respected institution of learning is, in reality, a "machine" tolerating "individualisms" and systematically turning out young women in accordance with the expectations of the white powers-that-be. Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the school at Naxos in Quicksand points toward the travesty of Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, and the reader sympathizes with Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the school. Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the school is the inevitability of her departure, marked as it is by last

the way in which she both resembles and differs from "Iola" who proceed her in Black fiction. Iola suggested Rena Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnut's Behind the Cedars, as a representative prototype for purposes of contrast, perhaps a better choice of character in Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper's 1893 novel, Uplifted. Iola, like innumerable of her fictional sisters, is the child of a white planter and a quadroon and is physically indiscernable, and she is raised as a consequence of her father's untimely death to slavery. Of particular interest to us here, is her determination once she is free to exercise her own will in the course of her life. Rescued by the Union army, she distinguishes herself during the war and the liberation of the black soldiers with tireless selflessness. Her actions attract the attention of a white physician, and she falls in love. In the best sentimental tradition, love reveals her weaknesses, including the physician's racial biases, and she opposes. A white writer, like George Washington Peck, "might well have been content to end his story here," but Mrs. Harper carries the story on. Iola refuses to live as a white man's wife out of respect for the black race. Education, she believes, is the key to freedom, and she accordingly becomes a teacher, rewarded for her sacrifices with marriage to a brilliant mulatto

physician who shares her determination to dispense the "shadows" of ignorance and poverty alluded to in the novel's title.

For Mrs. Harper, who in the years prior to the Civil War had been a leading black abolitionist, the role of novelist is wholly subordinate to that of spokeswoman for the grievances and aspirations of the black Americans of her day. Nella Larsen is, on the other hand, the product of another age and literary inheritance. She is a fictional realist with a pronounced penchant for irony, a particularly tough-minded writer for all the quiet gentility of her style. And it is this fact that accounts for her success in creating out of the overworked and melodramatic stereotype of the "tragic mulatto" one of the most compelling female characters to emerge from the Harlem Renaissance.

As Quicksand opens, Helga Crane, the issue of a short-lived marriage between a white Danish woman and a black man, is a teacher at the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which, like Tuskegee, stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vision."<sup>3</sup> Helga came to Naxos with a sense of mission worthy of Mrs. Harper's Iola. But the dream of black education that Iola pursued has become, as Miss Larsen pictures it, a nightmare in which a respected institution of higher learning is, in reality, a "machine" tolerating "no innovations, no individualisms" and systematically turning out young blacks in accordance with the expectations of the white powers-that-be.<sup>4</sup> The portrait of Naxos in Quicksand points toward the travesty of Tuskegee we see in Ralph Ellison's Invisible Man, and the reader sympathizes fully with Helga's wish to disassociate herself from the school. But the impulsiveness of her departure, marked as it is by last minute wavering, and

the apparently inexplicable ambivalence she manifests toward Dr. Anderson, Naxos' chief administrator, are the first positive signs the reader has of Helga's psychological instability, the flaw in her personality that will prove her final downfall. Her vehement determination to leave the South and never return becomes bitterly ironic in view of the novel's conclusion.

Helga arrives in Chicago, paradoxically her home-town (though she feels that she has never had a home), and goes to her white uncle Peter for help, only to be turned away by his new wife during the uncle's absence. In her rage and shame, Helga loses herself in the anonymity of a black crowd and suddenly feels that she has come home at last. This desire to lose herself in identification with her father's people is one of the most powerful, albeit at times unconscious, motives in Helga's behavior, and, in Harlem, living with the pretty and cultivated Anne Grey, she believes that she has finally "found herself."<sup>5</sup> Characteristically, however, Helga's happiness recedes and she begins to suffer again the old sense of "estrangement and isolation."<sup>6</sup> Her initial pleasure in the company of Harlemites changes to "aversion," and she recoils from the sight of "the grinning faces" and from the sound of the "easy laughter" of Harlem blacks. She insists to herself, "They're my own people." Yet she feels "yoked" to them through no choice of her own.<sup>7</sup> Deus ex machina, in the form of a letter from her uncle with a sizeable check, provides her with the chance for a new life with her white aunt in Denmark, and Helga determines to take it. Prior to departing, however, she undergoes an experience of a highly symbolic nature.

Helga and a group of friends go to a Harlem one of those places which respectable people, she calls "hell."<sup>8</sup> Miss Larsen's choice of words here is suggestive of Helga's descent into the nightclub is suggestive of descent into Hades. At first, Helga feels singled out, everyone around her until she is overcome by the "She was drugged, lifted, sustained, by the extra out, ripped out, beaten out, by the joyous, wild essence of life seemed bodily motion."<sup>9</sup> Helga loses her own unconsciousness, the dark, irrational, and her nature she associates with her black blood. The music is broken and the dance (itself symbolic) of her being, coldly rational and repressive, real. She has been to the jungle, but that she had enjoyed the idea of being "a jungle creature" and is her escape to the white world of Europe. Suddenly, a beautiful light-skinned girl, Audrey Denney, in the company of Dr. Anderson, himself now a refugee from Naxos, and the two of them together virtually hypnotizes Helga. She is, Audrey, filled with an "envious admiration" for Dr. Anderson, described later in the novel as "poised, serene, perfect foil to Helga,"<sup>11</sup> for she is in actuality all that Helga is not. United with Anderson in the rhythm of the dance, the effect, as Helga's alter ego, for Helga has here what she has desired a union with Dr. Anderson from the beginning. The image of the two dancing together is an image of self-

licable ambivalence she manifests toward Dr. Anderson, the chief administrator, are the first positive signs that she has overcome her psychological instability, the flaw in her personality that drove her final downfall. Her vehement determination to leave Chicago and never return becomes bitterly ironic in this conclusion.

In Chicago, paradoxically her home-town (though she has never had a home), and goes to her white uncle Peter Anderson, turned away by his new wife during the uncle's absence and shame, Helga loses herself in the anonymity of the city and suddenly feels that she has come home at last.

Through her identification with her father's people, Helga, powerful, albeit at times unconscious, motives in her mind, in Harlem, living with the pretty and cultivated white women, feels that she has finally "found herself."<sup>5</sup> Characteristically, Helga's happiness recedes and she begins to suffer from a sense of "estrangement and isolation."<sup>6</sup> Her initial

enthusiasm for many of Harlemites changes to "aversion," and she

is repelled by the sight of "the grinning faces" and from the sound of the music of Harlem blacks. She insists to herself, "They're not like me," she feels "yoked" to them through no choice of her own.

Then, in the form of a letter from her uncle with a

which offers her the chance for a new life with her uncle in Chicago, and Helga determines to take it. Prior to

her departure she undergoes an experience of a highly symbolic

Helga and a group of friends go to a Harlem basement nightclub, one of those places which respectable people, she reflects, call a "hell."<sup>8</sup> Miss Larsen's choice of words here is significant, for Helga's descent into the nightclub is suggestive of an archetypal descent into Hades. At first, Helga feels singularly detached from everyone around her until she is overcome by the spell of dance music: "She was drugged, lifted, sustained, by the extraordinary music, blown out, ripped out, beaten out, by the joyous, wild, murky orchestra. The essence of life seemed bodily motion."<sup>9</sup> Helga has been plunged into her own unconsciousness, the dark, irrational, and emotional side of her nature she associates with her black blood. When the spell of the music is broken and the dance (itself symbolic) ends, the white side of her being, coldly rational and repressive, realizes "that not only had she been to the jungle, but that she had enjoyed it."<sup>10</sup> She revolts at the idea of being "a jungle creature" and is hardened in her resolve to escape to the white world of Europe. Suddenly, however, she spots a beautiful light-skinned girl, Audrey Denney, in the company of Dr. Anderson, himself now a refugee from Naxos, and the vision of the two of them together virtually hypnotizes Helga. She is fascinated by Audrey, filled with an "envious admiration" for her; and Audrey, described later in the novel as "poised, serene, certain" is the perfect foil to Helga,<sup>11</sup> for she is in actuality all that Helga longs to be. United with Anderson in the rhythm of the dance, Audrey serves, in effect, as Helga's alter ego, for Helga has herself subconsciously desired a union with Dr. Anderson from the beginning. Yet the vision of the two dancing together is an image of self-realization and



fulfillment that Helga cannot come to terms with. It is an unheeded epiphany. Here, as is oftentimes the case elsewhere in imaginative literature, the descent into the Underworld, that is, into the psychic depths of Self, is a distressing experience for the protagonist, and Helga flees up a flight of surrealistically "endless" stairs until at last "panting, confused, but thankful to have escaped," she finds herself once again "out in the dark night alone, a small crumpled thing in a fragile black and gold dress."<sup>12</sup> In fleeing the nightclub, and in subsequently fleeing Harlem and America, Helga is futilely attempting to flee herself.

After two years with her aunt and uncle in Copenhagen, Helga is again the victim of an "indefinite discontent."<sup>13</sup> The promise of self-fulfillment she sought in Europe, the same promise she had earlier sought at Naxos, has proven to be illusory. The racial oppression of America has merely been replaced with the benign racial preconceptions of Scandinavia, where Helga is less important as a person than as an object, albeit an exotic and prized one. Smug in their European confidence that they are above the racial misconceptions that lie at the basis of American racism, Helga's Danish relatives, the Dahls, are, as the author is careful to show, not above exploiting their niece for their own purposes. Helga's alleged negritude makes of her a social drawing-card, and the primitive power the Danes attribute to her, an inexplicably sensual mystique, acts as a magnet in attracting the favor of the lionized artist, Axel Olsen, who paints Helga's portrait, investing it with a barbaric beauty which Helga prudishly disclaims.

It is quite characteristic of Nella Larsen's a novelist that she is capable of satirizing the ties growing out of the cult of the primitive while demonstrating the inadvertent value certain of it to her heroine. Helga's fastidious revulsion over the vaudeville performers at the Circus gradually becomes an obsession for her as she realizes that the Danes, in their wishfulness, somehow understand the valuable emotive value of the art form familiar to Black American cultural expression. Her rejection of the unique aspects of her heritage, however unconscious, is a logical reconciliation with the figure of her errand boy, once hated for his desertion of her mother and her lover, a point that Helga feels a homesickness, not for America, but for those same black people she came to Europe to escape. It is during this same period that Helga rejects the offer of a white suitor, Olsen, ostensibly for reasons of race.

For Mrs. Harper's Iola Leroy, the refusal of a successful white man, with its implicit rejection of the advantages of living in the white world, is present as a step in the direction of the heroine's ultimate self-fulfillment as a "black" woman. Like Iola, Helga feels the tug of her heritage, and she drapes her refusal of Olsen's proposal in the language of race. But whereas Iola's act is the symbolic gesture of a white woman, Helga's act is governed by a complex set of conflicting attitudes appropriate to a character of her well-rounded dimensions. Iola Leroy belongs to a

cannot come to terms with. It is an unheeded oftentimes the case elsewhere in imaginative into the Underworld, that is, into the psychic distressing experience for the protagonist, and of surrealistically "endless" stairs until at last, but thankful to have escaped," she finds her- self in the dark night alone, a small crumpled thing in a night dress."<sup>12</sup> In fleeing the nightclub, and in Harlem and America, Helga is futilely attempting to connect with her aunt and uncle in Copenhagen, Helga is filled with "indefinite discontent."<sup>13</sup> The promise of self-fulfillment in Europe, the same promise she had earlier discovered to be illusory. The racial oppression of Europe is replaced with the benign racial preconceptions of America. Helga is less important as a person than as an exotic and prized one. Smug in their European confidence, they ignore the racial misconceptions that lie at the heart of the matter. In America, Helga's Danish relatives, the Dahls, are, as they like to show, not above exploiting their niece for her money. Helga's alleged negritude makes of her a social magnet. The primitive power the Danes attribute to her, an exotic stique, acts as a magnet in attracting the favor of Axel Olsen, who paints Helga's portrait, and her exotic beauty which Helga prudishly disclaims.

It is quite characteristic of Nella Larsen's breadth of vision as a novelist that she is capable of satirizing the more obvious absurdities growing out of the cult of the primitive while at the same time demonstrating the inadvertent value certain of its assumptions hold for her heroine. Helga's fastidious revulsion over the antics of black vaudeville performers at the Circus gradually becomes a fascinated obsession for her as she realizes that the Danes, for all their foolishness, somehow understand the valuable emotive under-currents peculiar to Black American cultural expression. Her realization of the unique aspects of her heritage, however unconscious, leads to a psychological reconciliation with the figure of her errant father, whom she once hated for his desertion of her mother and herself. It is at this point that Helga feels a homesickness, not for America per se, but for those same black people she came to Europe to escape. Significantly, it is during this same period that Helga rejects the proposal of her white suitor, Olsen, ostensibly for reasons of race.

For Mrs. Harper's Iola Leroy, the refusal of marriage to a successful white man, with its implicit rejection of all the supposed advantages of living in the white world, is presented as a reasoned step in the direction of the heroine's ultimate self-fulfillment as a "black" woman. Like Iola, Helga feels the tug of racial loyalties, and she drapes her refusal of Olsen's proposal in the cloak of rationality. But whereas Iola's act is the symbolic gesture of an idealized character, Helga's act is governed by a complex set of emotions and ambivalent attitudes appropriate to a character of her convincingly well-rounded dimensions. Iola Leroy belongs to a tradition of heroines

who find virtue and virtuous choice an easy matter, in spite of all the perils placed in their way by external circumstances. Helga, on the other hand, belongs to a tradition of heroines represented by characters like Jane Austen's Emma Woodhouse, Henry James' Isabel Archer, and Gustav Flaubert's Madame Bovary, ladies who are all-too-human in one respect or another and whose limited vision and lack of self-understanding complicate their decisions and influence their lives for better or for worse. Accordingly, Helga's refusal of Olsen's proposal, however laudable it might be in an abstract sense, is presented as yet another irrational and instinctive reaction on her part. Behind Helga's talk of race there is the same fear and resentment, vanity, and the same perverse desire to wound evident in Helga's earlier encounters with men like Anderson and James Vayle, her ex-fiance from her days at Naxos.

It is an index of Helga's inner confusion and ambiguity of motive that it is not long after her return to the black world of Harlem that she half-wishes she had married the Danish artist after all, simply because such a course of action would shock and punish her friend, Anne, whom Helga unfairly resents for having married Dr. Anderson, the man whose earlier overtures in her own direction Helga had repulsed out of vanity and self-defeating petulance. In fact, the only "stable" aspect of Helga's personality and of her consequent actions is her emotional instability and recurrent restlessness, her habit of taking flight from one set of circumstances only to find herself dissatisfied with another. Nella Larsen implicitly suggests a naturalistic basis for the self-divisions at the core of Helga's problems. Her heroine is

the product of an "unloved" and "unloving" child with the schizoid role society prescribes for her at least for her inner turmoil and her inability to pling shell of her ego-centrism. Helga's nature would normally have been directed outside herself directed inward, resulting in a narcissism which makes the objective self-criticism and even desperately needs a thing beyond her.

Various critics have suggested that a failure one's Self, to understand and acknowledge one's tions, is the precipitating cause behind the fal of the tragic figures in Western literature. Gi can be made for Quicksand as a tragedy of sorts. seen, flees from the imperative of self-knowledge dissatisfactions which arise from within her wit society. Her refusal to face the reality about torts her perception of the reality around her, consequences. Toward the end of the novel, when after literally picking herself up out of a gutt tory hope that she is at last on the road to fin losing herself in a life of faith. But the hope it was possible for Mrs. Harper's Iola to find h a man of her own race and in her devotion to the attempt to find meaning for her life in a simila merely another effort at escaping herself, an ef cally enough, she is lost once and for all. As

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the product of an "unloved" and "unloving" childhood,<sup>14</sup> which, along  
 with the schizoid role society prescribes for her, accounts in part at  
 least for her inner turmoil and her inability to break out of the crip-  
 pling shell of her ego-centrism. Helga's natural urge to love, which  
 would normally have been directed outside herself, has instead been  
 directed inward, resulting in a narcissism which is all-consuming and  
 which makes the objective self-criticism and evaluation Helga so  
 desperately needs a thing beyond her.

Various critics have suggested that a failure or refusal to know  
 one's Self, to understand and acknowledge one's weaknesses and limita-  
 tions, is the precipitating cause behind the fall of many, if not most,  
 of the tragic figures in Western literature. Given such a view, a case  
 can be made for Quicksand as a tragedy of sorts. Helga, as we have  
 seen, flees from the imperative of self-knowledge, seeking to allay the  
 dissatisfactions which arise from within her with a change of scene and  
 society. Her refusal to face the reality about herself in turn dis-  
 torts her perception of the reality around her, finally breeding tragic  
 consequences. Toward the end of the novel, when Helga gets religion  
 after literally picking herself up out of a gutter, there is a transi-  
 tory hope that she is at last on the road to finding herself through  
 losing herself in a life of faith. But the hope is short-lived. While  
 it was possible for Mrs. Harper's Iola to find happiness in marriage to  
 a man of her own race and in her devotion to the black "folk," Helga's  
 attempt to find meaning for her life in a similar course of action is  
 merely another effort at escaping herself, an effort in which, ironi-  
 cally enough, she is lost once and for all. As the wife of the

semi-ignorant Reverend Pleasant Green, a black fundamentalist preacher who, like Samuel Johnson, is not overly fond of clean linen, the fastidious and cultured Helga is trapped once again in the South she swore to leave forever after the frustrations of Naxos. Life immersed in a tradition-centered black community in and of itself offers no solution to the quest for self-fulfillment. Instead, it becomes, for Helga at least, a veritable life-in-death, and there is an almost Sophoclean irony in the fact that the girl who boasted earlier in the novel that she felt it was sinful to bring black children into a world of poverty, ignorance and racial discrimination now finds herself caught up on a treadmill of seemingly ceaseless pregnancies, labors, births, and pregnancies.

Hiroko Sato is right in taking issue with Robert Bone who maintains that Nella Larsen is passing puritanical judgment on her heroine.<sup>15</sup> In Bone's view, Helga is presented as the victim of her own sexuality; her natural sexual appetite is made to bear the blame for her eventual downfall.<sup>16</sup> Such a reading could not be further from the truth. Nella Larsen goes to great length to demonstrate that sexual repression, as reflected in Helga's refusal to see the sensual side of her nature mirrored in Olsen's painting, is one of the major sources of her protagonist's discontent. But it should also be noted that, beyond certain of the Freudian assumptions which inform her novel, Miss Larsen is no Laurentian romantic. Helga and the Reverend Green are hardly Constance Chatterley and Mellors. Their sexual union is indeed the fatalistic source of dangerous pregnancies, not of self-fulfillment. Quite likely, Bone's failure to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of

Quicksand is the result of his tendency as a easily-defined categories, to reduce the problem to easy answers. In the world as Nella Larsen envisions it there are no easy answers. And it is this fact that accounts for the major deviations from the norm that the novel itself entails.

Nella Larsen's sensibilities are thoroughgoingly liberal in world-view, "freedom," which is but another term for what her heroine seeks,<sup>17</sup> is not, as it was for Helga, simply a matter of education, economic status, and social ties. It rather depends upon coming to terms with the world. Nor is a sense of selfhood, of identity, simply a matter of being able to be either white or black. It results from a social circumstance which tends increasingly to elude white and black racial polarities around which the novel is structured. The distinction in such a way as to suggest parallels between the hope and despair peculiar to Helga's experience and the experience of a white man himself. I submit that Nella Larsen succeeds in breaking the stereotype into credible symbol. In the character of the tragic mulatto figure evolves into a representation of the Everyman; the alienation and self-uncertainties of the mixed blood become recognizable aspects of ourselves. In the context of American fiction, two white Southern writers, William Faulkner in In August and Robert Penn Warren in Band of Angels, do the same thing. The success of their efforts, however, does not negate the remarkable accomplishments of Nella Larsen.

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Quicksand is the result of his tendency as a critic to work within  
 easily-defined categories, to reduce the problems raised in fiction to  
 easy answers. In the world as Nella Larsen envisions it in Quicksand,  
 there are no easy answers. And it is this fact, in the final analysis,  
 that accounts for the major deviations from the "tragic mulatto" norm  
 the novel itself entails.

Nella Larsen's sensibilities are thoroughly contemporary; in her  
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 American fiction, two white Southern writers, William Faulkner in Light  
 in August and Robert Penn Warren in Band of Angels would do much the  
 same thing. The success of their efforts, however, should in no way  
 negate the remarkable accomplishments of Nella Larsen in her first

novel. Quicksand, like Miss Larsen's second novel, Passing, deserves more readers and more critical attention than it has heretofore received.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Selected Poems of Langston Hughes (New York)
2. Negro Voices in American Fiction (Chapel Hill)
3. Quicksand (New York: Negro Universities Press), p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Ibid., p. 95.
6. Ibid., p. 104.
7. Ibid., p. 121.
8. Ibid., p. 128.
9. Ibid., p. 129.
10. Ibid., p. 130.
11. Ibid., p. 221.
12. Ibid., p. 137.
13. Ibid., p. 179.
14. Ibid., p. 63.
15. "A Study of Jessie Fauset and Nella Larsen," Renaissance Remembered, Arna Bontemps, ed., p. 87.
16. The Negro Novel in America (New Haven, 1965)
17. Quicksand, p. 102.

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## FOOTNOTES

1. Selected Poems of Langston Hughes (New York, 1959), p. 158.
2. Negro Voices in American Fiction (Chapel Hill, 1948), p. 38.
3. Quicksand (New York: Negro Universities Press Reprint, 1969),  
p. 7.
4. Ibid., p. 9.
5. Ibid., p. 95.
6. Ibid., p. 104.
7. Ibid., p. 121.
8. Ibid., p. 128.
9. Ibid., p. 129.
10. Ibid., p. 130.
11. Ibid., p. 221.
12. Ibid., p. 137.
13. Ibid., p. 179.
14. Ibid., p. 63.
15. "A Study of Jessie Fauset and Nella Larsen," in The Harlem Renaissance Remembered, Arna Bontemps, ed. (New York, 1972),  
p. 87.
16. The Negro Novel in America (New Haven, 1965), p. 105.
17. Quicksand, p. 102.



IN THE MAINSTREAM OR THE BACK OF THE CHAPTER

by

Nicholas J. Karolides

University of Wisconsin - River Falls

River Falls, Wisconsin

When Rosa Parks in 1955 refused to give up her  
Crow section of the bus she was riding to a white  
more than start the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boyco  
well as literally she expressed the effort to brin  
out of the backwater into the mainstream of Americ  
ticular incident ended in success: it broke the d  
public transportation, thus opening the way to fur  
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There have been other starts, some false, some  
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impression of treading water.

It is in this general context of humanistic ch  
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education that minority literature for adolescents  
both as to its nature and content and its potential  
impact is difficult if not impossible to assess but  
availability and content of materials and thus to

When Rosa Parks in 1955 refused to give up her bus seat in the Jim Crow section of the bus she was riding to a white passenger, she did more than start the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott. Symbolically as well as literally she expressed the effort to bring minority Americans out of the backwater into the mainstream of American life. That particular incident ended in success: it broke the dam of segregation in public transportation, thus opening the way to further action. Probably more significant, it challenged social patterns that had established themselves in most Americans' minds.

There have been other starts, some false, some true, some leading to deadends, others opening on horizons. Other groups have taken up the challenge so that awareness of the forgotten and mistreated is now on the land. But we should not be bemused by successes which seem large when measured against the humanistically disastrous past: there are changes, there are breakthroughs, one being our very awareness. But the reality of our slow pace and the limited extent of success is put clearly into focus by recalling that it was in May, 1954, that the United States Supreme Court handed down its "all deliberate speed" ruling against segregated schools. Instead of speed one gets the impression of treading water.

It is in this general context of humanistic challenge to and change of social patterns and attitudes and the specific context of education that minority literature for adolescents must be reviewed-- both as to its nature and content and its potential impact. Admittedly impact is difficult if not impossible to assess but it relates to the availability and content of materials and thus to their use. While

INSTREAM OR THE BACK OF THE CHAPTER

by

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interactions and responses of readers are individualistic and relatively unpredictable, they do depend upon the materials chosen. Thus on this basis, the analysis of patterns of availability is suggestive of impact and content criteria.

The Christian Science Monitor in January published a brief but telling survey of the place being given to blacks in school textbooks. The conclusions, stated in the lead paragraph, are instructive in themselves but also referential to the current situation in literature: "Blacks today are taking their place beside whites in American school textbooks but in some texts they still are relegated to the back of the chapter."<sup>1</sup> A quantitative accomplishment is evidenced: breaking into the "all white" textbooks. However, the inclusion of photographs of blacks and information about them in separate sections is a half-way measure at best. Even this much has not been accomplished for other minority groups, as suggested by Dr. James Squire, editor-in-chief of Ginn & Company, who is quoted in the article. Qualitatively, the texts also vary ranging from "neutral" statements--students are supposed presumably to judge the good and bad aspects of slavery--to those with strong moral judgments against slavery.<sup>2</sup>

Squire's estimate of the situation is borne out by several other studies, notably Textbooks and The American Indian by the American Indian Historical Society, and Searching for America, a publication of the National Council of Teachers of English Task Force on Racism and Bias in the Teaching of English. The former, which contains evaluations of over 300 school textbooks, found "not one that could be approved as a dependable source of knowledge about the history and

culture of the Indian people in America. Most of the distortions, or omissions of important history." Books relating most closely to the present subject, American heroes, represent but two Indians--Sequoyia and Red Jacket. The second resource reviews college level American literature with regard to their inclusion of ethnic and racial minorities: blacks, Chinese Americans, Indian Americans, Chicanos, and Puerto Ricans. "Using the framework explicitly stated in the introduction by the authors of these books, the reviewers have disclosed serious omissions and culturally damaging omissions."<sup>4</sup> Most of the minorities were inadequately represented in general, and some were represented with material which is demeaning, in the teaching. The study of high school texts of NCTE literature is revealing parallel patterns of omissions.

This evidence suggests that one cannot rely on general history and literature anthologies to accomplish such general goals as representing our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society, or the definition of the "world" or creating positive images of ethnic-racial individuals for themselves or others. It has created any sense of the inter-ethnic conflicts. Certainly the simply literary task of representing the history of America will not be met either. At least until we change we must turn to fiction. This is not surprising for it is in the intensity of interaction with fictional literature that the large measure of his learning about the world and

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culture of the Indian people in America. Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of important history."<sup>3</sup> For example, the books relating most closely to the present subject, those representing American heroes, represent but two Indians--Sequoyah and Will Rogers. The second resource reviews college-level American literature texts with regard to their inclusion of ethnic and racial groups, notably blacks, Chinese Americans, Indian Americans, Chicanos and Puerto Ricans. "Using the framework explicitly stated by the editors and authors of these books, the reviewers have disclosed irrational inclusions and culturally damaging omissions."<sup>4</sup> Members of non-white minorities were inadequately represented in general anthologies or were represented with material which is demeaning, insensitive, or unflattering. The study of high school texts of NCTE's Committee on Minority Literature is revealing parallel patterns of omission or limited image.

This evidence suggests that one cannot rely on history textbooks and literature anthologies to accomplish such goals as realistically representing our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural society, or amplifying the definition of the "world" or creating positive identification of ethnic-racial individuals for themselves or others. Nor will there be created any sense of the inter-ethnic conflicts or contacts that exist. Certainly the simply literary task of representing fully the literature of America will not be met either. At least until those materials change we must turn to fiction. This is not suggested as second best for it is in the intensity of interaction with people, situations and issues found in fictional literature that the adolescent can gain a large measure of his learning about the world and his place in it.

Comparable to textbooks, the world of adolescent literature has been essentially all white, too. Nancy Larrick in 1965 cited extensive evidence to support this assertion, establishing "the almost complete omission of Negroes from books for children."<sup>5</sup> The situation has changed markedly for some groups; there is, however, a note of reservation to be made both in relative and real terms.

In terms of general availability we can happily point to the increased numbers of books about minority peoples as well as to their ready identification. This can be verified in part by the existence of numerous specialized bibliographies in contrast to the meager offerings of ten years ago; additionally the listings within these have been expanded. For example, the New York Public Library's 1963 list, Books About Negro Life for Children (edited by Augusta Baker) contained twenty-nine adolescent fiction titles as compared to eighty-four in the 1971 edition, retitled The Black Experience in Children's Books. In recent years we have at our disposal the NCTE's Negro Literature for High School Students (by Barbara Dodds, 1968), The American Federation of Teachers' Children's Interracial Fiction (by Barbara Jean Glancy, 1969), NCTE's Literature by and about the American Indian (by Anna Lee Stensland, 1973), the Bureau of Indian Affairs' An Annotated Bibliography of Young People's Books on American Indians (by Sandra J. Fox, 1973), the Seattle Public-School's multi-ethnic Books Transcend Barriers (by Marilyn Cambell, 1972), and many others. Each contains many titles.

This data is positive and reassuring, but a brief analysis of non-specialized bibliographies is less so. The NCTE's recently revised

Books For You is a case in point. Comparing selected "normal" human interaction from the 1964 and 1971 editions that in the "Adventure" section of some 100 titles and minority-oriented books listed in either edition. In the "Circle" section the minority selections double from forty-six and sixty respectively), but the addition on poor whites. The reverse pattern is seen in the section, the ratio dropping from four to two out of ten. Minority peoples, primarily blacks, do achieve greater recognition in the "Sports" and "Interesting People" sections being from 10 to 15 percent. In "Sports" all but one title. It is only in the "Man and Society" section that representation is evident--from 22 to 36 percent--but attention is on blacks. Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals are included. Comparably NCTE's High Interest--Easy Reading and Senior High School Students includes only about 100 titles in over 400 selections.

In this "back of the bus" situation, minority literature is presented separate and unequal. Despite the worth of specialized bibliographies we should integrate minority titles in general bibliographies as well so that these characters place alongside white ones. This is especially necessary likely that such a bibliography will be used to find special interests of readers. The student should be expected to find minority characters in these categories. Bibliographers have some justification for omissions

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 Circle" section the minority selections double from four to nine (out  
 of forty-six and sixty respectively), but the additional titles focus  
 on poor whites. The reverse pattern is seen in the "Love and Romances"  
 section, the ratio dropping from four to two out of about fifty titles.  
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 expect to find minority characters in these categories. Of course,  
 bibliographers have some justification for omissions. Stories

featuring minority characters have not been written in any great numbers in categories such as romance, mystery, and adventure. This excuse does not apply, however, to categories like "family circle."

It is not surprising that a major focus of recent black books represent tensions with the white world. This is also so of earlier books, but there are interesting differences. Among the widely circulated earlier books,<sup>6</sup> white settings predominate and problems are handled rather easily. A Cap for Mary Ellis (by Hope Newell, 1953) takes the heroine who shows few racial characteristics out of Harlem which we visit briefly and superficially to a nursing school; she and a friend are its first black students. Despite preliminary fears of racial hostility, very little occurs; personal adjustment problems are more severe than racial ones. This might well be realistic; however, the racial issues that exist seem simplistically resolved. In Call Me Charley (by Jesse Jackson, 1945) the all white community rejects Charley, who is the son of servants. Prejudice is real, and Charley's submissive character seems quite possible, especially given the time and place. The situations are solved by the intervention of several of the white characters, thus projecting both a paternalistic white world and a relatively incapable and inactive black character despite the author's stated code of work and upward mobility. The popular Lilies of the Field (by William Barrett, 1962) has a single black in a white community helping some immigrant German nuns. He at least has a semblance of pride and decision. A group of girl's books focus on school situations--white schools: Julie's Heritage (by Catherine Marshall, 1957), Masquerade (by Dorothy Butters, 1961), Hold Fast to Your Dreams

(by Catherine Blanton, 1955), and The Barred Road (1954); these too often offer strong white character solutions. Even the well-received To Kill a Mockingbird (Lee, 1960) for older audiences is essentially white point of view.

Books like Lorenz Graham's South Town (1958) Street (1946), and Gordon Parks' The Learning Tree are exceptions among early books focusing as they do on the experiences and lives of blacks in a black community. They disallow the white conflict but pose it from an internal perspective.

This new emphasis is strikingly evident in books published after 1965. The point of view is markedly black; the focus is usually within the black community or revealing of conditions in urban settings predominate--Harlem in Kristina Hunter's Harlem and Sister Lou (1968), Chicago in Ronald Fair's Chicago. The rural South is represented in Sounder (by Willard Sanders, 1966) and Jubilee (by Margaret Walker, 1966). The latter, the Wind, represents a shift in time focus as well as setting. Books for adolescents set in a slavery environment

Black point of view is represented variously in books published after 1965 (by Robert Lipyte, 1967) several types of life situations are depicted from among which the hero must choose. In Between (by Melissa Mather, 1967) the black character is contrasted with that of a white family. In both of these books the characters must come to terms with themselves and their place with the white society. Similarly in Mary Vroman's

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Black point of view is represented variously. In The Contender  
 (by Robert Lipsyte, 1967) several types of life styles and attitudes  
 are depicted from among which the hero must choose. In The Summer In  
 Between (by Melissa Mather, 1967) the black consciousness is contrasted  
 with that of a white family. In both of these books, it is clear that  
 the characters must come to terms with themselves--not solely or mainly  
 with the white society. Similarly in Mary Vroman's Harlem Summer



(1967) the rural Mississippi-bred hero is finding himself as well as understanding the Harlem life style and codes which are different from his own. In Beetlecreek (by William Demby, 1967) it is evident that the frustrations and tragic consequences relate to black-white tensions, but the hero's primary focus is on his development and his interaction with his own society. In this light can also be seen such diverse works as Jubilee, the Civil War novel, and Blueschild Baby, George Cain's Harlem streets novel (1970).

The tensions developed, however, do not sidestep the social issues; indeed these are frequently central. The effects of slavery and reconstruction upon the characters of Jubilee are not muted; despite the shred of hope expressed at the conclusion, Andre Schwarz-Bart's A Woman Named Solitude (1972) graphically recounts a slave rebellion and the conditions leading to it. The Soul Brothers and Sister Lou as well as Hog Butcher include police killings, this being the central incident in the latter. The author includes the impact of corruption, the pressure of fear and conflicting values so as to develop the ethics and behavior of his characters.

These characters come across as stronger, less submissive; even when they're despised as in Souder or thwarted as in Louise Meriwether's Daddy Was a Number Runner, or self-destructive as in Warren Miller's The Cool World (1959) or George Cain's Blueschild Baby, they emerge as individuals with pride and purpose.

These brief notations express too the wide variety of story types available. They range from the semi-sport situation of The Contender and Jan Hartman's Joshua (1970), the romance of June Jordan's His Own

Where (1971), to the integration conflict of Bella the Way (1966) and social drama of Hog Butcher.

Fiction of the American Indian for adolescents and fewer in number; however, it follows a general pattern. Bibliographies tend to list historical fiction emphasizing the pre-white period. Ms. Stensland's a considerably wider percentage of selections deal contacts both historical and current. This deficiency of such materials though general bibliographies than they have done, as Ms. Stensland proves.

Contemporary time settings though not always present focus on culture conflict situations through Indian protagonist. These, most of which were written for more mature audiences, evince the turmoil and Indian caught between two worlds. But this is not altogether identical. Dan Cushman's Stay Away, Joe comedy amid struggle, while Mitchell Jayne's Old F expresses pathos. Both are drinkers: Joe is living most of his war hero status and youthful virility alcoholic, escaping from his sense of loss and defeat. Hal Borland's When the Legends Die (1972), Thomas Running Standing (1971), and N. Scott Momaday's Boy (1969) reflect the crisis of identity; their lives torn asunder by the divisive demands and counsels.

There are identity crisis books written about too, notably Oliver LaFarge's Laughing Boy (1929).

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There are identity crisis books written about earlier periods,  
 too, notably Oliver LaFarge's Laughing Boy (1929), Edwin Corle's Fig

Tree John (1935), and Frank Waters' The Man Who Killed the Deer (1942). These, written earlier, feature Indian characters who are more imbued with their own culture but still must face the pressures of an encroaching society. Benjamin Capps' The White Man's Road (1972) is a recent book which sympathetically expresses the search of a young man to find a way of establishing his manhood once the traditional methods have been wiped away by reservation life.

Many of the earlier books, while largely sympathetic to the Indian point of view and effectively representing their culture, nevertheless utilize white characters. These include highly reputed "captive" books such as Conrad Richter's Light in the Forest (1953) and Wayne Dougherty's Crimson Moccasins (1966) as well as the recent Little Big Man (by Thomas Berger, 1969) and Kozantcia (by Harold Keith, 1965). Each of these characters somehow manage to be adopted by a chief. There are other books which follow a white character's introduction to Indian life such as Moccasin Trail (by Eloise McGraw, 1952), Rifles for Watie (by Harold Keith, 1957), and Johnny Osage (by Janice Giles, 1960).

These comments are brief and do not deal with the novels of the past, these being more familiar. Concentration on blacks and Indians is necessary because they are most frequently represented in adolescent fiction and thus illustrate the problems and criteria more fully. The limited numbers of books about other minority groups increase the difficulties of selection, a problem that is magnified by the existence of mediocre books; they stand out in a relatively barren field.

In the selection of minority fiction for adolescents, close scrutiny of materials in relation to objectives is a necessity. Since

introduction and developing impressions of people especially for non-minority audiences, but no less readers themselves, a priority is that the fiction honestly on the minority peoples in terms of positions. This does not bar integrated books, obvious which minority characters are in secondary or background. Indeed, this is necessary to reasonably express a multi-ethnic society; more minority characters are in literature.

Further, in addition to the individuality and characterization, it is necessary to provide a variety of ties, concerns and behaviors, while retaining the subtleties and aspirations that mark human intercourse. One of the criteria of this criterion is the need for variety in activities and situations. We cannot limit black or integration crises any more than Indians should campfire and the buffalo hunt. Books should not be tactical in relation to social issues, nor should they be. In short, an honest representation demands

The need to integrate bibliographies was not a concluding point is to underscore the parallel materials. Again this is equally significant to minority and non-minority students. Part of the mainstream and acceptance in it will become more of a representation in it is the norm. Thus while special pertinence, even necessity, they seem to me to be

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introduction and developing impressions of people are a primary concern, especially for non-minority audiences, but no less so for the minority readers themselves, a priority is that the fiction focus fully and honestly on the minority peoples in terms of point of view and experiences. This does not bar integrated books, obviously, nor books in which minority characters are in secondary or background roles. Indeed, this is necessary to reasonably express a multi-racial and multi-ethnic society; more minority characters should appear in white literature.

Further, in addition to the individuality and humanity of the characterization, it is necessary to provide a wide range of personalities, concerns and behaviors, while retaining those universal attributes and aspirations that mark human intercourse. A natural adjunct of this criterion is the need for variety in settings and periods, activities and situations. We cannot limit blacks to gangs or sports or integration crises any more than Indians should be relegated to the campfire and the buffalo hunt. Books should not practice avoidance tactics in relation to social issues, nor should they be limited to them. In short, an honest representation demands a more total reality.

The need to integrate bibliographies was noted earlier. The concluding point is to underscore the parallel need to integrate curriculum materials. Again this is equally significant in its application to minority and non-minority students. Participation in the mainstream and acceptance in it will become more possible when representation in it is the norm. Thus while specialized courses have pertinence, even necessity, they seem to me to signify separation

unless integration is also accomplished. It is a divisive image reminiscent of the back-of-the-bus/back-of-the-chapter practice. Worse still, given the adoption by many school systems of elective programs, it is quite possible for students to miss or avoid the specialized course--thus the contacts--altogether. With appropriately selected materials, this need not happen; through literary experiences students can be led to find themselves, to interact with others like and unlike themselves, and to explore the real world around them.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Florence Mouchley, "Blacks in School Texts--but Christian Science Monitor (January 3, 1974), p.
2. Florence Mouchley, "Black-History Instruction The Christian Science Monitor (January 4, 1974)
3. American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks Indian (San Francisco, 1970), p. 11.
4. Ernae B. Kelly, Searching for America (Urbana p. xiii.
5. Nancy Larrich, "The All-White World of Children Review (September 11, 1965), pp. 63-5 ff.
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2. Florence Mouckley, "Black-History Instruction Varies Across U.S.," The Christian Science Monitor (January 4, 1974), p. 5.
3. American Indian Historical Society, Textbooks and The American Indian (San Francisco, 1970), p. 11.
4. Ernece B. Kelly, Searching for America (Urbana, Illinois, 1972), p. xiii.
5. Nancy Larrich, "The All-White World of Children's Books," Saturday Review (September 11, 1965), pp. 63-5 ff.
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BLACK BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY:

SOME PROBLEMS FOR SCHOLARS

by

Wilson J. Moses  
University of Iowa  
Iowa City, Iowa

It mattered little whether Afro-American led assimilationistic or black nationalistic during since the extremists in neither camp were to see alise, and the moderates, being moderates, were practical considerations than by ideological pre assimilationists and the nationalists tended to many of the prejudices of the Anglo-American bour American leaders as different as Booker T. Washin and Mary Church Terrell agreed upon one point--the "Improvement." Not only should the conditions un lived be improved, the people themselves should radical integrationism and black nationalism pure goals via the same means, which was the uplift, "civilization" of all of the sons and daughters It was generally accepted by even the proudest spokesmen that if black people were going to sur to improve.

The black bourgeoisie have usually felt obli masses for at least the following reasons: first lack of "civilization" among the masses; second, with the masses--for the bourgeoisie are only sli than they to institutional racism and to the atta ists; third, the realization that the bourgeoisie became more secure as their race became more pow toward the civilizing of Africa and the uplifting masses, never too far removed from each other, be

It mattered little whether Afro-American leadership was assimilationistic or black nationalistic during the years 1895 to 1925, since the extremists in neither camp were to see their visions materialize, and the moderates, being moderates, were more influenced by practical considerations than by ideological prejudices. Both the assimilationists and the nationalists tended to accept without question many of the prejudices of the Anglo-American bourgeoisie. Afro-American leaders as different as Booker T. Washington, Marcus Garvey, and Mary Church Terrell agreed upon one point--the need for "Negro Improvement." Not only should the conditions under which the masses lived be improved, the people themselves should be improved. Both radical integrationism and black nationalism pursued their dissimilar goals via the same means, which was the uplift, the improvement, the "civilization" of all of the sons and daughters of Africa, everywhere. It was generally accepted by even the proudest and most militant spokesmen that if black people were going to survive, they would have to improve.

The black bourgeoisie have usually felt obliged to uplift the masses for at least the following reasons: first, embarrassment by the lack of "civilization" among the masses; second, a genuine sympathy with the masses--for the bourgeoisie are only slightly less vulnerable than they to institutional racism and to the attacks of individual racists; third, the realization that the bourgeoisie themselves would become more secure as their race became more powerful. The impulses toward the civilizing of Africa and the uplifting of the black American masses, never too far removed from each other, become logical

IS NATIONALISM AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY:  
SOME PROBLEMS FOR SCHOLARS

by

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extensions of each other when viewed in this way. The purpose of this study is to describe the domestic program for uplift as an element of Afro-American bourgeois thought in political ideology, woman's activism, religious leadership and literary endeavor.

Recent authors concerned with the study of nationalism have recognized that black nationalism in the United States is similar to other nationalistic movements, Zionism, for example. Specialists in Afro-American Studies have often been concerned with the description and definition of black nationalism. Howard Brotz, for example, divided Afro-American social and political thought into two categories--assimilationism and black nationalism.<sup>1</sup> Black nationalism could be divided into two sub-categories--cultural nationalism and political nationalism. Assimilationism was represented by some of the writings of Frederick Douglass, Henry Highland Garnett, and Booker T. Washington. Political nationalism, which Brotz discussed in its broad connections with the colonization movement and other forms of migrationism, was represented by some of the writings of Alexander Crummell, Edward Wilnot Blyden, James T. Holly, and Martin R. Delaney. Brotz's excessively rigid definitions of black nationalism and assimilationism led to his overlooking such documents as the perennially popular David Walker's Appeal; it also overlooked the implications of Walker's having employed the rhetoric of black messianic nationalism in a diatribe against African repatriation. There were, after all, some black nationalists who opposed territorial separation.<sup>2</sup> It was his tendency to overlook complexities such as these that weakened Brotz's introduction to a useful collection of documents.

John H. Bracey proposed a more diversified re-nationalisms in his "Black Nationalism Since Carver" (economic nationalism, political nationalism, and cultural nationalism). He did not recognize that black nationalism since Carver was less assimilationistic than it was before him. The classic example of political and racial (opposed to cultural assimilationism). While Bracey described black nationalism, he did not define black nationalism, distinguishing it from other forms of black political nationalism. In a recent anthology, Black Nationalism in America, Bracey and other editors, Professors August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, give a definition of black nationalism fairly broad, including names such as Frederick Douglass and W. E. B. DuBois whom Brotz excluded from the nationalist category. The ambivalence of W. E. B. DuBois were characterized as ambivalence, implying that DuBois was atypical or that ambivalence was characteristic of most black nationalists.<sup>4</sup>

Ambivalence seems to have been present in most black nationalist thought, but especially during the years 1890 to 1910. Black nationalism during those years was undergoing a great change from older nineteenth century Christian civilizationist black nationalism, before World War I, to a new, twentieth century secular culturalist pattern of black nationalism, before World War I. The new black nationalism, with its emphasis on uplift, industrial management, sexual restraint, and efficiency. Secular cultural black nationalism in the 20's, would glorify ghetto life, hard drinking,

her when viewed in this way. The purpose of this the domestic program for uplift as an element of is thought in political ideology, woman's leadership and literary endeavor. Concerned with the study of nationalism have Nationalism in the United States is similar to movements, Zionism, for example. Specialists in have often been concerned with the description of black nationalism. Howard Brots, for example, social and political thought into two categories--black nationalism.<sup>1</sup> Black nationalism could be categories--cultural nationalism and political nationalism was represented by some of the writings Henry Highland Garnett, and Booker T. Washington. which Brots discussed in its broad connections movement and other forms of migrationism, was the writings of Alexander Crummell, Edward P. Kelly, and Martin R. Delaney. Brots's excesses of black nationalism and assimilationism led to documents as the perennially popular David who overlooked the implications of Walker's having of black messianic nationalism in a diatribe nation. There were, after all, some black nation- territorial separatism.<sup>2</sup> It was his tendency to such as these that weakened Brots's introduction of documents.

John H. Bracey proposed a more diversified range of black nationalisms in his "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," and included economic nationalism, political nationalism, and cultural nationalism, but he did not recognize that black nationalism since Garvey is inclined to be less assimilationistic than it was before him. Indeed Garvey was the classic example of political and racial separatism (combined with cultural assimilationism). While Bracey described several varieties of black nationalism, he did not define black nationalism in the sense of distinguishing it from other forms of black political activity.<sup>3</sup> In a recent anthology, Black Nationalism in America, Bracey, and his co-editors, Professors August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, tried to keep the definition of black nationalism fairly broad, including among the nationalists such names as Frederick Douglass and Booker T. Washington, whom Brots excluded from the nationalist category. The early writings of W. E. B. DuBois were characterized as ambivalent which seemed to imply that DuBois was atypical or that ambivalence was not characteristic of most black nationalists.<sup>4</sup>

Ambivalence seems to have been present in most black nationalist thought, but especially during the years 1890 to 1925, for black nationalism during those years was undergoing a great change from its older nineteenth century Christian civilizationist pattern to its present day twentieth century secular culturalist pattern. Christian civilizationist black nationalism, before World War I glorified efficiency, uplift, industrial management, sexual restraint, temperance, and military efficiency. Secular cultural black nationalism, during and after the 20's, would glorify ghetto life, hard drinking, fast dancing,

primitivism, exotic fantasy, and exotic escapism. The inability of old-school cultural nationalists, like DuBois and Garvey, to understand the younger nationalists, like Claude McKay and Rudolph Fisher, resulted from the secularization of black life. World War I had accelerated the rates of secularization and urbanization as black people streamed into the cities in what has been called the great migration.<sup>5</sup>

But ambivalence characterized the pronouncements of black nationalists long before the generational conflict of the twenties. We observe a persistent uneasiness cropping up in black nationalistic pronouncements during the progressive era. It is present in the utterance of Booker T. Washington, who publicly said that the races should continue to exist as separate as the fingers of the hand in all things purely social, and privately wrote letters to radical Boston white women saying: "If anybody understood me as meaning that riding in the same railroad car or sitting in the same room at a railroad station is social intercourse, they certainly get a wrong idea of my position."<sup>6</sup> We see this ambivalence in the thought of Alexander Crummell, who claimed a great respect for the indigenous manners and morals of the native West Africans, but never gave up his idea of endowing them with Christian religion, English language, and American constitutionalism.<sup>7</sup> We recognize this ambivalence in the thought of Marcus Garvey, who spoke of civilizing Africa and, as he described them, "the backward tribes."<sup>8</sup> And, of course, W. E. B. DuBois displayed such ambivalence when he spoke of his "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body."<sup>9</sup>

The black nationalist has always been pulled once; wishing, on the one hand, to exalt every African, but recognizing, on the other hand, the need to acquire some of the values and skills of the white world. A pattern of ambivalence has not prevailed in all areas of black life, however. It was not particularly evident in the work of organized women's groups, especially in the South where attitudes were unequivocally conservative. DuBois was extremely sensitive with respect to this issue. One reason. Black women were victims of Victorian culture that demanded beauty and chastity of women, and DuBois, in fact, indeed the only virtues to which women might aspire. Sympathetic leader like Alexander Crummell spoke of "barbarism" under which the masses of Afro-Americans had to live, which "tended to blunt the tender and delicate feminine delicacy and womanly shame, [and] to pass on their heritage from generation to generation."<sup>10</sup>

During the progressive era, Afro-American women tended to encourage acceptance of the values of the white world whenever there seemed to be any conflict between the values of the Southern black culture. The concern of the Association of Colored Women (ACW) during the 1890s and social purity provides an illustration of this.<sup>11</sup> In 1895 in response to an attack by one Jonathan T. City, Missouri, who wrote a vicious letter attacking

fantasy, and erotic escapism. The inability of nationalists, like DuBois and Garvey, to understand poets, like Claude McKay and Rudolph Fisher, secularization of black life. World War I had accelerated and urbanization as black people ties in what has been called the great migration.<sup>5</sup> characterized the pronouncements of black before the generational conflict of the twenties. We uneasiness cropping up in black nationalistic progressive era. It is present in the utter Washington, who publicly said that the races should separate as the fingers of the hand in all things privately wrote letters to radical Boston white nobody understood me as meaning that riding in the sitting in the same room at a railroad station is they certainly get a wrong idea of my position."<sup>6</sup> in the thought of Alexander Crummell, who set for the indigenous manners and morals of the but never gave up his idea of endowing them with English language, and American constitutionalism.<sup>7</sup> ambivalence in the thought of Marcus Garvey, who Africa and, as he described them, "the backward wise, W. E. B. DuBois displayed such ambivalence "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled ideals in one dark body."<sup>9</sup>

The black nationalist has always been pulled in two directions at once; wishing, on the one hand, to exalt everything that is black or African, but recognizing, on the other hand, the need for black people to acquire some of the values and skills of the white world. The pattern of ambivalence has not prevailed in all areas of black bourgeois life, however. It was not particularly evident in the pronouncements of organized women's groups, especially in the area of sexual morality, where attitudes were unequivocally conservative. The black community was extremely sensitive with respect to this issue, and with good reason. Black women were victims of Victorian civilization. In an age that demanded beauty and chastity of women, seeing these as the highest, indeed the only virtues to which women might aspire, popular attitudes allowed black women to be neither beautiful nor chaste. Even a sympathetic leader like Alexander Crummell spoke in 1883 of the "gross barbarism" under which the masses of Afro-American women had historically lived, which "tended to blunt the tender sensibilities, to obliterate feminine delicacy and womanly shame, [and] came down as her heritage from generation to generation."<sup>10</sup>

During the progressive era, Afro-American women's organizations tended to encourage acceptance of the values of American civilization whenever there seemed to be any conflict between these values and the values of the Southern black culture. The concern of the National Association of Colored Women (NACW) during the 1890's with the issue of social purity provides an illustration of this.<sup>11</sup> The NACW was founded in 1895 in response to an attack by one Jonathan W. Jacks of Montgomery City, Missouri, who wrote a vicious letter attacking the sexual

morality of black people to Miss Florence Bargarnie, an English supporter of anti-lynching reform.<sup>12</sup> Miss Bargarnie sent a copy of the letter to The Woman's Era, a liberal Boston newsmagazine, owned and operated by Afro-American women.<sup>13</sup> The NACW was formed as a result of this incident, ostensibly to defend black men and women from the kind of slander being circulated by Jacks. As we might expect, however, the NACW affiliates devoted a large part of their energies to temperance and social purity activities in addition to attacking the racism, both institutional and petty, that lowered the quality of Afro-American life.<sup>14</sup> Their obsession with social purity would seem to have been an informal acknowledgment of the possibility that Jacks was right and that the morality of the black population--of the black sharecropper woman, in particular--was something less than it should have been. This suggests that some black leaders internalized Euro-American racist and sexist values.

The circumstances under which black people lived in America could hardly have produced lives characterized by Victorian ideals of genteel courtship and sexual morality. And yet, black peasant life was not totally devoid of tenderness. The poems of Paul Laurence Dunbar often deal with the simple joys of love, courtship and family life among the black masses, who are often portrayed as possessing an unpretentious natural gentility.<sup>15</sup> Generally speaking, however, there was little appreciation among turn of the century bourgeois blacks of the idea that the sexual morality of a black sharecropper might be healthier and more natural than that of a middle class Negro. The Rev. William H. Ferris, a Yale M.A. and a high ranking officer in the Garvey movement

during the twenties, was typical of black intelligence in his sprawling masterpiece, The African Abroad. "I have come to the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxon and womanhood is the highest the world has yet seen and will ever be evolved in the history of the world. It is the Anglo-Saxon the dominion of the earth, only because of his moral laws, only because he has revered and respected the purity and virtue of woman, and has respected the marriage tie."<sup>16</sup>

A statement such as this reveals the essential character of traditional black nationalism in America behind liberal movements in the endorsement of true reform-minded activism, especially in the area of Reactionism in the areas of sexual liberation and characteristic of American black nationalism today such extremely orthodox factions as the Nation of Islam and Jews. It would be safe to say that contemporary black women primarily as breeding stock, not as responsible individuals. This is one reason for the hostility of black nationalism to marriage. The inability of black nationalism to recognize a meaningful way to the challenge of women's liberation is a failure in the twentieth century. The inability of the National Association of Colored Women to liberate themselves from traditionalizing impulses, present in all black institutional organizations, is one reason for their ineffectiveness as a voice for the liberation of

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women at the turn of the century. For women could not be liberated by any philosophy that ignored their right to sexual freedom.

The Afro-American clergy, like the women's reformers, seemed to accept, without question, the values of the world that surrounded them; even so, they conceived of themselves as servants of the black community and guardians of its interests. Alexander Crummell, for example, thought of himself as eminently black and on more than one occasion voiced his disdain for colored aristocrats and mulattos who bragged of their stain of bastardy.<sup>17</sup> But, as has been said, Crummell had little appreciation for the values of black sharecroppers. Described by one of his contemporaries as "conservative" and "somewhat punctilious" Crummell at times impressed even other black intellectuals as somewhat authoritarian.<sup>18</sup>

It is interesting to note that the principal black religious leaders to have endorsed political nationalism have not sprung from the grass roots leadership of the Baptist church, but from the elitist Episcopalians. Not only was Alexander Crummell an Episcopal priest, so were J. T. Holly, Bishop of Haiti, and George Alexander McGuire, chaplain of the Garvey movement.<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, black nationalists have been at odds with the Baptist church, and with enthusiastic revivalism. It is common for leaders of the black nationalist urban religious cults to ridicule the rantings of storefront preachers. The Nation of Islam continues to ridicule the storefront church, along with the more "respectable" expressions of Christianity, as an Uncle Tom institution.<sup>20</sup>

The Afro-American church in the progressive work as encompassing more than the saving of souls. A number of black clergymen demonstrated interest in the here and now. It was, during the progressive today, common for black clergymen to publicise well suited to the problems of Afro-Americans. Manual, published by Sutton Griggs in the early volume and was intended as a companion piece to Greatness and Science of Collective Efficiency. Christianity was a typically "progressive" if applied to social engineering.<sup>21</sup>

Christian Science is paralleled by the development of Science under the leadership of Noble Drew Ali, a man to appear during the years of the great migration that these holy men were able to compete so successfully. Christian churches in attracting converts? Did they come with them from the South, or people predisposed to Islam? Is it possible that some forms of Islam had survived in the South? Obeah and Voodoo ritual? What conceptions of divinity existed in the minds of the poor black migrants, who came to Chicago in 1913, were appealed to by the words "African" and "Moorish"? Since becoming a member of the Nation of Islam, undergoing a change in status from Negro to Asiatic, anything about the attitudes of the masses and the masses and blackness? Black religion, whether of the Muslim or Christian variety, tended to assume that there was some

the century. For women could not be liberated by ignoring their right to sexual freedom. The clergy, like the women's reformers, seemed to ignore the values of the world that surrounded them; they viewed themselves as servants of the black community and its interests. Alexander Crummell, for example, was an eminently black and on more than one occasion was criticized by colored aristocrats and mulattos who bragged of their superiority.<sup>17</sup> But, as has been said, Crummell had little respect for the values of black sharecroppers. Described by one writer as "conservative" and "somewhat punctillious" he was respected even by other black intellectuals as somewhat superior. It is to note that the principal black religious movements and political nationalism have not sprung from the ranks of the Baptist church, but from the elitist ranks. Only Alexander Crummell an Episcopal priest, sojourner of Haiti, and George Alexander McGuire, chaplain of the 8888 Central Postal Directory.<sup>19</sup> Generally speaking, black nationalists were alien to the Baptist church, and with enthusiastic revivalist leaders of the black nationalist urban religion they despised the rantings of storefront preachers. The black press tended to ridicule the storefront church, along with its expressions of Christianity, as an Uncle Tom

The Afro-American church in the progressive era clearly saw its work as encompassing more than the saving of souls. A significant number of black clergymen demonstrated interest in applying religion to the here and now. It was, during the progressive era, and still is today, common for black clergymen to publicize biblical interpretations well suited to the problems of Afro-Americans. The Kingdom Builder's Manual, published by Sutton Griggs in the early twenties, was such a volume and was intended as a companion piece to his Guide to Racial Greatness and Science of Collective Efficiency. Griggs' Scientific Christianity was a typically "progressive" if somewhat folksy approach to social engineering.<sup>21</sup>

Christian Science is paralleled by the development of Moorish Science under the leadership of Noble Drew Ali, one of many mystic holy men to appear during the years of the great migration.<sup>22</sup> Why is it that these holy men were able to compete so successfully with the Christian churches in attracting converts? Did they bring followers with them from the South, or people predisposed to accept Islam? Is it possible that some forms of Islam had survived in the South, along with Obeah and Voodoo ritual? What conceptions of civilization must have existed in the minds of the poor black migrants, who, arriving in Chicago in 1913, were appealed to by the words "Asiatic," "Science," and "Moorish"? Since becoming a member of the Moorish Temple meant undergoing a change in status from Negro to Asiatic, can we conjecture anything about the attitudes of the masses and their leaders to Africa and blackness? Black religion, whether of the Muslim or of the Christian variety, tended to assume that there was something wrong with



being a black African. The program for uplift proposed by Afro-American clergymen usually involved a renunciation of certain values, historically associated with the lifestyles of the Afro-American masses. Bourgeois clergymen attempted to stamp out those aspects of black mass culture that did not conform to mainstream culture, justifying their position by incorrectly attributing all Africanistic behaviors, of which traits they disapproved, to the heritage of slavery.<sup>23</sup>

Before speaking to the question of literary traditions, it is necessary to state a few critical assumptions: First, that we can speak calmly and intelligently about an Afro-American literary tradition. Second, that the term "literary tradition" has often been used to describe the characteristic content of a literature, and has not necessarily implied peculiarity of form or of language. Third, that when we speak about the Afro-American or any other literary tradition, we ought to be discussing some specific manifestations of thought and feeling, persisting long enough to be associated with the historical self-conception of the people who have produced it. Fourth, that while a literary tradition must, of course, find repeated expression in literary forms, it need not be transmitted through formal literature alone.

Since the 1930's, specialists in black studies have recognized the existence of a tradition that we now speak of as Ethiopianism. Ethiopianism is a religious, political, and literary tradition parallel to and arising contemporaneously with the American idea of manifest destiny, but not derived from it. It takes its name from the biblical

quotation, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia stretch forth her hands unto God" (ps. 58, 31). Traditionally translated to mean that Africa and the African people be upgraded, through both their own efforts and the providence.<sup>24</sup>

While protest has certainly been an important writing, some of the best works of black literature are in the protest tradition. Black literature, before the 1950s, was concerned primarily with protest and agitation, aimed mainly at an audience of sympathetic whites. During the 1950s and 1960s, the best literature was directed at a racially mixed audience. The novels of Sutton Griggs, for example, were directed to the white reader, and messages of uplift were directed to the black reader. As our knowledge and understanding of black history increase, we discover that literary traditions pronounced in black writing than many of the explicit themes of "Negro Improvement," whether moral or material, temporal, dominate early black writing.

In summary, most black leaders, including black nationalists, tended to be assimilationistic at the end of the 19th century. They encouraged their people to accept the values of the white gentry. The cultural disruption following World War I and the secularization and urbanization of black life taking place in the same years caused the civilizationist pattern of black culture to break down. A new urban culturalism began to appear

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 to break down. A new urban culturalism began to appear, and the black

bourgeoisie began to look to the lifestyles of the masses as having a validity of their own. But the civilizationist pattern still persists in such groups as the Nation of Islam, whose leaders still reject the values of the masses and still espouse a doctrine of uplift.

When we recognize the ironic historical fact that black nationalism has traditionally been an assimilationist doctrine and that it has usually attempted to impress upon its adherents the desirability of accepting the conservative values of mainstream American culture, we must wonder why black nationalism, in the form of black studies, does not meet with greater encouragement from university administrations. For black studies approached from a black nationalistic perspective would seem to have great potential for teaching black students assimilationist values. And, judging from the pronouncements of university administrators, they do want black students to become more assimilation minded. Or do they?

## FOOTNOTES

1. See the introduction to Howard Brotz, ed., Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representative (1966).
2. For example, see David Walker's Appeal in F readily available edition is that of 1848, author. This edition has been reprinted by York Times, 1969.
3. John H. Bracey, "Black Nationalism Since C" Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox, Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, pp. 259-
4. John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott M. Nationalism in America (Indianapolis, 1970).
5. See, for example, Emmett J. Scott, Negro Mi (New York, 1920), also Arna Bontemps, Amyl (1966).
6. Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Cheney, Oct Dow Cheney Papers, Boston Public Library, Ra
7. Alexander Crummell, Africa and America (Sprin idea is recurrent throughout this volume. S pp. 312-3.
8. Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, Vol.
9. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Ch
10. Crummell, Africa and America, p. 66.

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1. See the introduction to Howard Brats, ed., Negro Social and Political Thought, 1850-1920: Representative Texts, (New York, 1966).
2. For example, see David Walker's Appeal in Four Articles. The most readily available edition is that of 1848, used by the present author. This edition has been reprinted by Arno Press and The New York Times, 1969.
3. John H. Bracey, "Black Nationalism Since Garvey," in Nathan Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox, eds., Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience, Vol. II, pp. 259-79.
4. John H. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott M. Rudwick, eds., Black Nationalism in America (Indianapolis, 1970). See the introduction.
5. See, for example, Emmett J. Scott, Negro Migration During the War (New York, 1920), also Arna Bontemps, Anyplace but Here (New York, 1966).
6. Booker T. Washington to Edna Dow Cheney, October 15, 1895, Edna Dow Cheney Papers, Boston Public Library, Rare Books Room.
7. Alexander Crummell, Africa and America (Springfield, 1891). The idea is recurrent throughout this volume. See, for example, pp. 312-3.
8. Marcus Garvey, Philosophy and Opinions, Vol. II, p. 38.
9. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Chicago, 1903), p. 3.
10. Crummell, Africa and America, p. 66.

11. Elizabeth Lindsay Davis, Lifting as They Climb (Washington, 1933), p. 25. Also see the convention minutes of the National Association of Colored Women for 1895 and 1896 in History of the Club Movement Among the Colored Women of the United States of America (1902), cited hereafter as History.
12. History, p. 28.
13. The Women's Era, June, 1895, II:4:12.
14. It would be irresponsible to overlook the fact that the organization was instituted largely in order to impose the sexual mores of the bourgeoisie upon the black masses. Open scorn for black proletarian sexual values was a consistent feature of the NACW platform.
15. See, for example, Dunbar's poem, "My Sweet Brown Gal" in When Malindy Sings (New York, 1904), p. 105.
16. William H. Ferris, The African Abroad (New Haven, 1913), Vol. I, p. 405.
17. Alexander Crummell to John E. Bruce, letter in the Schomburg Collection of the New York Public Library dated April 7, 1896. In a similar vein see Crummell's references to "the base process of interzixture" in op. cit., p. 45.
18. See, for example, William Wells Brown, The Rising Son (Boston, 1874), p. 456, and Carter G. Woodson, ed., Works of Francis J. Grimke (Washington, 1942), Vol. I, p. 31.
19. Obviously, I offer this as a qualitative and not as a quantitative evaluation. The three episcopal priests cited were exceptionally

influential among black nationalists, although representative of black preachers.

20. An observation made by Howard Brotz in The Black Church (New York, 1970), p. 25. The tendency persists on pages of Muhammad Speaks and is readily observed of Gerald ZX in that same periodical.
21. Sutton Griggs, The Kingdom Builder's Manual (New York, 1904), p. 10.
22. Information on Noble Drew Ali and the Moorish Church is in Arthur Huff Faussett, Black Gods of the Moorish Church (Philadelphia, 1942).
23. Africa and America, p. 94.
24. The first attempts by specialists in black studies to identify the elements of a distinct literary tradition in Africa are detectable in Benjamin Brawley, The Negro in Literature and Art, 1885-1926 (1937), and Benjamin Mays, The God as Reflected in the Negro (Boston, 1938). Ethiopianism as a religious movement in South Africa around 1900. It rapidly spread to the United States by 1900 and was known in the United States by 1900. See Hayford, Ethiopia Unbound (London, 1911); Jones, Mt. Kenya (London, 1938), Chapter 11; and Daniel B. Clendenen, Seething African Pot (London, 1936). More recent works which unfortunately lack any real concern with the subject are George Shepperson, "Ethiopianism and African Nationalism," Phylon, No. 1, 1953, and St. Clair Drake in The Black Church in Africa and Black Religion (Chicago, 1970). See

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Africa and Black Religion (Chicago, 1970). Should the reader seek

a further discussion of the literary implications of Ethiopianism than the scope of the present essay allows, I shall be glad to correspond.

BLACK STUDIES: THE LEGACY OF  
BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND CARTER G. WOODSON

by

Elizabeth L. Parker  
University of San Francisco  
San Francisco, California

Black education has evolved, with the early T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson, into an emphasis on Black Studies Programs of the 1970's. Black education promoted by Washington to help Blacks enter the "white mainstream," thereby becoming what Kenneth Surin called "white men with black skins."<sup>1</sup> Carter G. Woodson's promotion of Black education by promoting an awareness of Black cultural tradition, thus laying the foundations for the Black Studies Programs of today.

The goal of Black education in the time of Washington was aimed at a restructuring of the methods, content, and objectives of education but to achieve a greater participation in education. The major curriculum debate in Black education throughout the century ago concerned the relative merits of academic versus vocational education.<sup>2</sup> Carter Woodson began the restructuring of Black History, which was to change the content of Black Studies Programs of the 1970's have taken the form of restructuring the methods, content, and purposes of Black Education."

This restructuring of "American Education" for Blacks has taken many forms. Recruitment programs; remedial, compensatory, and enrichment programs; courses in the standard curriculum dealing with Black experience; separate courses for Blacks on the Black Studies Program; establishment of centers, institutes, departments of Black Studies; recruitment and assistance of Black graduate students; and the restructuring of the restructuring.<sup>3</sup>



Black education has evolved, with the early assistance of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson, into an emphasis on the Black Studies Programs of the 1970's. Black education began an industrial education promoted by Washington to help Blacks assimilate into the "white mainstream," thereby becoming what Kenneth Stampp has called "white men with black skins."<sup>1</sup> Carter G. Woodson assisted the evolution of Black education by promoting an awareness of the Black historical tradition, thus laying the foundations for the Black Studies Programs of today.

The goal of Black education in the time of Washington was not aimed at a restructuring of the methods, content, or purposes of education but to achieve a greater participation in education by Blacks. The major curriculum debate in Black education three quarters of a century ago concerned the relative merits of academic versus industrial education.<sup>2</sup> Carter Woodson began the restructuring by his push for Black History, which was to change the content of education. The Black Studies Programs of the 1970's have taken the initiative by restructuring the methods, content, and purposes of "American Education."

This restructuring of "American Education" for Blacks has taken many forms. Recruitment programs; remedial, compensatory, and tutorial programs; courses in the standard curriculum dealing with the Black experience; separate courses for Blacks on the Black experience; establishment of centers, institutes, departments of Black Studies; and recruitment and assistance of Black graduate students have been a part of the restructuring.<sup>3</sup>

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This restructuring of education has been faced with a great many objections which range from academic to political considerations. Some of the specific political arguments against Black Studies Programs are that their purpose is the training of militant revolutionary agents; they are racism in reverse, and they are chauvinistic to advocate Black superiority. The academic arguments are that these programs attempt to circumvent the conventional and more difficult performance standards of higher education, and they "by its very nature" lack intellectual and academic validity.<sup>4</sup>

The arguments for and against Black Studies Programs are not new: A Black educator in Virginia wrote a paper in 1876 entitled "Colored Teachers for Colored Schools," which sharply criticized Hampton Institute (Booker T. Washington's alma mater) for its shortage of Black instructors. The paper was endorsed by the Virginia Educational and Historical Association, a Black organization. A Black minister in an American Missionary Association church at Mobile, Alabama, in the 1880's reported disaffection among his flock because the Association's school had no Black teachers. "This is the great reason for all the prejudice that exists. The employment of a colored teacher would increase the influence of the school and the church and shut the mouths of those who are murmuring." And finally a Black lawyer in South Carolina went the whole way in 1883 and demanded that "Negro teachers exclusively be employed to teach Negro schools."<sup>5</sup>

Laura Towne, founder of Penn School on St. Helena Island in South Carolina, wrote in 1873 that schools taught by Blacks on the Sea Islands "are always in confusion, grief, and utter want of everything.

It is hard to imagine schools doing so little good. Straight University (a forerunner of Dillard) in the American Missionary Association not to employ Black and theological departments just because of "the teachers. . . . We can't have any humbug about the sake of color. . . . Colored teachers are not given Blacks discounted this argument by insisting that standards should not be the only criteria for hiring. Grimke declared in 1885 that the development of a major objective of Black education. The low self Black man had emerged from slavery was perpetuated white faculties, "The intellects of our young people at the expense of their manhood. In the classroom professors, which lead them to associate these people fitness for them only with white men." Grimke for their slowness to appoint Black professors, the use one of the most effective means in their power race."<sup>6</sup>

J. Willis Menard, who had been the first Black Congressman, asserted in 1885 that while many white and dedicated, others were selfish hypocrites, and a white teacher could achieve the rapport and empathy that a Black teacher could. "We demand educated colored schools, because their color identity makes them interested in the advancement of colored children than because colored pupils need the social contact of

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 Blacks discounted this argument by insisting that Anglo-Saxon academic  
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 white faculties, "The intellects of our young people are being educated  
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 use one of the most effective means in their power, of helping on this  
 race."<sup>6</sup>

J. Willis Menard, who had been the first Black elected to  
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 and dedicated, others were selfish hypocrites, and in any case, no  
 white teacher could achieve the rapport and empathy with Black students  
 that a Black teacher could. "We demand educated colored teachers for  
 colored schools, because their color identity makes them more inter-  
 ested in the advancement of colored children than white teachers, and  
 because colored pupils need the social contact of colored teachers."<sup>7</sup>

Floyd B. McKissick, the former National Director of the Congress of Racial Equality, writing in 1967, stated that

"Black children must daily see Black people in positions of authority and power: Black educators fully knowledgeable of their own history and values, must be visible and in close contact with Black children. We cannot continue to blame all the other forces in society for the failure of our educational system: When that system is set ar'ight we can begin to rid our other institutions of racism. But public education is the guardian of our children's minds and is one of the first and paramount influences in their lives. We cannot afford less than excellence."<sup>8</sup>

It is this excellence that the Black Studies Programs are addressing themselves to by a restructuring of "American liberal education." The "demands" for the establishment of Black Studies Programs by Black students represent a constructive challenge to the educational establishment within the institutions of higher learning to develop programs that would truly function for the attainment of goals associated with the liberal arts; in other words, Black Studies Programs represent a cry for the elevation of academic standards. Genuine academic standards can be measured by the extent to which there is interaction between students and teachers in the academic environment, the degree to which there is emphasis on learning, and the extent to which teachers and students participate in a genuine search for truth.<sup>9</sup> This search for truth is not the traditional uni-dimensional and limited form associated with white scholarship but rather a multi-dimensional form.

The traditional uni-dimensional form of liberalism has been a total commitment to the propagation of its ideals. This commitment is a narrow one in the twentieth century. The news media and rapid modes of transportation create awareness of other civilizations and cultures. There is a multi-ethnic one or a multi-dimensional one. This awareness hopefully will develop into a pluralistic reality whereby minority cultural and racial differences are accepted and respected even by the dominant culture. Deviant is dismissed as deviant or lacking in value.

Most of the "social problems" of the twentieth century that have their basis in attitudes that have been a Western dualistic vision of reality. A simple example is that "white is right and black is bad."

James Baldwin, the writer, addresses himself to this dualistic vision of reality by the following statement: "It is not really a 'Negro revolution' that is upsetting the country. What is upsetting the country is a sense of its own history. For example, one managed to change the curriculum in a way that Negroes learned more about themselves and the world. If to this culture (American), you would be liberating Negroes, you'd be liberating white people who know nothing about their own history. And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about anybody's history, you must lie about your own. You lie about my real role here, if you have to pretend."

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 aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all. If you have to  
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that cotton just because I loved you, then you have done something to yourself. You are mad."<sup>10</sup>

This Western dualistic vision of reality as seen in America is one of "whiteness." America has been "whitened"<sup>11</sup> from the very beginning. White people today argue, with some justice and great heat, that none of them is old enough to have owned slaves and that, therefore, they ought not to be held guilty for whatever damage was done the Blacks by that "ancient wrong." A racist society? The idea offends them, particularly after a decade in which they had as they frequently said "done so much for the Negro." Yet the middle-aged, middle-class and thoroughly decent American of the 1960's grew up in a culture whose language itself identified white as good (white hopes, white hates, Snow White, and the White House) and black as bad (blackmail, black day, black mood, black magic); which, with endless invention, referred to Blacks as "nigger," "nigra," "coon," "darky," "dinge," "smoke," "spook," "spade," "shine," "jig," "jigaboo," "boot," or "boy," sometimes to their faces; which baked angel's food cake, which is white, and devil's food cake, which is black; which populated its Africa with "Tarzan and Jane," "Little Black Sambo," and cartoon cannibals stewing missionaries in iron pots; which read its children those quaint old Uncle Remus tales, rarely suspecting that Br'er Rabbit was probably America's first Black revolutionary; whose history textbooks commonly insulted the Black man, when they mentioned him at all.<sup>12</sup> An example of this portrayal is seen in the 1940 and 1950 editions of The Growth of the American Republic, by the historians Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager:

278

"As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolition there is some reason to believe that he suffered class in the South from its 'peculiar institution' the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, . . . Although brought to America by force, the Negro soon became attached to the country, and the folks."<sup>13</sup>

A culture whose public schools graduated ge white, who could tell you with authority that Bo Up From Slavery and that George Washington Carver the Peanut" but were otherwise illiterate in Black distinguished those Black heavyweight champions who their race" (Joe Louis and Floyd Patterson) from (Jack Johnson, Sonny Liston, and Muhammad Ali); white and undertakers in black; which outgrew "darky" jokes; which sent a segregated army to Europe; which probably suspected all along that stop grinning but which managed nevertheless to the "Movement," the riots and the judgment of the we are a nation decisively shaped by our racial been the "American liberal education."<sup>14</sup>

This restructuring of the "American liberal was begun in the late 1960's on the Southern Black These campuses became the battlegrounds of the Black sparks flew first on a series of campuses in "Dix A & I, Jackson State, and Texas Southern--in the

279

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we are a nation decisively shaped by our racial prejudices. Such has  
been the "American liberal education."<sup>14</sup>

This restructuring of the "American liberal education" by Blacks  
was begun in the late 1960's on the Southern Black College campus.  
These campuses became the battlegrounds of the Black revolt. The  
sparks flew first on a series of campuses in "Dixie"--Fisk, Tennessee  
A & I, Jackson State, and Texas Southern--in the spring of 1967. It

continued in Orangeburg, South Carolina, the following winter, when state troopers fired into a crowd of demonstrating South Carolina State and Claflin College students, killing three and wounding twenty-seven. The rebellion soon spread to the mostly white campuses of the North and West as well. Blacks led the long strike that afflicted San Francisco State College for most of the 1968-69 school year. Black demonstrations closed City College of New York briefly and set off three days of brawling between white and Black students. Blacks at Brandeis and at Duke occupied buildings and proclaimed them Malcolm X Universities (MXU); Brandeis' MXU departed peaceably after eleven days of negotiation but Duke's was evicted by court order and routed by police with the use of tear gas. A classroom boycott at Wisconsin started to develop into violence, and the National Guard was ordered in to break it up at bayonet point.<sup>15</sup>

One possible reason for this attempted restructuring of American education to fit the needs of Black Americans lays in the recent march to independence by Black Africa's thirty-four countries.<sup>16</sup> This independence from colonial rule affected all of those who were part of the "African Diaspora":<sup>17</sup> Blacks in the New World as well as Africa.

It has been said that "so long as the African is regarded as a man without a history and without a culture, doubts concerning his ability to govern himself will find credence."<sup>18</sup> The racist and the imperialist speak to millions, whereas, the teacher of African history speaks to mere hundreds. And so the myth and the doubts persist. The first task is to set the record of history straight. "The point is not that Africans have no history but that there is profound ignorance

concerning it, and an almost pathological unwillingness to accept the evidence of it when presented."<sup>19</sup> As the status of the "Continent" changed so did that of all Blacks in the world. Malcolm X, speaking at the Organization of African People's Conference in Cairo, July 17-21, 1964, stated:

"We, in America, are your long-lost brothers and sisters. We are only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As Black Americans 'awaken' today, we find ourselves in a world that has rejected us, and like the prodigal son, we are turning to our brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall on deaf ears."

America is still in a quandary in its efforts to educate its Blacks. Today the factors involved are more complex than the days of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson. America failed to provide its Blacks with the basic education of citizenship, and first of all the right to a relevant education. Blacks have the legacy of Washington and Woodson through this quandary. The example of these two men is to provide an education for Blacks somewhere between their two worlds. They can utilize the best of Washington, his "education for the masses" and all of Woodson. This resolving of America's educational dilemma. Blacks themselves will eventually add a greater degree of liberal education for all citizens--Blacks, Browns and Whites.



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 Whites.

## FOOTNOTES

1. Kenneth Stampp, The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South (New York, 1956), p. vii.
2. James M. McPherson, "White Liberals and Black Power in Negro Education, 1865-1915," American Historical Review, LXXV, #5, June, 1970, footnote #1, p. 1357.
3. Donald Henderson, "What Direction Black Studies?" in Henry J. Richards (ed.), Topics in Afro-American Studies (Buffalo, 1971), p. 9.
4. Ibid., pp. 10-1.
5. Cited in McPherson, "White Liberals," p. 1361.
6. Ibid., pp. 1361-2, and Francis Grimke, "Colored men as professors in Colored institutions," A.M.E. Church Review, October, 1885, pp. 142-4.
7. McPherson, "White Liberals," p. 1362.
8. Quoted in San Francisco Chronicle, November 17, 1967.
9. Henry J. Richards, "Introduction: Black Studies the Liberal Arts and Academic Standards," in Topics in Afro-American Studies (Buffalo, 1971), p. 2.
10. Quoted in article by John Henrik Clarke, "Black Power and Black History," in Henry Drewry (ed.), Afro-American History: Past and Present (New York, 1971), p. 520.
11. Phrase used by Peter Goldman in Report From Black America (New York, 1971), pp. 140-1.
12. Ibid.
13. "The Cotton Kingdom," Volume I, Chapter XXV edition does not include this statement.
14. Goldman, Report, p. 142.
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RESOCIALIZATION OF THE BLACK STUDENT WITHIN  
A NEW PERMISSIVE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM?

by

Gerald Eugene Thomas  
University of Wisconsin - Madison  
Madison, Wisconsin

We are on a collision course in that as the system pushes more and more toward the so-called "liberal" philosophies and practices of education, problems for the educator of black students as well as the ability of the black student to adapt to the real conditions in American society. The recent somewhat successful efforts of the "compensatory education" strategy. In this instance it is clear that certain white values are in conflict with black socialization practices and the black existence.<sup>1</sup> But of course much of the value of the program was that they merely served a "symbolic

"This symbolic attack on a social problem . . . serves to assuage lingering doubt that we are not doing enough for the black and disadvantaged, but it also guards against asking hard questions that might upset the status-quo interests."

Perhaps one of those hard questions that might be asked should be the role of the American Educational System in the black individual's path toward freedom?

Before answering this question, let us first ask what has been the function of modern education to imbue in the student the virtues of individualism and self-determination as a means to the achievement of life goals. Such a philosophy of education was consistent with the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the century when the maximum output by each citizen was vital to the nation. This nation, perhaps, could not have achieved its present level of development without the assistance of an educational system which socialized

We are on a collision course in that as the American public school system pushes more and more toward the so-called "permissive" and "liberal" philosophies and practices of education, it will create more problems for the educator of black students as well as frustrate the ability of the black student to adapt to the realities of oppressive conditions in American society. The recent somewhat unsuccessful efforts of the "compensatory education" strategy is a case in point. In this instance it is clear that certain white value assumptions were in conflict with black socialization practices and thus the reality of the black existence.<sup>1</sup> But of course much of the value in these programs was that they merely served a "symbolic function."

"This symbolic attack on a social problem . . . serves the purpose of assuaging lingering doubt that we are not doing enough to help the poor and disadvantaged, but it also guards against asking those hard questions that might upset the status-quo interests."<sup>2</sup>

Perhaps one of those hard questions that might be asked is: What should be the role of the American Educational System in cutting the black individual's path toward freedom?

Before answering this question, let us first agree that it has been the function of modern education to imbue in Euro-Americans the virtues of individualism and self-determination as a means to personal achievement of life goals. Such a philosophy of education was harmonious with the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the century when the maximum output by each citizen was vital to the growth of the nation. This nation, perhaps, could not have developed so well without the assistance of an educational system which socialized pupils toward

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the national objectives. And then again, in more recent times, the educational system has been utilized to buttress a slightly different Euro-cultural need. The American middle and upper class white citizenry over the past two decades or so has been burdened with the task of rationalizing a behavior that one psychologist has termed the "psychology of more," that is, during the recent decades of relative prosperity, Americans have consumed goods and services at an unprecedented rate. Individuals "hence acquire beliefs concerning consumption."<sup>3</sup> And as Looft has noted:

"As in all societies, formal education in America is the process of transposing an economic and social ideology into an individual, internalized, personalized matrix of values and self-reference system."<sup>4</sup>

The formal educational process of socialization has then developed a philosophical model of man which legitimizes him as a (to use Looft's words) "consumptive and reactive" creature. This author would argue that such a need as described above has pressed certain educators to adopt and adapt the writings of such thinkers as A. H. Maslow and Carl Rogers. Maslow's concept of the "self-actualized" man<sup>5</sup> lends itself to a bastardized "do your own thing" model of man. The "self-actualized" man has been misconstrued in order to appear consonant with the behavior of many a "consumptive and reactive" American. Carl Rogers, perhaps our leading living humanist, has stated that the human organism has an inherent tendency to "actualize," i.e., to grow spontaneously and to develop. However, Rogers has also emphasized in his writings that self-actualization is subject to the social environment. Often the charismatic, would-be followers of Maslow and Rogers pay too little

attention to the social environmental contingencies. Perhaps dominant white culture can afford to blur between the "self-actualized" man and the "do your own thing" man. However, such a casual and "spontaneous" approach is incongruous to the constraints placed upon the self-actualizer in his purist form recognizes the strength and the weakness in his culture; this idealistic model pursued by many middle class white Americans, however, is often and recklessly detached from the true nature of the individual whose modus operandi is to make obsolete that which is undesirable. Black people are undesirable in America, but have survived. This survival has been tolerated by the benevolent dominant culture; neither has it been

Many of the assertions made above permeate the educational process and because they do so in such magnitude, complete view is beyond the scope of this paper. Although the paper is the effect the modern school has upon the black person, there are very real implications in general. During the height of the white radicalism in the late 60's and early 70's, the phrase "the student" was coined. Parallels between white radical student and the black person can validly be made. In the case of the "radical white" student, the educational process far exceeded the capacity of the society to deal with this optimally "liberated" youth. In this sense, education failed the student. Black

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Many of the assertions made above permeate the whole of society  
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 society to deal with this optimally "liberated" young white American.  
 In this sense, education failed the student. Black America has always

been aware of the dangers of such precociousness. Now we threaten to have this 300 year old wit--this reality awareness--"educated away"

The intent of this essay is to suggest that we do not know enough about the black psyche (specifically, achievement motivation and aspirations) to guide the black youth through this new maze of educational reform. Or, perhaps enough is known, and the political-strategical question is: Should black students run the risk of becoming innocent casualties in a "family squabble" between the disillusioned "haves" and the survival demands of their economic culture?

THE GENERAL CONTEXT: WHITE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS  
MOVING TOWARD A DUBIOUS "SELF-ACTUALIZED" SOCIETY

Educational philosophies and practices are, of course, no good unless they serve the society and culture within which they exist. The traditional educational system was established and functioned by a set of values supportive of an economic-industrial society. Two principles which Americans have learned to value (inculcations processed chiefly by the school system as mentioned above) are an appreciation for the "democratic process" and individualism. Postman and Weingartner, in the first chapter of their book entitled Teaching as a Subversive Activity stated in their first paragraph of the chapter, "Crap Detecting," the following:

"In 1492, Columbus discovered America.' . . . Starting from this disputed fact, each one of us will describe the history of this country in a somewhat different way. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume that most of us would include something about what is called the

'democratic process,' and how Americans have value problem: one of the tenets of a democratic society allowed to think and express themselves freely on the point of speaking out against the idea of a de the extent that our schools are instruments of such must develop in the young not only an awareness of will to exercise it, and the intellectual power as so effectively. This is necessary so that the society change and modify to meet unforeseen threats, probabilities. Thus, we can achieve what John Garner calls society.' So goes the theory."<sup>7</sup>

Intentional, of course, is a degree of cynicism Weingartner wished to convey in the above excerpt, however, are demonstrated a bit of the old assumption of education as well as the new liberal and perhaps educational philosophies. As unwholesome as the t some, the socialization of youth toward unquestion American society and culture and the roles they must merits, provided one wishes to suspend ethical judgments. Skinner made the point that the effectiveness survive is dependent upon the "measures used by the its members to work for its survival."<sup>8</sup> In addition a capitalistic or socialist culture suggests a dominant practices associated with "compatible practices of

This writer would consider, as part of the other practices," the educational system which until rec



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CONTEXT: WHITE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS  
 AND A DUBIOUS "SELF-ACTUALIZED" SOCIETY

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'democratic process,' and how Americans have valued it. Therein lies a  
 problem: one of the tenets of a democratic society is that men be  
 allowed to think and express themselves freely on any subject, even to  
 the point of speaking out against the idea of a democratic society. To  
 the extent that our schools are instruments of such a society, they  
 must develop in the young not only an awareness of this freedom but a  
 will to exercise it, and the intellectual power and perspective to do  
 so effectively. This is necessary so that the society may continue to  
 change and modify to meet unforeseen threats, problems, and opportuni-  
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Intentional, of course, is a degree of cynicism Postman and  
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 survive is dependent upon the "measures used by the culture to induce  
 its members to work for its survival."<sup>8</sup> In addition, he asserted that  
 a capitalistic or socialist culture suggests a dominant set of economic  
 practices associated with "compatible practices of other kinds."<sup>9</sup>

This writer would consider, as part of the other "compatible  
 practices," the educational system which until recently, insured a high

degree of dependency of its students on the economic system while at the same time fostering what could be considered a healthy illusion of freedom and self-determination.

Now something has gone "wrong" between youth and the American culture. And, perhaps, it is not just the fact that more educators are leading their students to reassess their relationship with their culture. For as Postman and Weingartner pointed up, teachers have acted "almost entirely as shills for corporate interests, shaping students up to be functionaries in one bureaucracy or another."<sup>10</sup> It would appear perhaps that a radical shift in the practices of economic institutions has upset the education process. Alvin Toffler has suggested that: "Ever since the rise of industrialism, education in the West, and particularly in the United States, has been organized for the mass production of basically standardized educational packages. It is not accidental that at the precise moment when the consumer has begun to demand and obtain greater diversity, the same moment when new technology promises to make destandardization possible, a wave of revolt has begun to sweep the college campus. Though the connection is seldom noticed, events on the campus and events in the consumer are intimately connected."<sup>11</sup>

The white students' illusion of freedom and self-determination has been shaken. In growing numbers, the white student is experiencing "future shock," i.e., they are being "confronted by the fact that the world they were educated to believe in doesn't exist."<sup>12</sup> Many educators are not responding to the crisis very well. Too many educators are not responding to their dilemma at all. Some educators are pushing

their students far beyond the bounds of the culture. The answers lie somewhere between the super-aesthetics and "Disneyland."

Although this dilemma will be discomfiting to both the culture and society will work out an agreement and disenchanted (the student included). In the end, there will be a degree of risk taking by both sides of each party to lessen permanent impairing consequences. The white culture society and its white youth need to change. But as Samuel Yette and Sidney Willhelm have recognized, this culture no longer needs black people.

#### BLACK SOCIALIZATION AND PERSONALITY EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Essential to the argument being advanced here is that most social scientists and educators lack an understanding and feel for the kind of world view held by black people. This is a misunderstanding of the way the Afro-American people relate to the rest of the social environment and the efforts to develop suitable educational programs to bridge the gap between black and white students. With the saying "where the person is," we cannot properly define the person or her to learn. Equally unsuitable educational programs will be dysfunctional to a "black agenda."

Our psychology of man in the western culture is based on a host of assumptions about human behavior that are

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their students far beyond the bounds of the culture, suggesting that  
 the answers lie somewhere between the super-self-actualized self and  
 "Disneyland." /

Although this dilemma will be discomforting for a while, American  
 culture and society will work out an agreement with the disillusioned  
 and disenchanted (the student included). In the process of a negoti-  
 ation, there will be a degree of risk taking but it is to the advantage  
 of each party to lessen permanent impairing consequences. For both the  
 white culture society and its white youth need each other to survive.  
 But as Samuel Yette and Sidney Willhelm have recently pointed out to us  
 again, this culture no longer needs black people.<sup>13</sup>

#### BLACK SOCIALIZATION AND PERSONALITY DEVELOPMENT:

##### EDUCATIONAL IMPLICATIONS

Essential to the argument being advanced here is the fact that  
 most social scientists and educators lack an understanding or even the  
 feel for the kind of world view held by black people. Given a basic  
 misunderstanding of the way the Afro-American perceives the self in  
 relation to the rest of the social environment of course hinders  
 efforts to develop suitable educational programs to close the achieve-  
 ment gap between black and white students. Without the knowledge of  
 "where the person is," we cannot properly define that which motivates  
 him or her to learn. Equally unsuitable educational philosophies can  
 be dysfunctional to a "black agenda."

Our psychology of man in the western culture is dominated by a  
 host of assumptions about human behavior that are compatible with our

culture as it exists or we desire it to exist. American culture is considered an "advanced," "complex" and technological culture. The associated concept of the ideal man in a "complex," "advanced" and technological culture is the Horatio Alger type, the individualist who can effectively manipulate his complex environment and reach success. Related also is western man's concept of development. Development carries with it such concepts as "advancement," and "good" in addition to change. Cultures then that do not fit criteria of a developed western America then are considered "primitive" and undesirable, need alteration or adjustment, and in this context, need to be made white middle-class western American. A good example of how this western American view of the world and concept of man permeates our study of human behavior is the discussion in Sechrest and Wallace on "survival"<sup>14</sup> as a criterion for what constitutes adjusted behavior. Conveniently enough also, as it turns out, a significant difference in black American behavior as opposed to white is what this writer calls a "survival mentality." Sechrest and Wallace dismissed survival as a criterion of adjustment in the following fashion:

"A serious criticism of survival as criterion of adjustment is that it is inadequate, even irrelevant, in many of the situations that confront us in everyday life. In the highly socialized, industrialized, and technologically advanced cultures of today, very few people are faced with decisions involving physical harm or a threat to life itself. Thus the concept may be said to have a narrow range of convenience.

...<sup>15</sup>

At least two important assumptions are implied in the reference, first that the individual is the referent, secondly that all people within geographical confines of society are at liberty to feel beyond the "survival" and cultural development. Such is not the case in America. To illustrate the point, the following is White's "Toward a Black Psychology":

"Many of these same so-called culturally deprived developed the kind of mental toughness and survival coping with life, which make them in many ways surrogate age-mates who are growing up in the material affluence of suburbias. These black youngsters know how to deal with bill collectors, building superintendents, corner hustlers, hypes, pimps, whores, sickness, and death. They know how to deal with school counselors, principals, teachers, welfare authorities, and, in doing so, display a lot of poise and originality. They recognize very early in life an environment which is sometimes complicated and hostile, but they are able to verbalize it, but they have already mastered it. As developmental psychologists state to be the basic human condition in this life, pain and struggle are unavoidable and a sense of one's identity can only be achieved by directly confronting an unkind and alien existence.

Although, perhaps, the above statement of perception of the black youth is offensive to the conventionalist in that it smacks of black ethnocentrism (

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At least two important assumptions are implicit in the above  
 reference, first that the individual is the reference point and  
 secondly that all people within geographical confines of this advanced  
 society are at liberty to feel beyond the "survival" stage of societal  
 and cultural development. Such is not the case for the black man in  
 America. To illustrate the point, the following excerpt from Joseph  
 White's "Toward a Black Psychology":

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 in this life, pain and struggle are unavoidable and that a complete  
 sense of one's identity can only be achieved by both recognizing and  
 directly confronting an unkind and alien existence."<sup>16</sup>

Although, perhaps, the above statement of personality development  
 of the black youth is offensive to the conventional white social scien-  
 tist in that it smacks of black ethnocentrism (romanticized at that),

specialists in the study of Afro-American behavior, however, are becoming increasingly appreciative of efforts to develop what is being called a "Black Psychology." Also, in an effort to determine the uniqueness of a "black world view," researchers are going beyond the context of the black man in America and studying the black ethos as rooted in African religion and philosophy. In a short summary of Wade W. Nobles' paper entitled "African Philosophy: Foundations for Black Psychology," Nobles stated:

"Black Psychology must concern itself with the question of 'rhythm.' It must discuss, at some length, 'the oral tradition.' It must unfold the mysteries of the spiritual energy now known as 'soul.' It must explain the notion of 'extended self' and the 'natural' orientation of African peoples to insure the 'survival of the tribe.' Briefly, it must examine the elements and dimensions of the experiential communalities of African peoples."<sup>17</sup>

In spite of the fact that some social scientists, black and white, have negated the possibility of African heritage having been transmitted to contemporary black Americans,<sup>18</sup> the issue is still very much alive. One indication of its feasibility is the continued effectiveness of white prejudice and discrimination in keeping the black man "in his place" and unassimilated in American society. Personally, this writer finds the notion plausible in that his grandfather was only nine years or so from being born in slavery and died but a few years ago. Our wretched past is still very much a part of our present.

We have dwelled upon the collectiveness of the black ethos in order to demonstrate that a significant determinant of a behavior, in

this instance black culture, is a viable rationale for black behavior, once assuming differences in world view. We can explain the behavior of blacks in this modality by looking as attempts heretofore exploring black behavior in the white American ethos. Of real promise to the notion advanced by Charles Valentine with respect to the explanation of black behavior. Briefly, the proposition is that "blacks are simultaneously committed to both black and white stream culture, and that the two are not mutually exclusive but equally assumed."<sup>19</sup> Each system or socialization, whether Euro-American, continues throughout the individual's life with equal importance.

The research in the areas of dual socialization is not yet completed. Robert Staples has given us some insights into the theoretical and methodological problems of the role of the black family.<sup>20</sup> The work of Joyce Kilmer, entitled Tomorrow's Tomorrow, provided an illuminating psychological treatment of the bicultural personality of the black woman.<sup>21</sup> One implication that might be drawn from the black duality is an appreciation for the value of "get all you can"; and while on the other hand, the "surprised when you don't" attitude. The writer will elaborate this position in the following discussion of black high aspirations and low achievement.

In other areas of the socialization process, the use of interdisciplinary research methods to study, e.g.,

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 Euro-American, continues throughout the individual's life to be of  
 equal importance.

The research in the areas of duo-socialization is far from being  
 completed. Robert Staples has given us some insight into the dimen-  
 sions of the theoretical and methodological problem in understanding  
 the role of the black family.<sup>20</sup> The work of Joyce Ladner (1971),  
 entitled Tomorrow's Tomorrow, provided an illuminating social-  
 psychological treatment of the bicultural personality development of  
 the black woman.<sup>21</sup> One implication that might logically be derived  
 from the black duality is an appreciation for the American cultural  
 value of "get all you can"; and while on the other side: "but don't be  
 surprised when you don't" attitude. The writer will attempt to illumi-  
 nate this position in the following discussion of the apparent anomaly  
 of black high aspirations and low achievement.

In other areas of the socialization process, we are in need of  
 interdisciplinary research methods to study, e.g., black peer group

relations. Social peer group phenomena such as playing "The Dozens" is often cited as personality development.<sup>22</sup> There are a number of other such attitude shaping rituals.

#### THE APPARENT ACHIEVEMENT-MOTIVATION AND ASPIRATION

##### "ANOMALY": CASE IN POINT!

Over the past fifteen years or so an increasing amount of attention has been paid to the achievement-motivation-aspiration phenomenon and what accounts for low achievement of blacks in both the classroom and on the job. A good sample of the literature as well as interesting comparative analysis and interpretation is given by Guterman.<sup>23</sup> It quickly becomes apparent in the review of the literature (some of which is referred to as "internal-external locus of control" research) that the present understanding of the phenomenon leaves the educational planner on questionable grounds when attempts are made to increase classroom performance of seemingly unmotivated black youth.

The complexity of the issue is increased when additional research finds that black school children express high occupational goals,<sup>24</sup> and that black mothers have comparable value orientations in regard to their children's future.<sup>25</sup> A statement made by black psychiatrists William H. Grier and Price M. Cobbs in their book, "Black Rage," commands attention:

"Although education may in the long run be an important instrument for black people, children may have clearer vision when they see the classroom as immediately irrelevant. Their vision is clearer than that of

men who plead for black people to become educated all blacks as bondsmen temporarily out of bondage. Here again we note the "reality awareness" in blacks appears to guard against a pathological pursuit of the Dream. As educators of black children, is it ethical to tamper with the black personality's adaptational mechanism until the threat to black survival is removed? Would it be humane to work within limits of the black's world to help him crystalize a value system that is more compatible with an alien environment?

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The writer has briefly presented a few conclusions which hopefully will encourage the educators of black children to adopt some of the newer notions for educational reform from the black world. One must first recognize that the purpose of any educational program within a society is to be supportive of its cultural values.

The question of what kinds of values are to be adopted is indicative of the dilemma educators have found themselves in. It is obvious that values are and have always been taught by the dominant mandate from the American economic culture. The cultural values of middle-class students, educators, and schools over the years have been personal values are tolerable within the cultural and social context of this advanced cybernetic and technological society. The values of the respective constituents will have to resolve. The culture is at another stage requiring a different



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men who plead for black people to become educated in a land which views  
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Here again we note the "reality awareness" in black children that  
 appears to guard against a pathological pursuit of the evasive American  
 Dream. As educators of black children, is it ethical to "radically"  
 tamper with the black personality's adaptational developmental processes  
 until the threat to black survival is removed? Would it not be more  
 humane to work within limits of the black's world view and help to  
 crystalize a value system that is more compatible to his existence in  
 an alien environment?

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The writer has briefly presented a few considerations which  
 hopefully will encourage the educators of black students to view some  
 of the newer notions for educational reform from a black perspective.  
 One must first recognize that the purpose of any educational system  
 within a society is to be supportive of its cultural philosophy.

The question of what kinds of values are to be taught and how<sup>27</sup> is  
 indicative of the dilemma educators have found themselves in. It is  
 obvious that values are and have always been taught by the school as a  
 mandate from the American economic culture. The conflict between  
 middle-class students, educators, and schools over what degree of per-  
 sonal values are tolerable within the cultural and social context of  
 this advanced cybernetic and technological society is something its  
 respective constituents will have to resolve. The development of black  
 culture is at another stage requiring a different agenda.

Although the intent of John E. Churchville's remarks in his essay entitled "On Correct Black Education" were intended as a rebuff to "super black" revolutionaries, the sentiment is appropriate in this larger context. He stated:

"It is especially important that we raise the standard of correct discipline against the decadent cries of 'freedom of self-expression,' and 'freedom of the individual.' We must raise our children in an environment which demonstrates the power and purposefulness of the disciplined life of correct revolutionary struggle."<sup>28</sup>

The above words are perhaps too harsh for the average middle-class individual socialized in America to accept easily. And perhaps for bicultural Afro-Americans, they are half as hard to accept. But in view of the harsh realities of the black experiences and the personality development of blacks, which has always been survival oriented, it may be a wiser course to follow than those proposed which have questionable appropriateness.

In view of the character of the educational system which has been depicted above, the author sees relevance of public school education as better capable of "training" black students and letting other black institutions integrate those skill acquisitions into his personality, as Bereiter suggested as a role for all schools.<sup>29</sup>

In addition, the public school should have a curriculum which will encourage the black student to be "instrumental" in his or her behavior. The motivation to achieve skills must originate from the black family and community. "No school program can tap child potential in depth, without attention to totality of elements."<sup>30</sup>

This writer suggests that one of the beliefs "other" might inculcate into the value system of his first obligation is to act in some way toward black people and the value of his self-esteem is quality of his efforts.

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This writer suggests that one of the beliefs a black "significant other" might inculcate into the value system of black students is that his first obligation is to act in some way toward the liberation of black people and the value of his self-esteem is to be gauged by the quality of his efforts.

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