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)
Identity and Awareness in the Minority Experience

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

March, 1973 and April, 1974

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

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IDENTITY AND AWARENESS
IN THE MINORITY EXPERIENCE:
PAST AND PRESENT

Edited by

George E. Carter and Bruce Mouser
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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. Harsog; 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. Time appeared ready for a new focus, an integration of "Multi-Cultural" studies into something which institutions could reasonably expect to fund, to 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 to essays demonstrate, however, that American minorities have differences. The development of the realities of protest literature, the role of growing racial and social awareness, and identity as well as social units—all these transcend social class. Perhaps these aspects of commonality best characterize the "Minority Experience." Specialization of programs and instruction of minority group does raise the specter, moreover, of inherently neglect parallels in the minority experience. Each minority possesses experiences which bring focus and bring to Anglos as well as minority groups an understanding of that experience. This anthology attempts to convey to students the multivaried field encompassed by these essays.

The origins of this book, and more specifically of the Conference on Minority Studies, took form enroute of the Conference of African Historians to La Crosse, Wisconsin, of 1972. We were concerned about a lack of con emphasis on educators in the Upper Midwest who were attempting to convey to students the multivaried field encompassed by these essays.
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 en route 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 multivariated 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 of institutions from eighteen states, demonstrated that the Institute for Minority Studies at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse were not uncommon in the Midwest (that matter). But perhaps more important, there was a growing awareness that problems of a group are not restricted to that single group of more than a dozen panels for an anticipated meeting in April, 1974, registered a further concern. Topics for panels included such titles as: "Student Centers," "The University's Response to Students in External Degree Programs," "Religious Minorities," "Minority Business Development Input," "Pre-Service/In-Service Training Programs in Racial and Ethnic Minorities," "The Role of Minorities in the Spectrum," "Minority Literature and Academic Racism and the University Ideal: A Concern of Administrators toward Integrated Education," "The Effect of Affirmative Action on Existence," and "American Minorities in International Affairs." They also included topic panels which focused on specific minority groups.

The essays in this collection stem directly at the 1973 and 1974 conferences. The editors invited each panelist to submit a paper for this volume. From those papers presented for
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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.
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 minorities, establishment of minority studies programs within the university. Further, minority studies programs need to 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 refers to the study of minorities, and more precisely to non-European Others oppressed groups, such as women, nationalities, are omitted. While recognizing the plural society in all its diversity, non-European are singled out for special attention. The research relates to the unusual nature of the histories of European racial minorities in the United States, oppression experienced by these groups.

Thus, minority studies, for present purposes, a concept in the sense that it assumes an amalgamation of American Studies, Native-American Studies, Latin American Studies, and the related courses, into minority studies. This is not to deny the individual id to imply they are somehow less important as ind
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 study.
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 study the Indians. However, Jordan writes, "... attitudes toward Negroes, Indians kept creeping toward the beginnings of the country ... have done a condition American responses to other racial minorities have had to face, both individual minority group. In fact, white treatment of non-whites.

At the same time, there are those who value the "uniqueness of oppression" among racial minorities. A good example of this is Vine DeLoria's book, Custer Died for Your Sin chapter entitled "The Red and the Black." Studies must recognize the validity of both views, if not many more, and further that uniqueness and identity will be influenced by which.

Thus, there is a good deal of confusion with the well worn phrase, "American melting pot," and minorities, racism, prejudice and discrimination than in the anthologies which purport to cover...
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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." 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." 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
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." 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. . . ." Note: ethnic minorities were victimized; racial minorities were enslaved, lynched, massacred, interred, and conquered.

There is an inconsistency in a book about the Melting Pot that devotes large sections to groups that were not to be a part of it. Steinfield himself, in the Introduction, realizes that racial minorities were not even part of the melting pot concept. The book, any melting pot or cracks therein; it is really a myth. A major weakness in the anthology is the fact that the experiences of racial minorities was not discussed. The experiences of racial minorities, the Jews were significantly different, and no effort is made to analyze the experience of the ethnic minorities. How can students gain awareness of minority issues when such a hodge-podge effect is applied to the experiences of racial minorities? Steinfield himself further notes: "In 1970 American Melting Pot has just as often been a boiling cauldron in which the vehement fury of racism and discrimination have been bubbling." Even more important, Americans must experience the experiences of racial minorities.

Another example of the limited usefulness of the book *Cracks in the Melting Pot* on minority studies is one edited by Leonard D. Cople Jaher, *The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America,* 1970. The reader comes away from this work not aware of any parallels. How can students gain awareness of ethnic minority issues when such a hodge-podge effect is applied to the experiences of ethnic minorities? The book, any melting pot or cracks therein; it is really a myth. A major weakness in the anthology is the fact that the experiences of racial minorities was not discussed. The experiences of racial minorities, the Jews were significantly different, and no effort is made to analyze the experience of the ethnic minorities. How can students gain awareness of minority issues when such a hodge-podge effect is applied to the experiences of racial minorities? Steinfield himself further notes: "In 1970 American Melting Pot has just as often been a boiling cauldron in which the vehement fury of racism and discrimination have been bubbling." Even more important, Americans must experience the experiences of racial minorities.
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Another example of the limited usefulness of present anthologies on minority studies is one edited by Leonard Dinnerstein and Frederic Cople Jaeger, 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 immigrant 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." 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." 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." 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 what a minority is. There are chapters on Blacks, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans. The book is really about ethnic minorities, not racial minorities. The reader is left with the impression that these two terms are not synonymous. In fact, 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.

One of the purposes of this introductory essay is to make the terms synonymous. In the Preface to his anthology, Fellows makes the terms synonymous. He writes: "The United States has been a melting pot of the world—meaning, of course, that other countries and Americans in minority status have lost their unique self-identity, their culture and traditions, and became submerged by the overpowering dominance of a society called the 'American way of life.'" Fellow does recognize a distinction between racial and ethnic minorities, but he uses the term 'minority' for both. Fellows does recognize a distinction between racial and ethnic minorities, and cites as examples mid-nineteenth century and early nineteen seventies. He is actually doing 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.

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on to state: "One minority, however, is indeed a black and 'minority problems' are frequently no pore black problems." The Native-American student, or just becoming aware of and sensitive to his or her heritage, must cringe with such a narrow vision, and does little to provide understanding of the violence in the United States.

Stein and Jaheer seem to accept the melting pot myth following statement: "Although American attention on the black minority today this may be a temporary minority groups in the past have settled into communities, riots, and tensions might be minimized or group adjustment to what? A society that still exists whenever possible. The Native-American student the statement that his or her ancestors settled with identity.

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The limited value of the current literature in Donald Keith Fellows' A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities, 1972. Fellows provides no definition of the term ethnic minority. There are chapters on Blacks, Mexicans, Indians, Chinese, Japanese, and Puerto Ricans. The book is really about racial minorities, not ethnic groups. The reader is left with no certainty of definition unless ethnic minority and racial minority are the same thing.

One of the purposes of this introductory essay is to strongly suggest that these two terms are not synonymous. In fact, one of the abuses perpetrated by university scholars has been an effort on their part to make the terms synonymous.

In the Preface to his anthology, Fellows only adds to the confusion. He writes: "The United States has often been regarded as the melting pot of the world—meaning, of course, that immigrants from other countries and Americans in minority racial or ethnic groups lose their unique self-identity, their culture and their heritage, and became submerged by the overpowering dominance of what has come to be called the 'American way of life.'" Fellow appears to be making a distinction between racial and ethnic minorities; however, on examination one discovers he uses ethnic minority when he really means racial minority.

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. 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.11 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.12 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."13 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."14 One of the goals for Minority Studies programs at universities should include the awareness factor that all Americans aware that the race problem in the United States has always been in large part a white problem.

Minority Studies programs need to stress that minority studies is not the same as minority studies. One has arisen in the university community is the effectiveness of groups under some umbrella concept. Daniels and others case persuasively as to why it is important to racial minority studies. "What then is the nature of the ethnic crisis of our time? ... For the first time in American society entrance into the major institutions of our society the groups are varied, but in the end the inescapable crisis becomes clear, namely "... the root cause was of American racism--a racism which ... consists into full membership in society to the vast majority of Americans."16 The fact is, American society from its character.

To discuss the immigrant analogy or the ethnic studies indulge not only in confusion but fantasy. The fact is, American society 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 American, the Chicano, not "made it"? The implication is that those who have not "made it" are not will...
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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." 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 Amer-
icans." 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. 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 chance of offers. The result often was rather obvious.

Given the resources and faculty of most many private ones, it was not in the best interest of many institutions to respond to these hopes of major academic programs in Minority Studies, or Native-American Studies, or Latin American Studies. At Yale University, 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 if they create a program for Black students, what about racial minorities? In fact, this problem is the situation across the country. Yale University, for instance, if not the best, Afro-American Studies Department today. However, it has no structured academic programs for 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. 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 institu-
tions across the country. Yale University, for example, has one of the
best, if not the best, Afro-American Studies Departments in the country
today. However, it has no structured academic program for Native-
Americans, Asian-Americans, Chicanos or Puerto Ricans.
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. 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 can take a three-credit course.

As stated earlier, the university community needs a viable approach to minority studies. Admitting will vary from school to school. At the same time the university community has the responsibility of facing one of 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 are functional and successful everywhere and at all times. Such, in fact, is not the case, and minority studies programs can be extremely valuable instrument for making the university community aware of the realities of the racial minority experience in pervasive mythology that has saturated academia.

Without question, American society at large and the university community needs a re-definition of its approach to minority studies programs can be extremely valuable about this re-definition, both for whites and racial groups. The heart of the re-defining a recognition needs to be that individual cultural, racial, and other identities can pride, and at the same time a commitment to the racial society can be maintained. As the Black noted some years ago in his classic, Invisible Na
for careful re-assessment. It was time to re-evaluate studies. Schools needed to emphatically their given limitations in terms of majors or minors in racial minority studies. A search for alternatives was the order colleges and universities did evaluate. However, the record was and still is irregular. Retrenchment has caused the elimination of some programs. The old adage, last hired, first fired, has continued to handicap many programs. Retrenchment seems desirable; however, with more careful questions arise, such as, who will teach? is it realistic to assume a prospective teacher can be sensitized by taking a three-credit course.

As stated earlier, the university community must take a realistic and viable approach to minority studies. Admittedly, the situation will vary from school to school. At the same time, the university community has the responsibility of facing one of the major issues in the United States, racial misunderstanding and hostility. The nature of the response will in large part determine if the minority studies program will be useful or abusive.

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

Without question, American society at large and particularly the university community needs a re-definition of its racial experience. Viable minority studies programs can be extremely valuable in bringing about this re-definition, both for whites and racial minorities. At the heart of the re-defining a recognition needs to occur that individual 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 woven
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**


4. Ibid., p. xx.

5. Ibid.


8. Ibid., p. 12.


10. Ibid.


13. Ibid., p. ix.
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FOOTNOTES

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),
p. 169-95.
3. Melvin Steinfield, Cracks in the Melting Pot: Racism and
4. Ibid., p. xx.
5. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 10.
8. Ibid., p. 12.
9. Donald K. Fellows, A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities (New
10. Ibid.
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.

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.


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-Americans, 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 Nepthali 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-Elizondo 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 heart of 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.
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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 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 minority in the United States, the Chicanos are determined to affirm their identity as a group that will not permit itself to be subsumed into the ranks of a subdued, acculturated minority. Rather, they strive to enlighten the public about their epic past and the struggles they have suffered—and are suffering—against an alienating society that has attempted to engulf and subdue them. For the Chicano, striving for the emergence of their social identity has become an essential task, 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 ambivalent judgments of social criticism, to militant calls for resistance to "La Raza" to join and struggle. These last two attitudes are more characteristic of the Chicano writings.

The present purpose is to examine the Chicano literature within the scope of different Chicano anthologies and journals: El Espejo, Yearnings, Aztlan, Voices, We Are Chicanos, El Grito, La Raíz, Aztlan (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, Aztlan, Voices, We Are Chicanos, El Grito, La Raza, Regeneración, Aztlan (the journal), and Magazín.
A worthy representative of the Chicano literary output in fiction and poetry is *El Espejo*, an anthology of selected literature that includes short stories from Silvio Villavicencio, Miguel Méndez, Octavio I. Romano-V., Carlos Velez, Nick Vaca, 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.

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.

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, freight cars--over the tracks their backs bent, boats, by-products of an advancing civilization, would have marvelled at the power and the glory, cattle boats." The Mexican Americans who remained behind, world War II, "at which time," he proceeds, were sent forth to fight injustice in Europe and shows Octavio Romano's versatility in the content of poetry that includes pathetic chants to the Mexican, continually beset by injustice and piety. "A Rosary for Doña Marina" is further portrayed realistically. "On another level, the working conditions and daily life of Mexican-Americans laboring in fish canneries is portrayed realistically. Doña Marina keeps her cousin, a railroad worker of thirty-two:"

The remainder of the selections in *El Espejo* theme: the pathos and inequity of the enforcement of Mexican Americans, sometimes resulting in a piety. "A Rosary for Doña Marina" is further possibility. On one level, he deals with a misused refuge in religion, in the form of weekly pro-honra. Doña Marina drives her fourteen-year-old pregnancy, at the hands of an unscrupulous doctor, to another level, the working conditions and daily life of Mexican-Americans laboring in fish canneries is portrayed realistically. Doña Marina keeps her cousin, a railroad worker of thirty-two:
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freight cars--over the tracks their backs built--and also in cattle
boats; by-products of an advancing civilization. Even Montezuma himself
would have marvelled at the power and the glory of these freight cars
and cattle boats."4
The Mexican Americans who remained behind continued to strike until
World War II, "at which time," he proceeds sardonically, "they were
sent forth to fight injustice in Europe and Asia."5 "Mosaico Mexicano"
shows Octavio Romano's versatility in the composition of prose and
poetry that includea pathetic chants to the destiny of the transplanted
Mexican, continually beset by injustice and cruelty.6
The remainder of the selections in El Espejo convey the same
theme: the pathos and inequity of the enforced modus vivendi of the
Mexican Americans, sometimes resulting in a warped sense of honor and
piety. "A Rosary for Doña Marina" is further proof of Romano's flexi-
bility. On one level, he deals with a misunderstood sense of honor
which leads a Mexican woman to excesses in protecting the family's
honra. Doña Marina drives her fourteen-year-old niece away from home
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 am 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.'"7

Nick Vaca, 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-away 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.8 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 impos will get relief from his pains. The story ends he is left alone, knowing that the promises will that he must endure his crippling rheumatism to Purchase" and "The Visit" are an outcry against little or no protection against poverty and disease Mexicans.

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

Yearnings10 affords an interesting thematic index of contents, grouped under nine self-explan
(1) Heritage, Customs, Legends; (2) Identity; (3) Love; (4) Conflict, Anger, Protest; (5) Pride; (6) Nness; (8) The Many Faces of the Human Spirit; and
Under "Heritage," the most powerful outcry of re is found in Apolinar Melero's manifesto, "Mi Gene
"My people are the Chichimecas, Toltecs, Zapotec established great civilizations in the Valley of
My people swept down from Aztlan and conquered A
My people were eagles who soared and fell.
My people were defeated physically but not spirit
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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.9 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
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Montoya, and Estupinián.

Yearnings10 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;
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...

In the section in Yearnings subtitled "Identity," the essay by Hilario E. Contredas, "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 color orientation. In his words:

"In the United States of America, ... culture, in the strict sense, do not exist. The only behavior society makes on the individual citizen is that 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..."

On the other hand, the Chicano does not conceive of pursuit of material happiness, and Contredas notes the tragedy of the Anglo-American's loss of identity. Chicano's loss of cultural identity is only ends on a proud note, "Although the Chicano will be fed, housed, and clothed, he feels his identity is only..."

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

"Mexican-American Is:"

Persona non grata in the WASP neighborhood white...
eled aliens in our own land which is so much a part of our history. The Southwest, belonging to Mexico, and now part of the United States, has been a part of our history. Survive in the barrios of Los Angeles, San Antonio.

We are the greatest civilization in the Americas, are now laborers. The backbreaking labor which we must do merely to keep our backs and cut our hour. We do not despair at our condition? Think you, we our land? Think you, we do not think of reclaiming our land? Think you, we are hungry not only of the stomach, but of the spirit. Virgen de Guadalupe, give my people the power to do what must be done.

In the Southwest, they have worked, sweated, and suffered, yet they share in none of the rewards. In the fields as beasts of burden and are denied a voice. I ask you, gringo. Can you give my land, whom you murdered?

Land back? In the blood, the sweat, and shattered hopes of Mexican Americans... 11

in Yearnings, subtitled "Identity," the essay by Espiritu, "The Chicano Search for Identity," focuses on a 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 pattern 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 . . . ." 12

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." 13 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." 14

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:

Persona 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!!"15

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."16 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 Garcia in "Time Changes Things,"17 which de

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readers and critics for far too long."19
Appalled by the use of teaching Mexican children, a young teacher tries some reforms, but is thwarted in her administration. The same subject is treated by

Juan García in "Time Changes Things," which describes Mexican children being taught in English—a language they do not "master"—by teachers who know no Spanish. This leads to below-average performances 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 Chicano concerned with Chicanismo, both as a political stance and as a lifestyle. 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."  

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."
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 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?" 20

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 Huelga
watch it
'cause we're on our way.21

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

The Introduction to the second part of From the Barrio contains a description of the book's contents, and among other things, the editors' intent:

"The selections in Part II, "My House," will search for self-definition, for a definition of person and of his culture, and for an identity. This part look either inward, at their immediate collective past in the United States, and out
so when you hear Huelga
watch it
'tcause we're on our way/21

In the first part of From the Barrio, fiction is represented by
two short stories. The first, "The Legend of Gregorio Cortez," by
Américo Paredes, is based on the life of a Mexican hero who takes jus-
tice in his own hands to revenge his brother, who had been unlawfully
killed by the police.22 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."23 In the words
of the editors, he is learning "to define the enemy within and the
enemy without."24

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 experi-
ence 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.

An intimate knowledge of the barrio is reflected in the poetry of Ben Luna, Enrique Rodriquez, and Jose 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."

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."

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 ideal Mexican boy's struggle and bitter triumph over inferiority in competition with an Anglo.

Other Chicano anthologies, such as The Chicano Voices, rely heavily on essays relating to historical aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry or Chicano 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 novel is found in the short stories of Tomas Riveras, that have been published under the title "no se lo tragó la tierra." In all of these anthologies the best declamations for the Chicano field work voice is heard loudly and clearly, whether rejoicing Mexican ancestry or Chicano identity, or raging proposing reforms.
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In Amado Muro's "Cecilia Rossa," the Chicano identity is defined by a
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Other Chicano anthologies, such as The Chicanos, 30 Aztlán, 31 and
Voices, 32 rely heavily on essays relating to historical and sociologi-
als aspects, with little or no fiction, poetry or drama. We Are
Chicanos 33 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. 34 Its counterpart
is found in the short stories of Tomas Rivera, and more pointedly in "Y
no se lo tragó la tierra." 35 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 offers more latitude in its contents and has national circulation. Aztlan focuses more on the sociological scope of the Chicano problems, while La Raza and Regeneración are more politically oriented. Moreover, La Raza emphasizes the role of the woman in the Chicano community, where she is becoming increasingly active.

Magazín, with a format similar to the last two mentioned, includes graphic illustrations. The Revista Chicano-Riqueña, 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 fertiley 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..."
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FOOTNOTES


10. *Yearnings, Mexican American Literature*, ed. Albert C. Chávez (West Haven, Conn., 1972). Some selections cited in this paper were reprinted in *Yearnings* by permission of Con Safos, Inc., P. O. Box 31085, Los Angeles, California.


20. *From the Barrio*, p. 11.

21. *From the Barrio*, p. 32.

22. *From the Barrio*, p. 49.

23. *From the Barrio*, p. 65.


28. *From the Barrio*, p. 119.


FOOTNOTES


2. Some selections cited in this paper were by permission of Con Safos, Inc., P. O. Box California.

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20. From the Barrio, p. 11.

21. From the Barrio, p. 32.

22. From the Barrio, p. 49.

23. From the Barrio, p. 65.


25. From the Barrio, pp. 99-100.


27. From the Barrio, p. 116.

28. From the Barrio, p. 119.

29. From the Barrio, p. 134.


37. Aztlán, Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and Art. Mexican American Cultural Center, University of California, Los Angeles, California.
38. La Raza, Los Angeles, California.
39. Regeneración, Los Angeles, California.
40. Magazín, San Antonio, Texas.
42. Voices, p. 6.
SYMBOLIC MOTIFS IN TWO CHICANO DRAMAS

by

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Chicano literature is born from the encounter of traditions, the Hispanic and the American. In the symbolic motifs in *Bernabe: A Drama of Modern Chicano* by Ruben Valdez and *Chicanos: The Living and the Dead* by Valdez, both a search of social and personal identity and 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 *Bernabe* rituals, the offering of a human heart to the Sun in order to introduce to us the history of Bernabe, an idiot, who asks the Sun for the body of his daughter. She is taunted, then tempted by the Moon, who appears to protect his sister, the Earth. When the Moon asks Earth to Bernabe, the Sun makes the Earth a virgin sacrifice of Bernabe.

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

Bernabe accepts his sacrifice at the hands of death converts the Earth into a virgin, ready to...
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* by Luis Valdez and *Chicanos: The Living and the Dead* by Neptali 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...
happiness to those such as Bernabe, who do not exploit her but rather love her. When Bernabe is reborn in the "hereafter" he recovers his brilliance and his appearance has changed. He now is wearing an Indian cape that the Moon put on him. As a musical background for the sacrifice he hears drums and flutes, typical Aztec instruments.

La Tierra appears as a beautiful soldier with cartridge belts reminding us of the element with most human and social content of the Mexican Revolution: the woman, the Adelita. She declares to Bernabe, in a cunning and provocative way:

"Mírame hombre--look at me. I'm La Tierra. Do you want me? Because if you do, I'll be your mujer. (Bernabe reaches out to embrace her.) Not so fast pelado! I'm not Consuelo (the prostitute), you know. You'll have to fight to get me. Que no sabes nada? Men have killed each other fighting over me" (369-69).

His father, the Sun, describes her in the following manner:

"Do you hear me, Bernabe. She has been married before. She has even been raped! Many times. Look at her--this is La Tierra who has been many things to all men. Madre, prostituta, mujer" (372).

The Earth is the goddess Cihuacoatl, "la Chingada," one of the Mexican representations of Maternity.3

The characterization given by the Sun carries the triple meaning of a mother for the poor whom she feeds and sustains when they work her; a prostitute for those with money and power buying and exploiting her and a woman to those like Emiliano Zapata, who fought to possess her and to make her a synonym for liberty and happiness. As Bernabe says to the Sun:

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

The Moon, brother of the Earth, dresses in style, with zoot suit, hat with feather, multichain and obviously symbolizes those that rebel and challenged it in their own way, ushering in 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 god of the Sun; it turns to red disk rises above the mountains; it turns to golden feathered headdress" (370).

The god Huitzilopochtli, protector of the a young warrior who each day was born. Man the food of the gods, "chalchiuath" or precious blood. For the Aztecs, the people of the Sun, offer their blood and their hearts to the Sun obligation and a privilege. This is the privi-

Bernabe, who dies to revive and fertilize the it in this manner: "I am the beginning and the Belief in me, and you shall never die" (373-74).

The idea of a continuous cycle of life, rebirth of the Chicano, is one of the main themes in the fiction of reality, indispensable to any poetic we present a combative and artistic message with
ch as Bernabe, who do not exploit her but rather he is reborn in the "hereafter" he recovers his e voice as Bernabe, who do not exploit her but rather be is reborn in the "hereafter" he recovers his present has changed. He now is wearing an Indian t on him. As a musical background for the "ms and flutes, typical Aztec instruments.

As a beautiful soldier with cartridge belts nement with most human and social content of the "s man, the Adelita. She declares to Bernabe, scative way:

Atome. I'm La Tierra. Do you want me? Because of 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 me" (368-69).

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

goddess Cihuacoatl, "la Chingada," one of the "s of Maternity.3

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 me 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, multisole 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, "chalchihuatl" 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 transposition 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.

Nepthali 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" (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 insurrection. 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 who educate themselves?" (81).

The symbolic motifs presented through the characters of "Che" and Manuel develop and widen the perspective 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 of the aforementioned work, instills greater dramatic contrast and makes the theme of liberation more real. It carries the image to the cause of the underdogs. The struggle is that of Emiliano Zapata. Manuel's son, Robert does not accept for one moment the idea of return violence, as he makes clear to his friends: "No, kill, but it is right to defend yourself and thos
Chicana, is quite explicit in his
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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 our-
selves? 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 participa-
tion 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**


4. See "The National Chicano Moratorium and Salazar," in *The Chicanos: Mexican Amer* Ed Ludwig and James Santibañez (Baltimo
The motif in *Bernabe* is that the Chicano has regained his history, culture, and race. In *Chicanos* the Chicanos recognize the conflicting currents that are found in what de León criticizes not only of the system, but also of a movement. His symbolic motifs are new men, new a movement. His symbolic motifs are new men, new.

The contemporary reality of the Chicano by mining the indigenous-Chichimecas began their migration in a land in which to create a new life, as ordained by the heroic past in * Bernabe*. Bernabe undertakes a search for a new life and soul with his sacrifice. Just as Chicano from the union of two cultural traditions to arrive 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.

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**FOOTNOTES**

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 concentrated in studies of the Southwest cultural footprints of the Mexican American in the preserved and studied, especially while we are at the time period when the area began to be popular ephemeral nature of many of these cultural vestiges.

From as early as 1907, when the first Mexican seasonal laborers in the Chicago rail yards, the Mexican American migrant began to accommodate the rigors of the weather and the heavy industry in an industrial boom that accompanied and followed West to enter the Midwest in considerable numbers, to construct railroads, tend the beet sugar fields, and later build automarkets of the Southwest.

According to Américo Paredes, the "Little Mexico in large urban areas, like those in the Midwest, typically three kinds of newcomers: 1) migrants from regions of the Southwest, 2) ex-braceros who gave up factory work, and 3) political children who left Mexico during the Revolution." Did not make for a homogeneic community nor productivity, especially while experiencing the trauma of graphic area to another. Thus, the literature the members of these Mexican enclaves was of necessity mirroring the life of the educated, middle and upper...
The rediscovery 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, 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.

According to Ámerico Paredes, 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. Such a cross-section did not make for a homogenetic 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
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, 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. 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 core as an island or enclave within the larger society.

The mutualist society as an institution began in the same manner from the very beginning of Mexican settlement in the area. In the early days, East Chicago counted as necessary the creation of societies which attempted to serve the various social and political needs of the Mexican community. Under the auspices of the Azul Mexicano, Sociedad Benito Juárez, Círculo "San José," Sociedad Católica Mexicana, Sociedad Moreles, Centro México, and Sociedad Ridalga, with Mexico while also establishing relations with agencies, charitable organizations, and church activities which were of a literary nature.

Among the most active of the organizations was the Círculo de Obreros Católicos "San José," which in 1925, for the express purposes of raising funds for a church, promoting the welfare of fellow Mexican workers, education of their children, raising funds for wholesome forms of recreation for the members, the Círculo arranged socials at which writers as well as that of such noted poets as Urbina was recited. Theatrical productions, a perspective, was the formation of the Cuadro Editorial of the newspaper, El amigo del hogar, from...
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create an alternative and self-sufficient community that could subsist
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 soci-
eties 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, they kept alive the tie
with Mexico while also establishing relationships with governmental
agencies, charitable organizations, and church groups. 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. 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 Dramatico and the publica-
tion of the newspaper, El amigo del hogar, from 1925 to 1930.
According to the newspaper, the Cuadro Dramático produced nine plays during the period from March, 1927, to May, 1928. 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, 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."

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 best, can to some extent still be collected from area Mexican Americans in the form of legends like that of "La Línea Avenida," songs, riddles, tales, and ethnic jokes like calé.

An institution that did cut across the boundaries of several Mexican groups, however, was the Church. Our Lady constructed by and for Indiana Harbor's Mexican colony remains to this day the central institution in the community. Not only the representation of their Catholic faith, the mystical symbol of their nationality, this church's patron saint of Mexico, came to be the largest and a reminder of Mexican identity. The Our Lady of Guadalupe plays an important organizing role in community and religious life, with 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 "El de la Virgen," coordinated jamás and bazaars, and small college at the church. Play manuscripts and other documents were stored for a long time in the church's attic; they were never destroyed just prior to our gaining access to the attic. The most valuable institution for preserving the 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 press.
The Cuadro Dramatico produced nine plays from 1927 to May, 1928. These types of cultural fruits are important for consideration: theatre lists of performances; literary prose and manuscripts from local authors as well as work printed in Mexico from the Círculo's El amigo del hogar. These have been salvaged and the literary manuscripts have not as yet been reduced by the other societies, also. It must be noted that at least any individual society at a true cross-section of the Mexican communities of groups like the Círculo de Obreros described by Spencer Leitman: "for the common laborer and his Mexico Mexican Americans. . . ." In addition, resident Mexican American 'compatriots' presented to take into consideration the class, education, and the newspaper's start, the staff was still distant to themselves and the Mexican American community represented by ex-braceros and Mexican-American migrants. Their expression, probably the most ephemeral of all, can to some extent still be collected from oral tradition in East Chicago in the form of legends like that of "La Llorona de Cline Avenue," songs, riddles, tales, and ethnic jokes often articulated in caló.

An institution that did cut across the boundaries of the diverse Mexican groups, however, was the Church. Our Lady of Guadalupe Church, constructed by and for Indiana Harbor's Mexican colony, became and remains to this date the central institution in the life of the community. Not only the representation of their Catholic faith, but also the mystical symbol of their nationality, this church, named after the patron saint of Mexico, came to be the largest and most visible reminder of Mexican identity. The Our Lady of Guadalupe priests played important organizational roles in community and religious events, publishing sermons in the Spanish language media, and storing the documents which testify to the community's labors in the church files. Priests like Reverend José Lara directed religious plays like "Las Apariciones de la Virgen," coordinated jumergas and bazaars, and even created a small college at the church. Play manuscripts and other such documents were stored for a long time in the church's attic; however, they were destroyed just prior to our gaining access to the attic and the church's files.

By far the most valuable institution for preserving a more permanent record of the culture is the press. In the early years of Mexican settlement in East Chicago there seems to have been a proliferation of periodicals. El amigo del hogar has preserved a wealth of...
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 Manso, 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 reli-
gious 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.14 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 polemical 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.15 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
as much as 50 percent in English.

The field is still fertile. A good deal
done. The various newspapers must be located
must be searched, files of churches and mutual
surveyed, and the surviving participants in the
interviewed and taped, if possible. Two enemies
progress: time and urban renewal. The longer
likely it is that the documents will be destroyed
forever. The longer the wait, the more likely
will remove the storehouses of the treasures that
Chicago today, the beautiful, Victorian style
from whom the author obtained El amigo del hogar
removal. Her attic is full of trunks with
Lady of Guadalupe Church is also due for a removed the Circulo de Obreros Católicos' Library
another, from house to trailer in the wake left
Urban renewal as a political era has functioned
perse one of the oldest Latin communities in the
forms today probably 40 percent of the populati
by writers from East Chicago and as far away as the flowery prose of Francisco M. Figueroa's satirical sketches of the misadventures of poor soul who represents the misfortunes of the society, *El amigo del hogar* provided the community with a date account of current events in Mexico and the necessary cultural reinforcements to protect the exile. Other newspapers, like *La Luz*, *El* and *La Avispa*, although organs of various reincorporated such cultural material, from historical particular interest is the publication of *La Baptist Church*. During the Depression it was at the Baptists were trying to attract converts free food and clothing and other services. The leadership of Reverend José Lara, through *La Avispa*, entered into a polemic with *La Chispa* mattera. One of the notable contributors to *La* well known and respected local poet, Jesús tradition today is the very polemic Latin Times, local politics that was founded by the children of *El amigo del hogar* twenty years ago. To be found instance, is an exchange of satirical *décimas* used by poets, *corridos* based on local events, and on the ups and downs of the local políticos. One
FOOTNOTES


2. Ibid., p. 277.


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 Cuahtemoc 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.


7. *Estatutos del Círculo de Obreros Católicos 'San José' (Indianá 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.


10. Microfilm copies of *El amigo del hogar* are possessed by the East Chicago Public Library and the Indiana University Northwest Library.


14. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro Figueroa of Chicago.

15. Before founding *El amigo del hogar*, Mr. and Mrs. Figueroa ran a newspaper in Guadalajara, Mexico.
FOOTNOTES


9. My informant in this matter was Mrs. Socorro Prieto of East Chicago.

10. Before founding El amigo del hogar, Mr. and Mrs. Francisco M. Figueroa ran a newspaper in Guadalajara, Mexico.


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.
Although not as publicized as the revolt of 1846, the Southwest today is being swept by a wave of protest by Americans who are belatedly flexing their muscles. Cesar Chavez, Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, Jose Gutierrez, as well as the more recent Reies Tijerina, these people are demanding an end to the 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 Mexican-Americans in 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 South became, and remain, apparent on a large scale.

The author's interest in the plight of the Mexican-Americans dates back to his childhood. 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 Niggers?" It was an immediate invitation to be a WASP in class to have a go at him during recess. Even at this early date his interest in the man was aroused, as he was perceptive enough to see that even those who occupied a lower rung on the economic scale in Louisiana 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, Reies 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.
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 equalled 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 geograhic setting that deserves to be characterized by social harmony? What are the instances of grim social injustice and subsequent conditions of inequality that resulted in such human misery? Can the historian's 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 study of cultural cleavages in New Mexico, but to the basic worth of the discipline. Particularly does this statement hold true for attacks being leveled against the discipline by those who seek only "relevancy," and by those behavioral analysts inclined to condemn traditional methodology and good historical analytical technique with emphasis on quantification. Complete acceptance of this "new history" could lead to dehumanization of the discipline.

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

While he was pleased with this protest movement, he not help but ask himself further questions. Why are not until the fifth generation that the sleeping giant...
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ment. Complete acceptance of this "new history" can only result in the
dehumanization of the discipline.

Therefore, as the decade of the sixties emerged, the author became
engrossed in the situation in New Mexico, both as a political activist
and historian, and by 1963 became aware of a certain militancy begin-
ing to emerge among the Mexican-Americans who were rejecting the
inferior status that had been imposed on them since the American
occupation.

While he was pleased with this protest movement, the writer could
not help but ask himself further questions. Why so long? Why was it
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.

Discriminating education persisted in New II when great numbers of defense workers forced that period many rich Anglos sent their sons to Institute, founded in 1891 at Roswell. The Rio fortunate Mexican-Americans, sent their sons to (high school) while both elitist Mexican-Americans their daughters to Loretto Academy and other prominent children of the masses of Mexican-Americans, be forced to 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. The church constructed, but in the midst of social distress avenues for advancement were all but closed to Mexican-Americans and the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered a high office. If the Church had shown any interest in the needs of its members, quite possibly some of the problems afflicting present-day New Mexico might have been alleviated.

Those problems are many and serious, some naturalized as the church was by a white Frenchwoman who allowed but a comparatively few of the nation's first generation Mexican-Americans to attain a high office. Moreover, until recently, those Mexican-Americans in the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered avenues for advancement. However, until recently, those Mexican-Americans in the priesthood or brotherhood, were seldom offered avenues for advancement. If the Church had shown any interest in the needs of its members, quite possibly some of the problems afflicting present-day New Mexico might have been alleviated.
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. 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.

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. 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.

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. 6

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 deci-
sions . . . as a result, my people have been politically destroyed and
economically exploited." 7

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, 8 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 discrimi-
Anglos are inclined to discriminate and use cultur
All of the above

Far different were the answers when the Chican
often they treated the Anglos as equals, as indicat

Formerly respected figures among the Mexican-A
their "image." An example is Bishop Lamy, immorta
and the subject of a forthcoming biography by Paul H
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
viewed him as "unfavorable" that reads: "A typical
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 Chicano 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:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Reies Tijerina</th>
<th>Cesar Chavez</th>
<th>&quot;Corky&quot; Gonzales</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Very favorable</td>
<td>18.4%</td>
<td>36.1%</td>
<td>21.1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Favorable</td>
<td>44.4%</td>
<td>38.1%</td>
<td>22.2%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Undecided</td>
<td>12.3%</td>
<td>10.3%</td>
<td>23.3%</td>
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<tr>
<td>Unfavorable</td>
<td>10.5%</td>
<td>2.1%</td>
<td>6.7%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Very unfavorable</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>13.4%</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don't know him</td>
<td>4.4%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>20.0%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Right, but uses wrong tactics</td>
<td>6.6%</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>2.3%</td>
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To be respected, however, the Chicano must establish a cultural identity enabling them to feel that they must be taught their history dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-American way of life and disdain that has characterized Anglo-American behavior that he might resort to violence. "The Chicano is angry, and the same time, they insist, the Anglo-American must recognize the difference between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and the same time, they insist, the Anglo-American must recognize the difference between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and the same time, they insist, the Anglo-American must recognize the difference between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and the same time, they insist, the Anglo-American must recognize the difference between the two ethnic groups.

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, a Chicano student rebellion started at New Mexico University following a Chicano student rebellion in the cause of the troubles on that campus was the appointment of Graham as president to succeed Dr. Thomas Donohue, who was retiring. Graham, a member of the faculty at Whitewater, had absolutely no experience in the needs of Mexican-Americans. Consequently, the Chicano students, constituting 54 percent of the campus population, rebelled and the Chicano student rebellion that subsided only after Graham agreed to the presidency. Professor Ralph Carlin, who had the trust of the Chicano students, served as interim president. The Board of Regents searched for a more acceptable
To be respected, however, the Chicanos believe they must first establish a cultural identity enabling them to respect themselves. They feel that they must be taught their history, and they demand programs dealing with La Raza and the Mexican-American heritage. Moreover, they insist, the Anglo-American must end his attitude of contempt and disdain that has characterized Anglo-American treatment of the Mexican-Americans since the moment of first confrontation between the two ethnic groups. The Chicano is angry, and it is not beyond possibility that he might resort to violence. "The last thing we need," 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." 9

Realizing the seriousness of the situation, in the fall of 1971 a start was made in the right direction at New Mexico Highlands University 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 the needs of Mexican-Americans. Consequently, the Mexican-American students, constituting 54 percent of the campus population, initiated a rebellion that subsided only after Graham agreed to withdraw his acceptance 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." 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 stresses Chicano political opinion, voting behavior, and policies.

(4) A course in Southwestern Minorities which stresses 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 is intended to develop the skills enabling Chicano students to participate positively in social development communities.

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

One of the most important of the programs is entitled Philosophic Thought, which correlates 20th century Mexican and Chicano thought in the United States. This is the course that is particularly designed to develop a Chicano identity. Finally, there are courses in Chicano art and Chicano graphics, the Chicano theater, drama, literature, and philosophy that are revolutionary in nature inasmuch as for the first time Americans of the Southwest are made aware of the cultural contributions on the part of Chicanos, further see that this ethnic group has contributed extensive contributions to world literature. Particularly emphasized is the contributions of world literature. Particularly emphasized is the
Dr. Frank Angel, Jr., a member of the faculty of Mexico.

Angel announced he "did not plan to stand for important items on his agenda."

He then outlined an ethnic and Chicano studies program following:

1. Fluency of Chicanos in Spanish through
2. A course entitled Chicano Politics which serves to analyze Chicano political opinion, voting behavior, and political groups.
3. A course in Southwestern Minorities which shows the political behavior of Chicanos, Indians and Blacks--designed to illustrate how they have been exploited by the Anglo-Americans.
4. A course in Chicano Participation in Social Welfare Systems, a course that is intended to develop the skills enabling Chicanos to introduce programs that will positively affect social developments in Chicano communities.
5. A course entitled Economics of Poverty that stresses the relationship between economics and racism and further evaluates the actual and proposed policies for dealing with poverty conditions in the barrios of the Southwest.
6. A course entitled Econometrics of Poverty that stresses the relationship between economics and racism and further evaluates the actual and proposed policies for dealing with poverty conditions in the barrios of the Southwest.

One of the most important of the programs is entitled Chicano Philosophic Thought, which correlates 20th century Mexican philosophy with the development of Chicano thought in the United States Southwest. This is the course that is particularly designed to achieve "cultural identity." Finally, there are courses in Chicano art, Chicano drawing, Chicano graphics, the Chicano theater, drama, literature, all of which are revolutionary in nature inasmuch as for the first time the Mexican-Americans of the Southwest are made aware of the existence of such cultural contributions on the part of Chicanos, further enabling them to see that this ethnic group has contributed extensively to the main body 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.11

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.12 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."13 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.14

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 administration ethnic studies program offices. Not to be into Professor William Lux, the director, ordered re made and reopened the offices. Unfortunately, the crisis he lost one of his close associates, program, Pedro Rodrigues who, after being refused to Stanford University. However, federal funds increased by 30 percent, in part the result of key positions in Washington.15 Consequently, the was revived, and today is in a very viable state the student body now includes Chicano with members of Blacks and native Americans. Moreover, the from three to ten members. The only drawback, acc the program in native American studies is, in fully developed.16

It is difficult to evaluate the success of ethnic studies project. From the perspective of tors and faculty members who are experiencing their disciplines and fields, the program is a stated before, threatening their concept of acad the formulators of the Chicano movement, howev Chicanos are being taught to go to the pe in the oral history tradition; teachers are being Chicano courses at all grade levels; vital record and placed in the archives; library holdings are include more works dealing with Chicano studies;
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true crisis came in September of 1973 when the trations and occupied academic and administrative the promises made in 1970 were once again 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 Rodrigues 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. 15 Consequently, the floundering program was revived, and today is in a very viable state. Over 65 percent of the student body now includes Chicano 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. 16

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. Chicano 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. Wilma Sanchez, Assistant to the President for External Affairs, has noted, under Dr. Donnelly only 5 of 130 faculty members were Chicanos. 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


2. J. R. Kelly, History of the New Mexico Military 1941 (Albuquerque, 1953), passim; graduates of prominent positions in the State and were included to the institute; Alvin R. Sunseri, "St. M Le Salle Auxiliary, XXXIX (Spring, 1960), passim.

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6. It was not until recently that a Mexican-American Chancellor. He had since married and is now a public figure in Santa Fe.

7. Indeed, in response to a petition from the Alien Projects for supporting funds, Archbishop James the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had no money for such Episcopal Church granted the project $40,000 and lost the support of Episcopalians in New Mexico.

8. Interview with Dr. John M. Lucas, resident psych Mexico State Hospital, Las Vegas, New Mexico, Jul
As Dr. Willie Sanchez, Assistant to the President of the University of New Mexico, has noted, under Dr. Donnelly only 5 of the Chicano students were allowed to rise to prominent positions in the State and were inclined to send their sons to the Institute. Alvin R. Sumeri, "St. Michael's College," La Salle Auxiliary, XXXIX (Spring, 1960), passim; Brother Angelus Gabriel, The Christian Brothers in the United States, 1848-1948 (New York, 1948), pp. 472-77.


4. It was not until recently that a Mexican-American was appointed Chancellor. He had since married and is now a practicing attorney in Santa Fe.

5. Indeed, in response to a petition from the Alianza for Poverty Projects for supporting funds, Archbishop James Peter Davis stated that the Archdiocese of Santa Fe had no money for such a project. The Episcopal Church granted the project $40,000 and subsequently lost the support of Episcopalians in New Mexico and West Texas.

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

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 R. Kramer, Head of the Social Research Center at the University of Northern Iowa.
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.
According to some prominent New Mexicans, however, the extent of the drug problem is not overstated. Nevertheless, it is a critical one for both Hispanics and Anglos.


Distributed among students at New Mexico Highlands College of Santa Fe, Fall and Winter, 1971-72. Questionnaires were developed and processed under the direction of Robert E. Kramer, Head of the Social Science Department at the University of Northern Iowa.


September 19, 1971, Sec. 1, p. 63.


Professor William Lux, Assistant Academic Dean and Director of the Ethnic and Chicano Studies Program at New Mexico Highlands University, April 2, 1974.

Information in a letter to the author from Mr. Benny E. Flores, member of the Board of Regents at New Mexico Highlands University, April 8, 1974.

Interview with Professor Lux, April 2, 1974.

Flores, Letter, April 8, 1974.

Part II

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 Iversom'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 Axtlan. 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.
The three essays in this section illustrate the point that identity can and does mean different things to different people.

NATIVE-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

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THE RISE OF NAVAJO NATIONALISM:
DINE CONTINUITY WITHIN CHANGE

by

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Of course, Curtis was wrong. The Navajos
choice he could have made for a prototype of "the Native American life.
They are today the most populous of any Native American group, they possess as well the largest land base. While the Navajos are notoriously underestimated, it seems likely that their population now is easily in excess of 130,000. Their land area is 25,000 square miles, covering a large part of northwestern New Mexico, and southeastern Utah. The usual comparison is with Virginia, which is slightly smaller.

While much statistics are impressive, they indicate the degree to which Diné, or The People of life, flexible and changing, which is clearly the case. Moreover, as Clyde Kluckhohn and Dorot
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1946 in their classic study, The Navaho,3 a sense or "national" consciousness has arisen among The
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.¹

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,² 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*,³ 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
becoming increasingly conscious of common background, common problems, a common need to unite to protect their interests against the encroachments of whites. **4**

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. **5** Dine' 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." **6**

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 mythat almost all the People constitute a single governative 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 not 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 encroachments on once isolated Navajo land and resources. As Dine' increasing contact with Anglo institutions, ideas, have had as well ample reason to re-enforce their People. Moreover, some of the very elements of American society seem to be the most threatening to Navajo life have threatened to threaten the building of a national Navajo state. For example, technology has altered the economic and social net level has the Navajo Nation been perceived as a new technology and white demands, often couched in have threatened, and thus unified, most Navajos and to the national Navajo government as the only ally enough to counter alien forces. **10** As distinct from states and, to an even greater degree, minority and States, the Navajos cannot hope to influence signifi
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In sum, language, heritage, land, and government are the basic forces. Of the four, government is surely the most recent and the most imposed. Only recently, in the Navajo way, has it become more accepted. This is in part due to time: the Tribal Council from a Navajo perspective is fairly young; only in this year (1974) did it celebrate its fiftieth anniversary. And only lately has it truly had the potential and the power to matter to Navajos at the local level.

To understand Navajo nationalism we must come to terms with some of the ironic consequences of greater Anglo8 encroachment and demand on once isolated Navajo land and resources. As Diné have come into increasing contact with Anglo institutions, ideas, and pressures, they have had as well ample reason to re-enforce their designation as The People.9 Moreover, some of the very elements of Anglo life which might seem to be the most threatening to Navajo life have bolstered the building of a national Navajo state. For example, precisely because technology has altered the economic and social network at the local level the Navajo Nation been perceived as a necessity.

Technology and white demands, often couched in ethnocentric terms, have threatened, and thus unified, most Navajos and caused them to turn to the national Navajo government as the only ally potentially strong enough to counter alien forces.10 As distinct minority members of the states and, to an even greater degree, minority members of the United 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."¹¹

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 resources¹² 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 full consideration of Navajo nationalism. To establish some sense of Navajo history, however, is not easily gained. Any Navajo (or Native American) history quickly dis evidence. There is no denying the central impo mony, yet great difficulty in obtaining it, let alone. Not only have non-Navajos by and large written down the records needed for the history, without exception, these accounts are in English.

To the uninitiated, the vitality of the Navajo years may come as a surprise. While an increase in bilingual, there is little question of the preferred form of communication. A recent study estimated that almost three of every four Navajo old are bilingual, there is little question that Navajos have their language. Moreover, Diné bìsąąd is a very different language than English. Robert W. Young notes, "although Navajo and English are phonologically, the differences are extreme logical and structural features."¹⁴ Finally, Navajo is an oral language. Written forms of Navajo have the most part Navajos have not utilized them. Ethnologists, and Bureau of Indian Affairs persons have employed written Navajo for their own spec
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To the uninitiated, the vitality of the Navajo language over the years may come as a surprise. While an increasing percentage of Navajos are bilingual, there is little question that Navajo remains the first language, the preferred form of communication for most people. A recent study estimated that almost three of every four Navajo six year olds do not know enough English to do first grade work in English. Moreover, Diné bizaad is a very different language from English; as Robert W. Young notes, "although Navajo and English are markedly divergent phonologically, the difference is extreme in terms of their morphological and structural features." Finally, Navajo is almost entirely an oral language. Written forms of Navajo have developed, but for the most part Navajos have not utilized them. Missionaries, anthropologists, and Bureau of Indian Affairs personnel, most of them Anglo, have employed written Navajo for their own specialized purposes.
Navajo-initiated programs are of most recent origin, and though exciting and promising in scope and direction, have yet to have widespread effect. 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. 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.

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 married a Navajo, assumed the trappings and Navajo life, he would still be, irremediably, a Navajo Nation. He 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 they perceive.

To be sure, this is a problem with all historical and cultural transmission in the Navajo situation. Translation from Navajo to English is not only differentially subject to the whims and biases of the translator, even transcribed directly in the Navajo, is subject to special limitations. Oral historians, though, are the importance of recording not only voices, but gestures, movements. The portrait which thus emerges is complete and therefore more true representation. Transcription can be provided in a way for the reader, for the writer as he communicates. Given the centrality of communication in Navajo life, such a creation is not is written down in books, said a wise old Navajo grandmother. A book will never say a prayer for you. 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.
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were fully committed to living the rest of their lives in the Navajo
Nation found that this presented a very real dilemma. They were
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To be sure, this is a problem with all history, but the cross-
cultural transmission in the Navajo situation accentuates the problem.
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complete and therefore more true representation. This written form of
transcription can be provided in a way for the reader to see and hear
the speaker as he communicates.20 Given the central importance of oral
communication in Navajo life, such a creation is most notable. "Much
is written down in books," said a wise old Navajo gentleman,"but that
book will never say a prayer for you."21

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.22 Navajo Community College
Press publications have been affected by the input and perspectives of Anglos. 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. 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 make an image." The flexible quality of Navajo life has allowed over time for striking variety in the way it has been lived and the kind of perspectives they have developed has surely increased recently, and with it the need for phrases as "it's up to him." There are certainly more than merely "traditional" and "modem" ways to do things, and as the term "Navajo" is unavoidable, it should be recognized that a monolithic analysis is simply wrong. This is a point made by Mary Shepardson: Navajos are more goal oriented and differ over how to achieve them. They do not always be over means, not ends. A final matter is the concept of the Nation. Given its enormity, and the emphasis on the particularity of the studies, many important chroniclers of the Navajos have focused on a more restricted area within which they could focus and cultivate the good will of potential generalizations about all Navajos do not always apply to these limited analyses. There are still important differences in 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 broader extent on the forces of Nature, forms a basic part of the sense of belonging and a focal point in Navajo life. What the Navajos do with their land and how they have chosen to utilize its vast potential has fundamental impact on the development of the Nation.
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Navajo personal ties with an area are based on associations and
relationships with people and on traditional land use rights. The indi-
vidual relationship with the land, and to a broader extent with the
forces of Nature, forms a basic part of the search for harmony which is
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.
after an initial examination of earlier Navajo history, one must turn to an evaluation of the process of land use by Dinetah. 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. This attitude, land ethic if you will, 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. 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 and created a permanent issue: what portion of the People could continue with the sheep and goat raising life of old?

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." 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 which, from today's perspective, seem to many to be an economic standpoint. Navajo-controlled industries fared better, but in some instances have been unsuccesses.

Royalties from mineral exploitation in the tribal treasury and thereby changed the power and tribal government. The Navajo Tribal Council took the Council chairman became a Navajo national lead sentatives are often caught between local needs and priorities, but there has been a seemingly irreverent attempt has been made to divert revenue sharing (e.g., level. But the tribal government still to hopeless factionalism or to financial incapacity imposed structure has become incorporated to a great life. Through it the Navajos have sought and must self-sufficiency and political sovereignty.

A generally neglected area of inquiry is the lawyers, and legal assistance have played in promoting 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 process of land use by Diné. By land use, y what is grown or raised (or not grown or not is perceived.30 This attitude, land ethic if ly scrutinized during two distinct stages, the evolution of traditional Navajo land usage tions with this usage which eventually din- mic and cultural patterns. These patterns raising of livestock and the growing of agri- lization contributed to economic reciprocity d to harmony with the universe.32 For a time, the Navajo population coincided with the addi- land base. Yet the increase of Navajo demands ecially by larger numbers of sheep, did not establishment of reservation boundaries. This economic and cultural disruption of the stock ed a permanent issue: what portion of The th the sheep and goat raising life of old?34 llable mineral deposits on Navajo land added a bate over land utilization. Outside pressure "development" of these resources. This changed led to a change of activities, and eventually non-reciprocal allocations.35 tied approaches to economic development have question is to what extent can Navajos control 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, 36 but in some instances have been unqualified successes.37

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 representa tives 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.38

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. The impact of attorneys on Navajo life has not, however, been limited to the influence of the tribal attorney's office. Dinóbeiña Nahiína 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), economic alternatives (as in the Pinon cooperative), 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 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 new division of education is a logical outgrowth from these pioneering institutions; former Rough School principal Dillon Platero, for example, as Platero and his associates are now moving to be the power of this national department, and not undoing some resistance. As they do so, they are raising mental questions about the nature of education.

Surely education is one potential means for maintaining harmony within one's self and with others would contribute toward it rather than entirely disharmony is primarily the function of what we recognize as the complex system within Navajo religion. And in this area, their efforts to develop cooperation between traditional Anglo medical practices. While still in its initial phase, this can be seen here a final example of Navajo continuity: shared analysis between Navajo singer and Anglo medical facilities, and expanding Navajo Health Authority, without a denial of the validity of traditional ways.

The Navajos thus persist in their determination to maintain harmony within their communities and with others. Medicine, as one understands the term within Navajo religion. And in this area, their efforts to develop cooperation between traditional Anglo medical practices. While still in its initial phase, this can be seen here a final example of Navajo continuity: shared analysis between Navajo singer and Anglo medical facilities, and expanding Navajo Health Authority, without a denial of the validity of traditional ways.
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at these pioneering institutions; former Rough Rock Demonstration
School principal Dillon Platero, for example, now heads this division.
Platero and his associates are now moving to broaden the functions and
power of this national department, and not unexpectedly are encounter-
ing some resistance.43 As they do so, they are starting to ask funda-
mental questions about the nature of education needed for Navajo
children.

Surely education is one potential means for obtaining and
maintaining harmony within one's self and with one's world. But it
would contribute toward it rather than entirely provide it. Curing
disharmony is primarily the function of what we might term Navajo reli-
gion--an inadequate term for the complex system of beliefs held by most
Navajos. Medicine, as one understands the term, would be included
within Navajo religion. And in this area, there have been growing
efforts to develop cooperation between traditional Navajo ways and
Anglo medical practices. While still in its initial stages, there may
be seen here a final example of Navajo continuity within change:
shared analysis between Navajo singer and Anglo doctor, growing use of
Anglo medical facilities, and expanding Navajo national involvement in
providing better medical care for The People, as evidenced in the Navajo
Health Authority, without a denial of the validity and value of
traditional ways.44

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.45

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 "in captured by the popular 1915 statue, "The End McNickle, Native American Tribalism, p. 3.

2. Dine, meaning literally "The People," is what themselves. It is a common term used by Athal thus not really satisfactory for solitary util is a term used by Navajos for themselves when and of course is the phrase used by non-Navajo Navajo Nationalism: Dine Continuity Within C title of the author's dissertation now being History Department, the University of Wiscons the author first encountered the concept of cont 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 Res Studies, Development Section, Institute of Am Santa Fe. Director of the Center for the Hist Indian, D'Aracy McNickle has also influenced my Native American Tribalism: Indian Survivals ( York, 1973) called the author's attention to t Barth. Frederik Barth, "On the Study of Soc Anthropoloyist, 69, No. 6 (1967), rpt. as "Stu in The Meaning of Culture, ed. Morris Freilich
their uniqueness. A resolution passed in 1969 by the Council of Federal Indian Affairs Advisory Committee calls for the use of the Navajo language in all official communications.

The conclusion portion reads: "The United States recognized this fact and th the sovereignty of the Navajo Tribe, and down through the sovereignty of the United States and the Supreme Court. The United States and the Supreme Court recognized the inherent right of the Navajo to maintain Navajo as occupied by the Navajo People was the land of states of the United States of America, People if they wished to be so included, and it was difficult for the Navajo People to retain their land. The best interests of the Navajo people that a study of the effort to maintain Navajo is an assertion which has meant the creation of a people."

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. Dine, 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: Dine' 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, 1964).
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.


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.


8. "Anglo" is the term generally employed in the southwest for White.


10. Ibid., p. 57.


12. These mineral resources are primarily two: utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to be.


15. The most commonly employed orthography was decades ago by Robert W. Young and William Dr. Morgan tried his best to instruct the language at Navajo Community College.

16. See Penny Murphy, "A Brief History of Navajo Analytical Bibliography of Navajo Reading Spolsky, Agnes Holm, and Penny Murphy (Win See as well Wayne S. Holm, "Some Aspects of Diss. University of New Mexico, 1972; Holm community school of Rock Point, Arizona.

17. The main impact has been in the community Rock, Ramah Navajo High School, Rock Point at Navajo Community College. The Navajo Dine Bi'Olta Association, has lately taken promoting Navajo literacy. See Holm, "Som
972), pp. 239-52, pays particular attention to action as the key phase of change. See Jane Navajo: A People in Transition," Southwestern 2-3 (Fall, 1964; Winter, 1965). Christian's work author to the problem of Navajo nationalism and brought forth in this essay have clearly been a perceptive analysis. The author's interest in began with the stories told him by his mother's pal in Indian Service schools in the Navajo area and early 1940's. The author taught at Navajo e from September, 1969, to June, 1972, and then University of Wisconsin to complete graduate work in the spelling preferred by many anthropologists, the official spelling adopted by the Tribe, and Dorothea Leighton, The Navaho (New York, 1962), navaho," in Perspectives in Indian Culture Change, r (Chicago, 1961), pp. 278-336.

at the "structural framework" of Navajo life is tting borrowed elements into earlier patterns of organization, religion, transportation, dress, technology, and language. Ibid., pp. 327-29.

ighton, The Navaho, p. 123.


12. These mineral resources are primarily twentieth century in their utility: oil, uranium, and (given recent southeaster population growth) coal; gold, fortunately, had to be sought elsewhere.


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.


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.

See John Adair and Sol Worth, Through Navajo Eyes (Bloomington, Indiana, 1972).


This is the English translation provided by Milton Bluehouse, Navajo Studies instructor at Navajo Community College, during a talk in Navajo by Descheeny Nes Tracy at a Navajo Community College in-service session, May, 1971.

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.

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.

Navajo Community College Press books emphasize they are "by Navajos, for Navajos, about Navajos."


The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhohn over the years by dozens of others are the pri


This discussion of Navajo land usage has been


The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their

in the interest of soil conservation succeeded missioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a per

goat. See Edward Spicer, "Sheepmen and Technic

Problems in Technological Change, ed. Edward Sp

1952), pp. 185-207.

James F. Downs, "The Cowboy and the Lady: Mode of the Rate of Acculturation among the Pinon Na
have been some important studies, including

    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

27. Mary Shepardson, Navajo Ways in Government, American Anthropo-

28. The Ramah studies initiated by Clyde Kluckhohn and carried out
    over the years by dozens of others are the prime example.


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.).


32. Billy notes the value shared by older Navajos: "land should never

33. The policy of forcing Navajos to reduce their livestock holdings
    in the interest of soil conservation succeeded only in making Com-
    missioner of Indian Affairs John Collier a perpetual Navajo scape-
    goat. 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," Kroeger
least, however, a greater degree of community been achieved.

43. The Navajo Division of Education has sought O'Malley funds slated for Navajo schools. Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Director Tom attempted to block such a takeover. See "Director," Navajo Times, 16, No. 13 (April

44. Created by a June, 1972, resolution of the the Navajo Health Authority is now directed MacKenzie, the only Navajo M.D. It has as objectives the goal of establishing an Am school. At the same time, the health authority such as Carl Gorman in the area of Native Gorman, a distinguished artist, reaffirmed

45. Navajo Tribal Code (Orford, New Hampshire

Chapter 5, p. 1.)
least, however, a greater degree of community participation has been achieved.

43. The Navajo Division of Education has sought control of Johnson-O'Malley funds slated for Navajo schools. According to Platero, Bureau of Indian Affairs Area Director Tony Lincoln (a Navajo) has attempted to block such a takeover. See "Platero Rebuffs Area Director," Navajo Times, 16, No. 13 (April 11, 1974).

44. Created by a June, 1972, resolution of the Navajo Tribal Council, the Navajo Health Authority is now directed by Dr. Taylor MacKenzie, the only Navajo M.D. It has as one of its prime objectives the goal of establishing an American Indian medical school. At the same time, the health authority employs people such as Carl Gorman in the area of Native Healing Sciences. Gorman, a distinguished artist, reaffirmed the value of traditional Navajo medical practices in a recent series in the Navajo 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 as visible as in the past, or perhaps a renewed, vibrancy in building and, more recently, power movements. The Native Americans, though at best a mixed blessing in the past, has been gaining increased attention from social scientists, sociologists, urban studies, and urban policy makers.

Evidence of the academic interest is found in two recent publications (Bahr, Chadwick, and Day, 1972, and Waddell and Wat)

The problem with much of the literature is that it is confused with assimilation. Assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a sociological sense.

We do not have sufficient knowledge about how Native Americans adjust or adapt to urban culture. We have statistical accounts of a people in trouble. The problem with much of the literature is that it is confused with assimilation. Assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a sociological sense.

We do not have sufficient knowledge about how Native Americans adjust or adapt to urban culture. We have statistical accounts of a people in trouble. The problem with much of the literature is that it is confused with assimilation. Assimilation are often confused with upward mobility. Upward mobility at least implicitly is assumed to be a sociological sense.
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).

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
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. 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, 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 Indianess, urbanism has heightened the awareness of these people's Id and think of Native Americans within the framework community based on kinship structures.

The adaptation to urban culture and its values from their perspective has been in framework. However, many studies described the terms, and the result is an analysis of "poor economic base of the local community and tribe has 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 the Native Americans in contrast to white soci achievement as such in increased income, education whatever progress and achievement has been made strain on community ties.

Achievement in urban society is based on economic, or social—ideology that emphasizes individualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic util persons. Persons can be replaced but roles have adapted to these forces of mass soci tion and in the city by relying on their struct expressive values of kin and peer group ties. ful in not assimilating the former values. But
reason they are hard to find in some urban areas is the Bureau's Employment Assistance Program, Native Americans among the general population to Urban Indians? Ecologically it means they dwell here many are mobile, moving back and forth to have not embraced Urbanism or urban culture as They are not competitive, money oriented, adherent, and hierarchically structured. Their are not secondary, impersonal, or segmental. organizations with more people with less intimate value freedom from personal and emotional control. But if transitoriness is characteristic of urban life it is, then urban culture has taken on the nomadic life of the Native American with one difference: the urbanite moves from place to place for a better job, education, place to live. Though this concern, they do not move so much from north and forth. Their movements are more expressive, scenary, freedom to be with kin and friends, to go pow-wows. Being person oriented rather than objectivists find fulfillment, status, identity with group relationships. These relationships take on expressiveness which provides a strong structural base. This structural base has been strengthened use of Pan-Indianism. This movement and 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 economic 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 expensive strain on community ties.

Achievement in urban society is based on corporate--be it political, economic, or social--ideology that emphasizes power inequality, individualism, competitiveness, and pragmatic utility. Roles are important, not persons. Persons can be replaced but roles cannot. Native Americans have adapted to these forces of mass society both on the reservation and in the city by relying on their structural strengths--the expressive values of kin and peer group ties. They have been successful 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, 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 it. Because the typology is simplistic as are other models, the author has tried to refine it by developing a more refined model.

Another Trail

Native Americans began to migrate to cities in large numbers during World War II seeking job opportunities in the industrial areas. The urbanization process has accelerated since then. Though population statistics on urban Indians are not fully reliable, White and Chadwick state that in 1950 only 10 percent of Native Americans lived in urban centers and projected that by 1970, 40 percent will have moved to urban centers by 1970. Reliable data on how many return to reservations estimate a very high return. A great many, however, remain in the city.

The push and pull factors accounting for rapid and varied migration of Native Americans is a primary incentive for migration to be an economic factor, higher wages, better living conditions. Garbarino found that the job opportunities from the industrial build up of World War II as largely influential for long term stays in the city. A study of the Navajo in Denver emphasizes the "push" reservation noting that many Indians leave the reservation expecting better living conditions as much as they expect better living conditions as much as they...
game. They have not been allowed to regain national alternative such as community development to pursue their community life within an active to their ways. The problem of Native survival is not the unwillingness to take on achievements and advancements in the areas of jobs, education, but the unwillingness of white America to view Americana to utilize these advancements for entity. In sum, Native Americans have been subject tremendous outside pressures in maintaining status, but have not been able to sufficiently place for it to be conducive to self determination.

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. 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.

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. 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. 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. Other "push" factors such as reservation poverty, public health service, housing, education have been well described by Cahn. Hodge 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. 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.

Who migrates? Those who come to urban areas are young, better educated, had some prior interest through either military experience or work site, makes a distinction between those who move their own or through the Employment Assistance Program). Relocates tend to be younger and speak their native language. This group who move to the reservation but stay, as Ablon states, usually have no job opportunities.

The most frequently cited factor explaining return to the reservation is the lack of economic success at city. Sorkin found that those with no economic prospects Sorkin's and Ablon's findings that economic success are the crucial factors in returning. In Denver found that post-migration experiences are pre-migration experiences in determining the migration stay. Those most likely to return were those who: (1) long time to get a job, (2) who received wages, (3) who were "labelled" detrimentally by an employer that there aren't other important factors in return to reservation life, such as congenial family, friends.

It would be a mistake to view the organization as a linear development as if the Native American city permanently and become assimilated or retro.
opportunities. Other "push" factors such as public health service, housing, education have by Cahn as a rural-urban migration model based on his study in Albuquerque. Here the family is used as the framework factors which promote or retard migration. The push urbanization are similar to the ones cited above. in the push and pull factors back to the reservation are summarized under the following headings: individuals back to the reservation from the skills acquired in cities, family ties and more inability to make a satisfactory living, language filled 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 more fully later on. Since 1950 the most ing condition for stimulating urbanization of Native the BIA's Employment Assistance Program. In sum comes to the city primarily for job opportunities, of dissatisfactions with jobs and personal rela- pped and stay because conditions on the reserva- ion states that Indians who remain in the Son to so involuntarily because there are no job reservation.

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. 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 job opportunities.

The most frequently cited factor explaining the return to the reservation is the lack of economic success after migrating to the city. Sorkin 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. Weppner supports Sorkin's and Ablon's findings that economic problems after arrival 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. This is not to say that there aren't other important factors which influence the return to reservation life, such as congenial family ties.

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.19 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.20

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.21 Many stay because of early and continued economic success, but others stay because they are trapped. The reservation does not provide their ability to create functional communities. Communities are composed of kin, quasi-kin, friends shored up by a multitude of Native American organizations by Pan-Indianness. Hurt's classification of rejecting Indians are helpful formulations in the these adaptations.22

What Happens Once You Get There: Structural and Cultural

The homesteaders who come to urban areas on the one hand, to live close together. For those who come under BIA's Employment Assistance program, proximity is because of the Bureau's policy of dispersal. But new arrivals cluster together in local groupings laristic Indian organizations. Albon found that migrated to the San Francisco Bay area have chosen rily with other Indians in both informal and formal Home visitation is most frequent among kin, tribesmen acquaintances from the reservation. This is due to a sense of peoplehood among Native American kinship, traditions and values, common rural backgrounds, and tribesmen for mutual aid, and security of ties against an urban environment considered hostile. I support Ablon's finding although Price notes that due to length of residence and tribal affiliations
reservation. The literature documents a
run of many Native Americans. Many migrants
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conomically mobile and those who are trapped.
migratory experiences, such as level of educa-
c background, acculturation experiences, made
who stayed and those who left.21 Many stay-
tinued economic success, but others stay
because they are trapped. The reservation does not hold any promise.
One possible factor that helps explain why the mobile and trapped stay
is their ability to create functional communities in the urban areas.
Communities are composed of kin, quasi-kin, friends and tribal members
shored up by a multitude of Native American organizations and cemented
by Pan-Indianness. Hurt's classification of rejecting, selecting, and
accepting Indians are helpful formulations in the understanding of
these adaptations.22

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 primar-
ily with other Indians in both informal and formal associations.23
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. 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.

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 Indianess 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.

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. The internal structure of the group revolves around age, sex, and life cycle factors. There is a fairly strong segregation among these groups. Values, beliefs, and on the kin structure but articulated through the influence of the kin based peer group is pervasive social anchorage for identity and a buffer against urban life. In fact, the peer group community is more salient in urban life than on reservations.

Like immigrants from the old country, Native Americans stresses his individuality, but it is found in a group context. Identity through acculturation and assimilation, increased positive sense of identity, both personal sense of marital or SES status. This process building peoplehood has been noted with other the peer group structure that carries much of the functions to maintain Indian awareness. It is a condition in voluntary segregation. It acts as a mechanism exacting a certain behavioral conformity. It is capable of successfully retard individual mobility through its emphasis on son oriented values, it is capable of successful mobility. The Mohawks and the five civilized people to a higher level of awareness manifest ideological and political levels.
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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.28 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 iden-
tity through acculturation and assimilation, most experience an
increased positive sense of identity, both personal and social, regard-
less of marital or SES status.29 This process of ethnogenesis or
building peoplehood has been noted with other ethnic groups.30 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.31 This
revitalization of Native American has raised the consciousness of their
people to a higher level of awareness manifesting itself on both
ideological and political levels.32
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. Persons are more often cultivated for specific gains and objectives, rather than on an intimate face to face basis. 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 and beliefs include emphasis on cooperation and generous sharing with members of the kinship, private exclusive individualistic ownership, disinterest in accumulating material possessions, and private exclusive individualistic ownership. 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.

What we have here is a people with structural gemeinschaft and pre-industrial cultural orientations carry on a way of life in a society which is at the extreme. Human comfort and material well being are compatible with Indian ways, but the competitive and material gain are not. Normative confusion is operative.

The remainder of this paper will deal with how structural networks of Native Americans articulate 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 other urban lower class, but he differs from the homeotes for a People. The Native American life with him with its distinctive value system conflicts have resulted in problems of cultural identity, the problems of assimilation and pluralism, the problems of personal, social, and 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 for 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 constractive 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.35

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. 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. We consider these core values as comprising what is considered by some to be economic success. People through upward mobility vary in their adherence to these values. This last point is important to the understanding of the process and modes of identity.

Structural assimilation and pluralism is widespread and varies in the degree to which ethnic groups are assimilated into the dominant culture. Marital and identificational assimilation is specific to the ethnic group and varies according to the specific cases of this process. The evidence so far demonstrates that the majority of Native Americans become "White Indians" losing altogether, or Indianness becomes only one of many identities. This last point is important to the understanding of identity.

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of an ethnic group into the American way of life the taking on its major value orientations such as dualism, success, efficiency, etc. 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 socio-economic success. 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. 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 is 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 endogomy, 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. Factors accounting for "White" Indians are being descendents of mixed marriage, being exogamous themselves, born off the reservation and long term urban residents and socio-economic success.
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Figure I

FOURFOLD MODES OF IDENTITY BASED ON ACCULTURATION 
AND STRUCTURAL ASSIMILATION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Structural Relations</th>
<th>Acculturation</th>
<th>Urbanism</th>
<th>Indianism</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>&quot;White&quot; Indian</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>The &quot;Cosmopolitan&quot; Indian</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>The &quot;Strategist&quot; Indian</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>The &quot;Traditional&quot; Indian</td>
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White discovers the same response in Rapid City. 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. 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, an incubator.

The same phenomenon is described by Wax Indian. Although Pan-Indianism provides a general identification, possessing multiple identities revolving around residential attachments as well as Indianness, enclosed primary networks, these Native Americans differing 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 cultural strategist. Factors which aid our 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 hostile, and identificational pluralism through out.

Our fourth response is what we call the "reservation. Hurt refers to these people as "reservation of long term residents who intensely dislike the reservation if it were economically feasible, reservation is home, and preservation of Indi is very important. Most families live isolate
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The same phenomenon is described by Wax as the "generalized"
Indian. Although Pan-Indianism provides a general social identity
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possess multiple identities revolving around occupational, religious,
residential attachments as well as Indianness. While maintaining
enrolled primary networks, these Native Americans acculturato into dif-
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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-
mmitment 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

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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 the society is perceived hostile.

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

The present author offers a strategic cul understanding the complex processes of plural that people are able to maintain multiple cul networks. Society comprises many rings of soc 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 ecocity. Persons may identify themselves as a n kin and relatives. They may identify themselves drinking buddies within peer group relationships themselves blue collar on the job, Native Amer American in commercial and civic interactions. world will effect one's conception of self in precisely, these areas have built-in structures more or less successful in strategizing these consistency.
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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 overall
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.

FOOTNOTES


4. Herbert J. Gans, The Urban Villagers (New Yor

5. Milton Gordon, Assimilation in American Life


cific people simultaneously having a variety voluntarily embracing common values in some voluntarily assimilating in other areas, maintain a third area, modifying or refining its disperse area. What additional variables account for strategic culturalism? The following explanatory factors: 1) the degree of insti-

tiversity, 2) the degree to which an institutionalizing mechanisms, 3) the ecological cultural diversity, 4) the degree to which strongly held values, and 5) the degree to demands standardization of behavior for its
tion to these factors will hopefully aid in the nature of a new pluralism.

FOOTNOTES


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Measurement of Assimilation: The Spokane  
A few years ago, in the wake of the Black schools began to introduce units in Black li-
ble that not long after would come Indian li-
Oriental-American; and now we find Norwegian
other ethnic literatures. American Indian li-
ever, holds a very special place in relation
and culture. If our American culture differ
large part of that difference comes from the
the European-American with the Native Americ
our states from the Native American--Tennes
necticut, Delaware, Illinois, Iowa, Dakota.
names for our cities--Omaha, Yankton, Yakima
our creation of the stereotyped Indian hunte
prairies, we forgot that it was the Indian for
European-American how to cultivate potatoes,
kin, and squash. We took political concepts
Iroquois and incorporated them eventually in
we adopted from the Indian such common items
bows and arrows, and moccasins. Our standa
knowing the Indian very superficially, creat
as Chingachgook and Uncas, Ramona, Hiawatha
and Boon Hogganbeck.

Yet, in spite of the many reminders that
in it a strong Indian element, an examinatio
lished high school literature series reveals
from Indian authors. One series, a 1972 pub
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
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.1

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 units or elective courses, as is most often happens incorporated into American literature sequences.

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

In selecting editions of mythology, the teacher has choices he needs to make. If he wants a volume of mythology of a number of tribes, he can select a collection which has been around for a long time, such as *Tales of the North American Indians.* Two short learned collections are *The Storytelling Stone,* edited by Carol K. Roehlin. A teacher might choose, on th...
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first, all students should be introduced to Indian myth and

legend. Such study is particularly appropriate for the upper elemen-
tary grades and the junior high. For a teacher to talk about Hiawatha

without introducing Manabozho is simply perpetuating the Noble Savage

stereotype. Better yet, let us eliminate Hiawatha entirely and read

instead some of the Manabozho legends, or stories of other Indian

tricksters. Manabozho, the Great Hare, is only one trickster, that of

the Algonquian tribes, but an especially appropriate study in this part

of the country. Stories of Old Saynday of the Kiowas, Coyote of some

of the prairie tribes, or Raven of the west coast tribes, are other

trickster tales which bring us closer to what the Indian was all about.

There are many other types of heroes besides the trickster in Indian

tales, heroes who go on marvelous adventures into sky worlds by means

of rainbow bridges and arrow chains and successfully complete marvelous

feats of bravery and skill.

In selecting editions of mythology, the teacher will find some

choices he needs to make. If he wants a volume which includes the

mythology of a number of tribes, he can select the classic and schol-

arly collection which has been around for a long time, Stith Thompson's

Tales of the North American Indians.² Two shorter and somewhat less

learned collections are The Storytelling Stone, edited by Susan

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. 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." 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 Indian song as it can be, or that it be "good decision is the teacher's. If one teaches there is another volume by the Chippewa author Anishinabe Nagamon, containing a limited number of 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. Vanderwerp'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 the Hotel when he says of his grandmother: "You see, cine; they were magic and invisible. They and meaning. They were beyond price; they sold. And she never threw words away."5

American fiction and modern television stereotypes and half-truths about Indians that high school teacher should choose very carefully about Indians. There are several books by Deloria recommends two which are readily available in paperback. The third which he recommends, *Stay Away, Joe* available in paperback.6 A useful novel for
tories of one particular tribe. The Zunis, the Nez
jo all have collections done under the auspices of
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. The question the teacher must answer is, is it
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
than "ugh" on the television western has been given the lie by a number
of collections of Indian oratory. Especially appropriate here are
either W. C. Vanderwerth's Indian Oratory or Virginia Armstrong's I
Have Spoken. A study of the mystical importance of the word to all
Indians is demonstrated in their poetry as well as in their oratory.
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
and meaning. They were beyond price; they could neither be bought or
sold. And she never threw words away."  

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
about Indians. There are several books by white authors which have
been recognized by Indians as accurate pictures of Indian life. Vine
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.  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 an experience of a life very different from their own.

Indian biography and autobiography offer a choice of materials for introducing the adolescent Indian boyhood. This has one great advantage over Indian autobiographies of the same period. Although from 1858 until 1873 in the tribal society, he went from Dartmouth and to an M.D. Degree at Boston University, he is not an "as told to" autobiography. It is entirely his story. In this the story of his "wild life," in which he tells the stories told in the lodge, the games he played, the family life the family lived in a shifting, frightening time it is unique in its authority and in the completeness with which it is written.

The most often read and taught senior high autobiography is John N. Neihardt's *Black Elk Speaks* . Oglala Sioux holy man, his visions and his disappearance the classic among "as told to" autobiographies, has gone far to capture the essence of his subject. Does he have to recognize that John Neihardt is a liar? Because of its difficulty and strangeness for most...
Runner in paperback, is D'Arcy McNickle's Runner in
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the effort, even though they do not understand everything, this
experience of a life very different from their own will be a rewarding
one.

Indian biography and autobiography offer perhaps the greatest
choice of materials for introducing the adolescent to Indian culture.
For the junior high school my first choice would be Charles Eastman's
Indian Boyhood. This has one great advantage over almost all other
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
not an "as told to" autobiography. It is entirely his; no editor or
recorder intervened to misinterpret the events. The author, Ohiyesa,
calls this the story of his "wild life," in which he records the cus-
smouths, the stories told in the lodge, the games the boys played, and the
life the family lived in a shifting, frightening society, fleeing from
the Sioux Uprising in Minnesota. This book has enough excitement and
boyishness to appeal to junior high school youngsters, and at the same
time it is unique in its authority and in the coherence and fluency
with which it is written.

The most often read and taught senior high school Indian
autobiography is John Neihardt's Black Elk Speaks, the story of the
Oglala Sioux holy man, his visions and his disappointments. This is
the classic among "as told to" autobiographies, and certainly Neihardt
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 Ciyo "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 Asa Daklugie, a chief who had fought with him. Daklugie, who had received some education from whites, translated the story for S. M. Barzatt, 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 autobiography is Kay Bennett's Kaibah, a fine autobiography of special interest to girls. Kaibah young Navajo growing up from 1928 to 1935, car attending festivals, and suffering sadness as she went away to school, until finally it was Kaibh biography has no editor or recorder. Two autotypes, adjustment from the Indian world into the by Hopi women, both also told through an editor. No Turning Back and Helen Sekaquaptewa's We are women have good educations, the reader assumes of editing. In Miracle Hill: the Story of a Blackhorse Mitchell tells through his character of his desire to learn about the white man's world written during a creative writing course at the Indian Arts. The teacher, Mrs. T. D. Allen, could only what she had to do in order to make the work.

Two collections of many kinds of material have been done by Indian editors. One, American Indian Scott Momaday, the mother of N. Scott Momaday in her own right, is a kind of ready-made unit, some traditional poetry, chapters from autobiographies, short stories and poetry. Supplemented by a collection of short stories and poetry. Supplemented by a collection of short stories and poetry.
to comprehend Black Elk's mystical experiences only after considerable amount of prior reading. "As told to" autobiographies are in print. Some, by told to S. M. Barrett, or Black Hawk's story told are recorded because the subject was famous his- because the subject was related to or fought for a a 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 e Neihardt, who wrote it down, edited it, and par- a 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 he 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 no told it as he could. One story—that of Mount- innebago—was told by the subject in Winnebago into e then translated her own words into English. Thi: 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 autobiography 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 Navajo Boy, Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell tells through his character, Bronco, 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." 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 'his 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 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's *Indian Authors*, supplemented by Feldmann's *The S* Scott Momaday's *The Way to Rainy Mountain*, and *Boyhood*, are musts. All of these works have something in them that would be centered. The Way* Indian Boyhood would also give students a bit of an idea of modern Indian problems and feelings, the *Authors* would offer a good selection of modern Indian poetry. Hopefully, the school library would also have individual reading and reports McNickle's *Runner* *Kaibah*, and Emerson Blackhorse Mitchell's *Miracle* *Boyhood*.

For the senior high school, continued use of a collection of legends, and the Thompson collection of the legends of a particular tribe such as Bierhorst's, and *House Made of Dawn* and *Black Hawk* important. Individual student reading could be biographies and autobiographies from different tribes and an idea of the great diversity of values and life st
ed at either junior or senior high school level. Any teacher who is going to teach Indian literature, as well as the introductions to the book also available. The book also collections from legends to traditional poetry, to t stories, poetry, and protest literature.

For the teacher for Indian literature, especially is quite important. The teacher needs to know the students do in order to prevent inadverte stereotypes which are so prevalent in our society. poetry, for example, can lead students to think the Great Hare, or the Sun, or stone images, a savage stereotype. Charles Eastman, in The 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 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 collection 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 biographies 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 as familiar to our adolescents as the proverbial hot dogs and apple pie. But these are not the real Native American who inhabited these lands. Ohiyosa, 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


2. Fuller entries for books discussed and rev be found in the accompanying bibliography, quoted or used as authority is it footnote.


5. N. Scott Momaday, House Made of Dawn (New Vine Deloria, Custer Died for Your Sins (N.

7. Charles Eastman, The Soul of the Indian (W.
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ed as such.

   (Boston, 1972); Leo B. Kneer, ed., America Reads, 6 vols. (Glenview,
   (Menlo Park, California, 1974).
2. Fuller entries for books discussed and reviewed in this paper will
   be found in the accompanying bibliography. Only when a source is
   quoted or used as authority is it footnoted.
BIBLIOGRAPHY


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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 as a method of developing awareness.

While the first four essays in this section provide historical perspective, the Wilson Moses contribution shifts to a more contemporary perspective. The quest for self-improvement and nationalism are linked to the problem of individual identity. Elizabeth Parker's essay takes an active role in examining the development of racial pride "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 an educational dimension to the essay, discussing the ways in which educational programs in the context of a specific identity of the Black student and the bi-cultural experience in America suggest significant parallels of Native-Americans, Latinos, and other racial minorities. The temporary emphasis of this essay brings the history to the present, and the reader can see that Shakespeare's "You than any other hue..." (see Williams' essay) is a potent phrase than "Black is beautiful"; and in the context of both Blacks and whites. The existence of the phrases would be important and awareness among both Blacks and whites.
Part III

THE AFRO-AMERICAN EXPERIENCE

in this section deal with a variety of approaches to identity and awareness in the minority experience. Past and contemporary efforts are discussed in ways that parallel and differ from the questions of identity, past and present. The range and scope of the essays suggest the importance of the questions, past and present, within the minority experience. As noted in the Introduction, in his important essays, the emphasis is on the negative side, as developed by the English. The theme is seen in the essay by Roger Whitlow and the essays by Nicholas J. Karolides, both of which examine the mulatto tradition in literature, a theme explored by Williams. The essay by Nicholas J. Karolides brings the question of identity and awareness in a literary sense to contemporary times. Adolescent literature is viewed as a method of developing awareness and self-identity.

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.
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 necessary.1

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, increasingly interested in distant lands and the were especially interested in Africa because of notions of Africa and Africans did not, of course, during the sixteenth century.2 But books of the period served as fuel for already fired-up distributed greatly to a widespread fixation of many blacks.

In 1555 William Waterman published The Fard contaiining the auncient manners, customes and the inhabiting the two parts of earth called Affrick. Jones described the effect of this work:

The effects of the Fardle of Facions was not to the world, but rather give currency to old stori book does for Africa. . . . Occasionally an old story by the addition of some new detail or a rather of the Icthiophagi, we learn that after the uppon their women, even as they come to hande wit . . . " 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.1

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.2 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 auncient manners, customes and the lawes of the peoples enhabiting 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 Icthiophagi, we learn that after their meals "they falle uppon their women, even as they come to hande withoute any choyse. . . ." This had of course been less vividly said before. Passages

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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.)

Also in 1555 Richard Eden published (along with his translation of Peter Martyr'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."

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."5

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 the full portrait of a Moor."6 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 Th...."

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

With the above background in mind, we will examine Shakespeare's treatment of black men--Aaron and Othello--and the extent he makes use of the stereotypic notions and characterizations of foreigners in general, but they seem to be present in the minds of Elizabethans during Shakespeare's time. Before beginning that examination, we will establish Shakespeare's fundamental conception of the black man. For if their basic roles in their respective plays do not go against the grain, then anything we say about them can easily become history. Levin, in The Power of Blackness--a study of the romanticism in the writings of Poe, Melville, and
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"... famous battle of Alcazar in which the young Portuguese king
Sebastian perished along with the flower of Portuguese youth, and in
which the almost legendary Englishman captain Thomas Stukeley lost his
life. In the historical accounts of the battle Muly Hamet was the vil-
 lain of the piece. The son of a Negro mother, he was known as 'the
black king,' and was represented as luring an innocent king to his
death in the deserts of Africa. ... Peele's play must have done a
good deal to fix the stereotype of 'Moor.'"7

From the foregoing, one may deduce that the images of Africans
mirrored in the minds of Englishmen during Shakespeare's time were
highly unfavorable. During that time Englishmen held rather low opin-
ions of foreigners in general, but they seem to have held a special
contempt for the people they called Moors. They were also highly
contemptuous of Italians, Jews, and Turks.

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
goes against the grain. Before beginning that examination, we must
establish Shakespeare's fundamental conception of these two characters;
for if their basic roles in their respective plays are not made clear,
then anything we say about them can easily become muddled. Harry
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.'"8

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

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 Caucas. (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, v, 17)

But, as later events in the play reveal, Aaron business in plotting revenge, manage to squeeze Venus. Proof lies in the birth of his son by T

Aaron is not simply speaking in the guise of Tamora that he "never hopes [for] more heaven than rests in the
Throughout the play Shakespeare explodes the notion that was not held in their favor—because, for certain were not Christian. That Aaron is atheist dialogue which follows his avowal to Lucius that ing about the "wondrous" things he has performed swear that his child shall live.
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heart, and for thy soul's to meet alone with

Aaron is not simply speaking in the name of a lover when he tells
Tosca that he "never hopes [for] more heaven than rests" in her.
Throughout the play Shakespeare explores the notion that all blacks are
of course at the time were believed to be inferior, though
that was not held in their fate because, for the most part, they cer-
tainly were not Christian. That Aaron is at least is evident in the
dialogue which follows its arrival to Tosca that he will tell her nothing
about the "wicked" things he has performed unless she will
swear that she will not live.
there is a Christian cate-
ner—that will not constrict the humanity of any
human being can be a sinner."

In our discussion of Aaron, we have seen that
man and type side by side. His juxtaposition of
and as a type is much more elaborate and intrica-
is in Titus. Shakespeare creates dramatic tensio-
the major characters voice the various stereotypi-
and by letting Othello’s true nature belie the no
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Therefore than shalt this

god soever it be,

ast in reverence,
hish and bring him up;

ought to thee. (V, i, 71-75)

is that his son will live, Aaron summarizes all.

he certainly lives up to the notion that Moors.

it is he who instructed Hasarius and Chiron to

Bassianus. He wrote the letter and planted the

Titus' sons in Bassianus' order. He played the

and cuckolded actions. After Aaron recants

Lucius asks him, "Are the not wrong for them

123). Aaron replies, "Were that I had not done

i, 124). Yet, by all at that we cannot accept

about Aaron: "Aaron the Moor is the kind of

character there are, in our world, and whose

meant, therefore, one act be felt horrible. They do not violate his

nature for there is no nature in him." Although Van Doren does not

explicitly say so, the implication is that he sees Aaron as a morality

figure, there is none 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

enemies. Aaron is certainly no more inhumane than the other characters

and Lucius is not to be excepted. Lucius, who was supposed to bind up

the wounds of the state, decrees that Aaron be planted breast-deep in

the earth and starved to death and that Tamora's corpse be thrown to

the birds of prey. Shakespeare, even in this early play, was not con-

tent to deal with types, but with men. Suffice it to say here, that if

Shakespeare is the great Christian moralist that many critics would

have us believe he is, "there is a Christian category--that of the sin-

ner--that will not constrict the humanity of anyone, because only a

human being can be a sinner."11

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
It appears that the text is a part of a literary analysis or commentary on Shakespeare's play. The passage discusses the character Iago and his portrayal of Othello as a character who has made Desdemona a 'cuck.' It also mentions the interaction between Othello and Brabantio, where Othello refuses to use his weapons even when Brabantio and others brandish their swords at him.

The text is a continuation of the analysis, discussing the relationship between Othello and Desdemona, and the nature of their subsequent actions. The passage highlights the way Iago manipulates Brabantio and the audience's perception of Othello's character and actions. It concludes with a verse that suggests Othello has made a serious mistake in trusting Desdemona.

The text is part of a larger work that provides a critical analysis of Shakespeare's 'Othello.'
Lago tells Iago that Othello is a proud man, 

Iago tells Iago that Othello is a proud man to the great ones who interfered on his behalf, 

Iago tells Iago that Othello is unable to defend his choice the "great one" with bombastic phrases "Horribly of war" (I, i, 14). Othello, as we shall see, is 

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Iago tells Iago that Othello is unable to defend his choice the "great one" with bombastic phrases "Horribly of war" (I, i, 14). Othello, as we shall see, is
And I a heavy interim shall support
By his dear absence, let me go with him. (I, iii, 249-260)

Othello very quickly seize 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 see 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 indig and base adversities
Make head against my vitiation! (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 him "defunct" is Shakespeare's invention.

Yet, when Othello and Desdemona are united in neutral territory, Othello shows that his love 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, ii, 310-311).

Shakespeare does not predispose Othello to become jealous into him, via Iago, of course. Stoll is absolute.

"There can be no question, for those who either hearken to critical authority, of Othello's lack 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 in the story, the hero included." 13

Indeed, Shakespeare is so careful not to predispose that when he actually does become jealous, Desdemona's body is very important in fact, Iago's allegation that Desdemona has given puts Othello "into a jealousy so strong/ That ju (II, i, 310-311).

We may add that Alakespeare wanted to repudiate that notion too, because "the young affects" in him "defunct" is Shakespeare's invention.
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."¹³

Indeed, Shakespeare is so careful not to predispose Othello to jealousy that, when he actually does become jealous, Desdemona cannot perceive it through 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 cruses. And, but my noble Moor
In true of mind and made of no such baseness
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, 25-30)

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. 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 one has 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 a wedding night, as Othello does, have to emphasize officials that he will not "scant" their grace "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 relations are made they should be made on the basis of themselves. Employing that method is still the best. 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, p we must never forget that he was first and fore wrote for a living. Yet, as shown implicitly we must remember that Shakespeare was well imitator of the success of others. In treating hatred and miscegenation, he creates a dramatic
has done analyses of the major characters in imagery which the characters themselves used. His hello's imagery falls into two distinct categories: poetic and the bestial. The beast imagery parallels never uses it until his mind has been poisoned by lofty imagery is never completely abandoned, but longly after Othello recognizes Iago's plot. Thus, free and open nature is transformed by jealousy, 'her which doth mock/ the meat it feeds on' (III, iv, 25-30) of Othello's character lies disposed to jealousy; his free and open nature is Iago is able to work his heinous plan so well. Care did not start out with a jealous man, he did secure one. Matthew Proser, in The Heroic Image, that Othello suffers from an inferiority conscious to his 'service to the state' as a shield and in defense of his reputation in his dying view. Moreover, a feeling of insecurity is prob- tant characteristic (other than physical ones), lo share. Their shared feeling of insecurity has nation, the result of their being black in an all 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 racial characteristics; yet as black has universal with evil, Shakespeare does well to make Aaron black. McCullough is right about the symbolic nature of black lore during Shakespeare's time supports his view:

"To the Elizabethan audience, the Moor was identified because of his color. Reginald Scott states in D. craft (1594) that 'Of all human forms that of a Moor is favorite one with demons.' Since the time of the traditional color of the devil on the stage had been first play of the York cycle, The Creation and the Devil after his fall, bemoans the change in his phrase from 'brightness' to 'blackkeste' (line 100)."16

But McCullough's explanation does not completely signify the significance of Aaron's blackness. He would have

"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 prejudice's portrayal of black men. "It is truly difficult to conceive that twentieth-century race consciousness in the thinking of Shakespeare and the Elizabethan McCullough says is true, then why does Shakespeare Act IV in Titus Andronicus with abusive racist ди

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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.15
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 Witch-
craft (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 'blackkeste' (line 100)."16

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."17
He does not think that there are overtones of racial hatred in Shakes-
peare'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."18 If what
McCullough says is true, then why does Shakespeare thicken Scene Two of
Act IV in Titus Andronicus with abusive racist dialogue--bandied 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
Both 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—'t is 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" is at best only a half magnification of the racial problem has happened time, simply if for no other reason than the fact both the contemned and contemners has increased the race concept is only incidental to Shakespeare is a gross exaggeration of the facts, both hist. We may gain some notion of the Elizabethan's se by the action Queen Elizabeth took against them. There were so many Negroes in London by 1601 th to be "discontented at the great number of 'Neg which are crept into the realm since the troubl and the King of Spain," and for her to appoint Zeuden, merchant of Lubeck, to transport them o Statements that Shakespeare and his fellow dram what Moors or Negroes looked like merely ignore evidence. This excerpt implies that Elizabeth's actions was than racially oriented, but the political impli sarily negate racism since the popular lore, bo theory of the humors had already conditioned at

The last sentence of the above passage is reasons. First, underscoring it fulfills my pr of this paper to show that Shakespeare probably observe blacks. Second, it conveniently leads the attempts of some critics to change Othello's racial identity. The words of McCullough are i
vinaigre, and Bassianus chide Tamora for her a in language which indicates that they are not the fact that Saturninus is being cuckolded, but f the one who is doing the cuckolding: ence, gentle Empress, a goodly gift in horning, t your Moor and you try experiments. and from his hounds today! take him for a stag. en, your swarth Cimmerian f his body's hue, d abominable. ed from all your train, snow-white goodly steed, o an obscure plot, a barbarous Moor, t conducted you? eceived in your sport, noble lord be rated you, let us hence, even-colored love. purpose passing well. (II, iii, 66-34, emphasis mine)

modern-day Negrophobia"¹⁹ is at best only a half-truth. No doubt some magnification of the racial problem has happened since Shakespeare's time, simply if for no other reason than the fact that the number of both the contemned and contemners has increased. To say, however, that the race concept is only incidental to Shakespeare and the Elizabethan is a gross exaggeration of the facts, both historically and literarily. We may gain some notion of the Elizabethan's sentiment regarding blacks by the action Queen Elizabeth took against them:

There were so many Negroes in London by 1601 that Elizabeth had cause to be "discontented at the great number of 'Negars and blackamoors' which are crept into the realm since the troubles between her highness and the King of Spain," and for her to appoint a certain Caspar Van Zeuden, merchant of Lubeck, to transport them out of the country.

Statements that Shakespeare and his fellow dramatists did not know what Moors or Negroes looked like merely ignore the available evidence.²⁰

This excerpt implies that Elizabeth's actions were politically rather than racially oriented, but the political implications do not necessarily negate racism since the popular lore, books of travel, and the theory of the humors had already conditioned attitudes towards blacks.

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 color 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.

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 changed from brown to black. Yet in 1941 G. L. Kittredge asserted unequivocally Moorish noble of royal lineage... Shakespeare oriental.

Let us now return to Bradley to get to the attempts to bleach Othello, but not Aaron:

No one who reads Titus Andronicus with an open mind can say that Othello was, in our sense, black; and he appears to be. The horror of most American critics (Mr. Furness at the idea of a black Othello is very amusing, an highly instructive. But they were anticipated, I think Coleridge, and we will hear from him. "No doubt D'Othello's visage in his mind. Yet, as we are convinced as an English audience was disposed in the seventeenth century, it would be something monstrous to imagine a beautiful Venetian girl falling in love with a very dark man, which Shakespeare does not appear to have in mind."

Ah, there's the rub! Had Tamora merited the sympathy of all, she would argue a disproportionateness, a want of balance... which Shakespeare does not appear to have in mind.

Could any argument be more self-destructive? It does Brebantio "something monstrous" to conceive his daughter...
that the question of whether Othello's marriage to Desdemona was a love match or mere convenience. It is also possible that the tragic end of the play could be interpreted as a lesson on the consequences of racial prejudice.

Let us now turn to the story of Othello, the Moor, and his wife Desdemona. The following passage critiques the traditional portrayal of Othello as a black Moor and suggests that such a portrayal is not without merit. The author argues that Shakespeare's portrayal of Othello is a commentary on the ideas of his time, and that the character's choices were not necessarily his own. The author also notes that the modern audience may find Othello's story shocking, but suggests that it is a reflection of the society in which Shakespeare lived.

This modern audience may be shocked by the historical context of the play, but it is impossible that the author of Othello would have been able to conceive his own play in such a way.

17
I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . .

She knows what she is doing, and she knows it for the sake of her own firmness and clarity that astonishes her father. The regret with which Cinthio's heroine was shaken signaled the trap door never occurs to Shake-

That I did love the Moor to live with him, My downright violence, and storm of fortune

and I loved the Moor to live with him, and so she repined upon her mistake:

Even to the very quality of my lord.

I saw Othello's visage in his mind. . . .
the marriage contract signed between the leaders of two noble houses, Coleridge said, is not to the point at all, and he argued:

"The marriage contract is not to the point at all. It is not the union of two noble houses, but the union of two individuals. The marriage contract is not the correct form of the marriage. It is not the correct form of the union. It is not the correct form of the relationship. It is not the correct form of the love." (I, iii, 240-253)
I, a sated wit, have not the patience to endure a hint of your insolent insolence. If thou wilt needs use delusion any time dreaming, take all the mauthomatic and a fool's way between an erring ball public function be not too hard for my wits and a thou shalt enjoy hence--therefore make merry. A poor self! It is clear out of the way. Seek thou rat compassing thy joy than to be drowned and go with

Though he seeks Iago's help in being able to do not really believe Iago's slanderous remarks. When Iago tells him that Desdemona loves Cassio, he must believe that in her. She's full of most ri, 284). Yet, he is willing to help Iago in order to a lieutenant because he foolishly believe 'another gaming to my service' (II, i, 284).

It is worth noting at this point that Iago believes that the marriage is based on lust. As so he wrack into another stock-storing sullienly (II, i, 284) filled with contradictions. He admits that Othello about her which will take her's son "a most dear k, still told Iago (II, i, 284-285) that Othello is

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...and by submitting love to "merely a lust of the blood and
impulse of the will" (I, iii, 336-338): She must change for youth. When she is sated with his body, she will
speak to the spirit of her choice. She must have change, she must—therefore put more in thy purse. If thou wilt needs damn thyself, do it in 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-
stitious Venetian be not too hard for thy wife 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,
336-338)

Though he asks for Iago's help in being able to enjoy her, Roderigo
does not really believe Iago's slanderous remarks about Deedemona.

When Iago tells him that Deedemona loves Cassio, Roderigo replies, "I
cannot believe that in her. She's full of most beastly condition" (II,
1, 308-310). Yet, he is willing to help Iago in his plan to displace
him as Lieutenant because he foolishly believes that Iago will make
another answer to [his] desire" (II, i, 265).

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 gets into another erring soliloquy (II, i, 295-325), which is
tined with contradictions. He admits that Othello has a nobility
about him which will make Deedemona "a most dear husband," although he
still tells Roderigo (II, i, 307-309) that Othello is defective in all the
qualities for that role. Yet, it may lies to himself long enough and
his position. Upon Iago's suggestion, Cassio at his reinstatement. When he does, Iago plants the
mind that Desdemona wishes him reinstated so the serve her lust (cf. II, III, 359-363). Iago is
not believing, his charge because he knows that sex life. Because he is loose in that respect,
hear the device by which Othello is given the "believe Desdemona has been false to him (cf. IV

To conclude our discussion of the outside tragedy in Othello, let us return briefly to Br at two ways in which Iago utilizes his charges craft to seduce Desdemona. Iago reiterates the
to achieve two things—to get Roderigo to aid h and to keep Roderigo both his fool and his purp. Iago, however, is the admonition Brabantio give 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, Iago is present when these words are spoken; he transformation scene (III, iii) to work some wi. the potion contains only one ingredient--his skin

Brahantio's words seem to be echoing in Iag transformation scene:

Iago. Look to your wife. Observe her well with near your eye thus; not jealous, nor secure.
I would not have your free and noble nature
why doth Iago "lure" one of his playmates into believing Desdemona wishes her husband 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, 1).

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.

_Look to your eye thus, not jealous, nor scorn: I would not lose your free and noble nature._
I swear 'tis better to be much abused
Than to know 't a little. (ll. 335-337)
Villain, be sure thou prove my love a whore,
Be sure of it, give me the ocular proof. (ll. 328-329)
The black magic that Iago works in the transformation is not only favorable, but very objective as well. No one who has read Othello with Shakespeare's artistry and with careful attention that Othello is anything except noble and heroic, crudely portrayed when compared to Shakespeare's other characters. There certainly no more ignoble than they. To be sure, as much, if not as much, humanity as his later characters.
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black, he used only a few words which are the current expression, "black is beautiful," seen in print: "Real-black is better than another kind in that it seems to bear another line" (IV, ii, 90-90, 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 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.39

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 "foul and so" (V, ii, 37-38), it seems that Shakespeare reference to his "deadly-standing eye" while he extol" (II, iii, 32 & 36) and Lucius' reference to an eyed slave" (V, i, 44). When the Nurse calls him "...the devil will ma (I, i, 38-91). When trying to convince Roderigo of winning Desdemona in spite of her beauty, Iago speaks of the couple in this manner:

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

Lucius refers to Aaron as "the incarnate devil"

Roderigo describes Othello's lips as thick

Aaron's "thick-lipped" (IV, ii, 175) son certain lips from Tamora. Moreover, Aaron calls his son and half thy dam" (V, i, 27). Nowhere in Othello's part is likened to a "black ill-favored fly" is associated with the devil, whose color, as traditionally black. Brabantio says that Othello's b 78). He himself says, "I am black" (III, iii, 2 erpart is likened to a "black ill-favored fly" pares himself to a "black dog" (1. 1, 122). Ema as a 'filthy bargain,' "gull," "igno 157 & 164). No reference is made to the texture
be reminded that Shakespeare was a race-indifferent playwright. When he referred to Aaron as "the incarnate devil" (V, i, 40), it seems that Shakespeare has in mind Aaron's reference to his "deadly-standing eye" while he is plotting "fateful execution" (II, iii, 32 & 36) and Lucius' reference to Aaron as a "Walled-eyed slave" (V, i, 44). When the Nurse calls the black child a "Devil" (IV, ii, 66) and "A joyless, dismal, black and sorrowful issue" (IV, ii, 59), she sounds like Iago telling Brabantio "an old black ram/ is tupping your white ewe/. . . the Devil will make a grandsire of you" (I, i, 88-89). 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, 227-228, emphasis mine)

Lucius refers to Aaron as "the incarnation 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, 71). 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" (IV, i, 122). Emilia describes Othello as a "filthy bargain," "foul," "vile," and "ignorant as dirt" (V, ii, 117-119). No reference is made to the texture of Othello's hair—
Aaron describes him as "woolly" (11, 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..."31 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.

FOOTNOTES


2. Mandeville's Travels, which Jones character significant publication in the realm of reg phy to be published in the fifteenth century Englishmen (for the first time on a large as of Prester John, a rich, white Christian kin Prester John was supposedly nine-hundred ye Travels was published, his longevity the res u "miraculous stream." Travels also helped that all Africans were black, despite the fa many Africans whose complexions approximated


4. Ibid., p. 11.
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evén when it diverges from the tradition, atten-
to associated ideas..." 11 There can be no
those who heed textual evidence and/or sound
Shakespeare draws heavily upon the prevailing
shness in his treatment of the themes of the
and passionate figure, racial hatred, and
and Othello.

FOOTNOTES

1. For a more detailed examination than I can give here of the
influence of travel literature on the African image, consult
Alfred Jones' Othello's Countrymen: The African in English Ren-
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,
1550-1312 (Chapel Hill, 1968). Jordan (pp. 1-43), because of the
nature of his study, gives a more extensive treatment to Renais-
sance 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 geogra-
phy 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.

4. Ibid., p. 11.
7. Ibid.
10. Shakespeare (Garden City, New York, 1939), p. 28.
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.
18. Ibid.
19. Ibid.
20. Jones, pp. 12-13. Auden, then, is right when of the flourishing slave trade "the Elizabethan innocents to whom a negro [sic] was simply..." Alienated City," Encounter, August, 1961, p. 23.
25. Ibid., p. 164.
27. Smith, Dualities, p. 31.
28. Shakespeare and the Allegory of Evil (New York, 1963), p. 79; I, iii, 60-63; and I, iii, 95-105). hold up, because as the Duke says, "To vouc..."
30. Ibid., p. 125.
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.


25. Ibid., p. 164.


27. Smith, Dualities, p. 31.


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."


31. Ibid., p. 125.
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 treat. The ambiguity is the logical product of relationship itself—a plethora of intersecting, indicting, and infrequently harmonious human desires and historical accidents. While some of these facts are not yet fully understood—or, as seems to remain rather badly misunderstood—a rapidly growing opinion among social theorists indicates that the lies very near the core of that historical tangle of relations." This fundamental position in race can no doubt, why the race-sexuality subject is one of the issues treated in American literature.

The issue of race and sexuality—usually the of black sexuality—is one which runs through both literary documents from virtually the beginning of American literature. "The Image of the Negro in Colonial Literature,"1 outlines that, though the first blacks in America were "slaves," because blacks were immediately "set apart" and never treated as the equal of the white settlers, assurances that the discriminatory word 'slave' was used to describe the Negro in the early decades of settlement are not present. About the portrayal of blacks in literature, Canto says, "colonial literature touching on the Negro is exp settlers viewed him as different and inferior."2
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," 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."
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."3

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
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man who is a pure-blooded Negro ... Perhaps the
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him, whether we would or not."

So there it bobbed up again. As it was among
class-conscious working class: the bugaboo of s
whether he is a poet or pugilist."4

McKay is right, of course; the critic's problem (first impulse) on the matter of "good taste," or
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first impulse in realizing that the book is by an American Negro is to
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So there it bobbed up again. As it was among the elite of the
class-conscious working class: the bugaboo of sex--the African's sex,
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McKay is right, of course; the critic's problem ("the ordinary reader's
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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 existing men functioning in society, as the Omnipotent Administrator and the Supermasculine Menial.\(^5\)

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-emasculation, 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 her man can still, by virtue of the sharp contrast in masculinity, be perceived as masculine."\(^6\) The female for the Ultrafeminine is the Subfeminine, the women classes who gradually assumes more and more of the femininity of the Ultrafeminine. The result of this transfer added to the Ultrafeminine's greater and greater self, is that the Subfeminine becomes a kind of doer, the Ultrafeminine becomes something of a sexual çı

While Cleaver's class-sex theory applies to arrangements, from European class structures to Pattems, it is particularly informing to note its correspondence to the history of the relationships between race and sex revealed in both the social theory and the literature of Americans. Put simply, Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator becomes the white male; the Supermasculine Menial becomes the Ultrafeminine becomes the white female (especially female); and the Subfeminine becomes the black female.

Adding to Cleaver's foundation theory, the contributions of researchers, psychologists and psychiatrists, and American authors of fiction, drama, poetry, and the history of the relationships between race and sex revealed in both the social theory and the literature of Americans. Put simply, Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator becomes the white male; the Supermasculine Menial becomes the Ultrafeminine becomes the white female (especially female); and the Subfeminine becomes the black female.

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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 her-
self, 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 sys-
tems, 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
gale); 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 good 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 vigil have to be away a lot of nights, you know—and I taught her how to use it, too."

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, the 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 sexual performance. At this point it becomes potent Administrator, or the white male, to invent a barrier against black male/white female sexual activity. Baldwin's characters with a variety of legal and social devices, all of which were formulated, legislated, and enforce in part, confirms the theory that white men have been aimed at preventing interracial sexual activity from being initiated by either blacks or whites. The conscious that the black sexual "threat" myths, which almost solely responsible for establishing, may, as much titillation in white women as terror.
What are the fundamental differences between the relationship between the black man/white woman relationship and the black woman/white man relationship? 

These must be answered before the others are. The pentum which drives forward many of the race-isms from the social projections of the white supremacy Cleaver's Omnipotent Administrator suddenly has created, in the Supermasculine Menial, the destruction—the mindless body which can, as perform indefatigably those basic human acts: mind, has largely lost the capacity for. Hence, He must now, through rationalization and subversion which either diminish his need for racial performance or diminish the Supermasculine or access to, sexual performance—at least with him, the white male's persistent diatribes against the male to the white woman appears historically to lead to the white woman at least as much fascinate as Mister Charlie, James Baldwin recreates American race-sex relations when the character of white women about the dangers of black men: you're married and all the women in this room you've seen your husband without no clothes on—woman without no clothes on? No, I guess you don't like a white man, Mrs. Britten.

Ellis: Mrs. Britten, if you was to be raped by an orangoutang out of the jungle or a stallion, couldn't do you no worse than a nigger. You wouldn't do no good for nobody. I've seen it.

George: That's right.

Ralph: That's why we men have got to be so vigilant. I tell you, I have to be away a lot of nights, you know—and I bought Susan a gun and I taught her how to use it, too.7

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 may, indeed, be true, he becomes neurotically concerned with his own sexual performance."8 At this point it becomes necessary for the Omnipotent Administrator, or the white male, to enforce the psychological barrier against black male/white female sexual intimacy reflected by Baldwin's characters with a variety of legal and extra-legal barriers. It is interesting to note that most of the legal barriers—virtually all of which were formulated, legislated, and enforced by white males—have been aimed at preventing interracial sexual and/or marital activity from being initiated by either blacks or whites—a fact which, in part, confirms the theory that white men have historically been conscious that the black sexual "threat" myths, which they have been almost solely responsible for establishing, may, in fact, have caused as much titilation 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") and thereby simultaneously voided similar laws in sixteen other states as well. 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. The following year Virginia enacted a law prescribing a heavy fine for "any christian [who] shall commit fornication with a negro man or woman." 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." 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 anyon 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 we such a judgment, short of the accused's own test mother, the laws provided no guidelines." This matter of defining what is "black," it appeared in both serious and humorous literature and it is pointed out, rather amusingly, in the Schuyler's satiric novel, Black No More: "This by all Caucasians in the great republic who can track ten generations and confidently assert that there twigs, limbs or branches on their family trees." In addition to the white-male-designed sexual white-male-legislated sexual laws, the white Amer a plethora of "extra-legal barriers" for the pred sexual activity of the black male/white female ki nizing that his myths have caused considerable fa male sexuality and that certainly one of his fund creating a strong anti-miscegenation legal networ always many more laws barring interracial marria racial sexual activity) was the unspoken fear that to be trusted in matters of interracial relationsh 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" and thereby simultaneously sixteen other states as well. 

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Racial sexuality, in short, was very high. Both miscegenation laws were aimed primarily at pre-marrying white women. The fines ranged $5,000 (Kentucky), and penalties of imprisonment (10 years (Mississippi, Indiana, Florida, he notes, incidentally, the legal difficulty of ly constitutes being "black": wording of the individual states' statutes shows ong the white lawmakers about precisely what the s. The prohibition of marriage of a white to a 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."

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."

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 recogni-zing 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 inter-racial sexual activity) was the unspoken fear that white women were not to be trusted in matters of interracial relationships (after all, mar-riage is nearly always a voluntary relationship), the white man set out physically to eliminate the possibility of "violation of his white..."
warnan. 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 paranoid, 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 paranoid 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, ver sexual mutilation has been in evidence in such in both historical and literary accounts. (As in his novel, The Color and Their Friends, the northern penalty for "amalgamation" was, inquently simply mob shooting or beating.) Far a simply describing the inhuman details of the Lynch, Richard Wright does it brilliantly in what is prary work, a poem titled "Between the World and I have attempted to explain the far-reaching cult Claude McKay, for example, in his short poem ti says:

"His spirit in smoke ascended to high heaven. His father, by the cruellest 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 'er the swinging char. Day dawned, and soon the mixed crowds came to vi 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
It seems the most convincing explanation for the untable fact that, especially in the American south, so frequently accompanied the lynching of other things, the hanging, burning, and mutilation, while it satisfied a white-male sexual insecurity improperly termed paranoiac, required a rationale so literally millions of individuals of their justifications was what Laurence A. Baughman calls the "same title," Baughman explains that the rape of a black man was extremely rare prior to Reconstruction, yet more common even after that stormy period, ever, as Baughman points out, had virtually an allegation of rape—an allegation, not surprisingly by white men who assumed the frequency of white women who presumably would have been its rationale (or, as was far more often the case, itonale) established, however, bands of white of Christian, patriotic, and masculine guises—nightmares, as well as daydreams, highlighted visions of black and white genital in union—set male sexuality by literally denying black men's reasons, explains why thousands of black men, especially 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 Caries 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 lynching 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."
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"17--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 Eldridge Cleaver. In his novel Dem, Kelley treats the rather unlikely subject of "superfiecundation" a woman with spermatozoa from two men within a she causing twins, each the product of a different father. Kelley's Mrs. Pierce, one of the fathers is Mr. P. Mrs. Pierce's black lover--hence, when born, one is black and one is white. Mr. Pierce, having found himself maneuvered by the power of black sexuality, reverts at the close of the novel as he "sank down deep in and, on his side, his eyes closed and his hands on his thighs, he filled the darkness with fantasies."18 The Black Eunuchs," Cleaver has "the Infidel" description of white male sexuality--in which the white potent Administrator no longer capable of being the performer for his female, can at least be the prov ecstatic:

"There is a sickness in the whites that lies at the madness and this sickness makes them act in many different ways. There is one way it makes some of them act that set everything we know about whitey and shakes many beliefs. There are white men who take their wives.... There is a certain type who will wife alone and tell you to pile her real good.... some who like to peep at you through a keyhole and a woman.... "19

Interestingly, in such an arrangement the white male maintain his Omnipotent Administrator position--that
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a woman with spermatozoa from two men within a short period of time,
causing twins, each the product of a different father. In the case of
Kelley's Mrs. Pierce, one of the fathers is Mr. Pierce, the other is
Mrs. Pierce's black lover—hence, when born, one of the twins is black,
and one is white. Mr. Pierce, having found himself constantly out-
maneuvered by the power of black sexuality, reverts to fetal security
at the close of the novel as he "sank down deep into the hot water,
and, on his side, his eyes closed and his hands clamped between his
thighs, he filled the darkness with fantasies." In "The Allegory of
the Black Eunuchs," Cleaver has "the Infidel" describe another manifes-
tation of white male sexuality—in which the white man, though as Omnipotential
Administrator no longer capable of being the fulfilling sexual
performer for his female, can at least be the provider of her sexual
ecstasy:

"There is a sickness in the whites that lies at the core of their
madness and this sickness makes them act in many different ways. But
there is one way it makes some of them act that seems to contradict
everything we know about whitey and shakes many blacks up when they
first encounter it. . . . There are white men who will pay you to fuck
their wives. . . . There is a certain type who will leave you and his
wife alone and tell you to pile her real good. . . . Then there are
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 mythi-
cal, 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 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 clime. 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 Ca

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The question about race and sexuality in America, of the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses of black men?" has been partly answered in the discussions and manifestations of white-male paranoia on the white female sexual relations—the insecurity of her position, laws, and vigilante repression so widely written. The white female responses to the idea of intimacy, as reflected in American literature at first, have been ambivalent ones, and the attraction/repulsion sexual impulses 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

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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. 21

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 desexed 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."22

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 kitchen alone together in a guest bedroom upstairs... stepped out of her underthings, Paula threw her arm around me. Her voice was intimate, warm and husky in my ear. 'Go easy with me,' she whispered. 'I understand about black men, make Negro men so much better—the way you tear in..."

Well. Another one of those. As a matter of a little unsure of myself at that moment, and my boudoir at that stage of my life was not impressive...

"Her tongue darted into my ear. Then she bit, 'pretend,' she said, 'that this is a rape.'

As it turned out, all I had to do was penetrate her hair. Almost immediately, her body stiffened; she bit her fingernails, moaned and quivered violently. I, as I was getting started. Her vivid imagination potent than any expertise at my command."23

An added dimension of white female attraction sexuality which is not revealed in the motivation of Hotchkiss—though it certainly may have been present—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 "haughtiness factor," intensified by Victorian sense of sex guilt, which, at least until appears to have been commonplace in American women.
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And later--after some furtive necking in the kitchen--we wound up
alone together in a guest bedroom upstairs. . . . As soon as she stepped out of her underthings, Paula threw her arms around my neck. Her voice was intimate, warm and husky in my ear. "You don't have to go easy with me," she whispered. "I understand about the things that make Negro men so much better--the way you tear into a woman like an animal."

Well. Another one of those. As a matter of fact, I was feeling a little unsure of myself at that moment, and my experience in the boudoir at that stage of my life was not impressively extensive. . .

Her tongue darted into my ear. Then she bit the lobe. "Let's pretend," she said, "that this is a rape."

As it turned out, all I had to do was penetrate Paula's pubic hair. Almost immediately, her body stiffened; she clawed my back with her fingernails, moaned and quivered violently. It was all over just as I was getting started. Her vivid imagination had been much more potent than any expertise at my command." 

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-punishment. In fact, one may cogently theorize that one of the chief 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 satiated 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 seduces, 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 the room 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."

Leslie, then, in the climactic throes of masochistic pleasure [and guilt] by mentally transforming her gable lover into a black man. An interesting transformation fantasy is found, incidentally, in "Going to Meet the Man," in which Jesse, the man described earlier as he came to perverted sexual employment a lynching, finds that to achieve sexual fulfillment, he creates fantasies about mutilation of 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, just on, sugar, and love me just like you'd love a nigger.

There have been numerous recent attempts to historical literature in which highly contemporary sexual behavior have been imposed upon characters 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.26 To the
rest of both pleasure and pain. The pleasure-psychical fulfillment which Cleaver describes, of perverse joy which often accompanies per-cultural identification as "evil," and together fur-sations, with the satisfaction of "revenge" for wrongs, perpetrated by her white husband or lover, on the other hand, can result from a personal sense can be inspired by innumerable past acts or, by both the guilt about her sexual appetite itself of having that appetite sated by an individual dictated to be inferior to her.

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[... Was she not now served as she loved it, by this man "disguised as black? Nigger, she gloated silently, oiling her hands with the sweat of his back."

Leslie, then, in the climactic throes of masochistic abandon, seeks her ultimate pleasure [and guilt] by mentally transforming her indefati-gable lover into a black man. An interesting variation of this racial-transformation fantasy is found, incidentally, in Baldwin's short story "Going to Meet the Man," in which Jesse, the middle-age white man described earlier as he came to perverted sexual maturity while watch- ing a lynching, finds that to achieve sexual fulfillment he must, in addition to creating fantasies about mutilation, mentally transform himself into a black man. Then, in a powerful admission about the nature of his own sexual needs, as well as those of his white wife, "he thought of the morning and grabbed her, laughing and crying, crying and laughing, and he whispered, as he stroked her, as he took her, 'Come on, sugar, I'm going to do you like a nigger, just like a nigger, come on, sugar, and love me just like you'd love a nigger.'"

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.
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.]


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 unwhiteness with superiority and blackness with in understandably enough, just as a part of many white 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 for Sophie was still a white woman and the daughter still the head of Falconhurst, a member of that we hoped to enter—a white world which had been as fown as earth from heaven. He was only Drummage, b Maxwell, with the blood of Maxwells and Hammonds.

While Kyle Onstott is a white novelist, some been expressed by black social theorists and auth
laid by the slave Gabriel and his followers, acted the element of sado-masochistic sexuality toward Lucy Prosser. The rather \textit{disinterested} sexual superman, and Lucy nymphomaniac: not to come tonight. Please, say you'll really come early and stay late if you much me; I'll come early and stay late if you death of you. I can't even stand the smell of you. Even when you're getting undressed don't, to see your face until it's too black out for what you look like. Remember when you used to go on and on because you when you kissed me until my body was bruised or when I had to beg you to stop because the. \textit{[She tries to touch him again.]}\textsuperscript{27}

She felt by black males such as Gabriel to any attempt to answer the third race-at lies at the base of the attraction/retribution

sexual impulses of black men toward white women?" The attraction is not difficult to understand. It is, in fact, the other side of the sexual coin from the "repulsion" aspect of white female response to black male sexuality—both impulses are the logical product of a culture which for three and a half centuries has unequivocally equated whiteness with superiority and blackness with inferiority. And so, understandably enough, just as a part of many white female impulses toward black men is based upon the awareness of "debasement," so at least a part of many black male impulses toward white women is based upon an awareness of "elevation." This black male attitude is articulated by the character Drummage in Kyle Onstott's novel \textit{Master of Falconhurst} (1964) [one of the "Mandingo" series], who, during Reconstruction on an Alabama plantation, describes his feelings about the child—his child—which Sophie, the late master's daughter, is carrying:

"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!'\textsuperscript{28}

While Kyle Onstott is a white novelist,\textsuperscript{29} 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."²⁰

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, silkey 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 wear white woman's dirty drawers."³¹

The "retribution" aspect of the ambivalent retribution impulse toward white women seems more than the well-documented "attraction" aspect. A way to approach this impulse to punish is to examine exploitation in the historical victor-conquered. In *Women in White America* (1972), the editor, Gerda Lerner, 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 helplessness and any other conceivable act."³²

Certainly the history and literature treat the defeated nation by victorious military forces as useful to bring that military analogy to bear on the sexual abuse heaped upon the conquered. The actions of the sexual abuse heaped upon the conquered defeats 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 is to understand the possibilities for cultural revenge and voluntary interracial sexual encounters. Let's consider: "There was a time when the rape of a white woman was unknown throughout the South. During the entire slavery, it did not, for all practical purposes,
I grow up in the South, the light-skinned Negro, the mulatto—incites awe. The white woman is a boy I was, to say the least, confused. As I try 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 of the taboo surrounding her—there arises a sociosexually induced predisposition for what is religious and beyond fulfillment. I worship her. I love her skin, her hair is like a goddess, a symbol. My love for a white woman's dirty drawers."

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."

Certainly the history and literature treating the occupation of a defeated nation by victorious military forces are alive with descriptions 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 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."

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." 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."  

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 th sexuality, are inextricably associated with American (southern) values, and, therefore, any assault on (even a voluntary "assault") has become, for many simultaneously an assault on the "ideals" which America And, unlike the black-revolution literature of authors Bontemps (Black Thunder, 1936), Imamu Baraka (The Styron (The Confessions of Nat Turner, 1966), Sam and Williams (Who Sat by the Door, 1969), and John A. Williams (Sons of Light, 1969), in which open go-for-broke made by blacks upon the actual physical institutional sexual assault allows, in addition the gratific culturally "forbidden fruit," the relative security 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 woman relationship and those operating in the black relationship?" Interestingly, in the first black novel, Clotel: or, The President's Daughter (1853)--a novel legend of Thomas Jefferson's quadroon daughters--in describing a slave auction at which Clotel (Jeff being sold, reveals that Clotel's value is enhancement as she reflects such fundamentally American a gentle temper, Christianity, and chastity.
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(even a voluntary "assault") has become, for many black males, simult-
aneously 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
sexual assault allows, in addition to the gratification of experiencing
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An interesting corollary of the white female-cultural values
equation emerges in any attempt to answer the final race-sexuality
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ences between the sexual impulses operating in the black man/white
woman relationship and those operating in the black woman/white man
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Clotel; or, The President's Daughter (1853)--a novel based upon the
legend of Thomas Jefferson's quadroon daughters--William Wells Brown,
in describing a slave auction at which Clotel (Jefferson's daughter) is
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:
"Cloete 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."

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 by society: "I know I am a whore at heart--society, and I know I am suitable only for casual sexual use." Bertha here reveals the devastating residue of a process like slavery, and later institutionalized female psyche. In their chapter titled "Achieving CAC" and Cobbs state: "In the world of women an abundance of narcissism is not only a cheerful attribute but a vital emotional well-being." But it is exactly this characteristic that Bertha has been denied.

The hundreds of thousands of Berthas have been the result of a conspiracy among white males--and tacit approval of white females. To make her conform to her social niche which was to be her lot, Bertha had a sense of feminine self-esteem which Grier felt was essential to sound emotional adjustment. She belonged to the master, as well as for his "cracker" neighbor, to the sexual gratification which he could not as a slave dared not request, at least not too often) with her. "Going to Meet the Man," Jesse, unable to perform with his wife, thinks: "He could not ask her to do just a little to help him out, just for a little while, the nigger girl to do it." Black females became, through which white male sexual fantasies could be satisfied, in the master's and cracker's twentieth-century counterpart.
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gentlemen? Real Albino, fit for a fancy girl for
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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."37
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
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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."39) 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." 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 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 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 p white people. With such a simplistic and inhuman only boundaries for the behavior, prejudices, and Lyle Britten's--attitudes and actions shaped by the sophistication and superiority and black animalism there is little reason to marvel at the legion ill debasement and bitterness recorded so tragically America.
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you know that.

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.41

And here is the crux of the entire race-and-sexuality issue in
America—the glib and simple vision of a nation of Lyle Brittens about
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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.


6. Ibid., p. 181.


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.


13. Ibid., p. 43.


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 shows that as many as one in five so-called white Americans have black ancestors.


20. Gross and Hardy, Images, p. 94.


22. Cleaver, Soul on Ice, pp. 185-6. In addition to the psychiatrist Dr. Frances Welsing, in a recent television confrontation ("Black Journal") with the white community, she and James Baldwin, James Baldwin, advanced the theory, based upon many other psychiatrists, that white women wish for darker skin pigmentation, and white men for lighter skin pigmentation.

FOOTNOTES

1. Excluded in the Seymour Gross and John E. Hardy, "Images of the Negro in American Literature" (Chicago, 1964), p. 94.


13. 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 number 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."


17. A more historically accurate and convincing account of Gabriel is found in Arna Bontemps fine novel, Black Thunder (1936).


The last stanza of the Langston Hughes poem ambiguous title "Cross" contains a succinct expression traditionally confronting the person of mixed racial heritage 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?

The fictionalized mulatto, torn between the races and society which divides itself primarily into the categories of white and black, is a character type integral for inner dramatic conflict, and a substantial amount has grown up around his attempts to find himself in the larger community from which he is estranged. The genetic "cross" he is forced to bear. In the transition from Hughes to the beginning of her first novel, Nella Larsen immediately signals her reader that she, like Hughes, is deeply interested in this same tradition, and it is against the "tragic mulatto" tradition that her novel should also be noted that Quicksand is a psychologically complex novel, and, as such, its action and interest center on the life of the heroine, Helga Crane, to an especially significant degree. Helga does in a physical sense is largely the way she thinks and feels. Any ultimate assessment of the novel then, hinges upon a detailed evaluation of the
The last stanza of the L'Angston 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 quatrains 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.
herself, as well as of the way in which she both resembles and differs from the "tragic mulattos" who precede her in Black fiction.

Hugh Gloster has suggested Réna Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnutt's *The House Behind the Cedars*, as a representative prototype of Helga Crane. 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 "T'te 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 American Civil War served as a leading black abolitionist, the role of novelist was a necessary one, serving as an advocate for the grievances and sufferings of the black Americans of her day. Nella Larsen, on the other hand, was a realist with a pronounced penchant for irony, a perceptive and well-mannered writer for all the quiet gentility of her mind. And, in the years prior to the American Civil War, Mrs. Harper was an upright and melodramatic stereotype of the "tragic mulatto," compelling female characters to emerge from the world of the novel. However, as Quicksand opens, Helga Crane, the issue of the marriage between a white Danish woman and a black man, the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which stands as a "monument to one man's genius and virtue," Naxos with a sense of mission worthy of Mrs. Harper's dream of black education that Iola pursued has been picturesit, a nightmare in which a respected institution learning is, in reality, a "machine" tolerating "individualisms" and systematically turning out you

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Suggested Rena Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnutt's The Conjure Woman, as a representative prototype for purposes of contrast, perhaps a better choice character in Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper's 1893 novel, Uplifted. Iola, like innumerable of her fictional children of a white planter and a quadroon, is physically indiscernable, and she is raised as a consequence of her father's untimely death in slavery. Of particular interest to us here, is her life. Rescued by the Union army, she is a medical student at the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which, like Tuskegee, stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vision." 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.

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 way in which she both resembles and differs from "those" who proceed her in Black fiction, suggests Rena Walden, the heroine of Charles W. Chesnutt's The Conjure Woman, as a representative prototype for purposes of contrast, perhaps a better choice character in Mrs. Frances E. W. Harper's 1893 novel, Uplifted. Iola, like innumerable of her fictional children of a white planter and a quadroon, is physically indiscernable, and she is raised as a consequence of her father's untimely death in slavery. Of particular interest to us here, is her life. Rescued by the Union army, she is a medical student at the black Southern college, Naxos, a school which, like Tuskegee, stands as a "monument to one man's genius and vision." 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. 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." Characteristically, however, Helga's happiness recedes and she begins to suffer again the old sense of "estrangement and isolation." 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. 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 nightclub, one of those places which respectable people, a "hell." Miss Larsen's choice of words here is Helga's descent into the nightclub is suggestive of descent into Hades. At first, Helga feels singsong. everyone around her until she is overcome by the "She was drugged, lifted, sustained, by the extraction, ripped out, beaten out, by the joyous, wild essence of life seemed bodily motion." Helga's own unconsciousness, the dark, irrational, her nature she associates with her black blood. music is broken and the dance (itself symbolic) her being, coldly rational and repressive, really she 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, beautiful light-skinned girl, Audrey Denney, in Anderson, himself now a refugee from Naxos, and of them together virtually hypnotizes Helga. She Audrey, filled with an "envious admiration" for described later in the novel as "poised, serene, effect foil to Helga, for she is in actuality all be. United with Anderson in the rhythm of the dance, as Helga's alter ego, for Helga has her desired a union with Dr. Anderson from the beginning of the two dancing together is an image of self-
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Helga and a group of friends go to a Harlem basement nightspot, one of those places which respectable people, she reflects, call a "hell." 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 in 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." 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." 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, 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."12 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."13 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 her heroine. Helga's fastidious revulsion over to vaudeville performers at the Circus gradually beca obsession for her as she realizes that the Danes, ishness, somehow understand the valuable emotive far to Black American cultural expression. Her reunique aspects of her heritage, however unconsci logical reconciliation with the figure of her err once hated for his desertion of her mother and her point that Helga feels a homesickness, not for Amthose same black people she came to Europe to esc it is during this same period that Helga rejects t white suitor, Olsen, ostensibly for reasons of rac

For Mrs. Harper's Iola Leroy, the refusal of a successful white man, with its implicit rejection of advantages of living in the white world, is present step in the direction of the heroine's ultimate sel "black" woman. Like Iola, Helga feels the tug of she drapes her refusal of Olsen's proposal in the But whereas Iola's act is the symbolic gesture of ter, Helga's act is governed by a complex set of lent attitudes appropriate to a character of her well-rounded dimensions. Iola Leroy belongs to a
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 undertones 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-fiancé 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, least for her inner turmoil and her inability to plugging 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 fall of one's Self, to understand and acknowledge one's emotions, is the precipitating cause behind the fall of the tragic figures in Western literature. One can be made for Quicksand as a tragedy of sorts seen, flees from the imperative of self-knowledge, dissatisfactions which arise from within her with 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 furry hope that she is at last on the road to finding herself in a life of faith. But the hope it was possible for Mrs. Harper's Iola to find it was possible for a man of her own race and in her devotion to the attempt to find meaning for her life in a similar merely another effort at escaping herself, an ef cally enough, she is lost once and for all. As
virtuous choice an easy matter, in spite of all the way by external circumstances. Helga, on the to a tradition of heroines represented by charac-ters Emma Woodhouse, Henry James' Isabel Archer, and Jane Bovary, ladies who are all-too-human in one d whose limited vision and lack of self-rate their decisions and influence their lives for Accordingly, Helga's refusal of Olsen's proposal, right be in an abstract sense, is presented as yet d instinctive reaction on her part. Behind there is the same fear and resentment, vanity, and ire to wound evident in Helga's earlier encounters and James Vayle, her ex-fiance from her days at f Helga's inner confusion and ambiguity of motive after her return to the black world of Harlem that ed married the Danish artist after all, simply of action would shock and punish her friend, irly resents for having married Dr. Anderson, the ftures in her own direction Helga had repulsed out feating petulance. In fact, the only "stable" sonality and of her consequent actions is her emo-d recurrent restlessness, her habit of taking f circumstances only to find herself dissatisfied Larsen implicitly suggests a naturalistic basis s at the core of Helga's problems. Her heroine is the product of an "unloved" and "unloving" childhood, 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 crippling 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. 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. 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 c 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 novel itself entails.

Nella Larsen's sensibilities are thoroughly world-view, "freedom," which is but another term for her heroine seeks, is not, as it was for Helga Leroy, simply a matter of education, economics, and race. It rather depends upon coming to authenticity, which tends increasingly to elude white and black. It results from a condition in which social and racial polarities around which the novel is structured in such a way as to suggest parallels between and despair peculiar to Helga's experience and that of Everyman; the alienation and self-uncertainties of blood become recognizable aspects of ourselves. American fiction, two white Southern writers, W. E. B. Du Bois in August and Robert Penn Warren in Band of Angels, write about the same thing. The success of their efforts, however, negates the remarkable accomplishments of Nella Larsen.
A Pleasant Green, a black fundamentalist preacher, is not overly fond of clean linen, the fas- Helga is trapped once again in the South she swore the frustrations of Naxos. Life immersed in a ek community in and of itself offers no solution fulfillment. Instead, it becomes, for Helga at e-in-death, and there is an almost Sophoclean the girl who boasted earlier in the novel that to bring black children into a world of poverty, discrimination now finds herself caught up on a ceaseless pregnancies, labors, births, and
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Their sexual union is indeed the fatalistic umancies, not of self-fulfillment. Quite to arrive at a satisfactory understanding of 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 world-view, "freedom," which is but another term for the "happiness" her heroine seeks, is not, as it was for Helga's prototype, Iola Leroy, simply a matter of education, economic security and civil liberties. It rather depends upon coming to authentic terms with the Self. Nor is a sense of selfhood, of identity, simply a consequence of deciding to be either white or black. It results from an inner psychic balance which tends increasingly to elude white and black alike. The racial polarities around which the novel is structured ultimately function in such a way as to suggest parallels between the inner tensions and despair peculiar to Helga's experience and the plight of contemporary man himself. I submit that Nella Larsen succeeds in transforming stereotype into credible symbol. In the character of Helga Crane, the tragic mulatto figure evolves into a representation of an existential Everyman; the alienation and self-uncertainties of the fictional mixed blood become recognizable aspects of ourselves. Later in the course of 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
Quicksand, like Miss Larsen's second novel, Passage, deserves more readers and more critical attention than it has heretofore received.

**FOOTNOTES**

4. Ibid., p. 7.
5. Ibid., p. 9.
6. Ibid., p. 95.
7. Ibid., p. 104.
8. Ibid., p. 121.
9. Ibid., p. 128.
10. Ibid., p. 129.
11. Ibid., p. 130.
12. Ibid., p. 221.
13. Ibid., p. 137.
15. Ibid., p. 63.
17. *Quicksand*, p. 102.
Miss Larsen's second novel, *Passing*, deserves critical attention than it has heretofore. 

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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.
17. *Quicksand*, p. 102.
IN THE MAINSTREAM OR THE BACK OF THE CHAPTER

by

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When Rosa Parks in 1955 refused to give up her seat in the back of the bus, she was challenging not just the Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott but also the entire social structure of segregation. Her action marked a beginning rather than an end. The particular incident ended in success: it broke the barrier of segregation in public transportation, thus opening the way to further changes.

There have been other starts, some false, some to dead ends, others opening on horizons. Other great challenges have been met with great awareness of the forgotten and broken on the land. But we should not be bemused by success. When measured against the humanistically disastrous changes, there are breakthroughs, one being our United States Supreme Court handed down its "all deliberate speed" ruling against segregated schools. Instead of speculating about the impression of treading water.

It is in this general context of humanistic change of social patterns and attitudes and the specific education that minority literature for adolescents has provided satisfaction both as to its nature and content and its potential impact. It is difficult if not impossible to assess but the availability and content of materials and thus to the
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
interactions and responses of renders 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."¹ 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.²

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 distortions, or omissions of important history."³ Books relating most closely to the present subject American heroes, represent but two Indians—Sequano. The second resource reviews college level American with regard to their inclusion of ethnic and race blacks, Chinese Americans, Indian Americans, Chi- Ricans. "Using the framework explicitly stated authors of these books, the reviewers have disclusions and culturally damaging omissions."⁴ Most minorities were inadequately represented in general represented with material which is demeaning, in- tering. The study of high school texts of NCTE Literature is revealing parallel patterns of omis-

This evidence suggests that one cannot rely on literature anthologies to accomplish such a goal representing our multi-ethnic, multi-cultural as the definition of the "world" or creating positive ethnic-racial individuals for themselves or others. created any sense of the inter-ethnic-conflicts, Certainly the simply literary task of representing of America will not be met either. At least until change we must turn to fiction. This is not sup for it is in the intensity of interaction with issues found in fictional literature that the a large measure of his learning about the world a
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tle of the situation is borne out by several other books and The American Indian by the American society, and Searching for America, a publication of of Teachers of English Task Force on Racism and of English. The former, which contains evalu-school textbooks, found "not one that could be able source of knowledge about the history and culture of the Indian people in America. Most contained misinformation, distortions, or omissions of Important history."3 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 inclu- sions and culturally damaging omissions."4 Members of non-white minorities were inadequately represented in general anthologies or were represented with material which is demeaning, insensitive, or unfla- tering. 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." 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 selections "normal" human interaction from the 1964 and 1971 editions that in the "Adventure" section of some 100 titles a minority-oriented books listed in either edition. In the "Sports" and "Interesting People" sections 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 Minority peoples, primarily blacks, do achieve great recognition in the "Sports" and "Interesting People" being from 10 to 15 percent. In "Sports" all but a phies. It is only in the "Man and Society" section representation is evident—from 22 to 36 percent—by attention is on blacks. Indians, Mexicans, and Ori inclusion. Comparably NCTE's *High Interest--Easy Re and Senior High School Students* includes only about titles in over 400 selections.

In this "back of the bus" situation, minority represented separate and unequal. Despite the work sialized bibliographies we should integrate minority general bibliographies as well so that these character place alongside white ones. This is especially likely that such a bibliography will be used to find special interests of readers. The student should expect to find minority characters in these categor bibliographers have some justification for omissions.
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that in the "Adventure" section of some 100 titles there are but two
minority-oriented books listed in either edition. In the "Family
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.
Minority peoples, primarily blacks, do achieve greater proportional
recognition in the "Sports" and "Interesting People" sections, this
being from 10 to 15 percent. In "Sports" all but one title are biogra-
phies. It is only in the "Man and Society" section that large scale
representation is evident—from 22 to 36 percent—but again the primary
attention is on blacks. Indians, Mexicans, and Orientals get minimal
inclusion. Comparably NCTE's High Interest—Easy Reading for Junior
and Senior High School Students includes only about forty minority
titles in over 400 selections.

In this "back of the bus" situation, minority literature is
presented separate and unequal. Despite the worth and need of the spe-
cialized bibliographies we should integrate minority materials in the
general bibliographies as well so that these characters can take their
place alongside white ones. This is especially necessary when it is
likely that such a bibliography will be used to find stories to match
special interests of readers. The student should be able to find and
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, 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 (by Harper Lee, 1960) for older audiences is essentially white view.

Books like Lorenz Graham's South Town (1958) Street (1946), and Gordon Parks' The Learning Tree exceptions among early books focusing as they do on the experiences and lives of blacks in a black community, disallow the white conflict but pose it from an urban setting's point of view. This new emphasis is strikingly evident in books set after 1965. The point of view is markedly black culturally within the black community or revealing of urban settings predominate--Harlem in Kristia Holm and Sister Lou (1968), Chicago in Ronald Fair's the rural South is represented in Sounder (by William and Jubilee (by Margaret Walker, 1966). The latter the Wind, represents a shift in time focus as well as books for adolescents set in a slavery environment.

Black point of view is represented variously (by Robert Lipsyte, 1967) several types of life are depicted from among which the hero must choose. Between (by Melissa Mather, 1967) the black conscious with that of a white family. In both of these boys the characters must come to terms with themselves with the white society. Similarly in Mary Vroman...
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view.

Books like Lorenz Graham's South Town (1958), Ann Petry's The
Street (1946), and Gordon Parks' The Learning Tree (1963) are key
exceptions among early books focusing as they essentially do on the
experiences and lives of blacks in a black community. They do not
disallow the white conflict but pose it from an internal point of view.

This new emphasis is strikingly evident in the books published
after 1965. The point of view is markedly black; the settings are usu-
ally within the black community or revealing of them. Contemporary
urban settings predominate--Harlem in Kristin Hunter's Soul Brothers
and Sister Lou (1968), Chicago in Ronald Fair's Hog Burcher (1966)--but
the rural South is represented in Sounder (by William Armstrong, 1969)
and Jubilee (by Margaret Walker, 1966). The latter, a black Gone With
the Wind, represents a shift in time focus as well--there are too few
books for adolescents set in a slavery environment.

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
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 Beetle Creek (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 Sounder 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 bibliography 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, evidence 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 Man expresses pathos. Both are drinkers: Joe is living most of his war hero status and youthful virility as alcoholic, escaping from his sense of loss and death; Hal Borland's When the Legends Die (1972), Thomas Running Standing (1971), and N. Scott Momaday's N. (1969) reflect the crisis of identity; their lives torn asunder by the divisive demands and counsel.

There are identity crisis books written about too, notably Oliver LaFarge's Laughing Boy (1929).
Mississippi-bred hero is finding himself as well as his life style and codes which are different from those (by William Demby, 1967) it is evident that tragic consequences relate to black-white tension. Primary focus is on his development and his role in society. In this light can also be seen such works as the Civil War novel, and Blueschild Baby, the Civil War novel, and Blueschild Baby, Streets novel (1970).

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Where (1971), to the integration conflict of Bella Rodman's Lions in the Way (1966) and social drama of Hog Butcher.

Fiction of the American Indian for adolescents is less widespread and fewer in number; however, it follows a generally comparable pattern. Bibliographies tend to list historical fiction, numerically emphasizing the pre-white period. Ms. Stensland's bibliography offers a considerably wider percentage of selections dealing with interracial contacts both historical and current. This deficiency results from the paucity of such materials though general bibliographers can do better than they have done, as Ms. Stensland proves.

Contemporary time settings though not always in the immediate present focus on culture conflict situations through the trials of its Indian protagonist. These, most of which were written in recent years for more mature audiences, evince the turmoil and frustration of the Indian caught between two worlds. But this is not to say that they are altogether identical. Dan Cushman's Stay Away, Joe (1968) evokes comedy amid struggle, while Mitchell Jayne's Old Fish Hawk (1971) expresses pathos. Both are drinkers: Joe is living high, making the most of his war hero status and youthful virility while Fish Hawk is alcoholic, escaping from his sense of loss and defeat. The heroes of Hal Borland's When the Legends Die (1972), Thomas Fall's The Ordeal of Running Standing (1971), and N. Scott Momaday's House Made of Dawn (1969) reflect the crisis of identity; their lives and psyches being torn asunder by the divisive demands and counsels.

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 utilise 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 Komantcia (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 pox ences. This does not bar integrated books, obvi which minority characters are in secondary or ba. Indeed, this is necessary to reasonably express a multi-ethnic society; more minority characters as literature.

Further, in addition to the individuality and characterization, it is necessary to provide a wideries, concerns and behaviors, while retaining the butes and aspirations that mark human intercourse of this criterion is the need for variety in set activities and situations. We cannot limit black or integration crises any more than Indians should campfire and the buffalo hunt. Books should not tactics in relation to social issues, nor should them. In short, an honest representation demands

The need to integrate bibliographies was not concluding point is to underscore the parallel curriculm materials. Again this is equally signifi tation to minority and non-minority students. Part mainstream and acceptance in it will become more sentation in it is the norm. Thus while speciali pertinence; even necessity, they seem to me to si
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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 experi-
ences. 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
characterisation, it is necessary to provide a wide range of personali-
ties, concerns and behaviors, while retaining those universal attri-
butes 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 cur-
riculum materials. Again this is equally significant in its applica-
tion to minority and non-minority students. Participation in the
mainstream and acceptance in it will become more possible when repre-
sentation in it is the norm. Thus while specialised 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 contact--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

4. Ernce B. Kelly, Searching for America (Urbana, p. xiii.
6. The selection of books discussed here is based recommendation in the earlier bibliographies.
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FOOTNOTES

1. Florence Houckley, "Blacks in School Texts--but Segregated," The
2. Florence Houckley, "Black-History Instruction Varies Across U.S."
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
6. The selection of books discussed here is based upon frequency of
   recommendation in the earlier bibliographies.
BLACK BOURGEOIS NATIONALISM AT THE TURN OF THE CENTURY:
SOME PROBLEMS FOR SCHOLARS

by

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Iowa City, Iowa

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 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
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 recognised 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. 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 Wilmot Blyden, James T. Holly, and Martin R. Delany. 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 separatism. 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 view of nationalisms in his "Black Nationalism Since Garvey." Economic nationalism, political nationalism, and cultural nationalism were less assimilationistic than it was before him. The classic example of political and racial "para-cultural assimilationism." While Bracey described black nationalism, he did not define black nationalism distinguishing it from other forms of black politics. His recent anthology, Black Nationalism in America, by editors, Professors August Meier and Elliot Rudwick, defined black nationalism fairly broad, including nationalists such names as Frederick Douglass and whom Brotz excluded from the nationalist category. W. E. B. DuBois were characterized as ambivalent, implying that DuBois was atypical or that ambivalence was characteristic of most black nationalists.

Ambivalence seems to have been present in most thought, but especially during the years 1890 to 1914. Black nationalism during those years was undergoing a greater change. An older nineteenth century Christian civilizationist, a contemporary twentieth century secular culturalist, a political nationalist, before World War I, an uplift, industrial management, sexual restraint, totalitarian efficiency. Secular cultural black nationalism, the 20's, would glorify ghetto life, hard drinking,
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. 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 Brotz excluded from the nationalist category. The early writings of W. E. B. Du Bois were characterized as ambivalent which seemed to imply that Du Bois was atypical or that ambivalence was not characteristic of most black nationalists. 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 erotic escapism. The inability of old-school cultural nationalists, like Du Bois 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 rate of secularization and urbanization as black people streamed into the cities in what has been called the great migration.5

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 utterances 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 in social intercourse, they certainly get a wrong idea of my position."6

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.7 We recognize this ambivalence in the thought of Marcus Garvey, who spoke of civilizing Africa and, as he described them, "the backward tribes."8 And, of course, W. E. B. Du Bois displayed such ambivalence when he spoke of his "two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body."9

The black nationalist has always been peculiar; wishing, on the one hand, to exalt everyth African, but recognizing, on the other hand, the need to acquire some of the values and skills of the secular world. The pattern of ambivalence has not prevailed in all areas of life, however. It was not particularly evident in the United States, where attitudes were unequivocally conservative. Black women were victims of Victorianism of that demanded beauty and chastity of women, accentuated, indeed the only virtue to which women might aspire allowed black women to be neither beautiful nor sympathetic leader like Alexander Crummell spoke of in his "barbarism" under which the masses of Afro-Americans lived, which "tended to blunt the tender feminine delicacy and womanly shame, [and]heritage from generation to generation."10

During the progressive era, Afro-Americans tended to encourage acceptance of the values of a social purity. But whenever there seemed to be any conflict between values of the Southern black culture: The concern for the Association of Colored Women (NACW) during the 1890s. In 1895 in response to an attack by one Jonathan City, Missouri, who wrote a vicious letter attach
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 come down as her heritage from generation to generation."10

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.11 The NACW was founded in 1896 in response to an attack by one Jonathan V. Jacks of Montgomery City, Missouri, who wrote a vicious letter attacking the sexual
morality of black people to Miss Florence Balgarnie, an English supporter of anti-lynching reform. Miss Balgarnie sent a copy of the letter to The Woman's Era, a liberal Boston news magazine, owned and operated by Afro-American women. 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. 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. 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 intellectuals 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. The Anglo-Saxon the dominion of the earth, only because he has reverence for purity and virtue of woman, and has respected the marriage tie."  

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 Jews. It would be safe to say that contemporary black women primarily as breeding stock, not as responsible. This is one reason for the hostility of black nationalist marriage. The inability of black nationalism to ringful way to the challenge of women's liberation failure in the twentieth century. The inability of Colored Women to liberate themselves from lizing impulses, present in all black institutional their effectiveness as a voice for the liberation o
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during the twenties, was typical of black intellectuals when he wrote
in his sprawling masterpiece, The African Abroad,
"I have come to the conclusion that the Anglo-Saxon ideal of manhood
and womanhood is the highest the world has yet seen, the highest that
will ever be evolved in the history of the world. ... God has given
the Anglo-Saxon the dominion of the earth, only because he has obeyed
His moral laws, only because he has reverenced and held sacred the
purity and virtue of woman, and has respected the sanctity of the
marriage tie."16

A statement such as this reveals the essentially reactionary
character of traditional black nationalism in America, which lags
behind liberal movements in the endorsement of truly revolutionary and
reform-minded activism, especially in the area of women's rights.
Reactionism in the areas of sexual liberation and women's rights are
characteristic of American black nationalism today, especially among
such extremely orthodox factions as the Nation of Islam and the Falasha
Jews. It would be safe to say that contemporary black nationalists see
women primarily as breeding stock, not as responsible human beings.
This is one reason for the hostility of black nationalists to inter-
marrige. The inability of black nationalism to respond in any mean-
ingful way to the challenge of women's liberation is its most glaring
failure in the twentieth century. The inability of the National Associ-
ation of Colored Women to liberate themselves from the Christian civ-
ilizing impulses, present in all black institutional life, hindered
their effectiveness as a voice for the liberation of Afro-American
woman 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 mulattoes who bragged of their stain of bastardy. 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.18

It is interesting to note that the principal black religious leaders to have endorsed political nationalism have not sprang 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. 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.20

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 era, common for black clergymen to publicize the problem of illiteracy and its solutions, a problem that is well suited to the problems of Afro-Americans. The Manual, published by Sutton Griggs in the early 1900s, was the first publication of its kind. It was intended as a companion piece to the Greatness and Science of Collective Efficiency. Christianity was a typically "progressive" if not social engineering.21

Christian Science is paralleled by the development of the science under the leadership of Noble Drew Ali, a man to appear during the years of the great migration. It is possible that these holy men were able to compete so successfully with the Baptist and Christian churches in attracting converts? Did they appeal to African American society from the South, or people predisposed to the Nation of Islam, the Obeah and Voodoo ritual? What conceptions of citizenship existed in the minds of the poor black migrants, the poor black African American variety, tended to assume that there was something about the attitudes of the masses and the color and blackness? Black religion, whether of the Nation of Islam, the Obeah and Voodoo tradition, or the Baptist and Christian churches, tended to assume that there was something wrong with the masses and the color and blackness. Black religion, whether of the Nation of Islam, the Obeah and Voodoo tradition, or the Baptist and Christian churches, tended to assume that there was something wrong with the masses and the color and blackness. Black religion, whether of the Nation of Islam, the Obeah and Voodoo tradition, or the Baptist and Christian churches, tended to assume that there was something wrong with the masses and the color and blackness.
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The Afro-American church in the progressive era clearly saw its

work as encompassing more than the saving of souls. A significant num-

ber 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 folkloric approach
to social engineering. 21

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, 22 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 Chris-
tian 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 African-istic behaviors, of which traits they disapproved, to the heritage of slavery.

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; Ethio-stretch forth her hands unto God" (Ps. 58, 31). Itally translated to mean that Africa and the Africa be upgraded, through both their own efforts and th providence.

While protest has certainly been an important writing, some of the best works of black literatur the protest tradition. Black literature, before it concerned primarily with protest and agitation, as primarily at an audience of sympathetic whites. During era, the best literature was directed at a racially the novels of Sutton Griggs, for example, there are directed to the white reader, and messages of uplift; black reader. As our knowledge and understanding a history increase, we discover that literary tradit pronounced in black writing than many of the expert themes of "Negro Improvement," whether moral or mat temporal, dominate early black writing.

In summary, most black leaders, including bloc tended to be assimilationistic at the end of the 19 encouraged their people to accept the values of the gentry. The cultural disruption following World War the gentry class as an important element in American secularization and urbanization of black life taking same years caused the civilizationist pattern of to break down. A new urban culturalism-began to app
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quotation, "Princes shall come out of Egypt; Ethiopia shall soon stretch forth her hands unto God" (ps. 58, 31). The passage was usually translated to mean that Africa and the African peoples would soon be upgraded, through both their own efforts and the agency of divine providence.24

While protest has certainly been an important element of black writing, some of the best works of black literature have been outside the protest tradition. Black literature, before the Civil War, was concerned primarily with protest and agitation, since it was directed mainly at an audience of sympathetic whites. During the progressive era, the best literature was directed at a racially mixed audience. In the novels of Sutton Griggs, for example, there are messages of protest directed to the white reader, and messages of uplift directed to the black reader. As our knowledge and understanding of black intellectual history increase, we discover that literary traditionalism is far more pronounced in black writing than many of the experts have assumed. The themes of "Negro Improvement," whether moral or material, mystical or temporal, dominate early black writing.

In summary, most black leaders, including black nationalists, tended to be assimilationistic at the end of the 19th century and encouraged their people to accept the values of the Anglo-American gentry. The cultural disruption following World War I, the decline of the gentry class as an important element in American life, and the secularization and urbanization of black life taking place during these same years caused the civilizationist pattern of black intellectualism 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 civilisationist 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 nationalist 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


2. For example, see David Walker's Appeal in a readily available edition is that of 1848, author. This edition has been reprinted by New York Times, 1969.


4. John R. Bracey, August Meier, and Elliott N Nationalism in America (Indianapolis, 1970).

5. See, for example, Emmett J. Scott, Negro Mind (New York, 1920), also Arna Bontemps, Anyplace 1966).


7. Alexander Crummell, Africa and America (Sprague, idea is recurrent throughout this volume, pp. 312-3.


9. W. E. B. DuBois, The Souls of Black Folk (Ch

10. Crummell, Africa and America, p. 66.
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FOOTNOTES

1. See the introduction to Howard Bretz, 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

Huggins, Martin Kilson, and Daniel M. Fox, eds., Key Issues in the

4. John H. Bracey, August Heier, 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.


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.


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.


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 intermixture" in op. cit., p. 45.


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 Brots in The Black Man (New York, 1970), p. 25. The tendency persists into most pages of Muhammad Speaks and is readily observed in Gerald XX in that same periodical.


influential among black nationalists, although hardly representative of black preachers.


23. *Africa and America*, p. 94.

a further discussion of the literary implications of Ethiopianism than the scope of the present essay allows, I shall be glad to correspond.
BLACK EDUCATION: THE LEGACY OF BOOKER T. WASHINGTON AND CARTER G. WOODSON

by

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Black education has evolved, with the early emphasis of Booker 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 Clark described as "white men with black skins." Carter G. Woodson's articulation 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 and Woodson was not just to impart knowledge but to achieve a greater participation in education. The major curriculum debate in Black education three-quarters of a century ago concerned the relative merits of academic or "school" education. Carter Woodson began the restructuring of education for Black History, which was to change the content of the curriculum. Black Studies Programs of the 1970's have taken the "restructuring the methods, content, and purposes of Education."

This restructuring of "American Education" for Black students has taken many forms. Recruitment programs; remedial, compensatory education programs; courses in the standard curriculum dealing with Black experience; separate courses for Blacks on the Establishment of centers, institutes, departments of Black Studies; and the establishment of centers, institutes, departments of Black Studies; and the restructuring and assistance of Black graduate studies are all part of the restructuring process.
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."

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. 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.
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.

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."

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. Straight University (a forerunner of Dillard). in American Missionary Association not to employ Black and theological-departments just because of "this teacher. . . . We can't have any humbug about the sake of color. . . . Colored teachers are not go Blacks discounted this argument by insisting the standards should not be the only criteria for hi Grimke declared in 1885 that the development of a major objective of Black education. The low sel Black man had emerged from slavery was perpetuat white faculties, "The intellects of our young pe at the expense of their manhood. In the closure professors, which lead them to associate these p fitness for them only with white men." Grimke f their slowness to appoint Black professors, the use one of the most effective means in their pow race."

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Educational programs have faced many challenges, from academic to political considerations. Some arguments against Black Studies Programs are the training of militant revolutionary agents; others, and they are chauvinistic to advocate Black studies arguments are that these programs attempt to rationalize and more difficult performance standards of faculty and, by its very nature, lack intellectual and moral standards. Arguments against Black Studies Programs are not new: Virginia wrote a paper in 1876 entitled "Colored Schools," which sharply criticized Hampton Institute (then known as Hampton Institute) for its shortage of Black professors endorsed by the Virginia Educational and Religious Black organization. A Black minister in an association church at Mobile, Alabama, in the section among his flock because the Association's teachers. "This is the great reason for all the confusion, grief, and utter want of everything. It is hard to imagine schools doing so little good." The president of Straight University (a forerunner of Dillard) in New Orleans urged the American Missionary Association not to employ Black teachers in the law and theological departments just because of "this clamor for colored teachers. . . . We can't have any humbug about this department for the sake of color. . . . Colored teachers are not generally successful." Blacks discounted this argument by insisting that Anglo-Saxon academic standards should not be the only criteria for hiring teachers. Frances Grimke declared in 1885 that "the development of race pride should be a major objective of Black education. The low self-image with which the Black man had emerged from slavery was perpetuated by schools with white faculties, "The intellects of our young people are being educated at the expense of their manhood. In the classroom they see only white professors, which lead them to associate these places and the idea of fitness for them only with white men." Grimke further stated that, in their slowness to appoint Black professors, the schools "are failing to use one of the most effective means in their power, of helping on this race."6

J. Willis Menard, who had been the first Black elected to Congress, asserted in 1885 that while many white teachers were sincere 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 interested in the advancement of colored children than white teachers, and because colored pupils need the social contact of colored teachers."7
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 aright 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."\(^8\)

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.\(^9\) 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 liberal education has been a total commitment to the propagation of ideals. This commitment is a narrow one in the terms of the news media and rapid modes of transportation of awareness of other civilizations and cultures. They are 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 and not be 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 shaped by the 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. What is upsetting the country is a sense of itself. A simple example, one managed to change the curriculum in a way that Negroes learned more about themselves and their culture (American), you would be liberating white people who know nothing about history. And the reason is that if you are compelled to lie about it or lie about my real role here, if you have to pretend to be something you're not, you're just as bad as the people you're trying to change."

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\(^{9}\) This is a quote from an essay by James Baldwin, "The Fire Next Time," originally published in *The New Yorker* (November 24, 1963).
The traditional uni-dimensional form of liberal arts curriculum has been a total commitment to the propagation of Western ideas and ideals. This commitment is a narrow one in the twentieth century with the news media and rapid modes of transportation contributing to an awareness of other civilizations and cultures. The world we live in is a multi-ethnic one or a multi-dimensional one. This multi-dimensional awareness hopefully will develop into a pluralistic perception of reality whereby minority cultural and racial differences will be accepted and respected even by the dominant cultural group and will not be dismissed as deviant or lacking in value.

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James Baldwin, the writer, addresses himself to this Western 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 identity. If, for example, one managed to change the curriculum in all the schools so that Negroes learned more about themselves and their real contributions to this culture (American), you would be liberating not only 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 one aspect of anybody's history, you must lie about it all. If you have to lie about my real role here, if you have to pretend that I hoed all
That cotton just because I loved you, then you have done something to
yourself. You are mad."¹⁰

This Western dualistic vision of reality as seen in America is one of
"whiteness." America has been "whitenized"¹¹ 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, parti-
cularly 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 (black-mail, black
day, black mood, black magic); which, with endless invention, referred
to Blacks as "nigger," "nigra," "coon," "darky," "dinge," "smoke,"
"spook," "spade," "shine," "jig," "jigaboos," "boot," or "boy," some-
times 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.¹² 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:

"As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolition
there is some reason to believe that he suffered
class in the South from its 'peculiar institu-
tion' the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for,
... Although brought to America by force, the
Negro soon became attached to the country, and
folks..."¹³

A culture whose public schools graduated ge
white, who could tell you with authority that Be
Up From Slavery and that George Washington Car
the Peanut" but were otherwise illiterate in Bla
tinguished 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 "c
"darky" jokes; which sent a segregated army to f
Europe; which probably suspected all along that
stop grinning but which managed nevertheless to
the "Movement," the riots and the judgment of th
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been the "American liberal education."¹⁴

This restructuring of the "American liberal
was begun in the late 1960's on the Southern Bla
These campuses became the battlegrounds of the Bl
sparks flew first on a series of campuses in "Dio
A & I, Jackson State, and Texas Southern--in the
As for Sambo, whose wrongs moved the abolitionists to wrath and tears, there is some reason to believe that he suffered less than any other class in the South from its 'peculiar institution.' The majority of the slaves were adequately fed, well cared for, and apparently happy.

... Although brought to America by force, the incurably optimistic Negro soon became attached to the country, and devoted to his 'white folks.'

A culture whose public schools graduated generations, black and white, who could tell you with authority that Booker T. Washington came up from Slavery and that George Washington Carver was the 'Father of the Peanut' but were otherwise illiterate in Black History; which distinguished those Black heavyweight champions who were a 'credit to their race' (Joe Louis and Floyd Patterson) from those who were not (Jack Johnson, Sonny Liston, and Muhammad Ali); which dressed brides in white and undertakers in black; which outgrew 'coon' songs but not 'darky' jokes; which sent a segregated army to fight Nazi racism in Europe; which probably suspected all along that 'Sambo' one day would stop grinning but which managed nevertheless to be surprised in turn by the 'Movement,' the riots and the judgment of the Riot Commission that we are a nation decisively shaped by our racial prejudices. Such has been the 'American liberal education.'

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 revolts. 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.  

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. This independence from colonial rule affected all of those who were part of the "African Diaspora": 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." 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 face the evidence of it when presented." As the status of a Continent changed so did that of all Blacks in the world. Malcolm X, speaking at the Organization of African Unity in Cairo, July 17-21, 1964, stated:

"We, in America, are your long-lost brothers and only to remind you that our problems are your problem. Americans 'awaken' today, we find ourselves in a quandary, we 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 than those of the days of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson. America failed to provide its Blacks with the same citizenship, and first of all the right to a relevant education. America has the legacy of Washington and Woodson, and Black Americans have the heritage of Washington and Woodson. This resolving of America's educational quandary will eventually add a greater dimension to the liberal education for all citizens--Blacks, Brown, and Whites.
South Carolina, the following winter, when a crowd of demonstrating South Carolina State students, killing three and wounding twenty-seven, led the long strike that afflicted San Francisco of the 1968-69 school year. Black demonstrators briefly and set off three days of and Black students. Blacks at Brandeis and at and proclaimed them Malcolm X Universities parted peacefully after eleven days of negotiated by court order and routed by police with a classroom boycott at Wisconsin started to and the National Guard was ordered in to break 15 for this attempted restructuring of American rights of Black Americans lies in the recent march on Africa's thirty-four countries. This in desperation affected all of those who were part of the Blacks in the New World as well as Africa. that "so long as the African is regarded as a man without a culture, doubts concerning his ability find credence." The racist and the imperialis, whereas, the teacher of African history speaks so the myth and the doubts persist. The first rd of history straight. "The point is not that y but that there is profound ignorance concerning it, and an almost pathological unwillingness to believe the evidence of it when presented." As the status of this once "Dark Continent" changed so did that of all Blacks in the New World. Malcolm X, speaking at the Organization of African Unity Conference in Cairo, July 17-21, 1964, stated: "We, in America, are your long-lost brothers and sisters, and I am here only to remind you that our problems are your problems. As the African Americans "awaken" today, we find ourselves in a strange land that has rejected us, and like the prodigal son, we are turning to our elder brothers for help. We pray our pleas will not fall upon deaf ears." America is still in a quandary in its efforts towards educating its Blacks. Today the factors involved are more perplexing than in the days of Booker T. Washington and Carter G. Woodson. Post-bellum America failed to provide its Blacks with the assets of first-class citizenship, and first of all the right to a relevant education. Black Americans have the legacy of Washington and Woodson to guide them through this quandary. The example of these two men will lead toward an education for Blacks somewhere between their two approaches. They can utilize the best of Washington, his "education of the hands," and all of Woodson. This resolving of America's educational quandary by Blacks themselves will eventually add a greater dimension to American liberal education for all citizens—Blacks, Browns, Yellows, and Whites.
FOOTNOTES


4. Ibid., pp. 10-1.


12. Ibid.


15. Ibid., p. 142.


17. Phrase used by George Shepperson, Professor University of Edinburgh, Scotland. See also on Negro-American Influences on the Emergence," Journal of African History, 1, #2 (1970) also "The African Diaspora--or the African 2, #1 (Summer, 1966), pp. 76-93.


FOOTNOTES


15. Ibid., p. 91.


17. Phrase used by George Shepperson, Professor of History at the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. See also his articles, "Notes on Negro-American Influences on the Emergence of African Nationalism," Journal of African History, 1, #2 (1960), pp. 299-312; see also "The African Diaspora--or the African Abroad," African Forum, 2, #1 (Summer, 1966), pp. 76-93.


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 efforts of the "compensatory education" strategy In this instance it is clear that certain white views in conflict with black socialisation practices may the black existence. But of course much of the environments was that they merely served a "symbolic istic" "This symbolic attack on a social problem . . . assuaging lingering doubt that we are not doing enough to and disadvantaged, but it also guards against ask tions that might upset the status-quo interests." Perhaps one of those hard questions that might be should be the role of the American Educational Sys black individual's path toward freedom? Before answering this question, let us first been the function of modern education to imbue in the virtues of individualism and self-determination as achievement of life goals. Such a philosophy of ambitious with the Industrial Revolution at the turn of the maximum output by each citizen was vital to the nation. This nation, perhaps, could not even the assistance of an educational system which soci
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. 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." 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...
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." 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." 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 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 the distinction between the "self-actualized" man and the "do your own thing" model of man. However, such a casual and "spontaneous" approach is incongruous to the constraints placed upon the self-actualizer in his purist form recognizes the idiosyncrasies and the weakness of his culture; this idealistic view is issued by many middle class white Americans, however, and recklessly detached from the true nature of the "self-actualized" man and the "do your own thing" man. Black people are undesirable in America, but have survived. This survival has been achieved by benevolent dominant culture; neither has it been easy for many a "consumptive and reactive" American. During the height of the white backlash in the late 60's and early 70's, the phrase "the student was coined." Parallels between white radical student and black radical student can validly be made. In the case of the "radical white establishment, the educational process far exceed society to deal with this optimally "liberated" y
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congruous to the constraints placed upon the black life. The true
self-actualizer in his purist form recognizes the sickness of society
and the weakness in his culture; this idealistic response to life pur-
sued by many middle class white Americans, however, is too a-political
and recklessly detached from the true nature of this social system
whose modus operandi is to make obsolete that which it considers unde-
desirable. Black people are undesirable in America, and have always been
undesirable, but have survived. This survival has not been due to a
benevolent dominant culture; neither has it been an accident.

Many of the assertions made above permeate the whole of society
and because they do so in such magnitude, complete explication of this
view is beyond the scope of this paper. Although the focus of this,
ner is the effect the modern school has upon personal development of
the black person, there are very real implications for society and edu-
cation in general. During the height of the white student activism of
the late 60's and early 70's, the phrase "the student as the nigger"
was coined. Parallels between white radical students and blacks can
validly be made. In the case of the "radical white" student vs. the
establishment, the educational process far exceeded the capacity of
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 do 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 necessary to change and modify to meet unforeseen threats, problems. Thus, we can achieve what John Garner calls society." So goes the theory."

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 these, the socialization of youth toward unquestioned American society and culture and the roles they merit, provided one wishes to suspend ethical judg esses. Skinner made the point that the effectiveness survive is dependent upon the "measures used by the its members to work for its survival." In addition a capitalistic or socialist culture suggests a dominant practices associated with "compatible practices of practices," the educational system which until rec
ers of such precociousness. Now we threaten to wit—this reality awareness—"educated away." A essay is to suggest that we do not know enough (specifically, achievement motivation and the black youth through this new maze of educational—enough is known, and the political—: Should black students run the risk of becoming a "family squabble" between the disillusioned demands of their economic culture?

**CONTEXT: WHITE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS**

A DUBIOUS "SELF-ACTUALIZED" SOCIETY

Philosophies and practices are, of course, no good society and culture within which they exist. The system was established and functioned by a set of an economic-industrial society. Two principles learned to value (incubations processed chiefly a mentioned above) are an appreciation for the individualism. Postman and Weingartner, in their book entitled *Teaching as a Subversive* in its first paragraph of the chapter, "Crap ing: Discovered America." . . . Starting from this of us will describe the history of this country way. Nonetheless, it is reasonable to assume include something about what is called the '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 opportunities. Thus, we can achieve what John Darner calls an 'ever-renewing society.' So goes the theory.7

Intentional, of course, is a degree of cynicism Postman and Weingartner wished to convey in the above excerpt. In these remarks, however, are demonstrated a bit of the old assumptions of the purposes of education as well as the new liberal and perhaps quasi-revolutionary educational philosophies. As unwholesome as the thought may be to some, the socialization of youth toward unquestionable beliefs about American society and culture and the roles they must assume has its merits, provided one wishes to suspend ethical judgment of such processes. Skinner made the point that the effectiveness of a culture to survive is dependent upon the "measures used by the culture to induce its members to work for its survival."8 In addition, he asserted that a capitalistic or socialist culture suggests a dominant set of economic practices associated with "compatible practices of other kinds."9

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."\(^{10}\) 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."\(^{11}\)

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."\(^{12}\) 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 and society will work out an agreement and disenchanted (the student included). In the Black Socialization and Personality: Educational Implications

Essential to the argument being advanced here social scientists and educators lack an understanding of the way the Afro-American personality gap between black and white students. With "where the person is," we cannot properly define him or her to learn. Equally unsuitable education be dysfunctional to a "black agenda."

Our psychology of man in the western culture host of assumptions about human behavior that are
of its students on the economic system while at the same time what could be considered a healthy illusion of ruination.

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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"14 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.

At least two important assumptions are implied in 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 for America. To illustrate the point, the following White's "Toward a Black Psychology":

"Many of these same so-called culturally deprived have developed the kind of mental toughness and survival mentality coping with life, which make them in many ways superior to age-mates who are growing up in the material affluence of suburbia. These black youngsters know how to deal with bill collectors, building superintendents, corner hypes, pimps, whores, sickness, and death. They school counselors, principals, teachers, welfare authorities, and, in doing so, display a lot of originality. They recognize very early in their environment which is sometimes complicated and hostile to verbalize it, but they have already mastered psychologists state to be the basic human condition in this life, pain and struggle are unavoidable and sense of one's identity can only be achieved by being directly confronting an unkind and alien existence.

Although, perhaps, the above statement of part of the black youth is offensive to the conventionalist in that it smacks of black ethnocentricism (t
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"Many of these same so-called culturally deprived youngsters have 
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Although, perhaps, the above statement of personality development 
of the black youth is offensive to the conventional white social scient-
ist in that it smacks of black ethnocentricism (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." 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, 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. Behavior, once assuming differences in world view, explain the behavior of blacks in this modality as attempts heretofore exploring black behavior the white American ethos. Of real promise to the notion advanced by Charles Valentine with respect explanation of black behavior. Briefly, the pro "blacks are simultaneously committed to both b stream culture, and that the two are not mutually assumed." Each system or socialization, Euro-American, continues throughout the individual equal importance.

The research in the areas of duo-socialization completed. Robert Staples has given us some ins pisions of the theoretical and methodological prob role of the black family. The work of Joy entitled Tomorrow's Tomorrow, provided an illumin psychological treatment of the bicultural persona the black woman. One implication that might le from the black duality is an appreciation for the value of "get all you can"; and while on the other surprised when you don't" attitude. The writer w nate this position in the following discussion of of black high aspirations and low achievement.

In other areas of the socialization process, interdisciplinary research methods to study, e.g.

This instance, black culture, is a viable rationale for a difference in behavior, once assuming differences in world views. Attempting to explain the behavior of blacks in this modality would be as unsatisfying as attempts heretofore exploring black behavior in the context of the white American ethos. Of real promise to this approach is the notion advanced by Charles Valentine with respect to a "bicultural" explanation of black behavior. Briefly, the proposition states that "blacks are simultaneously committed to both black culture and mainstream culture, and that the two are not mutually exclusive as generally assumed."19 Each system or socialization, i.e., Afro-American and 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 dimensions of the theoretical and methodological problem in understanding the role of the black family.20 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.21 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 illuminate 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.22 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.23 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,24 and that black mothers have comparable value orientations in regard to their children's future.25 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 black appears to guard against a pathological pursuit of a Dream. As educators of black children, is it ethically to tamper with the black personality's adaptational until the threat to black survival is removed? It is humane to work within limits of the black's world to crystallize a value system that is more compatible with an alien environment?

SUMMARY AND CONCLUDING REMARKS

The writer has briefly presented a few of the newer notions for educational reform. He hopes that his presentation will encourage the educators of black children to consider the question of what kinds of values are to be worked towards. One must first recognize that the purpose of any educational system within a society is to be supportive of its culture.

The question of what kinds of values are to be indicative of the dilemma educators have found the obvious that values are and have always been taught mandate from the American economic culture. The culture's middle-class students, educators, and schools over moral values are tolerable within the cultural and this advanced cybernetic and technological society respective constituents will have to resolve. The culture is at another stage requiring a different
group phenomena such as playing "The Dozens" is key to the achievement-motivation-aspiration phenomena for low achievement of blacks in both the job. A good sample of the literature as well as the analysis and interpretation is given by the writer. Hopefully it 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 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 personal 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."²⁸

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.²⁹

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."³²
tent of John E. Churchville's remarks in his essay "Black Education" were intended as a rebuff to the sentiment, the sentiment is appropriate in this context:

important that we raise the standard of correct and productive cries of 'freedom of self-expression, the individual.' We must raise our children in an environment that recognizes the power and purposefulness of the correct revolutionary struggle.28 Perhaps too harsh for the average middle-class in America to accept easily. And perhaps for a minority of the black experiences and the person-blacks, which has always been survival oriented, it is slower than those proposed which have greater relevance.

character of the educational system which has been the author sees relevance of public school education as "training" black students and letting other black students achieve skills must originate from the black student to be "instrumental" in his or her behavior to achieve skills must originate from the black.

"No school program can tap child potential in totality of elements."30

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.
FOOTNOTES

9. Ibid., p. 125.
14. L. Sechrest and J. Wallace, Psychology and Human Problems (Columbus, Ohio, 1967).
15. Ibid., p. 40.
27. Grier and Cobbs, Black Rage, p. 113.
FOOTNOTES

15. Ibid., p. 40.
