The Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Journal 2008

A collection of scholarly research by fellows of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program

Through subtle shades of color, the cover design represents the layers of richness and diversity that flourish within minority communities.

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Preface

It has been an honor to assemble this collection of original research from undergraduate recipients of the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship (MMUF). The main objective of the MMUF program is to increase the number of minority students and students with a demonstrated commitment to eradicating racial disparities who will pursue Ph.D.s in the arts and sciences.

This year's *MMUF Journal*, highlighting the original research of just a few of the program's talented undergraduate students, reveals new forays into the world of scholarly thought probed by this new generation of scholars. Fellows were encouraged to submit works showcasing their academic achievements, especially the culmination of research conducted under the supervision of their MMUF faculty mentor. The articles presented here in the *MMUF Journal* come from fellows who participated in the program during the academic year 2007–2008 as well as recent alumni of the program.

The diverse articles in this year's journal reveal the breadth of perspectives represented in the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship's 21 fields of designated study.* The issues probed in the essays range from Mia Ellis' exploration of historical and modern forms of minstrelsy and Natasha Walker's analysis of the influence of race and gender on sculptures of emancipation, to Sarah Khasawinah's explorations of tensions between the monstrous and mundane and Deena Shakir's examinations of dynamic identification among Arab students in Egypt, the U.S., and the United Arab Emirates. The diversity of students' research topics—traversing the globe, spanning time periods, and juggling both theoretical and empirical engagement—shows the promise of these burgeoning scholars in the pursuit of knowledge.

Reading and selecting the articles for the journal was a great pleasure. Whether exploring line integrals or the impact of systems of racial classification, or theorizing the social impacts of stereotypes and the intersections of race, gender, and class, these students are examining issues critical to our understanding of underrepresented groups and society at large. Their innovative questions, approaches, and analysis accent the added value—and necessity—of underrepresented students in academia. Their presence both diversifies the homogenized nature of institutions and contributes diverse perspectives that further our quest for knowledge.

We present students' original research in the *MMUF Journal* in continued support of their aim to obtain doctorates and become exceptional scholars. We hope you will enjoy their articles.

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*Designated fields for the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship: Anthropology, Area Studies, Art History, Classics, Computer Science, Demography, Earth Science, Ecology, English, Ethnomusicology, Foreign Languages, Geology, History, Literature, Mathematics, Musicology, Philosophy, Physics, Political Theory, Religion, and Sociology.

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The Line Integral and Its Applications

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Abstract

Mathematics is the key to unlock and understand a physical world. This paper focuses on the evaluation of line integrals. This paper demonstrates the procedure for evaluating line integrals and the different forms of line integrals. Also, it focuses on connecting the line integral to Green's Theorem and connecting the line integral to electric fields to calculate voltage.

Introduction

A force is said to do work on an object if it causes the object to move. If the force F is constant and the object is displaced linearly, then the work done is defined as force multiplied by displacement. If the force is a varying force F(x), then the work done to move the object along a straight line from x = a to x = b is $\int_a^b f(x)dx$. However, if the object moves along a curve C, then the work done is defined by the line integral is $\int_C F\ ds$.

A line integral is a unique integral that is an extension of the definite integral. A definite integral is used to calculate the area of a curve along a straight path. A line integral is used to calculate the work done by a force along a curve in a certain time interval. However, in order to evaluate a line integral, the curve must be parameterized and then converted to a definite integral. The result from the definite integral will give the value of work done by the force in the vector field.

The focus of this paper is to (1) discuss the basic concepts of the line integral; (2) explain how to evaluate the three different forms of the line integral; and (3) illustrate how the line integral is used to calculate work, area, and voltage.

What is parameterization?

Imagine shooting a basketball into a hoop. At time t, let the position of the ball be (x, y). In this case x and y are functions of time (t), represented by $x = f(t)$ and $y = g(t)$ for a plane curve. The new functions $x = f(t)$ and $y = g(t)$ are called parametric equations. The parametric equations represent the curve traced by an object. Time t is called the parameter and gives the orientation of the curve. An orientation is the direction from start to end along the curve. For example,

$$x = 5 \sin(t)$$
$$y = 2 \cos(t),\ \ 0 \le t \le 2\pi$$ are parametric equations of a curve.

Another example is

$$x = t^2 + t$$
$$y = 2t - 1, -2 \le t \le 3,$$

Sketching parametric equations

First, we graph

$$x = t^2 + t \text{ and } y = 2t - 1,\ -2 \le t \le 3.$$

Choose values for time that fall between negative two and three. The following graph will illustrate the information.
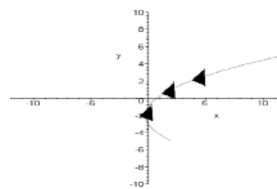
Figure 1: *$x = t^2 + t$ and $y = 2t - 1$*

The curve starts at (2,-5) and ends at (12,5). This gives the orientation of this curve.

Sometimes sketching parametric equations requires the elimination of the parameter. Consider the parametric equations,

$$x = 5 \sin(t)$$
$$y = 2 \cos(t),\ \ 0 \le t \le 2\pi$$

We can eliminate the parameter in these equations by using the trigonometric identity,

$$\sin^2 t + \cos^2 t = 1$$
$$x^2 = 25 \sin^2 t$$
$$y^2 = 4 \cos^2 t$$

then,

$$\frac{x^2}{25} = \sin^2 t$$
$$\frac{y^2}{4} = \cos^2 t$$

so,

$$\frac{x^2}{25} + \frac{y^2}{4} = \cos^2 t + \sin^2 t = 1$$
$$\frac{x^2}{25} + \frac{y^2}{4} = 1$$

This is the equation of the ellipse in the Cartesian coordinate system with the semi-major axis 5 and the semi-minor axis 2. The graph is as follows:
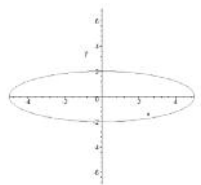
Figure 2: $x = 5 \sin(t)$ and $y = 2 \cos(t)$, $0 \leq t \leq 2\pi$

Finding parametric equations

In some cases the parametric equation is not always given, but the physical description, or the function of the graph, is given. For example, consider the function
$$f(x) = 1 + x^2$$

The parameterization of this function is not unique. Let
$$t = 2x$$

then the parametric equations are
$$x = \frac{t}{2}$$
$$y = 1 + \frac{t^2}{4}$$

However, if $t = 1 - 2x$, then parametric equations are
$$x = \frac{1-t}{2}$$
$$y = 1 + \left(\frac{1-t}{2}\right)^2$$

Both sets of parametric equations represent the same graph. This means that a curve can have more than one parameterization.

What is a smooth curve?

Consider that a curve is represented by $r(t) = x(t)i + y(t)j$, $a \leq t \leq b$. The vector $r(t)$ is the position vector of a point (x,y) on the curve at time t. The curve is considered as smooth if the derivatives of the x(t) and y(t) are continuous on the interval of time and the derivatives of x(t) and y(t) are not equal to zero simultaneously.

What is a line integral?

Imagine that you are swimming across a lake. At times you might be swimming with the current, while at others you might be swimming against it. Likewise, the current could vary from place to place. Once you reach the other side of the lake, you might be left with the question: "Did the current make me do more work or did it help me to do less work?" The answer can be mathematically calculated by evaluating the line integral.

For example, consider that the force vector field of the current of the lake is as illustrated and the path you were swimming is the curve C.
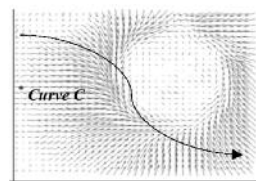
Figure 3: Path across the Lake

To calculate the work, divide the curve C into equal finite pieces. Each piece can be represented by a displacement vector $(\Delta \vec{r}_i = \vec{r}_{i+1} - \vec{r}_i)$. The value of $\vec{F}$ (force) at each point of r is approximately $\vec{F}(\vec{r}_i)$. For each point with the position vector $\vec{r}_i$ on C, the dot product $\vec{F}(\vec{r}_i) \bullet \Delta \vec{r}_i$ is formed. Adding all the pieces together, we get a Riemann sum, $\sum_{i=0}^{n-1} \vec{F}(\vec{r}_i) \bullet \Delta \vec{r}_i$. The definite integral $\int_C \vec{F} \cdot dr$ is defined as the limit of $\sum_{i=0}^{n-1} \vec{F}(\vec{r}_i) \bullet \Delta \vec{r}_i$ as $\|\Delta \vec{r}_i\| \to 0$, provided the limit exists. Therefore, the work done would be $\int_C \vec{F} \cdot dr$. So,
$$\int_C F \bullet dr = \lim_{\|\Delta\| \to 0} \sum_{i=0}^{n-1} F(\vec{r}_i) \bullet \Delta r_i.$$

However, if the force is represented by a function $f(x_i, y_i)$ and Δs_i is the length of the ith subarc, then the integral is denoted by $\int_C f(x,y)ds = \lim_{\|\Delta\| \to 0} \sum_{i=0}^{n-1} f(x_i, y_i)\Delta s_i$ where $ds = \|r'(t)\|dt = \sqrt{[x'(t)]^2 + [y'(t)]^2} \; dt$, as the limit of $\|\Delta s_i\|$ approaches zero.

Evaluating a line integral

The curve over the line integral can be either piecewise smooth curves given in parametric form or vector form. Each case is considered below. The evaluation of a line integral over a piecewise smooth curve can be done by adding the finite number of curves together after they have been

parameterized and integrated. The formula is as follows:

$$\int_C f(x,y)ds = \int_{C_1} f(x,y)ds + \int_{C_2} f(x,y)ds + \int_{C_3} f(x,y)ds + \dots\dots + \int_{C_n} f(x,y)ds$$

Where ds is

$$ds = \|r'(t)\|dt = \sqrt{[x'(t)]^2 + [y'(t)]^2}\,dt$$

The Cs are piecewise smooth curves and are connected by the beginning and ending times. In other words, if C_1 has a time of $a \le t \le b$, then C_2 will have a time of $b \le t \le c$. C_3 to C_n will follow in the same manner. When all of the curves are added together, they form the curve C. Consider the three curves C_1, C_2, and C_3 given by the parametric equations
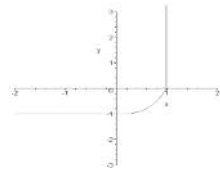
C_1: $x = t$ $y = -1$ $-2 \le t \le 0$
C_2: $x = t$ $y = t^3 - 1$ $0 \le t \le 1$
C_3: $x = 1$ $y = t - 1$ $1 \le t \le 2$

Figure 4

Let C be the curve formed by C_1, C_2, and C_3. That is $C = C_1 + C_2 + C_3$. Then C is a piecewise smooth curve in the time interval $-2 \le t \le 2$. Consider the line integral $\int_C 4x^3 ds$. First, we evaluate the line integrals over C_1, C_2, and C_3.

$$\int_{C_1} 4x^3 ds = \int_{-2}^0 4x^3\sqrt{1^2+0}\,dt = \int_{-2}^0 4t^3 dt = t^4 \Big]_{-2}^0 = -16$$

$$\int_{C_2} 4x^3 ds = \int_0^1 4t^3\sqrt{1+9t^4}\,dt$$

Substitution

$$u = 1 + 9t^4$$
$$\frac{du}{36} = t^3 dt$$

So,

$$\int 4t^3\sqrt{1+9t^4}\,dt = \int \frac{1}{9}u^{\frac12}du = \frac{1}{9}u^{\frac32} * \frac{2}{3} + c = \frac{2}{27}\left(1+9t^4\right)^{\frac32} + c$$

Therefore,

$$\int_{C_2} 4x^3 ds = \frac{2}{27}\left(1+9t^4\right)^{\frac32}\Big]_0^1 = 2.268$$

$$\int_{C_3} 4x^3 ds = \int_1^2 4(1)\sqrt{0+1^2}\,dt = \int_1^2 4dt = 4t\Big]_1^2 = 4$$

Now,

$$\int_C 4x^3 ds = \int_{C_1} 4x^3 ds + \int_{C_2} 4x^3 ds + \int_{C_3} 4x^3 ds = -16 + 2.268 + 4 = -9.73$$

Next, consider a line integral over a curve given in vector form. Assume the function is $f(x) = x$ and the curve C is represented by $r(t) = t^2 i + t^2 j$, $0 \le t \le 1$. The line integral $\int_C x\,ds$ can be evaluated as follows:

$$\int_C x\,ds$$
$$r'(t) = 2ti + 2tj$$
$$\|r'(t)\| = \sqrt{4t^2 + 4t^2}\,dt = \sqrt{8t^2}\,dt$$
$$\int_C x\,ds = \int_0^1 t^2\sqrt{8t}\,dt = 2\sqrt{2}\frac{t^4}{4}\Big]_0^1 \approx .707$$

The third representation that is commonly used is the differential form. A line integral of a vector field exists if the function is continuous on a smooth curve given by the position vector r(t), where time falls between the interval (a,b). The notation is as follows:

$$\int_C F \cdot dr = \int_a^b F(x(t),y(t)) \cdot r'(t)dt$$

Therefore, if F is a vector field of the form $F(x,y) = Mi + Nj$ and the curve is given in vector form, $r(t) = x(t)i + y(t)j$, then $F \cdot dr$ equals $M\,dx + N\,dy$.

Now consider the following line integral,

$$\int_C y^3 dx + \left(x^3 + 3xy\right)dy$$

Where the curve is given by
$$r(t) = \cos t\, i + \sin t\, j, 0 \le t \le 2\pi$$
and C is a circle with center (0,0) and has a radius of 1. The parametric equations of the circle are:
$$x = \cos t$$
$$y = \sin t$$
Then,
$$dx = -\sin t\,dt$$
$$dy = \cos t\,dt$$

$$\int_C y^3 dx + (x^3 + 3xy)dy =$$

$$\int_0^{2\pi} [(\sin^3 t)(-\sin t) + (\cos^3 t + 3\cos^2 t \sin t)(\cos t)]dt =$$

$$\int_0^{2\pi} [-\sin^4 t + \cos^4 t + 3\cos^2 t \sin t]dt =$$

$$\int_0^{2\pi} (3\cos^2 t \sin t)dt = \int_0^{2\pi} 3\cos^2 t \sin t\,dt$$

Substitute

$$u = cost$$
$$du = -sint\ dt$$

$$\int_0^{2\pi} -3u^2 du = -3\frac{u^3}{3}\Big]_{t=0}^{2\pi} = -cos^3 t\Big]_0^{2\pi} = 0$$

Next,

$$\int_0^{2\pi} (cos^4 t - sin^4 t)dt = cos^4 t - sin^4 t = (cos^2 t - sin^2 t)(cos^2 t + sin^2 t) = cos(2t)$$

So,

$$\int_0^{2\pi} (cos^4 t - sin^4 t)dt = \int_0^{2\pi} cos(2t)\ dt = \frac{sin2t}{2}\Big]_0^{2\pi} = 0$$

Therefore,

$$\int_c y^3 dx + (x^3 + 3xy)dy = 0$$

This shows that there was no work done by the force in the time interval $0 \le t \le 2\pi$. This also means that the force was a conservative force. That is a force in which the position of the particles returns to its original position.

Applications of the line integrals

The most common use for the line integral is to calculate work as seen above. However, it is not its only use. Now, imagine that a girl dropped a stone out of a window that had a mass of 2kg and it landed on the ground in 2 seconds. What is the work done by the force of gravity?

First the equation is

$$\int_C F \cdot ds$$

Since F = –Mg, where g is gravity (9.81 m/s²)

Here the curve C is a line segment. So the line integral is the definite integral,

$$\int_0^2 -Mgds = -\int_0^2 2*9.81ds = -\int_0^2 19.62\ ds = -19.62]_0^2 = -39.24\ J$$

Therefore the work done by the force of gravity is 39.24 joules, where the negative sign signifies that the object is falling.

Green's Theorem is another application of the line integral. This theorem can be used to evaluate a line integral over a simple closed curve using double integrals, in which the simple closed curve must have a counterclockwise orientation. A simple closed curve is a curve in which the lines do not cross themselves. Imagine, for example, a rubber band. When the rubber band is stretched out, the outer lining of the rubber band does not touch. Therefore, the rubber band makes a simple closed curve. But, if the rubber band is picked up and twisted, the outer lining would touch. When this happens, the curve that the rubber band makes is not simple. See illustrations.
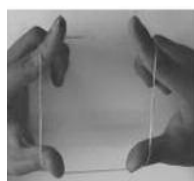
Figure 5: Smooth Simple Curve   **Not A Smooth Simple Curve**

Green's Theorem states that if R is a simply connected region with a piecewise smooth boundary C, oriented counterclockwise, and if M and N have continuous partial derivatives in an open region containing R, then,

$$\int_C Mdx + Ndy = \int\int_R \frac{\partial N}{\partial x} - \frac{\partial M}{\partial y} dA.$$

The following example will show how to evaluate a line integral that is in differential form using Green's Theorem.

Example 1

Let $\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy$ represent the integral and the curve is a triangle with vertices $(0,0)(1,0),(1,2)$. $\oint$ is a notation used to show that the curve is a simple closed curve.

$$\int_C Mdx + Ndy = \int\int \frac{\partial N}{\partial x} - \frac{\partial M}{\partial y} dA$$

Suppose,

$$M = xy \quad N = x^2 y^3$$

Then,

$$\frac{\delta M}{\delta y} = x \quad \frac{\delta N}{\delta x} = 2xy^3$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \int\int (2xy^3 - x)dA$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \int_0^1 \int_0^{2x} (2xy^3 - x)dy\,dx$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \int_0^1 \int_0^{2x} \frac{2xy^4}{4} - xy\Big]_0^{2x}$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \int_0^1 8x^5 - 2x^2 dx$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \frac{8x^6}{6} - \frac{2x^3}{3}\Big]_0^1$$

$$\oint xydx + x^2 y^3 dy = \frac{2}{3}$$

The interpretation is that the work required to move a particle from (0,0) to (1,0), and then to (1,2) subject to the force $\oint xy\,dx + x^2 y^3 dy$ is $\frac{2}{3}$ joule is $\frac{2}{3}$ joules.

Another useful application for the line integral is to find voltage. Imagine that the light bulb is connected to the coil and the magnet is pushed backwards and forwards through the coil. By doing this an electric field is created within the coil. An electric field is defined as the electric force per unit charge. The direction of the field is taken to be the direction of the force it would exert on a positive test charge. The electric field is radically outward from a positive charge and radically inward to a negative point charge. Pushing the magnet backwards and forwards produces a current in the coil. Since the light bulb is connected to the coil, the light bulb lights up. Therefore, the coil and the magnet act as a battery that has a voltage. The voltage is the work done per unit charge against the electric field. So the voltage can be found using the line integral.

Now take time to be $0 \le t \le 2$ and take the electric field to be 4 coulombs and the curve to be $r(t) = 3(t)i + 4(t)j$. Then the voltage created by the electric field is

$$\int_C \vec{E} \cdot \vec{ds}$$

where $ds = \|r(t)\| = \sqrt{3^2 + 4^2}\,dt = 5\,dt$.

So,

$$\int \vec{F} \cdot \vec{ds} = \int_0 4 * 5 \, dt = \int_0 20 \, dt = 20t\big]_0^2 = 40V$$

Therefore, the voltage created by the electric field is 40 volts.

Conclusion

The line integral is a natural extension of the Riemann integral—an integral evaluated over an interval—whereas the line integral is evaluated over any piecewise smooth curve. The line integral is used to calculate the work done to move an object along a path subjected to a force. It can also be used to find the voltage created by an electric field. The line integral can be represented by a piecewise smooth curve or by a vector. If the line integral is represented by a piecewise smooth curve, it is usually parameterized and then evaluated, keeping in mind that each curve can have several parameterizations. Similarly, if the line integral is represented by a vector, then it is also parameterized before being evaluated. If the curve is in differential form, then Green's Theorem can be used to calculate the work. The line integral continues to have great significance and is still being used today by mathematicians and physicists all over the world to calculate work done by a force in a vector field.

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Césaire's Reach: Theory and the Struggle between the Universal and the Particular

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Abstract

Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* was first published in 1955, situating it between two very significant events: Mao Tse-Tung becoming Chairman of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1954 and the "secret speech" given by Nikita Khrushchev that denounced Stalin in 1956. Césaire's work and these two events raise similar questions about the universality of theory and the possibility for theoretical modifications and development given the application of theory to particular historical and political contexts. For this paper, I wish to examine the relationship of the universal to the particular in theory. I will specifically address the theoretical content of *Discourse on Colonialism* as a particular application of G.W.F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic and the theory of Marxist revolution. Following Slavoj Zizek's example of a man from Abkhazia who admired the work of Pierre Bourdieu, I will argue that Césaire's application of his particular context to the ideas of the aforementioned philosophers involves a crucial dialectical alteration of, "the substance of the theory itself." This alteration of theory is part of the struggle toward universality.

Aimé Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* was first published in 1955, situating it between two significant historical events: Mao Tse-Tung's rise to power as the Chairman of the People's Republic of China (PRC) in 1954 and Nikita Khrushchev's "secret speech" that denounced Stalin in 1956.[1] Applying Marxist-Leninist theory alone cannot explain Mao's establishment of a workers' state without a proletarian revolution nor Khrushchev's motives in revealing his former mentor's crimes to the Soviet working class. Both events, in general and in their historical particulars, pose challenges and suggest revisions to classic Marxism-Leninism. So, too, Césaire's work questions the *universality* of theory and whether it is ever necessary, when applying theory to *particular* historical and political conditions, to modify theory. Accordingly, this paper will examine the impact on theory of the dialectical relationship between the universal and the

particular. More specifically, it will focus on the theoretical content of Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* as a particular application, first, of G.W.F. Hegel's master-slave dialectic and, second, of the theory of Marxist revolution.

In discussing the complex nature of applying theory to a particular context, Slavoj Zizek refers to "the extraordinary story of Musa Shanib from Abkhazia" whose "entire career [was] marked by the strange admiration of Pierre Bourdieu."[2] Is it strange that someone from Abkhazia could grasp the theories of this Frenchman who wrote for the intellectuals of his time and from his country? Or is this an impeccable example of the universal scope of theory? Zizek contends that "the true task…is to avoid both these options and to assert the universality of a theory as the result of hard theoretical work and struggle."[3] Thus, for Zizek, theory approaches the universal when it is applied to a particular context and, in that application, the very substance of the theory itself is altered. Like Shanib, Césaire had to struggle to go beyond his local context in order to grasp Hegelian and Marxist theories. When he decided to appropriate these European theories in *Discourse on Colonialism*, a work written to address the particular problems faced by colonial nations such as Martinique, Césaire embarked on a voyage that entailed the theories' transformation. In Zizek's view, such a process is not revisionist, but rather constitutes the most important credential required for a theory to be deemed universal.

Zizek's insights may assist in the analysis of Césaire's appropriation of Hegelian theory in *Discourse on Colonialism*. However, in what sense was Césaire a Hegelian, and was his Hegelianism a mere uncritical assimilation of a European philosophy or was it a true theoretical struggle, in Zizek's terms, and thus a true appropriation? Robin D.G. Kelley points out in the introduction that Césaire establishes "in the finest Hegelian fashion…how colonialism works to 'decivilize' the colonizer."[4] What Kelley is referring to as Hegelian is Césaire's evocation of the master-slave dialectic as developed in Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*. When Hegel's Master (the colonizer) enslaves the Other (the colonized), the Master does so in an attempt to force another human to recognize him, to satisfy the "Human Desire" of "Man."[5] After involving himself in a struggle (colonization) and enslaving the Other, the Master cannot satisfy his

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[1] Aimé Césaire, *Discourse on Capitalism*, (New York Monthly Review Press, 2000), 8.

[2] Slavoj Zizek, *Slavoj Zizek presents Mao*, (New York: Verso, 2007), 3.

[3] Ibid., 4.

[4] Robin D.G. Kelley, "A Poetics of Anticolonialism," *Discourse on Colonialism*, (New York: Monthly Review Press, 2000), 8.

[5] Alexandre Kojéve, *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the 'Phenomenology of Spirit,'* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1980), 3. My reading of Hegel for this paper is informed by Alexandre Kojéve's *Introduction to the Reading of Hegel: Lectures on the 'Phenomenology of Spirit.'* I discuss the significance of Kojéve for Césaire and other French-trained intellectuals below.

Human Desire for recognition because the Other, qua Slave, is apprehended as a thing rather than a human. In Hegelian terms, "self-consciousness achieves its satisfaction only in another self-consciousness."[6]

In *Discourse on Colonialism*, it is clear that Césaire is cognizant of the colonizer's view of the slave as a thing. As Césaire concisely puts it, "colonization = 'thingification.'"[7] Nevertheless, this 'thingification' does not apply only to the colonized. As with Hegel's Master who, due to his enslavement of the Other, is eventually "enslaved by the world of which he is master," the colonizer suffers a similar fate. Césaire calls this the "boomerang effect."[8] Linking thingification with the boomerang effect of colonialism, Césaire asserts that "the colonizer…gets into the habit of seeing the other man as an animal, accustoms himself to treating him like an animal, and tends objectively to transform *himself* into an animal."[9] Thus, the "infection" that is colonization, the enslavement of the colonized, will "boomerang" back and afflict the afflicters in the form of fascism.[10] Accordingly, the seed of Europe's destruction was planted from inception in colonialism, a very brutal kind of thingification that would ultimately "boomerang" back.

The Hegelian strain in Césaire's work is not surprising when considered historically. As an intellectual trained in the French University system, he undoubtedly came in contact with the work of Hegel, made especially popular in the 1930s Paris lectures of Alexandre Kojéve and Jean Hippolyte.[11] But again, was Césaire's utilization of Hegel an uncritical assimilation of Western thought, exemplifying exactly what Zizek argues against, that is the "universal scope of theory" without the hard struggle and modification? There are two issues to consider: 1) the origin of Hegel's master-slave dialect is not solely European; and 2) Césaire does not apply the theory to his particular situation uncritically.

Susan Buck-Morss' essay "Hegel and Haiti" establishes that "the famous German idealist philosopher had the Saint Domingue insurgents firmly in mind during his writing of [the *Phenomenology of Spirit*]."[12] The Saint Domingue uprising against French colonialism and racism enabled Hegel to progress through his own theoretical struggle and to apply the Haitian rebellion, with its very particular context, to his System, the dialectical realization of Spirit.[13] Thus, the origin of both Césaire's account of the plight of the colonizer and Hegel's master-slave dialectic can be traced to the same events in Haitian history. Césaire contended that the Saint Domingue uprising had implications beyond its impact on the Haitian people.[14] Hegel would have agreed.

The critical nature of Césaire's appropriation of Hegel's master-slave dialectic is particularly apparent when he attacks Reverend Father Placide Tempels' application of the dialectic to the Bantu people. According to Césaire, Rev. Tempels asserts that "what [the Bantu people] desire first of all and above all is not the improvement of their economic or material situation, but the white man's recognition of and respect for their dignity as men."[15] Césaire responds to this interpretation by humorously yet furiously renouncing it: "You tip your hat to the Bantu life force, you wink to the immortal Bantu soul. And that's all it costs you! You have to admit you're getting off cheap!"[16] Césaire is not asserting that the colonized do not desire recognition from their fellow man, but he is stressing the importance of differentiating man from the barbaric animal that the colonizer ultimately becomes and the desire of the slave for something—presumably reparations and revolutionary justice—other than recognition from this animal.[17] Although Hegel does assert that the Slave can never gain recognition from the Master, qua Master, he does not address that the Master is indebted to the Slave.[18] Thus, Césaire demonstrates Zizek's notion of a theoretical struggle toward universality by challenging Rev. Tempels' naïvely Hegelian formulation. Césaire's particular and critical interpretation and appropriation of the master-slave dialectic transforms, in an appropriately dialectical fashion, Hegel's original formulation.

At least from 1931, when he traveled to Paris on an educational scholarship, Césaire was exposed to Marxist theory through association with leftist intellectuals, artists, and activists.[19] In 1945, after he had returned to Martinique, he was elected mayor of Fort-de-France and French National

6   G.W.F. Hegel, *Phenomenology of Spirit*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1977), 110.

7   Césaire, 42.

8   Ibid., 41.

9   Ibid.

10   Ibid., 36.

11   For an excellent account of this intellectual tradition, see Michael S. Roth, *Knowing and Reason: Appropriations of Hegel in Twentieth-Century France*, (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1988).

12   Silvio Torres-Saillant, *An Intellectual History of the Caribbean*, (New York: Palgrave Macmillian, 2006), 135.

13   Joan Dayan, *Haiti, History, and the Gods*, (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 143–152.

14   Torres-Saillant, 134.

15   Césaire, 58.

16   Ibid., 58, 59.

17   Ibid., 55.

18   Kojéve, 29.

19   Gregson Davis, *Cambridge Studies in African and Caribbean Literature: Aimé Césaire*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 6, 67.

Assembly Deputy as a member of the Martinican Communist Party.[20] Thus, in all aspects of his public life, he had ample opportunity to absorb Marxist principles, albeit from a Stalinist perspective. By 1955, when Editions Présence Africaine published *Discourse on Colonialism*, the influence of Marxism on Césaire's work was manifest.

An example of how Césaire's appropriation and particularization of Marxism is typified in the following passage from *Discourse on Colonialism*:

> The bourgeoisie is condemned to become every day more snarling, more openly ferocious…it is an impeccable law that every decadent class finds itself turned into a receptacle into which there flows all the dirty waters of history; that it is a universal law that before it disappears, *every class* must first disgrace itself completely [emphasis added].[21]

Césaire does not restrict his statement to the bourgeoisie. While European Marxists would agree that the "decadent" classes must disgrace themselves completely, Césaire's statement also refers to "the European working class [which] has too often joined forces with the European bourgeoisie in their support of racism, imperialism, and colonialism."[22] These criticisms of the European proletariat do not indicate that Césaire is breaking with Marxism and the notion of the working class as the historical agent of change, for Césaire closes *Discourse on Colonialism* by noting that "the salvation of Europe" is a matter of "the Revolution," propagated by "the only class that still has a universal mission…the proletariat."[23] Césaire is thus arguing that every class, even the working class, must undergo change in order to usher in a classless society. His reference to a "universal mission" also implies that it is not merely the European proletariat that must undergo this change but the proletariat of all nations, including Martinique.

Césaire's acceptance of the proletariat as the agent of change, combined with his assertion that every class, before it withers away, must disgrace itself completely, raises the question of how exactly the revolutionary proletariat is to change. Zizek reflects on this issue and notes that:

> In a radical revolution, people not only 'realize their old (emancipatory, etc.) dreams'; rather, they have to reinvent their very modes of dreaming…if we only change reality in order to realize our dreams, and do not change these dreams themselves, we sooner or later regress to old reality.[24]

In other words, the *complete* disgrace of every class entails abandoning old desires, decadent desires conditioned by class society, for new ones. Both Césaire and Zizek stress the need for an unceasing dialectical progression beyond the initial stages of the revolution.[25] Borrowing from Ernst Bloch's metaphor for the dialectic, we may say that the revolutionary not only needs to swim toward the island of utopia but, upon reaching that island (emancipation, revolutionary justice), must move on to another island, one that could not be visualized until the first one was reached.[26] In other words, the revolutionary must maintain the "not *yet* in the sense of *possibility*."[27] For Césaire, colonization entails "extraordinary *possibilities* [being] wiped out [emphasis in original]."[28] To realize these possibilities, it is not enough to end colonial rule. The former conditioning as a colonized proletarian subject must also be surpassed.

It may seem that Césaire rejects a utopian resolution of colonial and capitalist contradictions when he states that "we are not men for whom it is a question of 'either-or.' For us, the problem is not to make a *utopian* and sterile attempt to repeat the past, but to go beyond [emphasis added]."[29] However, Césaire's declaration is neither a categorical rejection of utopia nor an argument that one must strictly focus on the practical. His use of the word "utopian" and his reference to a lost past seems to draw the same distinction once made by both Bloch and Theodor Adorno between utopia as the "possible not-yet" and utopia associated with naïve or "wishful (utopian) thinking."[30] Césaire's very dialectical "both-and" reasoning accepts both the immediate demands and the "longing" for utopia as necessary conditions for revolutionary change. Césaire also clarifies that his concern for a "lost past" does not make him "a prophet of the return to the pre-European past."[31] Rather, he is concerned with the future

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[20] Ibid., 93.

[21] Césaire, 64.

[22] Kelley, 24.

[23] Césaire, 78.

[24] Zizek, 24.

[25] Hegel referred to this process of going beyond the initial synthesis as the negation of the negation.

[26] Ernst Bloch, *The Utopian Function of Art and Literature: Selected Essays*, "Something's Missing: A Discussion between Ernst Bloch and Theodor W. Adorno on the Contradictions of Utopian Longing," (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1988), 3.

[27] Bloch, 3.

[28] Césaire, 43.

[29] Césaire, 51, 52.

[30] Ibid., 1–3.

[31] Césaire, 44.

beyond colonization, for "it is the colonized man who wants to move forward, and the colonizer who holds things back."[32]

Just a year after *Discourse on Colonialism*, Césaire wrote *Letter to Maurice Thorez*, a rejection of Stalin's crimes and the suppression of the Hungarian revolution. In the Thorez letter he "questioned whether the orthodox Marxist analysis of a capitalist economy even applies to Martinican conditions" and pointed to "Maoist China as a model for rural developing nations."[33] Césaire could thus support Marxism and revolutionary politics without upholding the stringent orthodoxy that would demand that all adherents see European conditions and solutions as universal. Césaire does allow that certain universal laws exist, but these laws adapt to very particular conditions. Again, in the Thorez letter, Césaire states that "my conception of the universal is of a universal rich with the particular, rich with all particulars."[34] Thus, Césaire opts to "re-define the 'universal' in a way that [does] not privilege Europe."[35] This redefinition is Césaire's intervention in the dialectical struggle between the universal and the particular and is integral to his political project. As René Depestre said in an interview with Césaire, Césaire's goal is to "particularize Communism."[36]

To be sure, some commentators take Césaire's focus on "the colonial question" as an indication that the tenants of *Discourse on Colonialism* are incompatible with Marxism.[37] Kelley posits that Césaire "was neither confused about Marxism nor masquerading as a Marxist."[38] Kelley, while correct that Césaire is not confused about Marxism, may not fully appreciate that Césaire demonstrates that he is a true Marxist when he accepts a necessary alteration or modification of Marxism's theoretical substance to account for new or changing conditions. Césaire is not disavowing Marxism, but rather rejecting its reification by expanding its principles to include an in-depth analysis of colonialism. The following formulation is a good example of this expansion: "They [bourgeois Europeans] talk to me about civilization, I talk about proletarianization and mystification."[39] Here, Césaire simultaneously critiques the bourgeois attempt to legitimize colonialism, points to its concrete effects on the colonized subject, and references both the proletariat and the notion of mystification from Marx's discussion of commodity fetishism

and the alienation of wage-labor. Although Césaire is addressing his particular context, his concern for his local political and historical situation is not an indication that his theoretical work is not Marxist. On the contrary, the history of Marxism exhibits that almost all Marxists have been confronted with the need to modify and expand upon Marx's original formulations to utilize them for their particular context.

Marx asserts in his *Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's "Philosophy of Right"* that a democratic formation presupposes "the true unity of the general and the particular."[40] Césaire's *Discourse on Colonialism* is a polemic against the denial of the particular in any political philosophy. He underscores his viewpoint in one of his most famous formulations:

> What I demand of Marxism and Communism is that they serve the black peoples, not that the black peoples serve Marxism and Communism. Philosophies and movements must serve the people, not the people the doctrine and the movement.[41]

In other words, Césaire is arguing against the notion of an immutable or pure universal theory, for this kind of universality entails either subservience or exclusion. Therefore, his task is not only to struggle to apply Hegelian and Marxist theory to his particular conditions but also to imbue these theories with his particular context, thereby approaching a universality "rich with the particular." By examining Césaire's modification of theory, I have tried to encourage an interpretation of *Discourse on Colonialism* that enables it to seriously alter the theories that have informed it. Nevertheless, as with Bloch's utopia, the universality of theory is never entirely reached but always reached for, again and again.

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[34] Davis, 92.

[35] Kelley, 25.

[36] Césaire, 85.

[37] Kelley, 8.

[38] Ibid., 10.

[39] Césaire, 44.

[40] Karl Marx, "Contribution to the Critique of Hegel's 'Philosophy of Right,'" ed. Robert C. Tucker, *The Marx-Engels Reader* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 1978), 21.

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Cross-Cultural Research of the Thematic Apperception Test and Other TAT-like Tests

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Milushka Mijailovna Charcape, a dual major in Religious Studies and Psychology, hails from Brooklyn, NY. After she graduates in June 2009, she intends to study Social Psychology in graduate school—more specifically, psychological elements present in militant groups (with possible religious ties), concentrating on Islam, but including groups beyond radical Islam, such as FARC and Shining Path, each with their own religious demographics.

Abstract

This research paper investigated the accuracy and limitations of projective tests (which followed the model of the Thematic Apperception Test) in cross-cultural settings. The paper tackles the difficulties of using a Western-style psychological projective test (Thematic Apperception Test) with populations which may not be familiar with them, based on a hypothesis that such tests would affect participants' scores negatively—drawing on four articles about how using a TAT-like test had a significant negative influence on the scores of various ethnic populations, in which poorer performance was often due to external factors (e.g., language barriers). Ultimately, the paper conveys the importance of having culturally sensitive tests.

As a research-oriented science, psychology has had to deal with different demographics. Moreover, multicultural issues in the field of psychology have been a growing concern over the past decades. Various tests used to assess individuals' needs use heavily Western themes and the Thematic Apperception Test (TAT) developed by Henry Murray is no exception. In this paper, I will research the accuracy and problematic nature of assessing people with the TAT (or TAT-like tests) in cross-cultural settings. The hypothesis is that due to differences in culture, language barriers, and a lack of familiarity in the pictures and tests presented, the TAT is less effective at accurately identifying needs in people from diverse cultures. Therefore, substitute similar exams which are tailored to the specific cultures are needed in order to make a correct assessment. The literature review of these journals supports the hypothesis and offers several solutions that can be implemented to counter the limitations.

In a research article by Bailey and Green (1977), the authors sought to use a variation of the TAT that served African Americans. Consequently, they developed the Experimental TAT (E-TAT) to see if "culturally congruent stimuli could add […] validity to personality assessment." The participants in the study were 135 black males, of three different age groups (17–18, 19–22, and 25–45). Given that

a 3X3 factorial design was used, the total number of participants was divided in three and the TAT, the Thompson Modification of the TAT (T-TAT), and the E-TAT cards were then used and shown to the participants for 5–7 minutes. The participants were then asked to write a story regarding the card. After the task was completed, the results were given to 18 graduate psychology students who had been trained and instructed on rating the TAT. The main prediction of this study was that the sample would be more responsive to the E-TAT than to any other projective test used in the study.

Kline and Svaste-Xuto's study (1981) compared the responses of Thai and British Children in the Children Apperception Test (CAT), a variation of the TAT for children. This study was carried out by showing the children (80 Thai and 40 British, both between 4–6 years old) several CAT cards, and then providing them with regular instructions. Dissimilar themes were anticipated to emerge between these two populations. The only difference between these two samples was that the instructions were given to the participants in their native language. A chi-square analysis was then "carried out, to investigate […] cultural differences in the responses."

Another study that directly compared a non-Western and Western sample was done by Hofer and Chasiotis (2004). Bias issues were discussed and a comparison between the results of German and Zambian adolescents was carried out. A TAT-like test was administered to 121 Zambian adolescents and 126 German participants. Both German and Zambian adolescents were given 20–30 seconds to look at the pictures and $4^1/_2$–5 minutes to write a story about it. After this, the stories were graded by two trained assistants on n (need) for Achievement, n for Affiliation–Intimacy, and n for Power. The experimenters hypothesized that due to the "sample characteristics, use of language, and education" the results yielded from the Zambian sample would be vastly different from the German sample in terms of expressing implicit motives.

Finally, the last demographic researched was the Hispanic community. A study by Malgady and Costantino (1984) used a test similar to the TAT called TEMAS *(tell me a story)* and administered it to 210 (120 male, 90 female) clinical Puerto Rican children and 73 public school children. The TEMAS pictures portray characters familiar to the participant (Hispanic figures) in a "psychological conflict" with issues involving "moral judgment, delay of gratification," etc. Compared to the TAT, this stimulus is less ambiguous,

which has the added benefit of helping test-takers produce more material. The test is even presented in color, which might help evoke certain feelings in participants. The clinical group belonged to "lower-middle-class families." The participants first went though a number of screenings and then were given a series of tests to see their overall functioning. Mentally fit children were given the TEMAS test and had 2–4 minutes to develop a story. The stories produced by these children were then graded by bilingual graduate students (experienced in grading such tests) on a 4-point scale, which ranged from 1 (highly maladaptive) to 4 (highly adaptive). The authors expected, due to familiarity and possible identification with the figures in the test, that participants would perform better than in previous studies, where the scores were noticeably lower for Hispanic groups.

The four studies focused on a broad cross-cultural aspect of projective tests that followed, more or less, the model of the TAT. The results obtained from all of these studies demonstrate different reasons why a TAT-like test would be inappropriate for different ethnic groups and, most importantly, show that different ethnic groups do not respond comparably to their Western counterparts on these tests. Finally, greater eloquence and higher test scores are revealed when the tests are specifically designed for the participants and when the participants become more familiar with the test and the premise of psychology itself.

The study by Bailey and Green reflected that a culturally compatible TAT-like test (i.e., E-TAT) facilitates a positive participant rating of the test material. The results show that the "subject perception of the test is affected by the stimulus material," which inevitably affects the results. More importantly, although not all results proved to be significant, it became clear that participants had a favorable difference in ratings when provided with a test that was suitable for their ethnicity. These results support the hypothesis that a test, such as the TAT, should tailor itself to the many ethnicities to which it is administered and suggests that the accuracy of the results will reflect the improved test. Furthermore, through the familiarity gained by the pictures displayed on the test, the participants became more aware of race, which might have awakened feelings regarding this issue.

The study by Kline and Svaste-Xuto was the only one that concluded that the CAT could be used cross-culturally with children. Although there were no main differences between Thai and British participants, I would contend that the study might not have picked up on subtle differences from the results. For example, difference in themes in the

participants' responses should have been examined further and tied to the "ambiguous" stimuli presented in the cards. Possibly, the situations presented were foreign to the Thai participants and this led to their negative response; hence, the themes of mild violence and being hurt emerged. It is also worth noting that the number of participants used in the study was very small, making it difficult therefore, to detect a clear pattern.

Discussion

The Hofer and Chasiotis study exemplifies the need for different tests and expresses the reasons why validity decreases when using a Western test on different samples. Through the results, one sees that German participants "produced significantly more material than Zambian participants." Major factors that contributed to the discrepancy between both samples were fluency of the language (those who wrote in Chitonga expressed themselves more clearly than those who wrote in English), education level, and familiarity with the test. The last item was perhaps the most significant, as participants with little working knowledge of psychology and psychological testing produced less writing or simply described the pictures instead of creating a story. These reasons led the authors to conclude that the "assessment of motives in Zambia seem to be biased […] and such method affects the validity of the findings." Further venues for research are then suggested and the "definitions of […] constructs" used in cross-cultural research questioned. Finally, the researchers call for a more culturally diverse psychology force, as they urge the raters of such tests to be more knowledgeable of the culture they are evaluating. The authors state that "it is necessary to be prepared to adapt […] scoring systems and stimulus cues to characteristics […] in non-Western cultures." These results demonstrate the inherent bias of these tests. Unless they are adapted for ethnically diverse sample populations, the results will continue to lack meaning.

While the Costantino and Malgady study offered conflicting results, the study nevertheless illustrated that TEMAS was by far a better fit for Hispanic urban children. As can be viewed in Table 2, when scored for personality functions, the public school participants did better than the clinical participants in indexes such as self-concept, fluency, etc. A significant criterion-related validity measure (R = .32 to .51) emerged from the TEMAS profiles and measures such as trait anxiety, self-concept, mother-behavior rating, etc. which point to a moderate correlation. The authors concluded from this study that through "construct[ing] the TEMAS with

Hispanic characters […it] promoted greater identification and enhanced verbal fluency and self-disclosure of personality dynamics." This study served as an important step toward moving to a more culturally aware realm of psychology testing. While the gains that were observed were modest, arguably the development of other tests even better suited for this community may reap greater benefits.

Although all the articles reviewed here focused on different ethnic groups, the agreement among them is clear; more sensitive tests are needed to evaluate different ethnic groups. New methods of administration and culturally sensitive therapists are needed interpreting these tests. Projective tests, such as the TAT, do not reach their maximum efficiency when employed in a "one-size fits all" model given that the needs of different populations and communities need to be specifically addressed when administering such tests.

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The Language of Carnival

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Aisha Douglas, an English major from Trinidad, W.I., will be graduating in spring 2009. Her interest in the topic of her article grew from a professor's encouragement to explore language in some context she found personally relevant in a Linguistics class.

Abstract

Growing up as a young girl in Trinidad, I realized that the language of Carnival is quite distinct and that the language of the festival tells a story about its history and development. This paper presents a comparison of Trinidadian Carnival with Brazilian Carnival, the two largest versions of the festival, set in two countries extremely rich in culture and history.

As a Trinidadian, the roots of Carnival have always been a mystery to me. Where did this festival originate, and why did it flourish in Trinidad in this manner? Exploring this topic caught my interest because I felt I could possibly determine the answer to these questions by examining the language of the festival in Trinidad. The more deeply I delved into my research, the more my questions evolved. I encountered information showing the development of the festival in different parts of the world. While the festival is prominent in many different places, my focus centered on the Brazilian *carnaval*, which has become the most recognized carnival celebration in the world with Trinidad placing a close second. My current intent is discovering how and why the festivals developed differently in both places by examining the language of the festival.

Carnival, one of the most popular events to take place worldwide, has flourished in both Trinidad and Brazil, yet the language and structure of the festival differs greatly in each place. In David Crystal's *The Stories of English*, he reveals how the development of English reflected the people and events of the society at the time. He shows the effect settlers in England had on the language and how events like the Industrial Revolution initiated the passage of English from the Middle English stage to the Modern English stage. Drawing on this research, my hope is that exploring the language of the festival will help lead me to the reasons for the contrasting developments of the Carnival festival in Brazil and Trinidad. More precisely I ask—what does the language of the festival tell us about its development and evolution to these modern forms?

Carnival in its earliest recorded form is a Greek spring festival in honor of the god of wine, Dionysus. The Romans had a similar festival celebrating their god of wine, Bacchus.

This celebration, referred to as Bacchanalia, is described as a festival of pure, hedonistic debauchery. These early celebrations are still represented in modern versions of the carnival. To this day in Trinidad, the carnival celebrations are referred to as a time of pure "bacchanal." Carol Martin best defines this term in her Carnival Glossary as "rowdy behavior, a party; popularly used to refer to any situation in which there is excess confusion" (221). However, the premises of the festivals we know today originated from Greek celebrations adopted by the Roman Catholic Church. The Church's version of the festival was fashioned, intentionally or not, as "a massive celebration of indulgences—one last gasp of music, food, alcohol, and sex before Lent—before the 40 days of personal reflection, abstinence, and fasting until Easter" (*Afropop Worldwide*). The Roman Catholics named their festival *carnevale* from the Latin "Carne Vale" literally meaning "Farewell to the Flesh."

In Brazil, the carnival celebrations grew out of a feast given to mark the beginning of *quaresma*, what we know as Lent. The feast, *entrudo*, like the earlier Roman Catholic versions of the festival, was the last day before the beginning of Lent and allowed the people an outlet for indulgences prohibited during Lent. Introduced by immigrants from the Portuguese islands Açores, Madeira, and Cabo Verde who settled in Brazil in the 1800s, the *entrudo* was eventually phased out due to the violence that occurred during the festival. Wanting to keep the celebrations, but curb the violence, the *entrudo* was combined with aspects of a festival known as *carnaval* that was being celebrated at the time in Nice and Venice. With this combination, the *entrudo* ceased to exist, substituted by pre-Lenten festival Carnaval.

Up until the time of the merger, the Rio de Janeiro carnaval as we know it today did not exist. There was no organized structure for the celebration until the mid-1800s when *Grandes Sociedades* or the Great Societies debuted. This parade was the first masquerade-type parade featuring costumes, music, etc. but only involved the aristocratic classes of Brazilian society. It was not until the late-1800s, after the abolition of slavery in Brazil, that carnaval celebrations included both the aristocracy and the lower classes due to the creation of the *Ranchos Carnavalescos* and the involvement of the people of Bahia or black Brazilians. From that point onwards, the festival developed with the *escolas de samba* (samba schools) which form the beautiful, costumed parades with music and choreographed dancing that we know today as Carnaval in Brazil. The *samba* is an eclectic mix of Angolan *semba*, European polka, African *batuques*,

with touches of Cuban *habanera*, and this mix is represented in the aesthetic aspects of the modern festival.

In the same period, the carnival celebrations in Trinidad were being celebrated in a slightly different manner. At that time Trinidad was colonized by Spain, however, when Spain issued the Cedula of Population in 1776, it opened the island up to French settlers who brought with them a completely different culture of music, dance, food, and festivals. With Trinidad's subsequent colonization by the British in 1797, in similar fashion to Brazil, a fusion of cultures occurred and a unique form of Carnival emerged. Whereas the *entrudo* was violent, chaotic, and opened to everyone, the festival in Trinidad took the form of organized masquerade balls involving only the white upper class—slaves were not permitted to take part in the festivities. For these balls, the white slave owners dressed as *Negues Jadin* (Garden Negroes) and *mulatresses*. They also reenacted the *Cannes Brulées* (Burning Canes), the practice of rounding up slaves to put out fires in the cane field (library2.nalis.gov.tt).

In 1838 enslaved Africans were emancipated, resulting in yet another shift in the festival's structure as former slaves began to take part in the festivities. The emancipated slaves maintained many of the previous attributes of the festival but now the situation was reversed. Assuming the dress of their masters, former slaves imitated them in the form of the *Dame Lorraine*, a traditional Carnival character who originated to mock French plantation wives (Martin 225). The former slaves kept the *Cannes Brulees*—which later became Canboulay—incorporating their drums and music into the festivities, and thus the modern form of Trinidadian Carnival was born. The *chantwell*, derived from the French *chanterelle* meaning "soloist" (Martin, 224), brought with her *kaiso*, a call and response song indigenous to the West African (Hausa) slaves, which eventually developed into modern day *calypso*.

Taking a similar route as the *entrudo*, the white colonizers attempted to regain control of the festival by barring new African contribution to the festivities. The slaves rebelled, and the aristocracy was forced to concede; however, the *Canboulay* was then replaced with the *Jouvert* (pronounced jou-vay) celebrations. *Jouvert*, a contraction joining the French words *jour* and *overt*, literally translates to "opening day," introduced a slew of new characters which marked the beginning of a greater African influence on the festival. Carnival now officially began with this parade, which occurred in the wee hours of the morning on the Monday before Ash Wednesday. With Jouvert came the *Jab Jab*, a traditional Carnival devil character. Derived from the French word *diable*, it gradually modulated into the patois *jiable* and from that to *Jab Jab* (Martin 227).

In Trinidad, much like Brazil, the gradual involvement of the aristocracy, former enslaved Africans, and the lower classes resulted in a new platform for the carnival festival. The result of this fusion was manifested in the Brazilian *escolas de samba*, evidenced by *Dimanche Gras* (Fat Sunday) in Trinidad. *Dimanche Gras* was implemented in 1948 to accommodate the return of the upper classes to the carnival celebrations. With the incorporation of *Dimanche Gras*, the festival flourished as a platform for calypso and the display and competition of the King and Queen of the festival.

Ultimately, what I hope to demonstrate with this paper is how history can be reflected in the evolution of language in a country. While in Trinidad, French and patois (of multiple forms) are no longer spoken, the cultural contributions of early settlers and African slaves can be traced through the development of the festival. Carnival in these Caribbean and Latin American countries is not only celebrated with colorful costumes and lively music, the calypsos and sambas, carnival bands and *escolas de sambas*, but they also narrate political struggle, emancipation, and the continuous effort of the lower classes to effect social change and create a cultural identity.

This paper provided me with a somewhat startling discovery. In this research, I expected to discover a myriad of differences between the festivals and their development beyond language. In fact, I was so confident that I started this paper with the intention of showing these differences through the language. What I discovered, however, was that while the languages were different—Brazilian Portuguese and the French and patois influence in Trinidad—the evolution of the festivals was very similar. Festivals in both countries emerged from the increasing incorporation of lower class contributions in aristocratic celebration. Indeed it was the rich culture of the African slaves that helped create the world famous festivals that we know today as Brazilian *carnaval* and Trinidadian carnival. While there are stylistic differences in the execution of the festivals, examining the language of these festivals actually proved to me that there is a greater connection between the two than I could have ever possibly imagined.

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From Blackface to Bling Bling: Tracing the Images of African American Women and Men in Minstrel Shows and Rap Music Videos

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Abstract

This paper is taken from the prospectus for my MMUF research. It argues that rap music videos have become the new minstrel show, portraying stereotypical images of African American men and women that actually originated in the era when blackface minstrelsy was popular.

Introduction

Minstrelsy, the performance or portrayal of African Americans in a negative manner by attributing certain characteristics, mannerisms, and dialect to African Americans as a whole, became the new form of entertainment in the mid-1800s. Originally minstrelsy was performed by Caucasians in blackface, which required the performers or actors to cover their faces in black makeup and exaggerate their lips with red or white paint. Caucasian performers made up to appear black then portrayed what they perceived to be African American women and men during slavery. The characters portrayed were oftentimes ignorant, docile, submissive, and lazy. Each element of the minstrel show contributed to the idea that black men and women were inferior. Throughout the history of performing minstrelsy, African American characterizations were presented as accurately representing all enslaved African Americans.

Because Caucasian performers or minstrels were attempting to impersonate African Americans, blackface minstrelsy was born, becoming a popular form of entertainment. It was not until 1865 that the first all black minstrel show was organized, in which African Americans entertained Caucasians by impersonating Caucasians' impression of enslaved African Americans. During the late 1800s and early 1900s as the popularity increased for African American minstrel troupes, African American minstrels blackened their faces in the tradition of the Caucasian minstrels. African American minstrels presented an imitation of an imitation of plantation life of southern African Americans (Sampson 1–2).

Slave impersonations were developed based on the supposed characteristics of slave life and led to the creation of specific images that were automatically associated with African American men and women. The characters "Jim Crow," a plantation slave who wore haggard clothing and spoke with a thick accent, and "Zip Coon," an urban slave who dressed in the best of tailored suits and lived to impress young women, were just two of the many male characters portrayed in minstrel shows (Southern 89).

The Aunt Jemima/Mammy character was associated with African American woman during the minstrelsy era. Sweet, jolly, even tempered and polite, the Aunt Jemima/Mammy image was a popular cultural icon for Caucasians, but was perceived as racist by many African Americans. Gingham-dressed Aunt Jemima usually depicted as obese, dark, broad-bosomed and content with being a servant, for many African Americans was a caricature that represented stupidity and docility. The combination of the Mammy and Aunt Jemima was an attempt to create out of two images, the quintessential African American woman (Warren 1). Another cultural image associated with African American females was Jezebel. Physical features associated with the Jezebel, the "bad" black girl, include a fair complexion, thin lips, and long straight hair—features typically considered European. The depiction of Jezebel as alluring, sexually arousing, and seductive was used to insinuate hypersexuality among all African American women (Jewell 46). Ultimately, the African American woman was portrayed as either an oversexed object or as a masculine, unattractive servant.

Stereotypical images and portrayals are re-emerging in the rap music video, defining the way in which Caucasians and African Americans alike view African American men and women today. While the evolution of the rap music video has opened the door for the increase of images of African Americans, these videos have also affected the public's perception of African Americans. If the rap music video, in its inception, was another means to promote rap music, it has become today's minstrel show. Rap music videos present African American men as being larger than life and with misogynistic attitudes. African American women have been mistreated and misrepresented throughout the history of rap music videos. In fact, disrespecting African American women has been a recurring element of this genre's history and though other forms of media, including television, film, and advertisements, provide a variety of images of African American women, rap music videos have developed a system of presenting degrading images of African American women (Watkins 215).

Cultural debates and controversy have increased over the composition of the female body/image in rap music videos. Particularly, the coining of the term "video ho," as part of pop culture's terminology, has led to the misrepresentation of African American women in rap music videos, producing a

new, derogatory stereotype of African American women. This new type of image or character, whose roles range from groupie to exotic dancer, from servant to seductress, has become a necessary figure in rap music videos. These four types of characters played by women are strategically placed in videos in order to portray African American women as eye candy. By contrast, the African American male, shown in comedy skits, reality television, film, and music videos, has been associated with the image of the high-rolling, cash-money, pimped-out figure (Watkins 215).

Methodology

I would like to examine minstrelsy and rap music videos in order to shed light on how stereotypical images of African American men and women, 150 years ago and today, have been significant in forming perceptions of the African American population among society at large. I will begin by exploring the stereotypes of African Americans created and performed by Caucasians in blackface by focusing on the main characters that were performed during minstrel shows. I will attempt to establish the significance and descriptions of the stereotypical African American characters in minstrel shows by drawing on the research of Bogle's *Toms, Coons, Mulattoes, Mammies, and Bucks: An Interpretive History of Blacks in American Films* (2001). More specifically, I would like to trace the history of the standard African American male and female characters in minstrel shows. To examine the four customary images associated with African American women in the performance of minstrelsy—Mammy, Aunt Jemima, Sapphire, and Jezebel—I will draw on K. Sue Jewell's *From Mammy to Miss America and Beyond* (1993), which offers a meticulous dissection of these caricatures. I will also use Jackson's *Scripting the Black Masculine Body: Identity, Discourse, and Racial Politics in Popular Media* (2006) as a source for the stereotypical images of the African American male performed in minstrelsy.

In order to illustrate the connection between the images of African Americans in minstrel shows and in rap music videos, I will analyze the evolution of the African American male and female image in rap music videos. S. Craig Watkins' *Hip Hop Matters: Politics, Pop Culture, and the Struggle for the Soul of a Movement* (2005) provides a look into rap music videos and how they portray African American men and women. Moreover, Ronald L. Jackson's *Scripting the Black Masculine Body* offers another look at the representation of the African American male in contemporary hip hop culture. Eric Dyson, a noted hip hop scholar, has published works that will assist me in evaluating the images of both African American men and women in hip

hop. Additionally, I would like to incorporate the significance of the industry behind rap music videos in order to better understand the motivations behind perpetuating stereotypical images of African Americans. The history of minstrelsy and rap music videos in the realm of hip hop will shed light on how the stereotypical images of African American men and women of today and 150 years ago were significant in forming peoples' perception of the African American population.

Conclusion

As I continue to research the African American image in minstrelsy and rap music videos, I anticipate that I will find that many of the images found in minstrelsy have re-emerged in the rap music video. The differences in minstrel shows and rap music videos stem from the complete dissolution of characters like Mammy and Aunt Jemima and a resurfacing and emphasis on characters similar to the Jezebel or Sapphire. This may be the same for the images associated with the African American male. Determining if there is a correlation between minstrelsy and rap music videos will require more scholarship, critique, and analysis.

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"Just Wait, There May Be Fireworks": Shirley Chisholm and the Performance of Black Feminist Politics

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Abstract

This essay is taken from a chapter of my senior honors thesis entitled "The Politics of Liminality: The Public Sphere and First Generation Black American Identity in the Works of Shirley Chisholm, Colin Powell, and Barack Obama." In this essay, I try to create an understanding of the ways in which Shirley Chisholm negotiated the liminal racial space that she occupied as a Black female politician born to West Indian parents. I argue that she does so through centering, and thus performing, Black feminist consciousness in her political practice.

> "The Black man must step forward, but that doesn't mean that Black women have to step back."[1]
> —*Former Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm*

Gloria Steinem, the long respected feminist scholar and activist, caused quite a bit of controversy with the publication of her *New York Times* editorial critiquing the rhetoric and politics of the 2008 presidential election. Steinem begins the article by describing presidential hopeful Achola Obama: "...the woman in question became a lawyer...is the mother of two little girls, ages 9 and 6...the daughter of a white American mother and a black African father—in this race-conscious country, she is considered black—she served as a state legislator for eight years, and became an inspirational voice for national unity" (Steinem). Steinem then asks the reader to be honest and answer the question: "After less than one term there, do you believe she could be a viable candidate to head the most powerful nation on Earth?" Steinem assures the reader that they aren't alone in their assumptions that this person wouldn't ever be elected president and demonstrates how gender is "the most restricting force in American life" because black men were granted the right to vote half a century before women.

Steinem's analysis is correct on two fronts: 1) Achola Obama would indeed be considered a black American in this country, and 2) gender is a restricting force in American life. However, Steinem's analysis falls short because of the lack of acknowledgement of a Black feminist voice in her analysis of the 2008 presidential election. The fact that she uses a Black woman to personify this point adds insult to injury and fits into the larger historical presence of white feminist activists (mis)using Blackness as a way of articulating their (white) experience with gender oppression. Through my research, I seek to deconstruct this relationship through a Black feminist critique of partisan politics, using Shirley Chisholm's political career as my site of analysis. In this chapter, I argue that Shirley Chisholm negotiates the liminal space she occupies as a first-generation black American politician by doing what Black women have done for centuries: responding to the conditions of their lives as gendered and racialized beings. I utilize José Esteban Muñoz's theory of *disidentifications* to demonstrate that Chisholm performance of Black feminist politics was considered queer[2] at the time because she placed, at the center of her legislative inquiry, a Black feminist understanding of how politics should operate.

Black Womanhood, Feminism, and Liminality

In my first chapter, I argue that first generation black American politicians occupy a liminal space[3] that is constructed by a white public sphere that consumes these figures as non-white and with a new racial lens. I also argued that the ways in which Colin Powell and Barack Obama negotiate this third space is through reinvesting in the masculinity that allows them to reconstruct their citizenship and make them more digestible to the American public. This presents an interesting situation for Chisholm, who isn't able to negotiate her identities by holding onto a masculine identity on which this nation was founded.[4] My research demonstrates that Shirley Chisholm's negotiation of this third space is linked to the articulation of Black feminist thought that emerged before and during Chisholm's political career. In order to gain an understanding of the importance of Chisholm's career to Black feminist movements, I will outline important arguments in Black feminist thought and how they relate to liminality.

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[1] Quote taken from *New York Times* article: "This is Fighting Shirley Chisholm." April 13, 1969.

[2] In this essay, I utilize the term "queer" to refer to the ways in which Shirley Chisholm's politics and identity were seen as non-normative because they were rooted in a Black feminist consciousness that subverted the political world that was dominated by white men.

[3] Liminal is derived from the latin word *limin*, meaning threshold. I use the term to refer to the space that first generation black Americans occupy as not being the descendants of former slaves, but also having a closer cultural tie to America than the land from which their parents immigrated.

[4] For further conversations about manhood and the State, please consult *Manhood and Politics: A Feminist Reading in Political Theory* by Wendy Brown.

In the introduction to the groundbreaking anthology, *Words of Fire: An Anthology of African-American Feminist Thought* (1995), Beverly Guy-Sheftall creates a genealogy of Black feminist thought from the late 1800s to the late 1900s. Though a lofty project in scope, Guy-Sheftall argues the importance of having Black feminist voices included into histories that have systemically erased their lived experiences given racism and sexism that dictate the ways in which knowledge is produced (4). She begins her analysis by naming the Black female abolitionists in the 1830s who were confronted with both the realities of slavery and the resistance of white women who maintained that Black women weren't women because they couldn't ascribe to the Victorian gender roles dictating proper female practices (Guy-Sheftall 1). As a result, Black women faced a "race" and "gender" problem that proliferated throughout the 19th century around issues of abortion, Black Nationalism, voting rights, and economic justice. Their constant negotiation of that fine line between the race and gender divide suggests that a third and liminal space has always existed as a condition in the lives of women of color.

The implications of this third-space (liminal) negotiation have resulted in feminist actions against racism and patriarchy, though not always explicitly stated as such. In her book *Blues Legacies and Black Feminism: Gertrude "Ma" Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Billie Holiday* (1998), Angela Davis articulates a feminist consciousness regarding how Black female blues singers navigated the liminal spaces constructed for them by commenting on sexism, racism, and sexuality in their music. Davis asserts that the intersections of gender, race, class, and sexuality were "central to women's blues" (11). It was the inclusion of personal experience and aesthetics that helped to create an "oppositional attitude toward patriarchal ideology" through performance and powerful Black female performances (144). The performativity that Davis writes of, although does not explicitly name, greatly contributed to the ways Black female blues figures negotiated this third space:

> Classic blues comprised an important elaboration of black working-class social consciousness. Gertrude Rainey's and Bessie Smith's songs constituted historical preparation for social protest. They also foreshadowed a brand of protest that refused to privilege racism over sexism, or the conventional public realm over the private as the preeminent domain of power…it is important to understand women's blues [performance] as a form that anticipates the politicization of the "personal" through the dynamic of "consciousness-raising" (42).

The negotiation of liminal space within the realms of the public sphere and entertainment became a political project for Black female blues singers and had a lasting impact on the ways in which Black women would negotiate their identities, represent themselves, and personalize the political for decades to come.

The Queering of Performance

Recent scholarship on performance and the occupying of liminal spaces follows the trajectory of Davis' work on Black blues singers and feminist politics. In his text *Disidentifications: Queers of Color and the Performance of Politics* (1999), Muñoz presents theories centered on queers of color, emphasizing their performance(s) in a hegemonic world that has marginalized them both racially and in terms of gender and sexual identity. His theory of "disidentification" provides a way to present the ways that queers of color practice identity formation as intersectional bodies in order to find themselves in a world that classified them with more than one *minoritarian* identity. Muñoz writes, "[T]he theory of disidentification that I am offering is meant to contribute to an understanding of the ways in which queers of color identify with ethnos or queerness despite the phobic charges in both fields" (11). He shows that minority subjects affected by both racial and sexual marginalization must "work with/resist the conditions of impossibility that dominant culture generates" in order to both resist the ways that the majoritarian subject (read: white, heterosexual, and affluent) perceives their bodies and to "confound socially perceptive patterns of identification" (6, 28).

In describing the contributions of feminist of color performers to the queer of color community, he further outlines his theory of disidentification:

> The importance of such public and semipublic enactments of the hybrid self cannot be undervalued in relation to the formation of counterpublics that contest the hegemonic supremacy of the majoritarian public sphere. Spectacles such as those that Gomez [Latina feminist performer] presents offer the minoritarian subject a space to situate itself in history and thus seize social agency (1).

Muñoz feels that it is significant for queers of color to 'seize' agency over their identity and make it their own, thus 'tactically' working against 'cultural form': "a disidentifying subject works to hold on to this object and invest it with new life" (12). This new life, according to Muñoz, allows the queer of color subject some subjectivity when dealing with his or her own identity in relation to the larger society: "To disidentify is to read oneself and one's own life narrative in a moment,

object, or subject that is not culturally coded to 'connect' with the disidentifying subject" (12). Moreover, Muñoz's theory provides not only a manner to examine majoritarian society and how it has constructed marginal identities, but also provides authority for the queer body to identify in unlikely ways:

> The process of disidentification scrambles and reconstructs the encoded message of a cultural text in a fashion that empowers minority identities and identifications…it proceeds to represent a disempowered politics or positionality that has been rendered unthinkable by the dominant culture" (31).

Given Muñoz's insightful theory, I am interested in exploring how the links between queer and feminist theory and performance theory can help us understand how *intersectional* bodies marginalized by *multiple forms* of oppression occupy liminal spaces for performance.

Shirley Chisholm as Black, Female, and Queer?

Putting Chisholm's political thought and practice into conversation with Muñoz's theory of disidentification allows for a more nuanced, complex understanding of queer identity, performance, and public consumption. I believe that Chisholm's occupation of the liminal space that comes as a result of a white gaze of her first-generation American identity is both linked to and made more insurmountable by her race and gender identities.

In her autobiography entitled *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), Chisholm tells the story of her life growing up in Barbados and Brooklyn, New York, to her days as a Congresswoman and her plans for the future. In the book, Chisholm spends a great deal describing her situation as a Black female politician within an incredibly white male dominated space. She says that being the first Black woman elected to Congress made evident that "this society is as antiwoman as it is antiblack" (168). Chisholm was always sure to put women of color at the center of her analysis of partisan politics. One such example was in her essay articulating her public stance on abortions:

> For me to take the lead in an abortion repeal would be an even more serious step than for a white politician to do so, because there is a deep and angry suspicion among many blacks that even birth control clinics are a plot by the white power structure to keep down the numbers of blacks, and this opinion is even more strongly held by some in regard to legalizing abortions. But I do not know any black or Puerto Rican *women* who feel that way (114).

Chisholm's analysis clearly demonstrates her desire to implicate the lives and lived experiences of women of color in her politics and political decision-making, even if it is in response to the masculinist nationalist movements that came to mark the racial discourse of that moment.

Muñoz's analysis of this minoritiarian position—one that takes an intersectional analysis into the public sphere—can be useful in thinking about Chisholm's political views on abortion and the political issues that women of color were facing. For instance, Chisholm's analysis was in a context in which the woman of color's body was "brought in to the public purview" due to the looming *Roe v. Wade* trial which "dissolved the right to privacy" of all women of color (1). As a result, Chisholm created a space, which "permits… [women of color] to imagine a world where [women's] lives, politics, and possibilities are representable in their complexity" (1). Thus, Chisholm is putting Muñoz's theory to practice in that she is providing a space for the women of color to take the power of looking at majoritarian society and allowing it to give them authority that would be otherwise unthinkable (i.e., an entirely queer space). By providing women of color the ballot as a space to challenge common notions of a queer of color identity, Chisholm is disidentifying with her [racial and gender?] identity by making all people question the notion of what a Black woman should be and how she can exert her power.

Chisholm's negotiation of this liminal space didn't just come in the form of her legislative duties. Chisholm was also very critical of society in general for their sexist and racist practices: "In the end, anti-black, anti-female, and all forms of discrimination are equivalent to the same thing—antihumanism" (166). Chisholm caused quite a bit of controversy when, in her 1973 autobiography, *The Good Fight*, she said, "I had met far more discrimination because I am a woman than because I am black" (32). While it could be read as Chisholm placing a hierarchy on the oppressions she faced in her daily life, I believe that this quote requires a more nuanced reading given Chisholm's position as a Black feminist literally legislating the politics of liminality. I argue that Chisholm is explicitly speaking of a Black female experience in all of her rhetoric surrounding issues of race and/or gender. Chisholm, unlike many other politicians, spoke from her *personal* experience and *politicized* the identities that made her a liminal subject.

In following Muñoz's analysis, it is evident to me that Chisholm exhibits what I would like to call the identity of a *queer politico* because she used her "minoritarian" experience

to ground and center her *majoritarian subjectivity* as a politician who occupied a privileged space. In breaking with traditional modes of legislating her constituents, Chisholm was not only partaking in a long historical trajectory of Black feminist responses to racism and sexism but did so in a highly performative way, creating her own center and public, as opposed to assimilating into one that had been created for her.

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Liberation on the Brinks: A Comparative Study on the Goals and Achievements of the Cuban Revolution, the Civil Rights, and Black Power Movements in the United States

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Abstract

This paper is an excerpt of my final Mellon project. The full paper covers three areas of comparison, including poor housing conditions, inadequate healthcare, and judicial inequality for the oppressed masses.

In revolutionary and reformative movements all over the world, there are sets of goals and achievements the participants develop and experience. For instance, the goal of participants in the American Revolution was to gain independence from Great Britain, and they achieved the creation of democracy that served as a model for newly freed colonies across the globe. Likewise, those who fought in the Haitian Revolution had a goal to abolish their enslavement, while achieving the establishment of Haiti as the first black republic in modern-day history. The Civil Rights and Black Power Movements in the United States and the 1959 Cuban Revolution were much like these earlier movements. These movements had set goals and achievements in several different areas, one of which included the elimination of poor housing conditions.

Kenneth B. Clark on Housing Conditions

Kenneth B. Clark played a major role in the Civil Rights Movement as a clinical psychologist. Perhaps his most famous work was conducting research for the Supreme Court Case Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, which included the testimonies of young Negro children about their belief that whites were superior to them. Dr. Clark also explored other facets of Negro life that he thought helped to encourage inferiority complexes among Negroes. One of these many facets was inadequate housing found in Negro communities throughout the United States, particularly in northern ghettos.

In this research, Clark claimed that 11% of public housing in Harlem, New York, recorded in the 1960 census was classified as dilapidated buildings that did not provide "safe and adequate shelter." Furthermore, those slum landlords who were never late to collect the rent were hard to find when repairs were demanded. According to Clark, they were like storeowners who charged Negroes more for shabby merchandise, exploiting the powerlessness of the poor.[1] Clark, throughout his research, explained the problems with poor housing conditions in great detail. However, there were other leaders during the Civil Rights period who actually lived and witnessed these sorts of inhumane conditions firsthand.

Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., Explores Northern Housing Conditions

In 1966, Dr. Martin L. King, Jr., moved to the West Side of Chicago in order to move the Civil Rights Movement to the grass-roots levels of Negro communities; he felt that the movement had catered for too long to those of the middle class.[2] Dr. King's move to Chicago's West Side proved influential as he began to expand the Civil Rights Movement into a struggle against inadequate housing for the working class and for redistributing wealth in America. This move also influenced one of his most radical and greatest endeavors—the "Poor People's Campaign." Reflecting on his experience on Chicago's West Side, King noted:

> Our own children moved with us in Lawndale, and it was only a few days before we became aware of the change in their behavior. Their tempers flared…I realized the crowded flat in which we lived was about to produce an emotional explosion…It was just too hot, too crowded, too devoid of creative forms of recreation…And I understood anew the conditions which make of the ghetto an emotional pressure cooker.[3]

As a result of Dr. King's move to the West Side, his attitude toward city governments and their responsibility toward the working class began to change. Beginning with the Watts Riot of Los Angeles, California, in 1965, and later in 1966 with a riot in Chicago, Dr. King was coming to the realization that riots were growing out of intolerable conditions.[4] Blacks who were rioting would not simply be coaxed with inspiring words of a speech; they would only be convinced through the implementation of actual plans for building better housing facilities and creating better public school educations to improve their quality of life by mayors and other city officials responsible for maintaining the intolerable conditions in their communities.

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[1] Kenneth B. Clark, *Dark Ghetto: Dilemmas of Social Power*, (Middletown, Connecticut: Wesleyan University Press, 1965), 30.

[2] Clayborne Carson, ed., *The Autobiography of Martin L. King, Jr.* (New York: Warner Books, Inc., 1998), 299. (Hereafter cited as Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin L. King, Jr.*)

[3] Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin L. King, Jr.*, 302.

[4] Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin L. King, Jr.*, 303.

The non-violent Civil Rights Movement was not embraced as heavily or as quickly in the North as it was in the South. The living situations in the South were very different from those in the North. Many blacks were confined to ghettos in the North. These ghettos were full of unemployed people and much illegal activity. There are those who believed the conditions of blacks in the North were worse than for blacks in the segregated South. Blacks in the North, after being removed from the South, began to see Christianity as "too white, too outdated, and too other-worldly for coping with ghetto life." As a result, many blacks gravitated toward people such as Father Divine, Marcus Garvey, and later Malcolm X because they gave a message that seemed to speak to the conditions in which they lived.[5] Dr. King was unable to understand the intricate dynamics of northern racism and the issues that plagued those blacks in northern ghettos. James H. Cone, one of the leading scholars on Black Liberation Theology, has suggested that if Dr. King had understood racism the way in which Malcolm X had, "intellectually and existentially, he would not have given the dream speech ["I Have A Dream" speech] in Washington, D.C.[6] Dr. King's move to the West Side of Chicago was an attempt to understand the problems of northern blacks.

Before this move to the West Side of Chicago, Dr. King had never really understood why blacks in the North were not as receptive to his message of non-violence as many blacks were in the South. One can see King's change in attitude in a press conference he gave in Chicago in July 1966, giving his thoughts on the recent riot. He claims, "I want to stop riots; I want to see them end, but…I am not going to serve in the role of a fire engine…I'll do all I can, but until the conditions are removed which make for the riots…our pleas for non-violence will fall on deaf ears."[7] King began to realize that non-violence was limited in a country that refused to hear the voices of the disenfranchised. As a result of his new perspective on the issues that plagued black America and how to address them, there were several other black people across the nation rethinking non-violence and the Civil Rights Movement who sought another approach; this movement eventually became known as the Black Power Movement.

Many of the organizations involved in the movement, such as the Black Panther Party, set goals to attack some of the same issues of housing in their efforts.

The Black Panther Party Addresses Poor Housing

In the Black Panther Party's "Ten Point Plan," they demanded, "We want decent housing, fit for the shelter of human beings…if the landlords will not give decent housing to our black and oppressed communities, then housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that the people in our communities, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for the people."[8] It is worth noting that Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale composed the Black Panther Party's "Ten Point Plan" while they lived in Oakland, California. While Oakland and Chicago are located in two different regions of the United States, Dr. King and the Black Panthers both faced the problem of inadequate housing for black people.[9] Their experiences challenged the common misperception that discriminatory practices existed mainly in southern United States where Dr. King led many marches; racist and discriminatory practices existed all over the United States.

Kwame Ture (formerly known as Stokely Carmichael) and Charles V. Hamilton co-authored a book in 1967 entitled *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, which also addressed the problems of inadequate housing in urban areas. Ture and Hamilton suggested that urban renewal and highway clearance programs forced black people into over-populated pockets of the inner city. Moreover, because suburban zoning laws kept out low-income housing and the federal government had failed to pass open-occupancy laws, blacks were often forced to stay in deteriorating ghettos. As a consequence, crowding in the slums increased and conditions worsened.[10]

Although Malcolm X, the major spokesman for the Nation of Islam (NOI) during the 1950s and early 1960s, was assassinated before the formation of the Black Power Movement, his perspectives and ideology heavily influenced those involved in the Black Power Movement. Offering his own analysis of the housing conditions in the black communities of Harlem and the consequences of these conditions at a rally, he observed:

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5 James H. Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*, (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 1991), 91. (Hereafter cited as Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*).

6 Cone, *Martin & Malcolm & America: A Dream or a Nightmare*, 112.

7 *Citizen King*, produced by Orlando Bagwell and W. Noland Walker, 115 minutes, PBS Home Video, 2004, DVD.

8 The Dr. Huey P. Newton Foundation, "The Ten Point Plan," http://www.blackpanther.org/TenPoint.htm. (Hereafter cited as http://www.blackpanther.org/TenPoint.htm.)

9 Black refers to current-day African Americans. African Americans began to refer to themselves as Black during the Civil Rights Movement; this is the reason for the shift in the term Negro in this chapter.

10 Kwame Ture and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1992), 156. (Hereafter cited as Ture and Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*.)

Here in Harlem we have the worst holes and pay the highest rent…he ["the white man"] charges so much rent that you have to rent part of it out…our apartments become filled with relatives, with strangers, our community becomes overcrowded …these…conditions…eliminates all chance for a normal home…our children are forced to grow up in this overcrowded atmosphere. The lack of much-needed privacy destroys their sense of shame, it lowers their moral standards and leaves them exposed to every form of indecency and vice that is running rampant in the community.[11]

Malcolm X's condemnation of "indecency and vice," manifested through activities like prostitution, robbery, drug use, and out-of-wedlock births, was partly due to his beliefs as a Muslim in the Nation of Islam. More broadly, however, he also realized that these sorts of detrimental activities grew out of the conditions caused by insufficient and inadequate housing in the black community. Furthermore, as Malcolm X's speech reflects, inadequate housing conditions are just the beginning of the many problems that plagued the black community; this may be why adequate housing was a major goal of the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements. Ultimately, they reasoned that if the housing conditions were improved, crime would be reduced, and there would be alternatives to prevalent drug-use and other vices in black communities.

Very much like the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements, inadequate housing lay at the very heart of the problems of life in pre-revolutionary Cuba. The problems of inadequate housing that existed in Cuba were one of the main issues that helped provoke the Cuban Revolution of 1959. Fidel Castro, the leader of the Revolution, saw housing as one issue that must be addressed fully if Cuba was to change and become a country that provided necessities adequately for its citizens.

Fidel Castro Seeks to Improve Housing Conditions in Cuba

One of Fidel Castro's most famous speeches, *History Will Absolve Me*, was made in October 1953. In this speech, Castro points to six problems that he argues would enable him to "…take immediate steps to solve along with the restoration of public liberties and political democracy." Like Dr. King and Huey P. Newton, Castro in 1953 had chosen the issue of housing as one of the main six problems to address and improve in Cuba:

There are two hundred thousand huts and hovels in Cuba; four hundred thousand families in the countryside and…cities live cramped in huts and tenements without even the minimum sanitary requirements; two million, two hundred thousand of our urban population pay rents which absorb between one-fifth and one-third of their incomes; and two million, eight hundred thousand of our rural and suburban population lack electricity.[12]

This description suggests that Castro observed the same conditions Malcolm X observed in Harlem—problems of cramped and crowded living space. These conditions, according to Castro, were cause for a revolution in Cuba not only because these people were living in tragic conditions, but because such conditions revealed that the people were suffering from humiliating political oppression.[13] Through Castro's description we can begin to understand the tragic conditions that plagued most Cuban citizens, and thus his reasoning for believing that immediate actions had to be taken.

Castro also addressed the lack of ownership and the minimal chances the working classes have to own their own land and homes. He spoke about how thousands of farmers work land all their lives while being reassured by their low salaries and inhuman housing conditions that they will never be able to own it. Castro realizes that not only are the workers affected, but their children are as well. The problem is that miserable housing conditions normally mean a working-class neighborhood where there are little-to-no educational opportunities and facilities; as a consequence, the children of the working class are unable to gain opportunities for better jobs, perpetuating the cycle of low wages, and inadequate housing conditions continue for generations.[14]

Castro suggested that the teachers and professors dedicated to the betterment of future generations were both badly treated and underpaid. He was also outraged by the lack of job opportunities given to young professionals who graduate from school anxious to work. This, too, was a problem Cuba shared with blacks in the United States.

During the period of 1925–1930, the Chamber of Commerce in Cincinnati, Ohio, surveyed the conditions of black workers. Employers that were refusing to hire black workers offered four main reasons for their decision: 1) Unable or unwilling to mix white and Negro workers; 2) Skilled help required and Negroes lacked the proper training; 3) White

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[11] *The Wisdom of Malcolm X*, Malcolm X, Passport International Entertainment, LLC, CD 01050.

[12] Marxists Internet Archive. *History Will Absolve Me*, Castro Internet Archive http://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm. (Hereafter cited as http://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm.)

[13]   http://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm.

[14]   http://www.marxists.org/history/cuba/archive/castro/1953/10/16.htm.

workers preferred; 4) "Nature of Business" (no further reason). Although reason number two in most cases would have been considered a legitimate reason for not hiring black workers, it was not necessarily true. Black workers were largely employed during the years of World War I because many white workers were sent to fight in the war. Many employers were not refusing to hire blacks then because of their skill level, but instead gave them jobs in which they had worked efficiently.[15] Unemployment for blacks in the U.S. remained a problem, even decades later, which led Huey Newton and Bobby Seale's demand for employment and guaranteed income for blacks from the federal government.[16]

Castro asks in his speech, "…is it not understandable that from May to December over a million persons are jobless and that Cuba, with a population of five and a half million, has a greater number of unemployed than France or Italy with a population of forty million each?...The nation's future…cannot continue to depend on the selfish interests of…big businessmen…"[17] In a similar manner, Dr. King, along with other members of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), began a "Poor People's Campaign" in 1967 to address some of the same issues in America for blacks as Castro was suggesting in 1953.

Dr. King called for a radical redistribution of the wealth in America during the "Poor People's Campaign." His intention was to place the problems of the poor at the seat of the government in the wealthiest nation in the world. He felt that if America refused to acknowledge its debt to the poor, it would have failed to live up to its promise to ensure "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" to its citizens.[18] King, like Castro, understood that no nation could expect to remain tranquil if it made living conditions for its citizens inhumane and unbearable, while those of the upper class are able to live in luxury at their expense. Both King and Castro saw the government as bearing the primary responsibility for the plight of the people. They realized that conditions such as inadequate housing could not be improved without government intervention. Castro's choice to lead a revolution in Cuba was grounded in his belief that the only way to create forms of equality within Cuba was by overthrowing the current government and creating a new one. Dr. King's approach, however, was different in that he wanted to introduce major adjustments to reform the current system when it came to the

distribution of wealth in America. Likewise, the Black Panther Party also demanded that the government create decent housing for oppressed people in their "Ten Point Plan."

The issue of inadequate housing, whether in Cuba or the United States, motivated other problems such as inadequate healthcare and judicial inequality, issues which share a close relationship. As a result of the Cuban Revolution, most citizens in Cuba were provided housing. From 1959 to 1993, the State, cooperatives, and individuals built 1.3 million dwellings. This level of production eased much of the overcrowding as the Cuban population only grew 57%, while the housing stock grew 80%. While the production efforts have not been universally successful, they have certainly raised housing standards. The proportion of housing in good or average condition grew from 53% in 1953 to 83% in 1993.[19] In the United States, however, this was not the case; nor did housing conditions improve for many African-Americans. This result can be greatly attributed to Fidel Castro's gaining of state power in Cuba, and African-Americans being unable to gain state power or influence policy to the degree to which they could alleviate these conditions. These movements have proven there is a significant correlation with the alleviation of housing problems and access to power.

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[18] Carson, *The Autobiography of Martin L. King, Jr.*, 350.

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Representations of Alterity: Striking Balance between the Mundane and the Monstrous

Sarah Khasawinah, *Bryn Mawr College*

Sarah Khasawinah, a Mathematics and English major, plans to begin a Ph.D. program in Biostatistics after she graduates in May 2009. As a lifelong bridge-builder and inherent researcher, she hopes to make science more accessible and helpful to larger segments of our global population regardless of geography, religion, social status, wealth, race, color, or any other traditional debilitating boundary.

Abstract

How does one society of human beings characterize another? Historically, such representations have ranged from Christopher Columbus' biased depiction of Native American Indians as cannibals to Ibn Fadlan's factual portrayal of the Vikings as strange. In this study completed for "Wonders in Islam," with Professor Travis Zadeh at Haverford College, I seek a balanced portrayal in which each side views the other as equally human. Ultimately, I reveal a small discovery about human relations and the universal potential for human goodness despite the constant threat of alterity as a force that tends to demonize the other.

Four arms and four legs; a total of eight limbs jutting from a single body. Perhaps the photograph presents an optical illusion or, better yet, a technological trick. Could it be that in India an eight-legged little girl roams the land? While the story of Lakshmi reaches us today as a medical marvel resulting from understandable genetic mutations that surgery can correct, for most people, the photograph in question is still a mystery—an awe-striking figment of a monster-child from India that features utter alterity.

The portrayal of alterity as wondrous, with imitations of beauty and terror together, originates in the earliest human interactions with one another. This perspective appears in countless accounts, from the well-known journeys of Christopher Columbus to the rather obscure journeys of travelers from the East. In the 10th century, an Arabic writer, Ibn Fadlan, was sent from Baghdad to the king of the bulghars on a caliphal diplomatic mission. In this chronicle, Journey to Russia, Ibn Fadlan depicts the native Vikings as sexually strange. Seemingly similar, in Christopher Columbus' diary on the New World beginning in 1492, the sailor depicts the American Indians as demonic cannibals. Both the Muslim scholar and the Catholic merchant present images of the other as those outside of the ordinary, claims that can be neither accepted as complete truth nor dismissed as complete falsehood. Today we know that the Vikings did conduct murderous sexual rituals with the same undeniable certainty that we know that the Indians did not eat each other. Account after account, amidst the portrayals of imagined realities, of a woman fornicating with six men in a row, a mother eating her child alive, an old woman stabbing an innocent maiden to death, a little girl embodied as a beast with eight limbs, one may occasionally uncover a glimpse of reality. Thus, while the issue of accuracy may provide a periodic sense of enlightenment, to focus primarily on this issue would be not only unfruitful, but it would also be to ignore the larger issue of representation itself.

How are the stories of Ibn Fadlan and Christopher Columbus represented? Ibn Fadlan tells his story as a historical narration of sequential observations. Instead of judging the strange sexual rituals as right or wrong, heavenly or demonic, Ibn Fadlan simply narrates the account as a matter of fact, "Then six men went into the tent, and all had intercourse with the girl. Then they placed her beside her dead lord; two men seized her by the feet and two by the hands. Then…." Ibn Fadlan illustrates that the intercourse was against the girl's will, as the maiden does not move on her own account, rather four men seize her by her hands and feet. Also, Ibn Fadlan makes an earlier observation, "I saw how disturbed she was." Thus, making a judgmental statement would be a completely logical procession; the forced sexual act could be framed as rape. However, Ibn Fadlan maintains an entirely objective viewpoint. Instead of framing the event with condemnatory words, he describes the event as a series of actions. Many sentences begin with the word "then," "when," "whereupon," or "thereupon," all of which literally mean "afterwards." Ibn Fadlan employs the most

basic form of storytelling in which he narrates the facts as he sees them, one after the other.

Ibn Fadlan's neutral approach contrasts greatly with Columbus' method of representation. Christopher Columbus describes the American Indians, in his diary, as "cannibals" and "devils." An Ibn Fadlan account on such a sight would perhaps read, "Then the old man cut the leg of the young man in half. Then he grilled the leg using a fire formed from freshly cut firewood. Thereupon, he ate the grilled leg with his left hand." This speculative explanation, crafted to embody Ibn Fadlan's tone, is markedly different from that of Christopher Columbus! Instead of adopting Ibn Fadlan's techniques of explaining actions as they appear, Columbus relays the events in the form of ethical conclusions. After all, Columbus labels the Indians as "cannibals" and "devils," words loaded with negative judgmental connotations. This description provided fodder for an entire discourse on how Europeans came to represent the natives. One image that I find particularly striking is an illustration from 1593 which brings to life precisely the words of Christopher Columbus:

This representation illustrates the natives as complete savages. The mayhem of people eating people; disembodied body parts hailed by the living; naked men, women, and children prancing around the fire; and human beings feasting with both hands, without any sort of manners, cannot be viewed as anything but negative. The representation of humans looks inhuman. This illustration can tell us nothing about the natives' eating practices, but rather, as Stephen Greenblatt, a foremost historian on the subject says, "can tell us something about the European practice of representation" (7).

The spectrum of representation from Ibn Fadlan's narrative to the drawing based on Christopher Columbus' diary portrays the range of representational tendencies from a mundane neutrality to a monstrous judgment. While we cannot adequately learn about the Vikings or the American Indians from either narrative approach, what we can learn about is the minds that shaped the representations, that of Ibn Fadlan and Christopher Columbus. Ibn Fadlan's techniques of maintaining a high level of objectivity and delivering information with a factual tone that avoids value statements illustrate that he was truly interested in learning about the Vikings and sharing this knowledge with others. Alternatively, Columbus' method of immediately making value conclusions with words such as "cannibals" and "devils" that inspired portrayals of these people as bestial and backwards reveals another intention. To Columbus, the natives do not simply have an interesting or different culture that can be appreciated as alterity; rather this difference represents a perverted lifestyle that ought to be corrected, a portrayal that justifies his intentions that have long become history.

The polar representations of Ibn Fadlan and Christopher Columbus from impartial to judgmental reveal the clear contrasting motives from obtaining knowledge to obtaining power. These cases define alterity through a lens that can see only either black or white. However, could there be such a thing as a depiction that is neither impartial nor judgmental? What would such a representation portray? What end would such an illustration seek to accomplish?

The very thought of producing a representation of the other that is neither objective nor terrifying sounds impossible. For one to tell the story of another people without sounding like Ibn Fadlan, a true reporter, or Christopher Columbus, an egotistical merchant, one would have to put oneself in the picture, at the same level as those represented— a seemingly impossible task for Europeans, who Greenblatt says "felt powerfully superior to virtually all of the people they encountered" (9). However, I recently came across a European portrayal that displays a wondrous equality:

"The Marvels of Europe and Asia," an early 13th-century painting from Mandeville's travels, represents an exchange between European and Muslim merchants. The

Europeans trade the barnacle goose of Ireland for the Scythian lamb of Asia. Unlike the representations of Ibn Fadlan and Christopher Columbus, in which alterity stood out as an account of someone *else*, it is hard discern "the other" in this depiction. Although it is known that this piece comes from the voyages of John Mandeville, nothing from the illustration itself could reveal that fact, as both parties are portrayed equally. The Europeans offer geese that grow out of trees, and the Asians offer a lamb that grows out of a fruit. Each side offers the other a fusion of animals and vegetables. These creations are sheer marvels and virtually unrealistic in our modern world.

While each side in the painting is completely astounded at the wonder of the other, as a viewer of the painting, I am equally astounded at both wonders. The European author does not place his marvel on a pedestal above the Asian marvel. In fact, the author may slightly tip the scales in favor of the Asian marvel, as the barnacle goose appears independently out of a broken tree branch, while the Scythian lamb actually comes from a tree that is firmly rooted in the ground. The painting thus provides support for the legitimacy of the Scythian lamb, while it does not provide any such support for the barnacle goose. However, this painting was created for a European audience who were familiar with barnacle geese. Thus, when considering the intended audience along with the painting itself, both the lamb and the goose growing out of the branches of trees and flesh of fruit are equally strange fusions.

Everything about the painting furthers the aura of complete equality between the Europeans and the Asians, dissolving the boundary of alterity. The colors, the landscape, the dress—all of the small details function as a great equalizer! Each of the colors contributes to this function: the friendly pastels of blue fading into white to form the sky; the consistent green that spans from one end to the next to form grass; and the soft shades in between of brown to form the tree trunk, white with shades of pink, orange, and blue to form the clothing. As landscape, the colors consistently appear identically atop and below both the Europeans and the Muslims. The same shade of blue sky above the Europeans exists above the Muslims, as the same shade and texture of green grass appears below them. In clothing, the colors also unite. The orange covering the heads of two Europeans covers the body of an Asian. The white covering the head of an Asian covers the bodies of all three Europeans. In detail, the clothing itself is also very similar. Both the garments of the Europeans and those of the Muslims conceal the entire body, nearly from head to toe. Both garments come with matching hats, although made in slightly different styles. Even the shoes of the Muslim man with visible feet resemble exactly the shoes of the non-barefoot European man. Zooming into the figures, we see that even the postures and gestures of the men in each group are identical. Both the Muslim man carrying the marvel and the Christian man carrying the marvel are leaning in towards each other. The remaining men all carry themselves with a more vertical posture. Also, both the Muslim and the Christian men point their index fingers upwards, responding to marvel with the same instantaneous human response.

This European painting creates a physical place of equality that is very different from the classic European representations to which Greenblatt refers, manifested by Columbus and many others, of the other as barbaric and savage. What effect does this balanced portrayal create? Greenblatt's theory of mimetic representation developed to explain the portrayal of the savage in most European paintings can also enrich our understanding of this piece. The idea behind mimetic representation is that the part of the other that one represents is actually the self. Thus, under the guise of the other, using this approach, Europeans are free to "explore fundamental boundaries in their own culture—between male and female, wild and civilized, human and animal" (Park 34). This very interplay of the representation of one culture from the lens of another also portrays what Homi Bhabha calls "the inbetween, the zone of intersection," which raises questions about "unresolved and unresolvable hybridity" (Greenblatt 4). Bhabha's ideas clearly explain how, through interactions intended to represent the other, the self emerges as a hybrid in conflict. However, what if the other is represented just as well as the self, such that hybridity dissolves? "The Marvels of Europe and Asia" portrays precisely this unique case of mimetic representation perfected. The two identities merge into a single self that cannot be separated, not by color, form, dress, or any known human response.

Why would European artists portray an other so equal that their own bodies transform into that the other? Katharine Park, a scholar of the mediaeval European history of science, provides perhaps the most logical response: "for instrumental reasons" (38). Park explains that the change in attitude, from viewing the other as barbaric to beginning to appreciate the other, "grew out of shifting circumstances, as western Europeans found themselves in increasing political, commercial, and military contact with what had once been the distant East" (38). On one hand, viewing Muslims with the perspective of Christopher Columbus would have been

suicidal to the European society. On the other hand, a balanced viewpoint advanced European society. As mimetic capital, these representations of equality eventually altered reality and, as history has shown, established an equality that has indeed advanced all of Europe.

To this day, representations of the other maintain an undeniable power to alter reality. In fact, this potential is unlike any potential ever previously known. Today, images of alterity can be instantly reproduced and distributed for viewing through televisions, digital video recorders, and the World Wide Web. We have already seen the effects of such representations. Generation after generation, the penchant for viewing other societies as less civilized than ours has been repeatedly used to justify detainment, terror, war, and genocide. I hope and pray with all my heart that the story of Lakshmi, the eight-legged little girl in India, will remain only the story of an anomaly, taken as a marvel or not, but never as representative of a society of others, meet for extinction.

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The Beloved Chain-Gang

Svati Mariam Lelyveld, *Barnard College* Advisor: Professor Monica Miller

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Abstract

An analysis of Toni Morrison's chain-gang scene in *Beloved* reveals that captive African-Americans have long transformed spaces of slavery and incarceration into sites of collective freedom and survival. This paper intends to bring awareness to present-day manifestations of American slavery and to celebrate the continued survival of those trapped inside it. Present-day incarcerated individuals create peer education groups to establish group identity and bring dignity to the situation of captivity and servitude. We find that, like the men on the chain-gang Morrison writes about, incarcerated people are able to transform individual captivity into collective freedom.

When I was 14 years old, I read *Beloved*, by Toni Morrison. From then on, my goal was to read it again in college. When I got to Barnard, I chose my courses accordingly, hoping to prepare myself for this great text. I read Aeschylus, Shakespeare, Pascal, Mary Prince, Harriet Jacobs, Jean Toomer, and Gwendolyn Brooks. Still, before declaring my major, I considered Urban Studies, History, or Education. Finally, I went for English, hoping it would give me the space to study what I was looking for: an education relevant to my immediate surroundings.

For several years, I have taught workshops in one of the Rikers Island's high schools. Working with incarcerated youth has given me even more reason to draw connections between history and the present. Not wanting to bore my students, I give them the opportunity to search for metaphors and metonyms in their favorite rap songs. Nothing gives me more joy than finding analogues between classic texts and hip hop lyrics. Finding echoes of Emily Dickinson in Nas or T.S. Eliot in Styles P is, for me, a form of validation. This past September, having finally returned to my original goal of examining *Beloved* in my senior seminar, however, lyrics from one of my favorite raps of the '90s struck me again. The lyrics from a song by Nas, a Queen's-born rapper, say, "I saw a dead bird fly through a broken sky." When I read *Beloved*, the beauty of Nas' image took on a new glow. Throughout the course of this paper, I hope to reveal its beauty.

Toni Morrison's well-known novel *Beloved* is a story that confronts the histories of slavery, violence, migration, and family. In this paper, I examine one scene in particular for its historical and political implications. Occurring in the middle of the novel, one of the few male characters in *Beloved*, Paul D, sits in Sethe's house on 124 Bluestone Road, recalling his escape from a chain-gang he had been assigned to as punishment for trying to kill his overseer (109). What happens to Paul D and the 45 men to whom he is chained illustrates how patience and belief in the power of a collective can be used to overcome physical and institutional force and to create new definitions of freedom. These are themes I will elaborate on in my paper.

Beloved takes place during slavery and just after emancipation. American slavery, as an institution, is this nation's most explicit example of systematic force: forced migration, forced sex, forced death, and forced labor. Force that bruised bodies and broke up families made (and continues to make) it difficult to confront history. Morrison illustrates the effect of force on Paul D's body as she describes the palsy his hands suffered while on the chain-gang: "Nothing could stop them or get their attention. They would not hold his penis to urinate or hold a spoon to scoop lima beans into his mouth. The miracle of their obedience came with the hammer at dawn" (107). The violence and discipline of the chain-gang transforms Paul D's body into a tool of labor to work the land. For his own bodily functions, Paul D's hands will not obey.

In Morrison's chain-gang chapter, the 46 men chained together are kept in wooden cells buried in trenches in the ground. Erosion, caused by a rainstorm, threatens to drown the men in their grave-like cells. As the mud floods their cells, the men use the chains that bind them together, to pull each other to safety. Morrison writes,

> It started like the chain-up; the difference was the power of the chain. One by one, from Hi Man back on down the line, they dove. Down through the mud under the bars, blind, groping. Some had sense enough to wrap their heads in their shirts, cover their faces with rags, put on their shoes. Others just plunged, simply ducked down and pushed out, fighting up, reaching for air. Some lost direction and their neighbors, feeling the confused pull of the chain, snatched them around. For one lost, all lost. The chain that held them would save all or none, and Hi Man was the delivery. They talked through that chain like Sam Morse and, Great God, they all came up. Like the unshriven dead, zombies on the loose, holding the chains in their hands, they trusted the rain and the dark, yes, but mostly Hi Man and each other (110).

The men, tied together, must escape together. In this scene, there is no such thing as individual survival, individual escape, individual freedom. If one falls back, they will all fall back. Because the men are chained together, freedom will only be attained if it is for the entire collective. To coordinate their escape efforts and to ensure that they all make it, the men use the chain not only to physically pull each other through the mud, but also to communicate with each other. Morrison writes, "Somebody yanked the chain—once—hard enough to cross his legs and throw him in the mud. He never figured out how he knew—how anybody did—but he did know—he did—and he took both hands and yanked the chain at his left, so the next man would know, too" (110). Communication through the chain not only allows the men to make contact with each other, but it establishes their identity as a group.

Institutional force over the body still exists today. It did not end with the peculiar institution. The 13th Amendment to the Constitution written in 1865 during emancipation states, "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction" (U.S. Constitution). Thus, the Constitution could be read to suggest that slavery still exists, for criminals. The chain-gang, such as the one Paul D was on in Alfred, Georgia, enforces the labor of the criminal. Thus, Morrison's writing of a chain-gang in *Beloved* presents a hermeneutic horizon between slavery and present-day mass incarceration. In *Discipline and Punish*, Michel Foucault says the chain-gang is a visual link between images of public execution and representations of crime (262). By the time of emancipation, North America had a more than 200-year history of enslaving people of African descent. Therefore, after emancipation, the visual image of the chain-gang, that is, convict-lease labor, solidifies the transition between the visual image of slave to convict. The image of criminals, which has replaced the image of slaves, continues to function in the economy of forced labor. Corcraft, an industrial branch of the New York State Department of Corrections, employs inmates for less than one dollar a day to manufacture office and cleaning supplies, which it sells to state universities, schools, and prisons—any business that would like to order its products (Corcraft website). Through Corcraft, New York State Correctional Services reap huge profits from the labor of incarcerated people.

Almost all prisons and jails in New York State are equipped with Corcraft factories. Metal desks are made in Attica, conference chairs in Auburn, lounge seating in Greenhaven, just to name 3 of the 70 prison workshops in New York State. Prisons are such great sources of profit for Departments of Corrections that prisons and jails are constantly being constructed (Department of Corrections website). In *Weapons of the Weak* (1985), James C. Scott writes, "Whatever else revolutions may achieve…they also typically bring into being a vaster and more dominant state apparatus…more effective(ly) than its predecessors" (xvi). The Civil Rights Movement's call to "Fill the jails!" as a form of protest cannot work today, because there are too many jails to fill. In 1968, the Urban Development Corporation was founded to build housing for the poor; in 1981, New York State Governor Cuomo used money from the Urban Development Corporation to fund prison construction (Davis 33). Prisons are today's manifestation of the old peculiar institution, and the 13th Amendment provides the legal link between them.

Prison construction and incarceration are on the rise. How do we survive these institutions of captivity and forced labor? What the men in *Beloved*'s chain-gang illustrate is that freedom is forged collectively and covertly. Although chain-gangs are making a reappearance in American correctional institutions, inmates are not, for the most part, chained together. Instead of chains, now words create the bonds of communication. Slang language is used to dive beneath the mud of legal speech and rise up in the composition of spoken words. Like the men on the *Beloved* chain-gang who pull their chains to disappear into the mud, slang relocates and re-signifies language. For example, in common prison vocabulary, the word "God" is used to refer to a man (*Book of Life*). In Washington Heights, an area with large populations of young men and women in prison, "GOD" is pronounced "G-O-D" and means "grind or die." Thus, a word for divinity is re-coded to refer to a man and his work. This slang of American prisons, however, is deemed unacceptable in the arena of the educated elite—a person who speaks it is considered inarticulate and under the radar of intelligence. The vocabulary of prisoners, therefore, parallels Paul D's chain—it serves as a form of covert communication.

Modern-day inmates adapt to the lack of formal education available in prison by re-signifying vocabulary and forming peer education groups. Communication is the first step to creating a collective identity, as Paul D and his peers did by pulling on the chain to send a message. While the chain that bound the 46 men in *Beloved* was a physical one, the chains today are intellectual and verbal. Jay-Z, one of the most famous rappers of history, rhymes, "Trap my body, can't trap my mind/easily explain why we adapt to crime"

(1996). Adaptation is necessary to survival, as illustrated by the men in *Beloved*, who adapt to their underground location, and to the bindings of their chains. Just as the men in *Beloved* use their chains to pull each other from their grave-like cells, developing peer education provides men in prison with a steppingstone of common vocabulary. Members of peer education groups such as the Poor Righteous Teachers refer to men as "God" to instill in inmates a sense of dignity and political empowerment. The Poor Righteous Teachers maintain study groups in which love for the self is taught and which help prisoners survive their sentences (Yusuf 42). Thus, within institutions of forced captivity, slang and peer education are the modern-day chain: the adapted means of communication and collective survival.

Prison construction and incarceration rates are on the rise. In 2008, the United States of America has more prisoners than any other nation in the world, and the overwhelming majority of these prisoners are descendents of slaves. In New York alone, the police department does building sweeps, sometimes arresting 500 teenagers at a time, on nonviolent violations. The Rockefeller Drug Law, enacted in 1973 by Governor Nelson Rockefeller, the same governor in office during the Attica Uprising of 1971, enforces a mandatory minimum for drug possession. Ninety percent of the people incarcerated under the Rockefeller Drug Law have been black and Latino. This one law contributes significantly to the disproportionately high number of blacks and Latinos incarcerated in New York State.

The men on the chain-gang in *Beloved* had to wait for the right moment to dive beneath the bars into the mud. Morrison writes, "They waited—each and every one of the 46. Not screaming, although some of them must have fought like the devil not to" (110). Unable to amplify their voices and use words or sounds to fight death in a shallow grave they must, instead, be silent and patient. Describing the experience of those men on the chain-gang, Toni Morrison alerts her readers to the continued lineage of institutional force, captivity, and labor.

Like the men of the *Beloved* chain-gang, we, as readers of Morrison, must establish and continue communication, build our strength, and be patient. When the tug of the chain comes, we will all be ready to dive down.

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Uniform Judgments?: The Impact of Target Race and Uniform on Judgments of Threat and Trust

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Abstract

Past research suggests that there is a pervasive cultural stereotype associating black men with threat, danger, and crime. The present research sought to examine whether a police officer's uniform, which is often associated with safety and credibility, serves to attenuate the threat associated with black men (i.e., whether black men are perceived as less threatening when they are known to be police officers). Participants were presented with images of black and white men in police officer uniforms or in civilian clothing. They were then asked to either perform approach-like or avoidance-like motor movements in response to these images. Approach movements were used as a proxy for feelings of trust, and avoid movements served as a proxy for feelings of threat. Individual difference measures will be assessed, examining participants' implicit and explicit racial attitudes as well as their attitudes toward police. This work also explores whether black and white participants respond differently to black or white police officers.

Racism and discrimination are issues that are still prevalent in today's society, resulting in considerable research investigating topics ranging from potential ways to remediate racism in the workplace to the reasons behind racism in the first place. One area of research has investigated stereotypes of black men as threatening, such as Blascovich and colleagues (2002), who found that participants who interacted with black confederates during an interaction displayed greater physiological arousal associated with threat than participants who interacted with white confederates. It is important to find ways to reduce this racism against black men. The present research seeks to assess whether placing black men in police uniforms, a social avenue that suggests safety and trustworthiness, will be enough to attenuate this negative stereotype of African American males. If this is the case, it will be another possible angle in combating racism towards African American males.

Black = Threat Stereotype

The stereotypes that associate black men with threat and danger also influence people's actions towards African American men. For example, Correll and colleagues (2002) set out to find whether or not a target's ethnicity has an effect on participants' decisions to shoot a target in a simulated video game. They found that race did have an effect on participant's decision making. Specifically, Correll and colleagues (2002) found that participants were quicker to shoot armed African Americans compared to armed white targets and were more likely to incorrectly shoot unarmed African Americans compared to unarmed whites.

Additionally, these stereotypes even influence people's behavior in everyday situations. Balkin and colleagues (1983) conducted a study where participants were asked to evaluate how safe they felt around newspaper vendors of varying ages and race. They found that newspaper vendors that were young, male, and black were trusted less and were thought not to reduce the fear of crime if encountered on the street. Thus, stereotypes associating black men with threat seem to permeate society in various ways and are perhaps most propagated in the media.

The Marketing of the Dangerous Black Man

Extensive research has been done on the multiple ways that the media plays into the stereotype of the black man as threatening. For example, Potts remarked in his 1997 study that the media propagates images of the dangerous black man for profit, as the image of the African American male "gangsta" is used to market products such as cop-based video games and home security systems. He also notes that the television news, which most Americans turn to as their primary source of information, is saturated with threatening images of minority crime suspects that serve to reinforce stereotypes of African Americans.

The present research examines one possible moderator of this racism, the police officer's uniform—a uniform that, contrary to the stereotypes associated with black males, is associated with safety and trust.

Perceptions of People in Uniform

Research conducted on the role uniforms play in compliance and trust generally suggests that people seem to listen to those in positions of authority more readily if they are in uniforms. For example, Bushman (1988) set out to examine the degree to which subjects comply with an order given by a female in a position of authority depending on what she is wearing. He found that participants were more willing to comply with a uniformed female authority figure compared to a female authority figure in regular office clothing.

Besides serving as a certificate of legitimacy (Bushman, 1988), the uniform also attributed to wearers a greater sense of seeming trustworthy and safe (Balkin, et al., 1983). Individuals in uniform, especially police uniforms, were shown to play an instrumental part in reducing fear of crime because they were seen as pillars of community standards. The uniform serves as an indicator of legitimacy and prestige, thus, citizens respond to uniform wearers with different attitudes than those who wear regular clothing. In their study of the social power of uniforms, Joseph and Alex (1972) found that residents were more willing to admit a uniformed police officer into their homes than a plain-clothes officer, suggesting that there is increased trustworthiness attributed to uniformed police officers.

Police officers are afforded special status in society as upholders of community values, and their uniforms increase their visibility. One of the questions examined in the present research is whether placing a black male in a police uniform, which is associated with safety and trust, will serve to attenuate the association between black males and threat by using implicit measures related to trust and threat.

Present Study

Building on the research discussed above, the research that this paper draws upon examined whether placing black males in police officer uniforms serves to decrease the threat typically associated with black men. A computer task was used in this study designed to assess individuals' implicit threat and trust associations with both black and white police officers as well as with neutral civilian targets. Drawing on past research that has shown that approach movements are facilitated for liked groups and avoidance movements are facilitated for disliked or feared groups when images of each group were displayed on the computer screen, approach movements and avoidance movements with a joystick controller were used as a proxy for feelings of trust and threat, respectively (Seibt, Neumann, Nussinson & Strack, 2008; Paladino & Castelli, 2008).

Our study assessed whether black participants exhibited different levels of trust and threat associations for the various targets (i.e., show differences in response times for approaching or avoiding these targets), via two possible outcomes. The first outcome examined was whether black participants avoided black police officers more quickly than white police officers. This outcome would suggest that black participants view black police officers as more threatening and less trustworthy than white police officers, which

mirrors results obtained for white participants in a previous study done in our lab. The second possible outcome probed whether black participants will avoid black police officers more slowly than white police officers. This outcome would indicate that black participants view black police officers as more trustworthy and less threatening than white police officers, which would oppose the results found for the white participants in a previous study done in the lab.

Examining if black and whites respond differently to police officers of either race in an implicit task is particularly important, because past research has found that blacks have more negative explicit attitudes of police than do whites (Webb and Marshall, 1995).

Method

Participants

Eighteen black participants between the ages of 18 and 30 took part in the present study in exchange for a small monetary compensation ($5). They were recruited via fliers posted on campus, in downtown Evanston, as well as through e-mail and craigslist.org.

Materials

Computer Program: The computer program consisted of two blocks. In each block, a fixation cross appeared on the screen for 1,000ms, then a target image appeared on the screen. Participants were presented with images of black and white males in neutral street clothing or police officer uniforms. In one block, participants were instructed to pull the joystick toward themselves if they saw police officer targets, and to push it away from themselves if they saw a civilian. In the other block, they were given opposite instructions. Images remained on the screen until participants responded. If they made an incorrect response, a red "X" appeared on the screen until they made the opposite hand movement. Blocks were counterbalanced between participants (i.e., some pulled the joystick toward themselves for police first and some for civilians first).

Discussion

The results of the present study revealed that participant race may be an important factor in determining differential attitudes towards police. As found in a previous study done in the lab, non-black participants were faster in making approach movements towards white targets in police uniforms than black targets in police uniforms. Interestingly, the results of the present study indicate that black participants were faster

in approaching black targets regardless of uniform and were slower in avoiding black targets. The results suggested that black participants viewed white targets, particularly white targets in police uniform, as more threatening and less trustworthy than black targets. The results subsequently support the idea that black participants will avoid black police officers more slowly than white police officers.

While further studies are needed in order to unearth some of the mechanisms behind blacks' somewhat negative reactions to white police officers, there are a few possible explanations for this effect. First, ingroup bias has been shown to have an effect on motor movements. Paladino and Castelli (2008) set out to test whether ingroups or outgroups are differently associated with approach and avoidance behavioral tendencies. They found that movements associated with approach-like behavior were somewhat faster when directed toward ingroup members. Likewise, movements associated with avoidance-like behaviors were somewhat faster when directed toward outgroup members. These results were replicated in the present study, as participants were faster to approach black targets and faster to avoid white targets.

A second explanation for this result builds on research that suggests people prefer police officers that are representative of their groups. Weitzer (2000) found in his study of neighborhood composition and assessment of police officers that the citizens of mostly black neighborhoods preferred black police officers. Citizens have also been found to be more supportive of police officers who are seen as prototypical representatives of their morals and beliefs (Sunshine & Tyler, 2003). Black citizens may view black police officers as prototypical representatives of authority which may be a possible reason behind their tendency to "approach" black targets in police uniform more quickly than white targets in police uniform.

Third, perceiver race is an important factor in determining differential attitudes towards police. Past research has shown that blacks have more negative explicit attitudes of police than do whites (Webb and Marshall, 1995). This may explain why participants were much faster in avoiding white targets in police uniform compared to black targets in police uniform.

Implications

It is important to look for moderators of the black male = threat stereotype as the discrimination that black males face due to this stereotype is not only detrimental, but can even be fatal. Unarmed African American men have frequently been fatally shot by police officers. Most recently, Sean Bell was killed in 2006 on the morning of his wedding day. Finding moderators for this stereotype may help facilitate interactions between black men and people of other races. The result that blacks are much more quickly to avoid white targets than other targets also holds real-world implications. For instance, blacks may be less willing to ask for help from a police officer and much more hesitant to trust police officers if they are white.

Future Directions

Our results showed a difference between the time it took black participants to avoid a white target in a police uniform compared to a black target in police uniform. Future studies should further examine participants' attitudes towards police officers and participants' attitudes towards whites as potential causes for this effect. Another potential study could examine whether black participants would find white males in different types of uniform as more trustworthy. Perhaps placing white targets in firefighter or military uniforms will make white targets seem less threatening to black participants. Other studies should examine what, precisely, triggers this response to white police officers among black participants. Cardiovascular measures could examine if being prompted by the image of a white police officer elicits fear, threat, or anxiety.

Conclusions

Initially, we set out to examine whether placing black males in police uniform would attenuate the threat associated with them. We found that black participants perceived the white male in police uniform as threatening and less trustworthy, more so than black targets in police uniform. The results suggest that the white = safety stereotype that may exist for whites may be diminished among blacks who seem to favor finding ingroup members more safe and trustworthy. Blacks may be hesitant to interact with whites and, particularly, white police officers, when in need of emergency aid. Examining whether ingroup bias is enough to reduce the threat associated with normally stigmatized groups will be a good start in deciphering some of the results obtained in the study.

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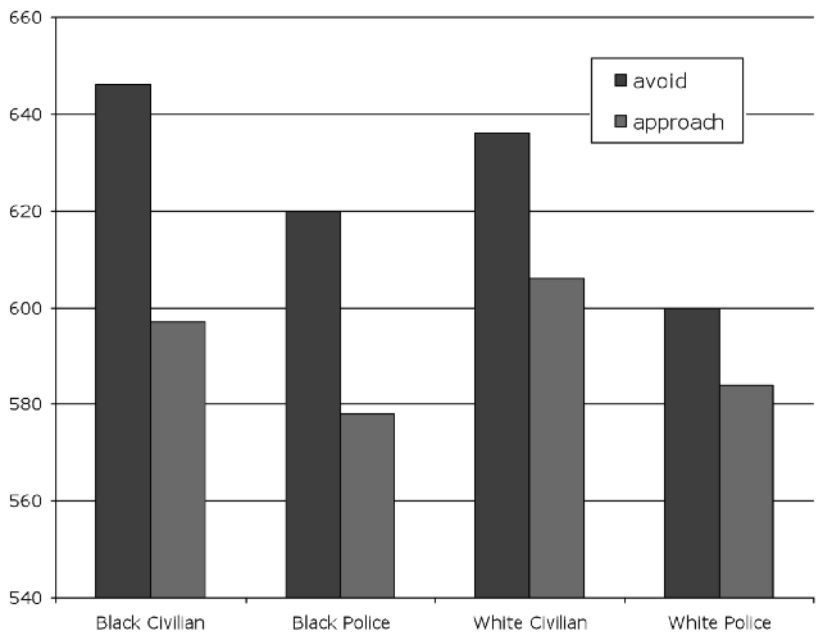
Figure 1: Response times for approach and avoidance motions as a function of target race and uniform

A "Long Black Song" in Verse

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Abstract

In his short story, "Long Black Song," Richard Wright exposes the hypocrisy, hurt, pain, and tumult that plagued Southern black men at the onset of the 20th century, depicting their experience as an incessant and perpetual song, characterized by vast emasculation, victimization, and dehumanization. Utilizing Wright's metaphor of the black male experience as a song, I submit that this tale has all the color of a musical composition and can be analyzed as such, transcending its literary and cinematic representations. Therefore, I seek to adapt this "long black song" musically by describing the song structure and identifying its verses, chorus, and bridge.

Richard Wright's short story "Long Black Song," which first appeared in his novella collection, *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938), is a bitterly sad piece, exposing the hypocrisy, hurt, pain, and tumult that plagued the black experience in the United States at the onset of the 20th century. The themes presented within this work are not dissimilar from those presented in his later masterpieces, *Native Son* (1940) and *Black Boy* (1945). As is his style, Wright depicts the adversity facing Southern black men, who are hampered by the injustices of Jim Crow and white supremacy. He tackles, head on, issues surrounding the psychological turmoil of black males' relegation to an inferior position in society; the patriarchal relationship between white men and black men; the commodification or "thingification" of the black female body as a sexual object; the systematic attrition of the black family unit; as well as the sheer desperation and desolation of Southern black life, in general. Essentially, "Long Black Song" is a glaring portrayal of the black male's, if not the African American community's, plight in America.

While its themes are highly problematic and must be adequately addressed within a proper analysis of the story, the most peculiar quality of this piece lies in its title. A superficial analysis of the text reveals no obvious connection between the title and the central action of the story, as there are few songs or musical references in its entirety, save the lullaby at the onset and some cursory references scattered throughout. That music is not the story's central focus suggests a deeper meaning not wholly ostensible at the outset. A backbone of the African American musical tradition lies in its usage of repetition. Perhaps, then, Wright regards the black experience as a song due to the perpetual, seemingly endless nature of the oppression that seems to characterize it. Despite African Americans' willingness to assimilate or their diligence in working to attain the American dream, few ever realized it, due to the repetitiveness of this "song." In this sense, African Americans seem to be neither the composers nor the musicians but rather simply notes on the page, having little influence over the arrangement of the composition of their lives. I submit that Wright's tale has all the color of a musical composition and can be analyzed as such, transcending its literary and cinematic representations.[1] Therefore, I seek to adapt this "long black song" musically, and, to identify its verses, chorus, and bridge.

The verse is among the most significant elements of any musical composition, for it conveys what the composer seeks to communicate to the audience. It tells the story of the work, introducing the listener to the characters and setting the emotional tone (Blume 4). Verse one of the following song is infused with a smattering of hope, optimism, and light. Silas, the story's victim and protagonist, returns home from a weeklong journey to "town" in Colwatah, where he sold his harvest and purchased gifts for his family. When he enters his home, Sarah, his wife, has just lain down to rest for the evening:

> SILAS. Yuh sleep, Sarah?…Ah reckon yuh thought Ah wuznt never comin back, hunh? Cant yuh wake up? See, Ah got that red cloth yuh wanted…Ah got two hundred n fifty fer mah cotton.
>
> SARAH. Two hundred n fifty?
>
> SILAS. Nothin different! N guess what Ah done?
>
> SARAH. Whut?
>
> SILAS. Ah bought ten mo acres o land. Got em from ol man Burgess. Paid im a hundred n fifty dollas down. Ahll pay the res next year ef things go erlong awright. Ahma have t git a man t hep me nex spring….
>
> SARAH. Yuh mean hire somebody?
>
> SILAS. Sho, hire somebody! What yuh think? Ain tha the way the white folks do? Ef yuhs gonna git anywheres yuhs gotta do just like they do. (139–140)

Wright depicts Silas as a fairly self-sufficient man, owning his own land and home, and, perhaps, only relying on the aid of whites for the purpose of maintaining his agrarian lifestyle.

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[1] HBO series: *America's Dream* (DVD), c. 1995.

He even purchases more land in an effort to secure his independence despite the social norms of the time. Silas is an anomaly among Southern black men, because many were born, lived, and died in a system of neo-slavery, or sharecropping, owning not a single iota of the land they farmed. Therefore, verse one of this "long black song" sheds light on a more positive aspect of the black experience in the United States. It tells of black men's resolve to succeed and provide a sense of stability for their families, despite their relegation to inferior roles in society. The reader, or singer, is thereby infused with a sense of hope that, despite the unjustness and hypocrisy of his *milieu*, perhaps the black male can transcend white oppression and grasp at least a modest portion of the American dream—if he is steadfast.

In addition to telling the story, the verses aid in moving the story along (Citron 16). If verse one paints an illusion of optimism and the potential for quasi-equality, verse two quickly erodes and disassembles that delusion, confronting the reader with the reality of the black experience in the early- to mid-20th century. Verse two introduces the rather familiar theme of the white male, and white society in general, as agents of oppression, who inhibit black men's ability to fully embrace their manhood. The second verse, then, is not unlike the stories recounted by innumerable Southern black men who were both emasculated and dehumanized by the inequities of Jim Crow rule.

Shortly after his return from Colwatah, Silas is utterly appalled and unnerved upon learning that a white graphophone salesman was inside his home while he was away. He immediately becomes suspicious of Sarah, accusing her of having sexual intercourse with the white salesman. The objectification of the black female as a hypersexual being dates back to the "peculiar institution" of slavery. It was not at all uncommon for white men to elicit sex from black women, with utter disregard for their marital status, because the black body was synonymous with sexual exoticism. Being privy to this social norm, Silas is infuriated by his discovery of the salesman's visit and fearful of its implications. In a fit of passion, he declares:

> From sunup t sundown Ah works mah guts out t pay them white trash bastards whut Ah owe em, n then Ah comes n fins they been in mah house! Ah cant go into their houses, n yuh know Gawddam well Ah cant! They don have no mercy on no black folks; we just like dirt under their feet! Fer ten years Ah slaves lika dog t git mah farm free, givin ever penny Ah kin t em, n then Ah comes n fins they been in mah house....(143)

At this place in the "song," Wright reveals Silas' limitations. Although he has attained a degree of financial stability, even he cannot escape emasculation by the strictures of white supremacy. Regarded as "boys" or "uncles" throughout their lives, black men were never to question or expose white men's transgressions due to the dangers of being stigmatized as insolent or uppity. Instead, they were to "play the cards dealt to them in life": aspiring toward nothing and questioning no one. In this instance, Silas feels impotent against this white man who has intruded into his home and disquieted his peaceful existence by contaminating his marriage bed. Thus, in verse two, Wright illuminates the potential for a black male's psychological unrest in feeling powerlessness to fully embrace his manhood and assert himself as the protector of his family without the risk of becoming "strange fruit" swinging from Southern trees.

The chorus is another integral element in the structure of a musical composition, which "embodies the main musical motif, the lyric's main message and the song's title," (Davis 8). Its function is to summarize the main theme and to give the minor details of the piece purpose and value (Blume 7; Stolpe 76). In this story, Wright ostensibly highlights the victimization and emasculation of black males due to institutionalized racism and prejudice as the main theme.

Upon finding the graphophone in their bedroom, Silas is immediately suspicious of Sarah and inquires how she came to obtain it. Discovering both the salesman's hat by the mantel and a pencil in their bed convinces Silas of Sarah's infidelity. Overtaken with rage, he resolves to beat her with a horsewhip. Fearful for her life, Sarah grabs their infant daughter and flees from the house into the dark of night. The following morning, when the white salesman returns to collect payment for the graphophone, Silas, in a blinding fit of rage, horsewhips and eventually murders him. Seeing the white man lying in the dust, Silas is immediately cognizant of the ramifications of his actions, aware that his death is imminent. Sarah's reflection on the dramatic scene is an apt representation of what Wright seeks to establish as the chorus of this "long black song":

> Dimly she saw in her mind a picture of men killing and being killed. White men killed the black and black men killed the white. White men killed the black men because they could, and the black men killed the white men to keep from being killed. And killing was blood. (147)

Ultimately, Wright's chorus offers a reproof of the futility of white supremacy. A frequent result of white men's incessant disregard for black men's humanity was the death of both

white men and black men alike. Thus, the chorus or main theme of this "song" is a distressful cry to recognize and end the cyclical death dance engendered by white oppression.

A song's bridge, like the verse and chorus, has a unique role. It is a transitory element, embodying a modulation or key change. According to *The Harvard Dictionary of Music*, its "primary function is to connect two passages of greater weight and importance in the work as a whole" (122). It is the literary equivalent of the climax of a story, where the central action takes place. Shockingly, in constructing Sarah as a sexually aware figure and a woman who entertains the idea of other men, Wright's bridge accuses black women of being complicit in the perpetual emasculation of black men.

The issue of whether Sarah is raped or has consensual sex with the white salesman is a highly contentious subject and is fiercely debated among literary scholars. Wright's depiction of this scene is so obscure that a definitive interpretation is impossible; therefore, Sarah's fate is subject to the biases of the literary critic. Some scholars argue that, considering the social norms, it is unmistakably a case of rape, since a black woman had little agency with which to deny a white man's desire for her body. However, a closer analysis of the text in its entirety suggests otherwise.

Quite apparent at the onset of the story is Sarah's sexually aroused state. To pacify her toddler's incessant wailing, Sarah allows the child to beat on an old, inoperative clock, producing a repetitive "Bang! Bang! Bang!" sound. Literally, this sound is simply the reverberation of the child's beating the clock; however, due to Silas' protracted absence, Sarah is lonely and sexually vulnerable. Therefore, the "Bang! Bang! Bang!" sends Sarah into a sexual frenzy and is representative of her racing, pulsating libido. While fantasizing about her premarital affairs with Tom, her former lover, the constant "Bang! Bang! Bang" increases her arousal. "She sighed, thinking of Tom, hearing Bang! Bang! Bang!...Yes, God; it could have been Tom instead of Silas who was having her now. Yes; it could have been Tom she was loving. She smiled and asked herself, 'Lawd, Ah wondah how would it been wid Tom'" (127). These musings awaken within Sarah a gross dissatisfaction with Silas. Since Tom was conscripted to serve in the war, Sarah married Silas for the sake of security. She later admits that Tom's "leaving had left an empty black hole in her heart, a black hole that Silas had come in and filled. But not quite. Silas had not quite filled that hole. No; days and nights were not as they were before" (129). In these passages, Wright indicates that Sarah's mind, body, and spirit are in a state of flux, and her loyalty is not with

Silas. In marrying him, she compromised her happiness for stability; thus, when the longing for Tom and "the long hope of white bright days and the deep desire of dark black nights" (129) resurfaces within her, it is unquenchable, crippling her judgment and leading to her subsequent infidelity.

Sarah's interaction with the white salesman does not diminish her libido as would seem likely if this were, in fact, a case of rape. Rather, the "Bang! Bang! Bang!" maintains a steady tempo as it had during her earlier fantasies about Tom. Contrary to popular opinion, when the white salesman attempts to seduce her initially, she is repulsed and refuses his advance, not because she is faithful to Silas, but because she is conscious of his whiteness and the social ramifications of having sex with a white man. Frantically and repeatedly, she thinks to herself, "But hes a *white* man. A *white* man" (135–136). If Sarah were, in fact, wholly opposed to engaging in an extramarital affair, she would have refused the salesman because he was not her husband, not solely on account of his whiteness. As he continues to press himself upon her, despite her initial protestations, she capitulates, which results in a euphorically orgasmic experience:

> A liquid metal covered her and she rode on the curve of white bright days and dark black nights and the surge of the long gladness of summer and the ebb of the deep dream of sleep in winter till a high red wave of hotness drowned her in a deluge of silver and blue that boiled her blood and blistered her flesh *bangbangbang*.... (137)

Sarah engages with the white salesman of her own will, not because it is forced upon her. Furthermore, the experience seems to be both exhilarating and satisfying. Sarah's own admission of guilt further evinces this point and is the most incriminating:

> She was sorry for what she had done. Silas was as good to her as any black man could be to a black woman. Most of the black women worked in the fields as croppers. But Silas had given her her own home, and that was more than many others had done for their women. Yes, she knew how Silas felt. Always he had said he was as good as any white man. He had worked hard and saved his money and bought a farm so he could grow his own crops like white men. (147)

Although Sarah is aware that Silas is a good man who works hard to provide for their family, this realization does not bear enough significance to ensure her love and commitment to him. Therefore, Silas' manhood is disregarded once again, not only by white society, but by his black female partner, as well.

In portraying Sarah as a (unwitting) conspirator in the denial of Silas' manhood, Wright makes a controversial reproof apropos of the role of black women in their relationships with black men. "Sarah functions as a vehicle in the story to show the tragedy of a hard-working black man whose wife has cheated on him with a white man. Her thoughtless action creates an opportunity for Silas to become a tragic figure, to behave manly, proudly, and courageously" (Keady 47). In much of contemporary African American literature, black women are victimized by both racial and sexual oppression, especially by black men. In fact, in Zora Neale Hurston's timeless classic published just a year prior, *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937), she regards black women as the "mules of the world," bearing the brunt of society's burdens. However, Wright offers that black men, too, are victims and that black women are sometimes complicit in their victimization. Thus, the bridge of Wright's "long black song" is indeed a transitory element, for it is a shocking revelation that precipitates a dramatic transition in "the song."

Following the bridge, Wright introduces a modulation, or key change. Upon murdering the white salesman, Silas' death is indeed imminent. Although Sarah encourages him to flee the scene of the crime by retreating to Aunt Peel's house, Silas is determined to fully assert his manhood by awaiting the proverbial white lynch mob to accost him. This scene represents the "climax" of the song. One can almost hear the notes sliding, his voice choked with tears, becoming stronger and deeper as his masculinity comes forth with hard resolve. The tones are like a loaded blues song, pulled from the depths of his soul (Dease 2008). In a fit of pain, anger, and sheer desperation, he roars:

> "The white folks ain never gimme a chance! They ain never give no black man a chance! There ain nothing in yo whole life yuh kin keep from em! They take yo lan! They take yo freedom! They take yo women! N then they take yo life!" He turned to her, screaming. "N then Ah gits stabbed in the back by mah own blood! When mah eyes is on the white folks to keep em from killin me, mah own blood trips me up!" He knelt in the dust again and sobbed; after a bit he looked to the sky, his face wet with tears. "Ahm gonna be hard like they is! So hep me, Gawd, Ah'm gonna be *hard*! When they come fer me Ah'm gonna *be* here! N when they git me outta here theys gonna *know* Ahm gone! Ef Gawd lets me live Ahm gonna make em *feel* it!" He stopped and tried to get his breath. "But, Lawd, Ah don wanna be this way! It don mean nothin! Yuh die ef yuh fight! Yuh die ef yuh don fight! Either way yuh die n it don mean nothin...." (152–153)

This passage mirrors the anguish and turmoil that were at the core of the black man's soul as a result of his repressed status. It represents a key change in the song, because Silas finally decides to embrace his masculinity, in spite of Sarah's betrayal. Although he knows that he will soon be murdered, he refuses to capitulate, choosing to stand his ground as a man who has the right to defend his home, his family, and, ultimately, his dignity. Only moments after the salesman's murder, a lynch mob accosts and attacks Silas, and a shootout ensues between them. Retreating into the house, Silas kills two members of the mob; however, they are too numerous for him to combat alone. They burn the house down around him, and Silas, engulfed by the flames, dies heroically without uttering a solitary murmur.

Ironically, though he is murdered at the hands of his oppressors, Silas dies with his manhood intact. By allowing himself to be burned with the house, he forgoes subjecting himself to the final atrocities and emasculation that were often performed by lynch mobs on black males. Further, his final act of defiance, evinced by the deafening silence that ensues as his body becomes inflamed, symbolizes the completion of his transformation. As the flames engulf the house, Wright writes, "a black chimney loomed amid crumbling wood" (156). Perhaps the black chimney standing amidst the burning flames is representative of Silas' indefatigable spirit and determination to finally end the "long black song" in his own life. Sadly, the psychological ramifications of Sarah's infidelity are so far-reaching that Silas' liberation from white oppression and the restoration of his machismo can only be achieved through death. Edward Margolies supports this in "Wright's Craft: The Short Stories," noting that "Silas' redemption is at best a private affair—and the Negro's plight is no better as a result of his determination to fight his oppressors " (81). While this scene essentially represents the coda of Silas' song and the reestablishment of his manhood, in my imagination, at this point in the composition, there would be a repeat sign, signaling the singer to return to the beginning of the piece only to begin the "long black song" anew for another black male victim. Wright's depiction of the Southern black male's experience as a long, incessant song is both apt and relevant, transcending even its early-20th-century context. African American males of the 21st century face challenges that, while different, are certainly comparable to those faced by their forefathers. Thus, "Long Black Song" is timeless and, sadly, prophetic, for Wright accurately portends the ills that have continued to plague black males more than half a century later.

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De-constructing Blackness: Analyzing the Characterization of the Black Middle-Class Construct in *Sarah Phillips* by Andrea Lee

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Abstract

This paper was submitted as a requirement for a Literary Criticism course at Hampton University. It examines the ways in which Andrea Lee decenters stereotypical assumptions about blackness and the black female identity. Ultimately, this analysis uses *Sarah Phillips* to illustrate the complexities that form black identity inside and outside of race.

Andrea Lee's *Sarah Phillips* resists the typical portrayal of the African American experience in novels. Lee fills the gap in our knowledge of a class of blacks that were privileged during the post-integration era. The text challenges the conventional image of "blackness" so that readers understand something new about its structure. Like the structuralist activity proposed by Roland Barthes, Lee uses the characterization of Sarah Phillips to reconstruct "blackness." Jacques Derrida's theory of de-centering language also resonates in Lee's reconstruction of "blackness" through Sarah Phillips' portrayal as middle class and privileged instead of as impoverished and uneducated. It is through this deconstruction of Sarah Phillips as a character that provides a pluralist analysis of "blackness" and black experiences.

Moreover, the deconstructive process emphasizes the claim proposed by bell hooks and Cornell West that "blackness" is not one dimensional but encompasses a variety of factors that not only relate to race, but to class and gender, as well. As West and hooks argue in their essays on postmodernism and Black America, the intellectual is separated from "blackness" because, according to conventional connotations, "blackness" is only equated to ghettoization, poverty, and illiteracy. Although Lee is breaking stereotypes, they are still at work in the text through Sarah's relationships and interactions with society throughout the novel. Regardless of her class, Sarah cannot escape being black; therefore, Sarah is still linked to the negative connotations her race embodies. Moreover, Lee creates a new structural perspective of "blackness." As with Barthes' simulacrum which will be described later in greater detail, Sarah represents a new perception of blackness because of her class, yet, because she is in a black skin, society does not separate her from the negative connotations of her race. Sarah believes that she has transcended the racism that her predecessors have faced, but she still lives in a

society where consciousness about blackness manifests in negative connotations. Therefore, in the text, we as readers experience Sarah as marginal because she does not fit our racial constructions. The framework of structuralist and postmodernist theory provides a space in which the dichotomy of the marginal and the privileged is confronted as it relates to African American identity. Lee examines this conflict in the postmodernist perspective through the landscape of Sarah Phillips' characterization.

Lee's characterization of Sarah Phillips reveals commentary on "blackness" in American consciousness. Sarah Phillips' characterization provides a perspective in which African American identity is based primarily on social and economic class position rather than on race factors. Although Lee provides a definition of black middle-class life and a new climate for the African American experience, she also shows that the lifestyle of middle-class blacks did not immediately change when their life chances did. Sarah Phillips' opportunities to climb the social, educational, and economic ladder are far greater than those of her parents and predecessors from the civil rights age; however, she remains partially marginalized because of her identity as a black American female.

The second vignette of the novella, entitled "New Africa," reveals that Sarah is distanced from her family and the members of the church because their ideologies conflict with her own. Sarah's family and the church congregation are figures of the civil rights movement, which informs their ideological stance. In contrast, Sarah inhabits a different world than her parents, and, although it may seem that she is trying to escape her heritage, she is ultimately trying to define herself as a "different" class of African Americans that no longer identified themselves as oppressed. Even as a child, Sarah realizes the different principles that guide her parents' lives from her own. In particular, Sarah states in the fifth vignette, "Marching,"

> [A]ll adults belonged to a species completely different from my own....The eye of a grownup, like that of a cat or a praying mantis, seemed to admit a different spectrum of light. Compared to my world... the atmosphere in which my parents existed seemed twilit full of tricky nuance (47).

Through this commentary, Sarah suggests that her parents' identity is informed by different social construction than her own. The way that Sarah's family and congregation react to issues of race and class centers around their experiences in the civil rights age of race and class division. For example, conflicting ideologies of race are exhibited in the vignette,

"Matthew and Martha." Sarah's brother, Matthew, brings his white girlfriend home and elicits this response from their mother, "I expect that Martha's parents are probably wondering the same thing we are: why is it that children can't stick to their own" (64). Sarah and her brother are outraged at the hypocrisy their mother exhibits through her comments.

According to Matthew, their parents taught them to live in a world where race was dependent on state of mind; however, because their parents' identity is still tied to experiences they faced of racism, the direct interaction with race brings out their segregationist attitudes. Mr. and Mrs. Phillips' reaction to race relations reveals their inability to see beyond the girl's "whiteness." Sarah, however, does not display the marginalized consciousness and segregationist ideology of her parents. In contrast, Sarah dates white men in college and has white friends in order to defy and abandon an inherited ideology that keeps her marginalized within her own being. Sarah narrates,

> I had grown up in the hermetic world of the old-fashioned black bourgeoisie—a group largely unknown to other Americans...acting with genuine gallantry in the struggle for civil rights, and finally producing a generation of children educated in newly integrated schools and impatient to escape the outworn rituals of their parents (4).

Sarah's narration reveals that the environment she grew up in protected her from the racism that her predecessors faced and produced a new type of culture within African American identity that was distanced from the consciousness of degradation, discrimination, and racism. This new generation created a new ideology of integration and equality instead of separation and discrimination. Her different life experiences separate Sarah from the ideologies that drive her bourgeois community.

Ironically, however, Sarah wants to follow the white girls "the way the apostles followed Christ" in school but refuses to be baptized into a church that represents civil rights (19, 56). A closer analysis of Sarah's actions reveals that they are not a result of her dismissing her identity as an African American but an effect of the new diversified identity that was constructed out of the civil rights movement. Therefore, Sarah does not reject God but rather the baptism into the civil rights association that ties her down to identifying herself primarily by race. In Sarah's consciousness, the "baptism" obliges her to share in the civil rights activity and ideology that was not applicable to her generation. Ultimately, Sarah redefines herself, giving context to "blackness" in postmodernist thought. Sarah

embodies Cornell West's claim that, "One aim of postmodernism is to promote inclusion, diversity, and heterogeneity" (2015). Sarah exhibits all three elements West equates to postmodern blackness and creates her own history as a "self-made Baptist martyr" (29). Sarah's title as a Baptist martyr figuratively illustrates postmodernist thought and feeds into the deconstruction of blackness working throughout the text. In literal terms, Baptist churches do not have a central governing authority. Therefore, beliefs and spiritual experiences are not totally consistent from one Baptist church to another. This idea is used in a figurative sense, creating a metaphor for postmodern blackness within the text. Parallel to the structure of Baptist churches, postmodernism offers an alternative analysis of blackness by de-centering the central governing authority of cultural hegemony that informs stereotypes about blackness. Postmodernism in Black America defies the stereotypes, ideologies, and consciousness that keeps blacks marginalized.

Furthermore, Sarah's characterization in the second vignette of the novel interrupts the central hierarchy and organizing principles typical in African American novels. As hooks suggests in her essay, "Postmodern Blackness," the defining factors of representing "blackness" in an African American novel are associated with the depiction of degradation and oppressive experiences (2009). Within the context of Sarah Phillips' identity, the structure of "blackness" is de-centered. Lee also uses Derrida's theory of "freeplay" and deconstruction to create an absence of the center (Derrida 916). In terms of the structural reference of Lee's novel, the center represents the stereotypical portrayal of "blackness" in literature. Lee's characterization of Sarah Phillips as a black middle-class female undermines the frame of reference and assumptions that underpin the text to define "blackness" in conventional terms. In effect, the de-centering of "blackness" declares breakthroughs in African American literature that allow recognition of "otherness" (hooks 2010). This "otherness" is not based on simple binary terms of black and white but rather this new "blackness" embodies extreme complexity, contradiction, ambiguity, and diversity, while still providing interconnectedness with original connotations of the term.

Lee's construction of Sarah Phillips' character as a black middle-class female can be explicated drawing on Barthes' theory of the simulacrum in his essay, "The Structuralist Activity," that was mentioned previously. According to Roland Barthes, a simulacrum reconstructs a subject through selection and recombination (873). Through Sarah's characterization as a black middle-class female, as Barthes might suggest, "something new" takes root, and a new way of examining "blackness" is created in the text. Lee's

construction of Sarah Phillips' character is the simulacrum she creates to add intellect to the racial composition of "blackness." Moreover, Lee's deconstruction of the term "blackness" reveals that there is no true definition of experience to signify "blackness" within the context of literature.

For example, the construction of Sarah Phillips' "otherness" from the simulacrum is partially structured by privilege. As stated previously, Sarah was able to obtain this privilege through her parents' stance in the civil rights movement. In the fourth vignette, "Gypsies," Franklin Place symbolizes Sarah's privilege and black middle-class life. She describes Franklin Place as an "unreal atmosphere...because the people who owned [the houses] were black...[Franklin Place] represented the fulfillment of a fantasy long deferred, and acted as a barrier against the predictable cruelty of the world" (Lee 39). Sarah's description assessing the neighborhood reveals the kind of privilege in which she was raised. The neighborhood provided a protective barrier that insulated her from the injustices that faced most black girls in that time period.

The notion of privilege is also exemplified through Sarah and Lyn's interaction with the gypsies. The gypsy woman testifies how her son never got the liberty of playing and interacting in a neighborhood like Sarah and her friend (43). When the gypsies declared that it was a crime for colored people to live in this kind of environment, Sarah's father reassures her that their comments result from their insecurity as a lower class of people. Sarah's father tells her, "Most of the world despises Gypsies, but a Gypsy can always look down on a Negro" (44). Reverend Phillips illustrates the extent of Sarah's privilege and reveals a hierarchy in which the gypsies are seen as occupying a lower-class system than the black middle class.

Additionally, Franklin Place and Sarah's interaction with the gypsies shows a historical change in the progress of African Americans' social and financial status, leading to the ideology that Sarah displays in "New Africa." In the opening lines to "Gypsies," Sarah depicts both the atmosphere of Franklin Place during the civil rights era and her reaction to the events:

> [M]y parents had told me [the region below the Mason-Dixon Line] held a sad and violent heritage for little girls like me. Beyond a self-conscious excitement when I heard this, I had little idea of what they meant. For as long as I could remember, the civil rights movement had been unrolling like a dim frieze behind the small pleasures and defeats of my childhood (40).

In the current state of African American social progress, Sarah can sit on the curb of Franklin Place without fearing racist attack.

On the other hand, although the novel displays the privilege of the black bourgeoisie, it also presents the conflict they have with marginalized, lower-class blacks. When Sarah's father describes the insecurities of the gypsies in comparison with the members of the black middle-class community, he also says, "You can dress it up with trees and big houses and people who don't stink too bad, but a nigger neighborhood is still a nigger neighborhood" (44). This statement reveals the tension of the privileged/marginalized opposition portrayed throughout the plot of the vignettes. This tension is perhaps most apparent in the sixth vignette entitled "Servant Problems," which illustrates Sarah's privilege through her choice of education.

Through Sarah's commentary, readers become conscious that the Prescott School for Girls had previously operated on white upper-class domination. Sarah interrupts the "balance" when she entered the school as the only black female in the seventh grade (53). Sarah is somewhat shut off from her peers socially, leading her to make a comparison with her situation and past instances of integration, stating,

> A few years earlier, I'd seen a picture of a Southern black girl making her way into a school jeering crowd of white students, a policeman at her side. Prescott didn't jeer at me—it had, after all, invited me—but shut me off socially with a set of almost imperceptible closures and polite rejections (54).

Sarah depicts one of the two categories under marginalization-social exclusion. Social exclusion serves to express the experience of "otherness" through which readers witness the conflict of marginalization within Sarah's privilege. The marginalization interrupts Sarah's self-conception that her identity as black middle-class female is only based on social and economic progress and inserts the factor of race. Although she is the only black female that is not a domestic in her school, her peers' perception of her as black still puts her in a subordinated and fixed position of servitude, perhaps best exhibited through Sarah's role as Rheba—a colored maid in the school's play, *You Can't Take It with You*.

Sarah's role in the play also exposes the second category of marginalization—stigmatization. In the white upper-class society of her school, Sarah is labeled as a servant because every other African American at Prescott was a servant. Fundamentally, Sarah's stigmatization is not only based on

racism but also because of historical factors. Sarah's stigmatization connects her back to the position that she was supposed to have escaped as a member of the black bourgeoisie—an ancestry of servitude through slavery. The different events played out in "Servant Problems" reveal how class privilege fails to shield Sarah from stigmatization or social exclusion of racism, thereby exposing the dynamics of the privileged/marginalized opposition (Lee xxii).

Moreover, the first vignette, "In France" shows how Sarah never escapes the tension in feeling simultaneously privileged and marginalized. Sarah's relationship with Henri, her French college friend, forces her to confront her race that has somewhat been suppressed by the makeup of her social and economic identity. Henri and Sarah's exchange exposes the racist manipulations that shape not only the relationship between Sarah and her friends but also her identity. Henri's racial insult labeling her as the product of an Irish woman and a "King Kong jazz musician" leaves Sarah once again subjugated to marginalization. Henri's comments instigate the fictional representation of the race relations drama that Sarah experiences throughout the vignettes. Strategically placed first in the novella, "In France" enables readers to enter Sarah Phillips' world, exposing her societal position in society in relation to other classes. Moreover, through this vignette, Sarah begins the process of recognition that allows her to realize that she cannot escape racial discrimination.

The effect of the privileged/marginalized opposition presented throughout *Sarah Phillips* allows readers to analyze the complex structure of the African American culture and the position of the African American elite within that culture. Lee's compilation of vignettes that forms *Sarah Phillips* renders a correspondence between each of these polar opposites which in effect creates the concept of "otherness." Her characterization of Sarah Phillips deconstructs the polarity of the privileged and marginalization, undermining the definitions of African Americans as either one or the other. Sarah Phillips fails to correspond with the characteristics stereotypically outlined in other African American text as "blackness," as she is not subjugated to the overt discrimination of the "ordinary" black girl due to her class position; however, she was still subject to racial issues. Through *Sarah Phillips*, Lee brings attention to the structure of blackness while complicating the division between black bourgeoisie and lower-class blacks.

As Valerie Smith states in the novella's "Foreword," Lee illuminates "the range of behaviors and attitudes displayed by African Americans in the late twentieth century" (xi). She provides a counterexample for the construction of the African American experience in traditional African American Literature. With the creation of *Sarah Phillips*, Lee enters the discussion of postmodernism as it pertains to the black experience. For instance, Lee utilizes structural theorist Derrida's deconstruction to enable African Americans to understand and define themselves beyond the stereotypical images of white supremacy. Furthermore, Lee carries out a critique in literature that hooks is making in theory to acknowledge how class has changed the way the black experience is conceptualized (hooks 2012). hooks states in "Postmodern Blackness,"

> Criticisms of directions in postmodern thinking should not obscure insights it may offer that open up our understanding of African American experience. Employing a critique of essentialism allows African-Americans to acknowledge the way in which class mobility has altered collective black experience so that racism does not necessarily have the same impact on our lives (2012).

Lee executes this "call to action" through her characterization of Sarah Phillips. While a first read of Sarah Phillips' characterization may suggest an African American female longing to become a part of white society, examining essentialism in her characterization actually reveals a story about how class mobility can alter the way racism impacts one's life.

Lee provides a voice for both the black middle class and the African American culture at large by telling their story—exposing the complexities that internally and externally form black identity. Not only does Lee successfully portray an "otherness" that enables an unbounded analysis of the African American identity structure, she also interrupts the preconceived notions that readers—African American and American—bring to a text before it is read. The text does not merely define race in simple terms of black and white, oppression and privilege, or ghettoized and refined. Instead, Lee challenges both conventional terms of blackness through her characterization of Sarah Phillips as well as preconceived notions of what black writing should contain.

In this sense, not only is Sarah Phillips' character used as a tool to deconstruct "blackness," but the novel and Andrea Lee, herself, are also a part of that "otherness" when it comes to black literary tradition. The text, the protagonist, and the author are all outsiders in their respective environments. The novella as a whole requires its readers to reach beyond stereotypes and conventions to confront how black identity is linked to race, class, and gender. Understanding fixed and fluid definitions of blackness permits Black America to finally become

involved in the postmodern debate that Cornell West claims is essential to the inclusion, diversity, and heterogeneity of African American identity, culture, and writing (2015).

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W.E.B. Du Bois and the Propaganda of Truth

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Abstract

This paper addresses W.E.B. Du Bois' seemingly discordant attitudes toward "propaganda" in the essays "Criteria of Negro Art" and "The Propaganda of History." I argue that these texts do not in fact expose a riff between the functions of his artistic/literary and his scholarly output. In assessing what Du Bois meant by his statement "All Art is propaganda," in "Criteria of Negro Art," I uncover the logic behind his ostensibly contradictory assessments of Claude McKay's *Home to Harlem* and DuBose Heyward's *Porgy*. I then analyze a lyrical passage at the end of "The Propaganda of History" from *Black Reconstruction*, suggesting that Du Bois' praise of propaganda in "Criteria of Negro Art" does not contradict his critique of it in "The Propaganda of History." Rather, these affirmations buttress his critique and thereby reveal the singular vision of Du Bois' diverse intellectual output.

The word "propaganda" is crucial to two of W.E.B. Du Bois' most prominent essays, "Criteria of Negro Art" (1926) and "The Propaganda of History" (1935). In "Criteria of Negro Art," published in the NAACP's journal *The Crisis*, Du Bois argues that black artists should have their work explicitly serve as propaganda in order to improve black America's image, stating that "all Art is propaganda and ever must be" (1996: 782). However, in "The Propaganda of History," the concluding chapter of his mammoth study *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois derisively deems racist Reconstruction histories to be "propaganda" (1998: 720–721) and calls for fact-based historical writing to amend the distortions caused not only by the white supremacist histories that blame African Americans for Reconstruction's failure but also by histories written by blacks that absolve the freedpeople of any role in Reconstruction's failure. On first reading, Du Bois' use of the word in one paper seems to contradict his message as expressed in the other. Indeed, the two essays' seemingly incompatible uses of the term "propaganda" appear to expose a conflict between Du Bois the artist and Du Bois the academic, Du Bois the unabashedly pro-black polemicist and Du Bois the objective empirical scholar. However, a close analysis of "Criteria of Negro Art" reveals that Du Bois' desire for black artists to bolster black America's image with positive representations does not contradict his overall conception of truth as it exists in a social context. For Du Bois, any art which successfully undermines or transcends white supremacy is truthful, just as in "The Propaganda of History," he states that impartial, research-based scholarship is truthful. But rather than contradicting his earlier statement, Du Bois unifies these two conceptions of truth in the conclusion of "The Propaganda of History" by using his skills as an artist to breathe an emotional urgency into the essay's preceding scholarship.

According to Du Bois, the world is so uniformly oppressive to black people that, for them, there is no abstract beauty truer than freedom and justice. Thus in "Criteria," he explains, "That somehow, somewhere, eternal and perfect beauty sits above Truth and Right I can conceive, but here and now and in the world in which I work they are for me unseparated and inseparable" (1996: 779). Du Bois believes that black artists have artistic freedom but "[the artist's] freedom is ever bounded by Truth and Justice; and slavery only dogs him when he is denied the right to tell the Truth or recognize an ideal of Justice" (1996: 782). Accordingly, the use of truth, goodness, and justice may be a choice for most artists, but, for black artists, it is the only thing that staves off "slavery" in all its 20th-century echoes. Thus, for Du Bois, art "purists"[1] who discourage the use of black art as propaganda underestimate the omnipresence of racism in America, which dictates that, regardless of the intentions of the artists, all art acts as propaganda because it reaches audiences primarily invested not in the appreciation of art, but rather in either the maintenance or the destruction of the racist order (1996: 782).

Du Bois argued, then, that the apolitical stance of some Harlem Renaissance artists was dangerous because the white supremacist infrastructure was so pervasive that art which did not consciously seek to lift the Veil was likely to be conscripted to enhance its opacity. This is the basis for his 1928 critique of Claude McKay's novel, *Home to Harlem*, offered in his essay "Two Novels." Du Bois asserts that by trafficking in stereotypes so revolting that "after the dirtier parts of its filth I feel distinctly like taking a bath" (1998: 784), *Home to Harlem* gives white publishers "a portrayal in Negroes of that utter licentiousness which conventional civilization holds white folk back from enjoying" (1998: 785). Thus, despite the Harlem Renaissance artists' claims of objective authenticity in the pursuit of truth and beauty, McKay bows to the Veil's distortion of truth by prostituting a primitivist vision of uptown black life to downtown white patrons. While Du Bois also criticizes *Home to Harlem*'s ill-conceived plot and lack of "artistic unity," he prioritizes the book's propagandist failings over its aesthetic deficiencies (1998: 785).

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[1] Du Bois' "purists" presumably include those such as Alain Locke who believed that art should seek to capture beauty rather than be used as propaganda, and those Harlem Renaissance artists who wanted to be known not as black artists but simply as artists.

The emphasis Du Bois placed on the role of a work of art in the racial struggle in order to assess its overall merit becomes most evident when his disappointment with *Home to Harlem* is juxtaposed with his praise of the white Southerner DuBose Heyward's novel *Porgy* in "Criteria of Negro Art." Du Bois lauds *Porgy* as the noble attempt of an artist compelled to reach across the Veil to express truth because the dogma of white supremacy in art suppresses the right of white artists to engage the ugly aspects of human life in a white setting (1996: 783). Therefore, in a manner similar to 19th-century minstrels offering radical or controversial political and social commentary to white audiences from the safety provided by the absurdist mask of blackface, DuBose Heyward uses black America to uncover uncomfortable but universal human truths in *Porgy* (1996: 783). For Du Bois then, *Porgy* is good art, because by locating "the truth of pitiful human degradation" in a black community, it locates humanity in black people (1996: 783).

Du Bois' choice of *Porgy* here might seem contradictory because *Porgy* also contains the "drunkenness, fighting, lascivious sexual promiscuity, and utter absence of restraint," which his essay, "Two Novels" so harshly criticizes Claude McKay for in *Home to Harlem* (1998: 785). However, the greatest difference between the two novels appears to be a matter of emphasis. For Du Bois, *Home to Harlem* is "untrue, not so much as on account of its facts, but on account of its emphasis and glaring colors," which make the debauchery in Harlem its defining characteristic, thereby perpetuating a caricature of African American life essential to the sustenance of the racist order (*Ibid.*, 785). On the other hand, Du Bois views *Porgy* as good art primarily because it undermines the racist order by portraying to whites the humanity of black people, even if some of the plot points show blacks in a rather stereotypical, negative light—which, Du Bois admits in his review of *Home to Harlem* (above), does not necessarily constitute untruthfulness. By undermining the racist order through art, *Porgy* achieves the conceptions of beauty and truth Du Bois puts forth in "Criteria of Negro Art."

Du Bois' argument for the importance of unbiased, seemingly apolitical research in the writing of history elaborated in "The Propaganda of History" might at first seem to contradict his endorsement of art as propaganda in "Criteria of Negro Art." For most of "The Propaganda of History," Du Bois, lamenting, "We have too often a deliberate attempt so to change the facts of history that the story will make pleasant reading for Americans," meticulously assesses the extant Reconstruction histories and points out their inconsistencies, biases, sentimental appeals to white supremacy, and lack of

"scientific poise" (1998: 713). However, Du Bois ends the essay in the role of the artist-propagandist with this passage:

> Immediately in Africa, a black back runs red with the blood of the lash; in India, a brown girl is raped; in China, a coolie starves; in Alabama, seven darkies are more than lynched; while in London, the white limbs of a prostitute are hung with jewels and silk. Flames of jealous murder sweep the earth, while the brains of children smear the hills (728).

At first, the sweep, desperation, and apocalyptic tenor of the above passage might seem to undermine the calm, meticulous academic work Du Bois does in "The Propaganda of History" and, indeed, throughout *Black Reconstruction*. But, in fact, it underscores the academic rigor that precedes it by pointing out why that rigor is so important: without it, the evils of the 20th century are happily perpetuated by the ignorant. Furthermore, according to his theory of art suggested in "Criteria of Negro Art," this lyrical flourish is as truthful as the empirical work, because by passionately railing against global white supremacy, imperialism, and capitalism, the overriding truth of a Veiled world divided hierarchically between white and nonwhite is expressed. Moreover, the passage is truthful because it transcends the sober prose of scholarship in order to incite the masses to fight for justice, rather than simply gain the approval of whites or to strive for an abstract beauty unattainable as long as America stays mired in the ugliness of white supremacy. By making this passage *Black Reconstruction*'s penultimate paragraph, Du Bois combines the arguments of "The Propaganda of History" and "Criteria of Negro Art" into a statement which is perhaps the legacy of Du Bois' oeuvre in the aggregate: that the true stuff of artistry and lyricism, when buttressed by exhaustive scholarship, presents a case for social justice that is both convincing and compelling. Thus, rather than contradicting each other and thereby revealing a Du Bois conflicted between art and scholarship, "Criteria of Negro Art" and "The Propaganda of History," when viewed together, bring Du Bois' central intellectual mission of pushing for social justice through art and scholarship into sharper focus.

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Rorty's Existentialist Interpretation of Heidegger

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Martin Heidegger has written some of the most enigmatic works in the entire history of philosophy; especially in characterizing the ontological nature of being, Heidegger has left many readers perplexed, provoking them in many cases to dismiss his work entirely. In part due to this difficult and enigmatic quality of his works, there are many different "Heideggers," with many philosophers taking his writings to mean several different things. How, then, are we able to find the intended meaning in Heidegger's work? How are we to identify the real Heidegger? In considering the analysis of Heidegger offered by any particular philosopher, we must first evaluate whether the reading is, in fact, consistent with Heidegger's own text.

Richard Rorty has been a key interpreter of both *Being and Time* (Heidegger 1996) and much of Heidegger's later work. He has focused, in particular, on understanding Heidegger in the context of the existentialist school of thought. Within this framework, Rorty suggests that, through the contingency of societal and historical context, Heidegger allows humanity the ability to free itself in the wake of self-creation. In the following essay, I will assess the degree to which Rorty's reading of Heidegger is consistent with Heidegger's own statements. In examining Rorty's work, *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity* (1989), and his 1991 essay "Heidegger, Contingency, and Pragmatism," I suggest that Rorty has misrepresented Heidegger as an existentialist when he asserts that, for Heidegger, humanity can achieve the greatest freedom possible on account of historical contingency. Such an interpretation misconstrues a small portion of Heidegger as representative of an overall metaphysical stance. In particular, I argue that Rorty's claims about Heidegger's conception of human freedom are driven by Rorty's own philosophical goals and conceptions and seem to be neither consistent with the theory laid out in *Being and Time* nor a possibility Heidegger hoped to suggest.

Rorty maintains that, through Heidegger's notion of contingency, individuals are able to self-create using a "final vocabulary," that is, the descriptions and arrangements of words that we use to depict our lives. He further maintains that Heidegger also sees rewriting one's past as a means of self-creation.

> For Heidegger—early and late—what one is is the practices one engages in, and especially the language, the final vocabulary, one uses. For that vocabulary determines what one can take as a possible project (Rorty, 1989: 109).

In his biographical depiction of Heidegger, Rorty shows a man desperate to create himself and not become trapped by the historical contingencies of his lifetime, an exemplar of the will and possibility to self-create. Indeed, as Rorty remarks, Heidegger wanted nothing more than to become something greater than another "footnote to Plato" (Rorty 110).

It is important to note here that there is no explicit discussion of self-creation or freedom in Heidegger. Instead, there is merely the notion that the context and the language with which we are involved are contingent, meaning that they are not essential to our specific situation but instead entirely accidental. We, therefore, do not create our situation and simply happen to be in a context where we have little say about the language or historical events that shape our lives. But what was, for Heidegger, an assertion of the contingency of human situatedness, for Rorty, becomes the foundation of a radical human freedom. Rorty describes self-creation as poetry, maintaining that for Heidegger recreating oneself comes out of using one's language to rewrite one's history:

> The greater the ease with which we use that language, the less able we are to *hear* the words of that language, and so the less able we are to think of language as such. To think of language as such, in this sense, is to think of the fact that no language is fated or necessitated. So to forget the openedness of beings is to forget about the possibility of alternative languages, and thus of alternative beings to those we know. It is, in the terms I was using before, to be so immersed in inquiry as to forget the possibility of poetry (Rorty, 1991: 44).

Later, Rorty connects this concept of new languages to recreation:

> This forgetfulness is why we Westerners tend to think of poets referring to the same old beings under fuzzy new metaphorical descriptions, instead of thinking of poetic acts as the original openings up of the world, the acts which let new sorts of beings be (*Ibid.*, 45–46).

Because the language we use to describe ourselves is not intrinsic to our nature, we are not bound to any particular notion of ourselves in the world. Instead, in recognizing that our language is contingent upon our context, we are able to change the way that we view our situation:

So to say that Da-sein is guilty is to say that it speaks somebody else's language, and so it lives in a world it never made—a world which, just for this reason, is not its Heim. It is guilty because its final vocabulary is just something which it was thrown into—the language that happened to be spoken by the people among whom it grew up (Rorty, 1989: 109).

In this passage referencing Heidegger's notion of authenticity, Rorty makes the claim that the individual who understands one's own possibilities as being created out of one's own view is able to live authentically. For Rorty's Heidegger, then, the individual who recognizes the contingency of his or her situation and uses it to his or her benefit is the truly authentic being.

It is clear that Rorty recognizes in Heidegger's work the presence of a deterministic universe that restricts the possibilities of the individual through social and historical facts. Yet Rorty also persists in the view that the Heideggerian picture of the universe not only allows for, but also insists upon, one recognizing one's own possibilities for control through language. While determining whether or not Heidegger's framework actually allows for self-creation goes beyond the scope of this paper, what is clear is that Rorty views Heidegger as an existentialist because of his understanding of self-creation.

This interpretation is problematic, however, because Heidegger specifically points out that the average individual's situation leaves him or her trapped in a fixed web of contingencies, *unaware* of his or her ability to reconsider this situation. For Heidegger, almost everyone, at nearly all times, lives in the mode of everyday Da-sein, as a member of a collective "They," whose thoughts, actions, and options are largely determined. In the mode of everyday living, in other words, Heidegger characterizes the individual as being more as an element of a group dominated by social and cultural norms than an individual agent. Because very few individuals live in the mode of authentic Da-sein (with even those who sometimes do spending much of their time living as inauthentic Da-sein), Rorty's interpretation of Heidegger can be seen to misconstrue a small portion of *Being and Time* to represent an overall argument, when, in fact, authentic Da-sein is merely a fleeting moment of hope within a monumentally deterministic framework.

Throughout the first section of *Being and Time*, Heidegger analyzes and describes the ontological nature of Da-sein itself. Heidegger then breaks from his discussion of the ontological nature of human existence to briefly suggest some ways in which individuals act socially. Heidegger here distinguishes individual existence from existence in a community. He argues that social influence is so intrinsic to human existence and interaction that one cannot break from it to make any sort of real individual choice or action:

> We enjoy ourselves and have fun the way *they* enjoy themselves. We read, see, and judge literature and art the way *they* see and judge. But we also withdraw from the 'great mass' the way *they* withdraw, we find 'shocking' what *they* find shocking. The they, which is nothing definite and which all are, though not as a sum, prescribes the kind of being of everydayness (Heidegger, 119).

In this way, it is clear that Heidegger is not speaking of a particular type of group agency or way of acting but is instead characterizing the indoctrination of the individual within a society. Heidegger does not believe that the 'they' represents the sum of all individuals but instead that individuals are indoctrinated into the mindset and habits of the 'they.' For instance, an individual becomes part of the 'they' when he or she follows the practices and norms of the group instead of choosing a unique action. In the case of everyday Da-sein, therefore, it is the social and historical context that informs the individual on how to become one of the 'they' and creates the individual as one of the 'they.' The impact of this socialization is so strong that Heidegger claims:

> The 'they' is everywhere, but in such a way that it has always already stolen away when Da-sein presses for a decision. However, because the 'they' presents every judgment and decision on its own, it takes the responsibility of Da-sein away from it. The 'they' can, as it were, manage to have 'them' constantly invoking it. It can most easily be responsible for everything because no one has to vouch for anything (Heidegger, 119).

Here it is clear that Heidegger suggests that the nature of everyday Da-sein is such that individuals have their responsibility and choice stripped from them in the process of socialization. Furthermore, Heidegger maintains that in living during everydayness the 'individual' is not, in fact, an individual agent at all:

> Everyone is other, and no one is himself. The *they*, which supplies the answer to the *who* of everyday Da-sein, is the *nobody* to whom every Da-sein has always already surrendered itself, in its being-among-one-another (120).

We thus see the extent to which Heidegger feels that authentic Da-sein is lost due to the external socialization of the outside world, and that the nature of humanity is to become socialized in such a way that an individual acts in accordance with the norms and expectations of the group. If, however, we are to believe as Rorty does that within this over-determined ontological framework self-creation remains possible, we would have to disregard all notion of the 'they.' We would also have to identify a method by which Heidegger's individual might break free from his or her social context and remain immune to socialization. If it is the case, however, in Heidegger that the 'they' of everyday living takes control of the individual's ability to make decisions on his or her own, then it seems that the contingencies that Rorty wants so greatly to embrace do not provide any real room to self-create. In the quotations offered above from *Being and Time*, it is evident that Heidegger knew that the historical and societal contingencies of an individual's context were not liberating but restrictive. Heidegger's framework acknowledges the restrictiveness of being socially embedded in the world by speaking to the nature of everyday Da-sein. Furthermore, while it might be possible for the individual to experience a limited amount of freedom in gaining authenticity, it is clear that this is the exception to the norm. Imagine the type of freedom necessary to recreate one's language and redefine one's own terminology. Would any individual entirely consumed by the social context that he or she survives in, and is defined by, be able to gain freedom from that society to entirely redefine his or her language and self? Arguably, that could only occur if an individual was aware of being entrapped by one's environment or was directly separated from the context in which he or she developed. Thus, while such logic poses problems within Heidegger's framework, Rorty's characterization of Heidegger as an existentialist leads us to misunderstand Heidegger's picture of the world.

While Heidegger does offer a minor promise for individuality in the framework of the 'they,' it is brief and creates problems for the rest of Heidegger's framework. Heidegger uses the notion of authenticity, which Rorty highlights in his analysis, to describe individuality in his framework. For Heidegger, authenticity exists when an individual recognizes that he or she is going to die some day and then examines and selects from the multitude of possibilities to occupy in the remainder of his or her life the most fitting of those possibilities. Rorty, however, seizes upon this notion of authenticity as the focus of Heidegger's work and considers it to be a solution to the problem of socialization. In this

way, Rorty claims that Heidegger has found a way to self-create and escape the guilt of using another's language. And while it may be the case that Heidegger's authentic Da-sein seems to promise individuality in a world of socialization and normalizing, it is not the focus of Heidegger's work but rather, an exceptional possibility in a overwhelmingly deterministic world. Again, whether or not Heidegger's framework can support such a promise is beyond the scope of this paper, but it is surely not, as Rorty claims, the key to Heidegger's ontological conception of the human condition.

Heidegger's ontological framework establishes a basic description of the nature of human existence that emphasizes its fundamental overdetermination by social and historical context. In its emphasis on the individual's possibility of radical freedom, Rorty's analysis of Heidegger not only singles out a small portion of Heidegger's framework, it also selects a portion that is, in its optimism, notably inconsistent with the rest of Heidegger's ideas. Rorty misconstrues this portion of Heidegger's work to be representative of or implicit in the rest of his framework, thereby conjuring false expectations of freedom and individuality in what is a mostly deterministic framework. Yet, Rorty's analysis points out the necessity of individuality within such a framework. Even more, his analysis encourages further questioning of Heidegger's overall framework; is it the case that in the wake of social and normative subjugation one can, in fact, make their decisions distinct from the expectations of the crowd? Can one separate oneself from the reality of one's social embeddedness, or does freedom require an individual distinct from his or her environment?

It seems that Heidegger's framework brings to our attention the fact that we are social beings. Likewise, his conception of Da-sein shows the necessary role of environment in the individual's life. It highlights the reality of individual embeddedness, while also pointing out that we exist in an environment that is historicized and socialized in such a way that the individual could never really have selected the context within which he or she has been situated. All the while, Heidegger also provokes us to recognize that the context in which we are embedded is not essential to our particular situation, but instead randomly comprised. For Rorty, this contingency is where liberation may be found; the randomness of our situation might mean that we can rearrange our own context to create ourselves. For Heidegger, by contrast, it is our ability to recognize and choose among the possibilities that our situation offers that confers upon us ability to live authentically.

Most importantly, Rorty's interpretation of Heidegger points out the individuals need to believe that they are authors of their own lives, while highlighting how that realization forces one to first face that possibility that one might not be the author of one's own life, and then search for a framework which supports the notion that one, indeed, is. Yet, in the end, both Heidegger and Rorty portray the world in such a way that one is left questioning what it really means to be in control.

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The Reaction to Capitalist Development in Tokugawa Japan: A Reappraisal of Ogyū Sorai

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Abstract

Ogyū Sorai is a well-known philosopher and social commentator during the Tokugawa period in Japan who was strongly critical of economic and social changes occurring in Japan due to the rise of the merchant class. By employing a modified version of Karl Marx's notion of alienation as a lens through which to read Sorai's social critique, I show not only that Sorai was, in fact, a more reactionary thinker than recent scholars have judged but also that Marx's theory of alienation can be usefully applied in non-Western and pre-industrial settings with appropriate modifications, thereby making it a useful theoretical tool for non-Western as well as pre-modern social analysis.

Japan, during the 17th and 18th centuries, experienced an unprecedented level of stability and economic growth. Following the foundation of the Tokugawa shogunate in the early 17th century, commerce grew, and the internal economy flourished.[1] Stringent controls placed on the samurai class by the shogunate to prevent rebellion contributed to greater urbanization around the capital, Edo, and to the gradual impoverishment of the samurai as a class. Indeed, in his 1971 study of the economic condition of the samurai, Kozo Yamamura shows that, while real incomes of the samurai remained relatively stationary during this time period, their rising expenditures and consumption effectively rendered them materially worse off over time. The economic disempowerment of the samurai contrasted with the development of complex credit and banking systems, internal commerce, and the rise of the *chonin*.[2] At the same time, Japan's population increased rapidly, exacerbating socioeconomic pressures.

Finally, although agriculture remained the largest economic sector prior to the period of industrialization in the late 19th century following the Meiji Restoration, as a class the samurai increasingly moved away from agriculture and land-based economies for their material support. The changing political, social, and economic realities during this time period coalesced in a social crisis for the samurai.

The political philosophy of Ogyū Sorai (1666–1728), a contemporary observer of some of these developments, offers insight into salient socioeconomic changes during the era of the Pax Tokugawa. Sorai, a major figure in Japanese philosophy, identifies and describes problems facing Japanese society and proposes reforms to allow for the perpetuation of Tokugawa and samurai dominance. Though the existing scholarship on Ogyū Sorai has focused primarily on his interpretation of Confucianism, linguistics, and the intellectual cross-pollination between Japanese and Chinese cultures, there is a smaller, though still significant, body of scholarship on Sorai's political philosophy. Anglophone scholars of Sorai's political philosophy can be divided into two major groups.[3] First, traditional scholars have read Sorai as the consummate conservative. Sorai, according to this branch of thought, works to maintain samurai power and a traditional feudal society. He reacts to the societal changes by attempting to reinstitute an outmoded feudal division of labor.

In response to the portrayal of Sorai as a conservative, historian of Japan Tetsuo Najita views him more sympathetically as an idealist thinker.[4] In contrast to the conservative readings of his philosophy, Najita argues that Sorai's vision of society was strongly historicist and that he accepted a qualified egalitarianism. Najita first grounds Sorai in a pure Confucian philosophy: Sorai posits a virtue-based society in which individuals' virtue corresponds to their societal roles. The proper society to allow virtues to flourish is historically constructed over time rather than a hereditary, timeless structure. Thus, when examining his political philosophy, Najita maps egalitarian tendencies—lack of hereditary virtue and the presence of a kind of meritocracy—within Sorai's thought. Najita also argues that the materialist influences in

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[1] The Tokugawa shogunate (1603–1868) was a long-lasting shogunate and the last before the Meiji Restoration brought the Imperial Court back to power.

[2] "The Increasing Poverty of the Samurai in Tokugawa Japan, 1600–1868," *Journal of Economic History* 31:2 (1971): 378–406. The *chonin*, or "townsmen," were often merchants but could also be craftsmen.

[3] See J.R. McEwan, *The Political Writings of Ogyū Sorai* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1962); Olof Lidin, "Ogyū Sorai's Civil Society (Seidan)," *Japan Review: Bulletin of the International Research Center for Japanese Studies* 5 (1994): 3–13; James McMullen, "Reinterpreting the Analects: History and Utility in the Thought of Ogyū Sorai," in *Writing Histories in Japan: Texts and Their Transformations from Ancient Times Through the Meiji Era*, ed. James C. Baxter and Joshua A. Fogel (Kyoto: International Research Center for Japanese Studies, 2007), 127–174.

[4] Tetsuo Najita, *Visions of Virtue in Tokugawa Japan: The Kaitokudo Merchant Academy of Osaka* (Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press, 1998). See also his *Tokugawa Political Writings* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), esp. his introduction but also cf. the critical review of W.J. Boot, "Approaches to Ogyū Sorai: Translation and Transculturalization: A Review," *Monumenta Nipponica* 54: 2 (1999): 247–258, esp. 253–258.

Sorai's thoughts stem not from an acceptance of his imme-diate social structure but rather from the virtue-based meta-physics of Confucianism. Essentially, Najita argues that Sorai's political philosophy was an extension of Confucian metaphysics rather than a pragmatic use of philosophy to maintain the existing hereditary socioeconomic hierarchy.

Both groups of scholars, but particularly Najita, fail to elaborate upon Sorai's portrayal of early capitalist trends in Japanese society. In the following essay, I refocus atten-tion on these changes in economic and government struc-tures as they relate to early forms of capitalism in Japanese society. In particular, I attempt to adapt Karl Marx's concept of alienation to highlight the interconnectedness of social and economic structures that Sorai maintained in his politi-cal analysis. I argue that Sorai, in examining Japan's actual situation, presents an early account of samurai alienation along a modified Marxian path. In this light, Sorai's larger purpose is seen to relate to the current status and reinstate-ment of feudal Japanese norms so as to counteract the per-vasive changes sweeping through Japanese society before and during his lifetime. The redeployment of a Marxian concept of alienation in this context will thus help to clarify the nature and motives of Sorai's conservatism.

Bertell Ollman succinctly divides Marx's worker alienation into four types: the relationship to productive activity, to product, to other men, and to the species.[5] To be sure, Marx writes specifically of the proletariat within the historically specific context of 19th-century Europe. Thus, Marx's theory about the social implications of capitalism must not be carelessly imposed on Japan or read into Sorai's writ-ings. The conceptual jump between Marx and Sorai requires a subtle retooling of Marx's concept of alienation for Japan.

Ollman's summary of the theory of alienation helps in this process: "The theory of alienation is the intellectual construct in which Marx displays the devastating effect of capitalist production on human beings, on their physical and mental states and on the social processes of which they are a part."[6] Marx's theory implies an ideal society in which such relations and states of being are not so devastated or per-verted: the communist state with its unalienated relation-ships. So, too, for Sorai, alienation signifies the separation of the samurai by the forces of capitalism from what Sorai views as their ideal status. Thus, although writing in differ-ent contexts and focusing on different groups, both Marx and Sorai agree that capitalism inherently harms society.

I propose that Sorai projects his idealized feudalism as an unalienated society, and it is this gap between the reality of Sorai's contemporary society and his ideal society that makes "alienation" an appropriate lens through which to analyze Sorai's writing. In particular, two modes of Marxian alienation apply to the samurai: first, productive alienation, in which the samurai are divorced from any administrative relationship vis-à-vis agriculture; and second, social alienation, whereby the samurai no longer maintain traditional social relationships with other classes and society in general. The nature of the transformations occurring in Sorai's society as well as Sorai's conservative response and ideals suggest that his philosophy, for all the influence of Confucianism, presents a strongly materialist response to the growth of capitalism.

For Sorai, the rising Japanese merchants posed a direct threat to the established order in several ways. First, they accumulated capital and economic power, thereby rivaling the samurai. Second, by engaging in non-productive trade, they contributed to the degeneration of the social order. Sorai's ideal society, in contrast, was arranged accord-ing to the four-class hierarchy outlined by the Chinese philosopher Mencius, which gave primacy to the samurai and subordinated merchants. Unsurprisingly, Sorai down-played trade's role in society and lamented the upward mobility of the merchants. He also made connections between economics and social hierarchy. The samurai, restricted by the central government to castle towns, could not compete economically with merchants, whose trade and lower status ironically allowed them greater scope for accru-ing wealth and power.[7]

Additionally, on a cultural level, merchants embodied a new selfishness rather than selfless social action. The growth of commerce facilitated consumer spending and damaged the value system that Sorai was advocating: social stratification, clear rank of social delineation by food and clothing, amongst other features, and simple living.[8] He described the historical ideal noting, "economy was put into effect and there was no needless expenditure."[9] In contrast to this idyllic view, he saw conspicuous consumption and consumerism infecting all classes to the detriment of all. Merchants failed to make socially conscious choices, i.e., choices that reinforced tradi-tional society and left samurai power unchallenged. In doing so, merchants were accelerating the deterioration of society while reaping personal benefits.

5   Bertell Ollman, *Alienation: Marx's Conception of Man in Capitalist Society*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1976), 136.

6   Ollman, 131.

7   McEwan, 35, 59–63.

8   Ogyū Sorai, *Discourse on Government (Seidan)*, tr. Olof Lidin (Wiesbaden, Germany: Harrassowitz Verlag, 1999), 135–168.

9   McEwan, 24.

Although never fully articulated, key elements of Sorai's vision of the ideal society may be recovered from his criticism of the current society. They signal a well-regulated and strongly hierarchical social structure and economy favoring the elite. Sorai placed the samurai at the top of the division of labor: they serve as administrators of the agricultural economy.[10] Indicative of Sorai's audience and elite focus, he did not explicitly delineate the remainder of the social structure but merely the premier role of the samurai. Thus, Sorai posited a traditional agriculture-centered economic system, with power vested in traditional elites, as the alternative to capitalism. Within this agricultural idyll, commerce plays no role in the economy except for purposes of transshipment since the conditions and values of rural, agricultural life are the norm. People live simply with local products and eschew consumer goods; petty goods are neither manufactured nor traded, thereby reducing the impetus for and the material foundation of commercialism. Sorai also desired self-sufficiency from international trade in order to lower prices and to promote smaller artisans' business against large-scale manufacturing.[11]

Central to Sorai's ideal society as both a social and as an economic community is the reduced status of merchants. He tersely described a reversal of his contemporary situation: "At present, the merchants are in the dominant position, and the military class is in the subordinate."[12] In contrast to this reality, merchants should ideally be subordinated both socially and economically to the samurai. Likewise, merchants must fulfill their proper social role and not take advantage of commerce for personal gain or advancement. Finally, in his critique, Sorai also found a causal link between merchant transgressions and the decline of state power—represented by the samurai.[13] Sorai's critique thus attempted to align all other elements of Japanese society against pro-capitalist merchants.

Sorai's portrayal of the samurai's proper role in the economy responded to the productive alienation that he saw following from capitalism's effects on the samurai. Sorai lamented the complete removal of the samurai from any productive activity. To be sure, the samurai in the past were not producers on the land, and Sorai did not advocate turning them into such. Instead, Sorai saw the samurai as the natural rulers and administrators of the economy.[14] By virtue of their removal from this unalienated state of economic affairs (i.e.,

feudal economic administration), samurai had necessarily experienced productive alienation. The combination of misguided legal restrictions and capitalist expansion had prevented the samurai from maintaining any organic connection with agriculture; as a consequence, the samurai had come to see agriculture only as a source of revenue.[15] Instead of taking their proper role as regulators, the samurai had become disconnected from the land. Consumption in the money economy, driven by forces such as *kaku* (appearance commensurate with status) and the availability of consumer goods, had become the dominant force shaping the relationship between the samurai and the economy.[16] The samurai, moreover, had come to rely on merchants rather than the land itself for any economic transaction. Economic dependency, in turn, led to the degeneration of the samurai way of life and physical well-being as their separation from the land and lack of power in the economy were internalized.[17] The increasing distance between the ideal, administrative role within production and actual economic disempowerment and dependency constituted the productive alienation witnessed by Sorai. Understood in this way, Sorai's proposal to return the people and economy to the land represented a direct measure to combat the samurai's growing separation from their administrative place in the economy.

Social alienation, closely related to productive alienation, describes the rupture of the samurai's traditional social role in Sorai's contemporary society. As noted above, Sorai posited that the ideal feudal society is the true unalienated society; therefore, social alienation occurs when actual social relationships do not align with the ideal feudal ones. Most importantly, the relationship of samurai economic dependency on merchants reverses the traditional power structure.[18] The samurai were unable to assert their social authority over the merchants from their position as economic administrators; instead, merchants came to dictate the nature of social relationships due to their elevated economic status and power. Sorai's claims about social and productive alienations are thus intertwined. Merchant activity was promoting a merchant capitalist agenda that undermined feudalism, thereby disrupting other social relationships. In the cases of commoners and hereditary servants, Sorai was able to show the clear break in proper social relationships by indicating the commodification of each class vis-à-vis the samurai. By denying hereditary relationships, the samurai implicitly

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10 McEwan, 62–3.

11   Sorai, *Discourse on Government (Seidan)*, 164.

12 Ogyū Sorai, "Settlement on the Land," in *Sources of Japanese Tradition II*. 1, ed. William Theodore de Bary, Carol Gluck, and Arthur E. Tiedemann (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 207.

13 Sorai, *Discourse on Government (Seidan)*, 153–8.

14 McEwan, 62–3.

15 Sorai, "Settlement on the Land," 207.

16 Sorai, *Discourse on Government (Seidan)*, 145–163.

17 Sorai, "Settlement on the Land," 207.

18 Sorai, "Settlement on the Land," 206–7.

accepted capitalist norms of social mediation (i.e., free labor and the market), and alienated both themselves and their hereditary servants.[19] For peasants, social alienation is linked to alienation from productive activity since the samurai broke the traditional paternalist social relationships to pursue cheaper and more economically pragmatic ones.[20] By succumbing to the capitalist values of the rising merchants, the samurai, in essence, alienated themselves from their ideal ruling status. Thus, social alienation of the samurai in Sorai's writing entails both the weakening of social relationships that ensure samurai power and the replacement of these social relationships by capitalist-driven economic ones.

In Sorai's writings, capitalism and its influences are the proximate cause of samurai alienation. As shown above, both forms of alienation emerge from a socioeconomic shift of power moving from a feudal, samurai-dominated society to one that was capitalist and merchant-dominated. Sorai linked all negative aspects in society to merchant activity whether directly or indirectly. The samurai, ironically, even incorporated merchant ideology—particularly consumption of commodities and profit-oriented thinking—in their own societal roles, which upsets societal balance. Sorai's aggregating techniques, however, rhetorically pitted the entire samurai class—and by extension proper society—against the merchants and their effects. For him, all merchants represented capitalist interests. Furthermore, as noted above, the central power dynamic in Sorai's analysis of society exists between the merchants and the samurai, which evidences a conflict between samurai dominance and capitalism. Thus, Sorai understood the major shifts in Japanese society as directly resulting from the growth of merchant capitalist influence in that society. Economic and social alienations, indicative of the shift in samurai's actual social behaviors in relation to their ideal roles, emerge as the major societal markers of this switch to capitalism in Japanese society.[21]

Reevaluations of Ogyū Sorai have, in recent years, tended to downplay his conservatism and favored a more positive explanation of his ideas based in Confucianism. Applying Marx's concept of alienation to Ogyū Sorai's thought, however, I argue that behind his comments on Japanese society lay a set of distinctly materialist concerns about the direction of economic developments and social change in Tokugawa Japan. I suggest that throughout his scholarship, Sorai was, in fact, articulating a very conservative reaction to the rising non-agrarian mercantile activity that he felt threatened the entire social order. He posited that mer-

cantile activity engendered productive and social alienation among the rightful ruling elite—the samurai—that, in turn, affected the whole of society for the worse. Sorai's solution was a return to the feudal and unalienated order of the past. Thus, my analysis makes a case against non-conservative readings, such as Najita's, and suggests instead that the traditional scholarly emphasis on Sorai's conservatism is rightly placed. Sorai should be understood as a conservative, pro-samurai, pro-feudal elite writing in direct and critical response to social and economic changes during the Tokugawa shogunate wrought by early capitalism.

The above analysis of Sorai, however, also has larger methodological significance. By considering Marx's idea of alienation less as a historically specific phenomenon and more as a way of describing deviations from an unalienated society due to capitalism, the idea of alienation gains analytical relevance beyond the narrow context of industrial workers for which it was conceived. E.P. Thompson's classic *The Making of the English Working Class*, for example, could be read as presenting alienation of workers during the transition *to* capitalist industrialization.[22] As my brief discussion of Sorai's political thought has shown, this theoretical move opens up the possibility of using Marx's tools to analyze historical moments without the necessity of imposing definitions and structures often quite specific to industrializing Europe. This approach also expands on the history of feudal-capitalist social change by examining how alienation could occur in conditions in which the material relations of the communist state were not the normative ideal.

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[19] Sorai, *Discourse on Government (Seidan)*, 116–124.

[20] McEwan, 60–61.

[21] This notion was also hinted at by other thinkers, such as Arai Hakuseki (1657–1725).

[22] Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working Class*. New York: Vintage Books, 1963.

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"Our Own Jihad": September 11th and the Struggle for Identity among Arab Students in the United States, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates

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Abstract

Individuals in diasporas have tried to reconcile such notions of "double consciousness" (Du Bois 1903) for centuries, but the experiences of Arab-Americans in the wake of September 11th, 2001, capture unique struggles that are virtually unprecedented in the mainstream literature on diaspora. Previously, Arab-Americans were largely "invisible" as ethnic or racial minorities, characterized by American identity politics as "white, but not quite" (Samhan 1999). The aftermath of the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the resulting "War on Terror" has produced a particularly discursive stigmatization—or "racialization" of Arab-Americans, thrusting them "from invisible citizens to visible subjects" (Naber and Jamal 2008). Such a uniquely subjective experience has resulted in a dynamic whereby Arabs in America today have "come to signify 'Otherness' more than ever before" (Naber 2008, 39). This project seeks to understand modern conceptions of "Arabness" and consequent challenges of identification by examining the experiences of Arab students across these national borders—at four elite universities in the United States, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates. The comparative research design "helps both sides in avoiding the trap of excessive 'othering'" (Schaebler and Steinbeirg 2004, xvii), providing a useful contrast by which to examine a cross-section of today's crucial sociological concerns. As they exist "betwixt and between" (Friedman 1994) a plurality of worlds that are commonly perceived to be mutually antagonistic and culturally "clashing" (Huntington 1996), these Arab students challenge the social boundaries of Us and Them, revealing new definitions for their individual and collective identification after September 11th, 2001. This new generation of young Arabs spanning the globe has begun to challenge dichotomous "Us versus Them" discourse. Demonstrating the complexity and fluidity of their "ethnic options" (Waters 1990) in a truly global context, they struggle, as one respondent describes it, to "figure out their place in this world."

INTRODUCTION

> My *identity? Wow. Do you mean, what is my nationality? My ethnicity? My religion? My gender? My occupation? Who I am to the rest of the world? Or who is the rest of the world to me? And which world of mine? I guess I must exist somewhere between my view of myself and what others think of me, reciprocal, constantly changing. Can't be separated, and can't be absolute. Aren't I whatever I want to be? This may be the hardest question you could ask someone like me especially now.... I guess figuring out my place in this world...is my own... personal 'jihad.'*
> —Samra Abdulhadi, Stanford University Class of 2005.[1]

I. The Jihad for Identity: Battling Against Binaries, Constructing New Boundaries

Samra Abdulhadi's modern *jihad*—or "struggle"—to find her "place in this world" captures some of the major theoretical questions at stake in the complicated constructions of identity for young Arabs in the wake of September 11th, 2001.[2] The Arab-American Stanford graduate offers insight into her personal search for self-meaning, while evoking a question that has persisted throughout the ages, spurring spiritual quests, political doctrines, and philosophical pontifications that seek to situate the "self" vis-à-vis society, state, and the world.[3] As Samra demonstrates, the plurality and fluidity of her identity cannot be defined by

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[1] Pseudonyms are employed here and throughout this thesis to protect the privacy of interview respondents.

[2] I have re-appropriated the now highly-politicized Arabic word "jihad" in my title for several reasons. As *The Brill Encylopaedia of the Qu'ran* defines the term, "jihad"—which can be translated as "struggle" or "striving"—"is a concept much broader than warfare," despite its current misuse in both scholarship and public discourse (Landau-Tasseron 2008). "Although often understood within the Muslim tradition and beyond it as warfare against infidels" (Ibid.), Samra's use of the term refers only to its literal (not religious) meaning of "struggle." By re-appropriating this word, I seek to deconstruct the contemporary bastardization of the term, which has resulted in a connotation so discursive that it almost denotes Islamic terrorism or extremism (see Barber 1995; Pipes 2002). As Landau-Tasseron argues, "only ten out of the thirty-six relevant Qur'anic references [of jihad] can be unequivocally interpreted as signifying warfare. References to the "struggle of the self" ("jihad al-nafs") appear in later Islamic literature (Landau-Tasseron 2008), although they usually indicate an internal struggle "with one's own self in opposing its appetites and impulses until it is in submission to God" (Yusuf 2007). My use of jihad in the title and throughout this thesis refers neither to its religious or politic connotations, but rather, to the specific denotation of "struggle," as employed by Samra in this vignette.

[3] I employ the hyphenated identification Arab-American (and others later) merely for ease of identification, but not to imply anything about the subject's conception of her identity. Indeed, I chose to hyphenate "Arab" and "American" in this case merely to indicate the ethnic origin and diasporic residence of the respondent, but not to say anything about the impact of this type of categorization on the respondent's sense of "self." As Andrew Shryock argues, "the Arab-American identity, like all 'x-American' identities, is a creative blend of fact and fiction" (2008, 84). While definitions of the term "Arab-American" can vary widely, I employ the term in this study to refer specifically to individuals of the second or "1.5" generation —i.e., the children of immigrants from the Arab world or individuals who moved with their families to the United States before the age of 6. The Arab-Americans who comprise this study roughly represent the greater demographics of the Arab-American community in the United States, originating largely from the Levant (Jordan, Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, often including Egypt), North Africa (Tunisia, Morocco, Egypt, Libya, Sudan), and Iraq (Brittingham and de la Cruz 2005; Kayyali 2006).

nationality, ethnicity, religion, gender, or even occupation alone—all common contemporary ways of categorizing individuals and groups. As a hyphenated "x-American" (Shyrock 2008), her identity defies these static boundaries, vacillating in the vast space Suad Joseph calls "the hyphen that never ends" (1999, 268). Individuals in diasporas have tried to reconcile such notions of "double consciousness" (Du Bois 1903) for centuries, but as an Arab-American in the wake of September 11th, 2001, Samra's struggle is virtually unprecedented in the mainstream literature on diaspora. Previously, Arab-Americans were largely "invisible" as ethnic or racial minorities, characterized by American identity politics as "white, but not quite" (Samhan 1999) and only rendered visible in the wake of Middle East crises or terrorist attacks. Today, the aftermath of the September 11th attacks on the World Trade Center and the resulting "War on Terror" has produced a particularly discursive stigmatization—or "racialization" (Omi and Winant 1994)—of *Arab-Americans* like Samra, thrusting them "from invisible citizens to visible subjects" (Naber and Jamal 2008).[4] This recent experience of subjectification has created a dynamic whereby Arabs in America today have "come to signify 'Otherness' more than ever before" (Naber 2008, 39).

The narratives of Arab-American students like Samra defy the oppositional discourse of "Us versus Them" that characterizes *both* the Manichean ideologies of neo-conservatism *and* the fundamentalist Weltanschauungs of the violent movements such ideologies seek to destroy.[5] Samra, however, is not alone in her struggle to define herself beyond these static binaries, *nor is this narrative limited to Arabs in the American diaspora*. In the wake of September 11th, 2001, a new generation of young Arabs located *all around the world* has begun to challenge the dichotomous discourse of both sides, demonstrating the complexity and

fluidity of their "ethnic options" (Waters 1990) in a truly global context as they struggle, as Samra describes it, to "figure out their place in this world." Indeed, even the "Us versus Them" rhetoric of the American-led War on Terror—with its "unrelenting repetition of the concept of absolutely evil terrorists who know no borders or boundaries and are to be found *anywhere and everywhere in the world*" (Naber 2008, 40, emphasis added)—requires us to rethink the binary oppositions in the definitions of identity offered by the literatures on diaspora and immigrant assimilation, which posit an inherent distinction in the identification patterns of individuals located within the "homeland" and the "hostland."

This project is an attempt to understand modern conceptions of "Arabness," and the challenges of identification resulting from them, by examining the experiences of Arab students *across* national borders—at four elite universities in the United States, Egypt, and the United Arab Emirates.[6] The comparative research design "helps both sides in avoiding the trap of excessive 'othering'" (Schaebler and Steinbeirg 2004, xvii), providing a useful contrast by which to examine a cross-section of today's crucial sociological concerns. As they exist "betwixt and between" (Friedman 1994) a plurality of worlds that are commonly perceived to be mutually antagonistic and culturally "clashing" (Huntington 1996), these Arab students challenge the social boundaries of Us and Them, revealing new definitions for their individual and collective identification after September 11th, 2001.

II. Defining Identity: From Static Binaries to Fluid Boundaries

As Samra reminds us, national, tribal and religious categories of identification, frequently employed in the past, have not disappeared, but they simply "do not stitch us in

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[4] As Shryock (2008, 98) points out, "Omi and Winant mentioned Arabs only once in *Racial Formations*, and they obviously thought of them, circa 1986 (when the book was first published) as 'whites' who were sometimes the victims of 'white on white' racism: 'Whites can at times be the victims of racism—by other whites or non-whites—as is the case with anti-Jewish and anti-Arab prejudice' (Omi and Winant 1994, 1973)."

[5] By contrasting these ideologies with one another, I do not mean to re-inscribe the oppositional discourses they embody; I seek rather to elucidate their insufficiencies in capturing the complicated identities of Arab students around the world today. I juxtapose these two polar movements with one another to highlight the Manichean binaries adopted by *both* of these movements as they define themselves by opposition to an "Other," à la Said's *Orientalism* (1978). Figure 2-2 in Chapter 2 provides an illustration of these binaries and their incompatibility with global Arab student boundary configurations.

[6] I chose to study students at elite universities for a number of reasons (see Chapter 3 for a full discussion). First, their exposure to transnational media, international education, and other 'globalizing' processes renders their experiences more comparable than non-elite students in the Arab-American diaspora. Second, as I discuss in Chapter 2, the particularities of a liberal arts education also render the identity struggles of these students more reflexive and complex. Third, I seek to contribute to the study of a growing population that is seldom acknowledged, either in the literature on diaspora or on the Middle East. While it is important to acknowledge as noted by Suleiman (2007), that associations based on university graduates have historically been considered "elitist or not truly representing the full potential of Arabs in America" (83), these features also make the study of their identity configurations particularly interesting. Such students have more "ethnic options" (Waters 1990), and therefore can engage in more flexible constructions of boundaries that defy the oppositional discourse of "Us versus Them" constructs.

place, locate us, in the way they did in the past" (Hall 1997, 63). The students of this study defy the seminal literature on social identity, which demands that collectivities be *separated* into binary oppositions—of "in-groups" versus "out-groups" (Tajfel 1981), "homeland" versus "diaspora," "immigrant" versus "native."

As a framework for defining the complex and fluid constructions of identity that take place among the young Arab students in these four global locations, I embrace the more flexible theoretical framework of *boundaries* (Lamont 2000; Douglas 2002; Wimmer 2005) to describe "the tools by which individuals and groups struggle over and come to agree upon definitions of reality" (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168).[7] The concept of boundary, which has both social and symbolic dimensions, is emerging as a critical framework to understand the complex processes by which individuals and groups relate with one another, offering an alternative to the static binaries common to previous literature on ethnic differences. Boundaries allow us "to explore whether identities are defined in opposition to a privileged 'Other,' or in juxtaposition to a number of possible 'others'" (*Ibid.*, 174)— which, given the unparalleled 'Otherness' attributed to Arabs today (Naber 2008, 29), are particularly useful for this study. Whereas social boundaries represent the "objectified forms of social differences" (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168), I am particularly interested the configurations of symbolic boundaries—the "conceptual distinctions made by social actors to categorize objects, people, practices, and even time and space," which "separate people into groups and generate feelings of similarity and group membership" (*Ibid.*).[8] *Symbolic* boundaries, which may include religious, linguistic, or cultural—and even moral, spiritual, and epistemic—distinctions, are often used to challenge the more institutionalized social boundaries that separate collectivities into Us and Them, Native and Immigrant, East and West. A framework

based on the configuration of multiple symbolic boundaries is sensitive to the changing dynamics of collectivity between and among groups, offering a new paradigm for understanding the complexity of post-September 11th identity constructions of young Arab students whose narratives transcend these simplistic divisions.

The concept of boundary is particularly useful for a study of communities across diasporas because it captures the "dynamic dimensions of social relations" (Lamont and Molnár 2002, 168) whereby those in the diaspora relate to the "imagined communities" that transcend space and place (Emirbayer 1997; Somers 1994).[9] It offers a better framework to understand the commonalities between individuals of the same *symbolic* community who are linked not by the static borders of nation-states, but "primarily by common identities" (Anderson 1983, 96).[10] Hence, I employ Ang's (1994) definition of diaspora as "the imagined condition of a 'people' dispersed throughout the world, by force or by choice," characterized by "transnational, spatially and temporally sprawling sociocultural formations of people, creating imagined communities whose *blurred and fluctuating boundaries are sustained by real and/or symbolic ties to some original 'homeland'*" (5, emphasis added). This definition captures the dynamic characteristics of these Arab student populations, while allowing for the configuration of "blurred and fluctuating" symbolic boundaries that constitute the borders of the "imagined community" around some idea of an authentic ("real and/or symbolic") tie to a "homeland." The surprising parallels and distinctions in the experiences of young Arab students from within and without the Arab world revealed in this study, speak to the call for a revision of the discursive dichotomies that characterize much of the literature on diaspora, which define the "dislocated" diaspora in opposition to an authenticized homeland, inherent in Ang's definition.

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7   For an excellent review of boundary work in the social sciences, see Lamont and Molnár (2002).

8   Henceforth, unless otherwise specified, "boundaries," and "boundary configurations" refer to symbolic boundaries, as defined above.

9   Lamont and Molnár (2002) contend, "Much more needs to be done in terms of exploring the conditions under which boundaries generate differentiation or dissolve to produce hybridity or new forms of categorizations. Moreover, "the porousness of boundaries should be studied systematically across class, race/ethnic and gender/sexual lines" (187). This thesis seeks to contribute to that objective.

10   Lamont and Molnár (2002) call for a "more cumulative research agenda," which they suggest, "should involve comparing symbolic and social boundaries within symbolic communities and network-driven communities. It would be particularly important to determine whether these two types of communities operate similarly; to what extent widely available schemas shape the drawing of boundaries within face-to-face communities; and how boundary work generated by the media (e.g., Gillens 1999) feeds into the social boundaries that structure the environment in which individuals live and work" (183). By cross-examining the boundaries *of* and *between* the "symbolic communities" of Arab students located in different countries around the world, I contribute to this research agenda, especially in my focus of the impact of the highly mediated events of September 11th on their boundary configurations.

III. The Evolution of a Research Question:
An Arab-American in Cairo

The American-born daughter of Iraqi immigrants, I am all too familiar with the identity struggle Samra describes.[11] Perhaps as part of my own struggle or "*jihad*" to "find my place" in a world of static identity categories, I traveled to Egypt in the summer of 2007 with the goal of interviewing students at the American University in Cairo, where I had participated in a study abroad program several years before. Frustrated that the Arab world's most prestigious universities were American, my initial aim was guided by an intent to examine how an American-tainted force of "globalization" had begun to wipe out the authentic Arab culture of Egypt, producing a generation of elite Egyptians whose narratives rendered them not "real Arabs."[12] After only a few interviews with Egyptian-born students at the American University, it quickly became evident that *I could not have been more wrong* in my dismissal of their Arab authenticity.[13] Indeed, as they described their struggles for identity, I heard my own. 'Displaced' from the traditional boundaries of authenticity by their education as I had been by my American upbringing, these students were no less Arab than me. The more I observed, the more I apprehended certain parallels in our identity constructions—especially after September 11th.

Curious to observe whether these parallels transcended the terrain of Egypt, I traveled to the United Arab Emirates to interview students at the American University in Dubai—a unique location whose Arab populations consist of expatriates from across the region who paradoxically live in a "diaspora" located *within* the Arab world—a site whose dynamics dislocate it from the binary of "homeland" versus "hostland." I spent the next six months interviewing Arab-American students at Stanford and Harvard University, cross-examining their identity constructions with the narratives of students in Cairo and Dubai. These sites provide a comparative insight not only by virtue of their different geographical locations, but also by offering four different variants of the contemporary diasporas as defined by Ang. Indeed, their collective comparison could result in a new "symbolic community"—bringing together Arab students who live in an Egyptian 'homeland,' an American 'diaspora,' and an Emirati locale that exists between this binary. Revealing what seems to be a transnational "*jihad for identity*" among Arab students, their boundary configurations after September 11th, 2001, form the basis of this thesis.

IV. Plan of the Thesis

The plural and parallel boundary constructions that define the identity constructions of Arab students across these four sites should not and cannot be interpreted as the results of a hegemonic Western force of "globalization" sweeping over the localities of identity, as my credulous initial research question implied. Such a simplification not only falsely fetishizes the authenticity of a 'local' culture unadulterated by globalization, but also renders their experiences 'inauthentic' as it juxtaposes them against a hallowed image of "homeland" that is defined in opposition to a bastardized global 'Other.' For these populations, globalization functions rather as a *reciprocal* process catalyzed by the spatial and social reconfigurations of a "globalizing modernity" (Appadurai 2003, 295; Giddens 1990, 6), which impels them to construct new symbolic boundaries of identity and collectivity. That is, the emergent "globalization dialectic" (Henry and Springborg 2001) *informs and impels* reconfigurations of identity, *but does not necessarily mandate particular ones*. While perhaps informed by "Western" cultural trends, the hybrid dynamics of globalized culture allow individuals a heightened sensitivity of their own culture and identities and a greater awareness of global processes, which often "triggers a search for fixed orientation points and action frames, as well as determined efforts *to affirm old and construct new boundaries*" (Meyer and Geschiere 1999, 2, emphasis added). As such, previous theories of identity in the literature on diaspora and immigrant acculturation

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[11] The benefits and limitations of this reflexivity are discussed in my third chapter, "Methodology."

[12] This and further references to the "Arab world" or the "region" refer to the nations and peoples that comprise the Arab League, which includes Algeria, Bahrain, Comoros Islands, Djibouti, Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Libya, Mauritania, Morocco, Oman, Palestine, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Somalia, Sudan, Syria, Tunisia, the United Arab Emirates, and Yemen.

[13] As I elaborate in Chapter 3, I chose to study the American University in Cairo and the American University in Dubai not because they were American, but because they are the most elite liberal arts universities in the region. As one student at the American University in Cairo explained it: "AUC is not really an *American* university, but just the best *Egyptian* university...and one of the best *Arab* universities." While the American administration of education might arguably skew the boundary configurations of these students to more closely resemble those of Arab-Americans, their struggles do represent the demographic of elite Arab students I seek to examine.

are inadequate to explain the complex narratives of the Arab students of this study, whose "ethnic options" transcend their definitive binaries as they construct new symbolic boundaries of identity.

To fill these theoretical lacunae, I bring together theories on second-generation immigrant assimilation and higher education, reframing the concept of "homeland" versus "hostland" in a more fluid, global context. Indeed, as globalization implies a movement away from the classical sociological conception of societies and nations as well-bounded systems toward a perspective considered "how social life is ordered across time and space" (Giddens 1990, 6), today's complex global dynamics *demand a revision of the dichotomies that characterize much of the theories on diaspora and assimilation*.[14] The literature on higher education offers an additional perspective from which to re-define the dynamics of diaspora, notions of homeland and authenticity, and the emergent configurations of identity, tying language and learning to the concept of a diaspora in a way that functions to produce "symbolic communities" of individuals across the borders of polity, faith, and region.

In my first chapter, I describe the unique dynamics of Arab-American identification, contextualizing the post-September 11th experience within the context of a particular history of diasporic identification, defined by a concomitant "invisibility" and stigmatization. I argue that the particularities of Arab-American social and symbolic boundaries—specifically their ethno-racial ambiguity and consequent sensitivity to world events—are not accounted for in the canonical literature on diaspora and assimilation. In my second chapter, I reveal how extant theories of diaspora and immigrant assimilation are inadequate to describe the transregional identity struggles of these communities, as even the most progressive theories still posit an inherent binary opposition between homeland and hostland. Because the static boundaries of these literatures are insensitive to the fluid constructions between and among these Arab student communities, I engage the literature on higher education and language to help explain the surprising boundaries of identity these communities construct to define themselves individually and collectively. My third chapter details my methodology, offering insight into the demographics of the populations studied and addressing limitations and strengths of the reflexive research model. I argue that the unstructured, qualitative nature of my interviews and my own identity as a peer researcher "within the community" (Shryock 2008) render a reflexive dynamic that is not only beneficial to a study of Arab student identification patterns after September 11th—it is *critical*. Given the sensitive nature of issues discussed, the particular nuances of Arab language and culture, and the age/social demographic of the students interviewed, such a methodology is essential.

The frameworks offered by theories of diaspora and immigrant assimilation simply do not account for the unique symbolic boundaries by which Arab students in Cairo, Cambridge, Dubai, and Palo Alto define their individual and collective identities. My findings, presented in my fourth chapter, highlight similarities and differences in the boundary configurations of identity among the students in the different sites. Elucidating their surprising patterns in post-September 11th constructions, I focus on the unique boundaries produced by language, a historically crucial component of Arab identities; religion, another essential diacritic in historical identification patterns; and finally, knowledge production—an emergent boundary that has seldom been explored for diasporic identity constructions, by which students engage in identity construction through the act of learning. As I illustrate, although language, religion, and crises such as September 11th have historically functioned as boundary-makers of Arab identity, the particular strategies and configurations that these students engage reflect new, surprising trends.

The synthesis of these disparate literatures, which have suffered from inattention with one another, helps to explain the parallels and variations in the boundary configurations of young Arab students like Samra—a Muslim

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14 Although informed by Giddens' definition of globalization as characterized by a transformation of the global dynamics of "time" and "space," this study, drawing upon fieldwork with college students, does not seek to provide a theory of transformation *over time*. While making some comparisons to previous studies and different patterns of Arab-American identity formation, the analysis assumes the destabilizing effects of globalization as *informing* studies of boundary work and identity configurations. Particularly important is the dissolution of space (or "global" and "local") that can spawn paralleled experiences in diasporic and local communities. Further, theories of modernity, like Appadurai's (1996), take media and migration as the fundamental diacritics of modernity which also inform the subject choice for this study: An examination of the narratives of second-generation Arab-American students and elite Arab students in Egypt and Dubai reveals emergent patterns in the configuration of boundaries of ethnic identification and patterns of spatial and global/local understandings.

Sudanese-American Stanford graduate-turned-investment banker, Moe—a Lebanese-Druze expatriate student of Political Science at the American University in Dubai, and Nesrine—an Egyptian-born student of Physics at the American University in Cairo. Ultimately, I argue that these narratives have far-reaching implications beyond simply achieving the ability to check a box on a census form.[15] Shedding light on the ideologies of group movements, the dynamics of international relations, and ultimately the proliferation of "terror" itself, the Arab students of this study construct fluid boundaries of identity that challenge the very notion of a "clash of civilizations" (Huntington 1996), which has been constructed, especially after September 11th, as "the latest phase in the evolution of conflict in the modern world" (Said 2002, 571). In stark contrast to certain extremist groups in the region whose actions overwhelm media coverage of the Middle East, the students I interviewed have chosen to wage a different kind of *jihad*. Their "struggle"—the accurate translation of the Arabic "*jihad*" before the term's present-day hijacking—consists of daily battles against the dichotomous forces of primordialism, Orientalism, Occidentalism, and a slew of other vicious "-isms."

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[15] As Amaney Jamal (2008) summarizes this dynamic: "Arabs neither are seen as white nor are they granted an officially defined minority status; rather, they stand outside all racial demarcations in an ambiguous, precarious position of Otherness compounded by existing policies and perceptions. Regardless, then, of the boxes Arabs check—whether white, black, or other—their racialization, which has resulted in a perception of Otherness, is real" (321).

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Our Mothers' Gardens

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Abstract

I argue against Patricia Hill-Collins' positioning of Black feminism and Womanism. She argues that the description of these terms as distinctly different from one another "obscures" the social and political agenda for Black women as a collective. Subsequently, Hill-Collins contends that one term should be used to accommodate Black women's ideas. However, when positioning Black feminism and Womanism within it own context—a "Black feminist tradition"—the purposes of the terms as separate and distinct could be clearer. In the "Black feminist tradition," Black women's self-defining terms are an important aspect of maintaining their own philosophies.

As a Black female committed to the struggle for Black female liberation, what should I be called—Black feminist or Womanist?

In her essay, "What's in a Name? Womanism, Black Feminism, and Beyond" (1996), Dr. Patricia Hill-Collins outlines the differences between the terms Black feminism and Womanism. The bulk of her essay is devoted to contending that these terms actually "obscure" real issues that Black women should be challenging as a group. Consequently, she concludes that one term should be adopted to accommodate the specific goals and ideologies of both Black feminism and Womanism.

My paper is divided into three sections. Among other things, section one provides a synopsis of Patricia Hill-Collins' approach to Black feminism and Womanism by noting the main characteristics she identifies in each one. Section two essentially challenges Patricia Hill-Collins' historical and ideological positioning of Black feminism and Womanism. Section three, the concluding section, briefly describes the historical and ideological characteristics of Black feminist tradition. I conclude that positing both Black feminism and Womanism solely within the Black feminist tradition shows some benefits in maintaining two separate terms.

Womanism

Womanism is a term with four definitions. The first two definitions describe how Black women are Womanist because of their unique experiences. The other two definitions describe how Womanists are connected to the universal experiences of people in general. Although connected, Womanists are a unique part of that universality. Each of the four definitions addresses an aspect of Black women's solidarity, both socially and politically.

Hill-Collins suggests that the definitions of Womanism present two contradictory meanings. The contradiction is the result of the attempt to justify Womanists' separation from and simultaneous connection to people in general. The first meaning describes Womanism as grounded in the historical realization that race and gender oppress Black women. The second interpretation describes Black women's concrete history as giving birth to a worldview assessable to only Black women. In addition, the contradiction also shows that although Black women are "traditionally universalist[s]"(Walker xi) in relationship to the flower metaphor in Walker's garden, Black women are superior to white women because of their Womanist worldview. Thus, Walker's Womanism is constructed in direct contrast to "White" women's feminism.

Furthermore, Hill-Collins suggests that Womanism is modeled after two Black ideologies. The first concerns an idea of Black Nationalism whereby Blacks and Whites are seen as unable to operate within the same institutions as equals. This argument is premised upon the notion that there is little need for assimilation and integration. Thus, the racial oppression Blacks experience validates Blacks' moral superiority over whites. Likewise, Hill-Collins asserts that Womanism follows Black Nationalist ideology in expressing little need for integration between White women and Black women in the Womanist agenda. Thus, Womanism "sidesteps" the issue of race by excluding White women in its very definition, while simultaneously encouraging a better relationship with Black men.

The second Black ideology Hill-Collins observes as a part of Womanism is what she identities as a "pluralist version of Black empowerment" (Collins 4). Pluralism focuses on group integration within a society, while still retaining each group's heritage, premised on the idea that a society's diversity relies on each group's equitable access to resources and rights. This notion of pluralism is illustrated in Walker's garden metaphor, where the different types of flowers parallel the diversity found amongst people.

Hill-Collins admires Womanism primarily because it addresses the issue of sexuality. Alice Walker's definition aims to include Black women who are Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer (LGBTQ), since the Womanist is a person who "loves other women, either sexually and/or non-sexually" (Walker xi). According to Hill-Collins, however, many Black women who choose to identify themselves as Womanists neglect to talk about this important aspect of Womanism. For Hill-Collins, this aspect of Womanism both acknowledges and challenges homophobia in Black communities.

Despite her admiration, Hill-Collins is critical of the Womanist position because, in her estimation, the Womanist position vacillates between the real and ideal positions of Black women. She argues, essentially, that having been constructed between the historical and visionary has given Womanism a contradictory nature that obscures a necessary distinction between Black women's actual encounter with oppression and the act of shaping an ideology outside of oppression.

Black Feminism

Black Feminism, according to Hill-Collins, has a variety of interpretations; therefore, she begins to define it in its broadest universal sense. Feminism, in its broadest sense, confronts patriarchy with social, political, and ideological force at a global level. The term "Black feminism" positions African American women and race within this global framework as a part of women's equality. Unfortunately, feminist knowledge and politics have often presented Black women and their concerns as being on the margins of the global feminist movement. It is perhaps unsurprising, then, that the term "Feminist" makes many Black women uncomfortable—as feminism is perceived to be associated with whiteness. For many Black women and Black men, feminism is incongruent with the Black politic. As a result, many Black women tend to identify feminism and the feminist movement as exclusive to White women.

According to Hill-Collins, the term "Black feminism" uses the "'adjective'" Black to illuminate the racism in the "White" women's movement and the sexism within the Black community. In addition, Black feminism reminds the "White" feminist movement that Black women both produce and provide an important discussion to the global agenda of feminism. Furthermore, Hill-Collins contends that Black feminism poses several problems with its usage. First, it is unable to achieve true balance with Black women's concerns because of pressure from the White women's ideology. Black feminists tend to focus on social issues that are often in conflict with White women's concerns, which, unfortunately, lead Black feminist concerns to be deemed not "feminist" enough. As a result, the Black feminists' agenda loses its effectiveness and becomes marginalized within the global feminist arena.

Secondly, Black feminism encounters problems from Black religion because of the assumed perspective that Black feminism has on sexuality. Traditionally, the Black church is not accepting of lesbianism, whereas the White feminist movement generally is. Many Black women feminists ask, "Do I have to accept lesbianism if I am feminist?"

Thirdly, the term "Black feminism" creates questions concerning relationships with Black men. Many African American women feel that feminism requires that they reject heterosexual relationships. Hill-Collins believes that this is a valid concern for Black women and points to the larger concern of Black feminism's ability to include both Black nationalism and "White" feminism into its agenda. She argues that Black feminism must realize that the "White" feminist agenda is incapable of seeing its own racism and the Black Nationalist agenda is incapable of seeing its sexism. Thus, it is hard for Black feminism to find a place where these two contradictory ideas can converge.

Hill-Collins concludes that the terms "Black feminism" and "Womanism" both describe how Black women address similar problems differently in a related paradigm. She suggests both terms "go beyond naming," to accomplish common goals under the central issue of gender within the African American community (Collins 8).

Within a Black Feminist Context

Patricia Hill-Collins portrays both Black feminism and Womanism as antithetical to one another. While Hill-Collins argument has some superficial plausibility, I think her choice to position Black feminism and Womanism as oppositional in this way is problematic. First, it reinforces the analysis of Black feminism and Womanism as starting from the context of "White" feminism. Thus, we are compelled to both deny and disregard Black women's own tradition of resistance to Black women's oppression. Secondly, by disregarding Black women's own history of gendered resistance, we are incapable of understanding the Black feminism/Womanism debate as a natural progression of longstanding ideologies. Thirdly, we lose the ability to address both issues pertaining to Black women and the complementary philosophies that challenge those issues. New and specific ways of looking at Black

women's ideas helps to capture diversity in Black women's voices.

Thus, it is my contention that we situate both Black feminism and Womanism under the broader concept of "Black Feminist Tradition." This inclusive idea has the benefit of focusing on the historical and intellectual history of Black women's gendered resistance. Black feminist tradition has its origins that can be traced back as least as far as Sojourner Truth in the 1850s. Some prominent Black feminist forerunners include Julia Foote, Maria Stewart, and Ida B. Wells-Barnett. While it is unlikely that these Black women called themselves feminist or Womanist, they certainly challenged the current mores of sexuality, gender, and equality as it pertained to the lives of Black women in their time. Cooper writes:

> The colored woman of to-day occupies, one may say, a unique position in this country…her status seems one of the least ascertainable and definitive of all the forces which make for our civilization. She is confronted by both a woman question and a race problem, and is yet an unknown or an unacknowledged factor in both. (Cooper 45)

Similar articulations about Black women can be found in the writings and speeches of other women such as Mary Church Terrell and Frances E.W. Harper.

Noting the separate and specific focus of Black women's organizations and intellectual concerns throughout history is important for three reasons. First, this type of examination provides a glimpse into the development of Black women's own ideas. In the article, "Third Wave Black Feminism?" Kimberly Springer comments, "If we consider the first wave as the women's liberation/women's rights activism of the late 1960s, we effectively disregard the race-based movements before them that served as precursors, or windows of political opportunity, for gender activism" (Springer 1061).

Springer also acknowledges that Black feminist activism actually preceded the first wave of the traditional feminist movement in the 1920s. Black women activists and intellectuals Maria Stewart, Mary Shadd Cary, and Anna Julia Cooper are some examples of women who advocated for both race and gender rights. In her 1971 essay, "Reflections on the Black Woman's Role in the Community of Slaves," Angela Davis describes Black women's radical resistance to gendered oppression as far back as slavery,

when enslaved women poisoned their masters and were involved in insurgencies.

Secondly, an examination of the Black feminist tradition is important because it emphasizes Black women's own theory about existence. As Black feminist scholar Dr. Beverly Guy-Sheftall notes: "Black women's commitment to the liberation of blacks and women is profoundly rooted in their lived experience" (2). The interconnectedness of experienced racism and sexism cannot be separated from theoretical discussion. Thus, the theoretical foundations about Black Female's lives can be traced through a long heritage of experienced oppression of Black Females.

Thirdly, an historical examination illustrates the progression of Black feminist ideology. This progression is illustrated, for example, through the Black feminist/Womanist "controversy." The Black feminism/Womanism debate is a way that Black women express themselves through the use of their own philosophy and politic. The use of two or more terms to describe Black women's individual and collective resistance to oppression does not necessarily imply that solidarity between Black women will be disrupted if we posit both terms within the Black feminist tradition. Instead, we can understand both terms as a normal articulation in the evolution of ideologies.

Patricia Hill-Collins' assessment of Black feminism and Womanism leads her to conclude that one term for both identities should be formed (Collins 7, 8). I would suggest it is important for Black women to work together as a community; it is equally important that Black women have the freedom to define themselves in new ways. By situating the ideology of Black feminism and Womanism within the historical and ideological legacy of Black feminism, I contend that the purpose of both terms is clearer. Black women's use of either term—Black feminism or Womanism—is a central part to the development of Black women's own unique philosophy.

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Traditional Sub-Saharan African Music: An Investigation of Its Inherent Complexities through Theoretical and Mathematical Reasoning

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Abstract

In several African cultures, music plays a very significant role in daily life. While many scholars have researched and asserted this importance, fewer have investigated the theoretical structure—form, texture, rhythmic patterns (meter) and tonality—of such music. The paucity of such research within the domain of ethnomusicology has been documented, yet even fewer experts have investigated the mathematical elements within the theoretical structures of this music. The complexity of this traditional African music (rhythms, harmonic forms, etc.) lends itself to interesting mathematical findings within the music. While several researchers have elaborated upon the relationship between mathematics and music with fascinating conclusions, most of their findings have been emerged from the study of Western music. I contend that equal, if not more, interesting conclusions arise through the study of traditional sub-Saharan African music. Thus, this essay seeks to examine the conventions of traditional sub-Saharan African music, how they depart from those of Western music, and their incorporation into the unique character of sub-Saharan African music.

Music is, unquestionably, a significant element of sub-Saharan African cultures. Jacqui Malone, in her book, *Steppin' on the Blues*, is very effective in expressing just how important music is to the people of this region: "In many African languages there is no word to define music. Its pervasiveness in the lives of sub-Saharan Africans makes the use of the term superfluous." African musicologist J.H. Kwabena Nketia also emphasizes the cultural importance of music in this region in contending that "a village [in traditional sub-Saharan African societies] that has no organized music or neglects community singing, drumming, or dancing is said to be dead" (Malone 1996). Experts in ethnomusicology[1] and in sub-Saharan African music have researched and proven the significance and prevalence of music in the traditional sub-Saharan African societies. However, few scholars have researched the theoretical structure of such traditional music.[2] This paucity in the scholarship suggests the need for a more critical examination of sub-Saharan African music's theoretical structure, i.e., elements of form, texture, rhythmic patterns (meter), and tonality (or atonality) present in the music. By examining such elements within sub-Saharan African traditional music, researcher can realize the prevailing complexities that exist within its theoretical structure.

Malone, in *Steppin' on the Blues*, expounds upon the idea of "multiple meter," which she describes as "playing several different rhythms at the same time." Multiple meter can also be found in sub-Saharan African dance styles, as recorded in *Steppin' on the Blues*:

> Peggy Harper's study of dance styles in Nigeria reveals that dancers there commonly combine at least two rhythms in their movement; the simultaneous blending of three rhythms can be seen among highly skilled dancers, and, on rare occasions, the articulation of as many as four distinct rhythms may be seen (Malone 2006).

Art historian Robert Farris Thompson, writing about the relationship between dance and art history, utilized the term "apart playing" to refer to the "practice of drumming different overlapping rhythms at the same time, with each rhythm contributing to the polymetric whole" (Malone 2006). Malone effectively illustrates the complexity that exists in traditional sub-Saharan African music through her research. Rhythm, however, is just one element of the theoretical structure upon which my research will expound.

While research on sub-Saharan African music's theoretical components of traditional has been less common than research conducted on its spiritual, cultural, and historical influences, there is some scholarship that will be instrumental in supporting my present investigation. Gregory Barz's *Music in East Africa* (2004) and Ruth M. Stone's *Music in West Africa* (2005), for instance, provide historical and geographical references upon which to build the research. Gerhard Kubik's *Theory of African Music* (1994) and Malcolm Floyd's *Composing the Music of Africa: Composition, Interpretation, and Realisation* (1999) have also been instrumental in establishing and analyzing the theoretical structures apparent within traditional music of continental Africa.

Claude Debussy, a French composer and musician of the 20th century, once stated, "Math is the arithmetic of sounds as optics is the geometry of light" (Fauvel 2003). In

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[1] "Ethnomusicology," as defined by *The Harvard Dictionary of Music: Fourth Edition*, is "a subdivision of musicology concerned primarily with the comparative study of musics of the world, music as an aspect of culture, and the music of oral tradition" (2003).

[2] "Traditional African music" refers to that which is indigenous to the peoples of sub-Saharan Africa. Music that has been influenced by outside cultures, especially by the Western culture, will not be considered in this research.

order to fully investigate the theoretical structures of traditional sub-Saharan African music, it strikes me as imperative to examine the mathematical elements that form its foundation and correlate with the existing musical structures. Thus, I also incorporate the research of Leon Harkleroad, a frequent lecturer on mathematics and music for the Mathematical Association of America and others, from his book *The Math Behind the Music* (2006), as well as the research of John Fauvel, Raymond Flood, and Robin Wilson in *Music and Mathematics: From Pythagoras to Fractals* (2003). Both readings thoroughly explore the prevalence of mathematics within basic musical structure, i.e., musical intervals, chords, rhythmic patterns, and the consonance of sound. As all of these elements are indeed present in traditional sub-Saharan African music, an investigation of the mathematical components present in such music will be strengthened by these readings. Though researchers have proven that mathematics is ubiquitous within musical structure, investigation of the pervasiveness of it specifically within traditional sub-Saharan African music is not very widespread.

In addition to the supportive research listed above, I will also examine the complexities of traditional sub-Saharan African music by analyzing existing manuscripts and musical scores for their theoretical structures as well as for their mathematical underpinnings. Also, I will listen to and study recordings of traditional sub-Saharan African music for the same elements I will be examining in the manuscripts and musical scores. Given that many cultures (and musical styles) exist within the sub-Saharan region of Africa, I will observe the commonalities and the differences between the music of such major regions as East Africa, West Africa, and Central Africa. Though "comparative studies of various traditional African cultures [have shown] that some commonalities do exist" among the regions (Malone 1996), cultural and regional differences must be observed.

In recent years, I have conducted research investigating the correlation between mathematics and music in general. The findings were indeed amazing, but I felt it could be applied to music beyond its mere general sense. By applying my research, and the research of recent mathematical and musical scholars, to the study of traditional sub-Saharan African music, I believe I will not only uncover novel findings about its musical structure, but I will also foster a new perspective, and a new respect, for traditional music of sub-Saharan Africa.

The traditional music of this region is often noted for its cultural, spiritual, and historical connections to its people

and for its dominance and importance within the various cultures. It is even acknowledged as the foundation of the music of the enslaved peoples in the Americas and of the cultures which derived from such enslavement, such as the modern African American culture (Malone 1996). Though its significance has certainly been acknowledged, its recognition as a collection of complex musical ideas and structures is often overlooked by researchers. In my research, I hope to bring to light the advanced musical structures and ideas inherent and prevalent within traditional sub-Saharan African music through theoretical and mathematical reasoning. The music of the sub-Saharan region of Africa should be appreciated not only for its deep roots in the history, spirituality, and culture of its people, but also for its innovative and complex musical ideas and structures.

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Racial Classifications of African Americans on the U.S. Census: 1790–1930

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United States history has had an abundance of racism and segregation. Most non-white racial groups have experienced prejudice in some form or another whether it is institutional or social. Racial designations are presented on birth certificates, school registrations, standardized tests, insurance forms, driver's licenses, employment applications, marriage licenses, and death certificates (Washington 63). From the time one is born until the time one dies, there is pressure to categorize oneself by race. Classifying oneself secures a place in society and determines one's role. During the long and grueling history from slavery to Jim Crow laws, the racial categories assigned by government agencies like the U.S. Census Bureau identified who had access to white privilege and who had access to limited privileges based upon being assigned to lower status racial categories. The possible categories varied over time and the race assigned to a specific person changed as the Census Bureau changed its rules and methods of gathering information. The Census Bureau held the power to decide who was black. In this paper, I explore this power and ability to assign racial categories by examining how use of such categories developed in the U.S. Census from 1790 to 1930.

The word census is derived from the Latin word *censere*, meaning to assess. Historically, the goal of assessment was to impose taxes (Skerry 12). For example, Ancient Rome used the census to tally the population for potential military services and taxation. Drawing on this historical precedent, the U.S. established its first census in 1790 evidenced by Article I, Section 2 of the Constitution: "The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of Ten Years." The U.S. Census established a population count to determine the number of representatives each state was allowed in congress, as well as the amount of taxes each resident would pay (Washington 65). Originally, the U.S. Census asked basic questions of race, sex, number of household members and occupations.

The boundaries of the U.S. Census were expanded along three dimensions: geographical, temporal, and social (Skerry 13). Guided by the federal courts geographic boundaries were introduced into the U.S. census in order to determine if diplomats, military personnel, or illegal aliens were included in the census count and if so where (Skerry 13). Second, the Census Bureau created a temporal boundary to establish guidelines for when the census is administered. August, June, April and January have all been used, although since 1930 the census has been taken April 1st. There have been many issues concerning the administration date; for example, the census taken in June misses those families who leave for vacation. Lastly, the census draws social boundaries. These social boundaries are mainly seen between racial groups. The first U.S. Census imposed racial distinctions as shown in Article I, Section 2, where census totals were collected by "adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for Term of Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons." Our republic was founded on principles that excluded Indians and slaves (Skerry 13). Over time, racial boundaries changed as seen in the 14th Amendment that states that all persons (excluding non-taxed Indians) would be counted as whole persons. However, blacks were still racially segregated and were denied privileges given to whites, such as the right to vote.

Between 1790 and 1840, U.S. Marshals conducted the census. U.S. Law required that every household be visited and the completed census schedules were to be available for public assessment (Bennett 162). At that time, heads of household were the only names listed on the census form. The data collected by U.S. Marshals were geographically inconsistent, however, since there was no uniform format available. However in 1830, all Enumerators used an official uniform document. Between 1790 and 1950, white marshals had the power to racially classify a person based on physical appearance. In 1960 a mail-in census came into use. This was the first time self-identification was used.

The U.S. Marshals' power to choose racial categories followed pre-established social norms. American society is structured around a social, political and economic system that has favored "whiteness" and "maleness" (Washington 18). Natural superiority and social status of "masculinity," "civilization," "modernity" and "decency" corresponds with whiteness (Washington 18). To coincide with this notion of the white race as dominant, whites viewed and portrayed themselves biologically and culturally superior to Africans due to natural selection and evolution. Accordingly, they portrayed Africans as destined to be slaves and financial property for white Europeans (Smith). Drawing from this perspective, creating racial categories to separate "superior" whites from "inferior" Africans was only natural. These racial distinctions helped produce an "image of a national

identity that could demarcate an American citizenry headed by white, Christian rural males who headed own households and other dependents" (Washington 27). The "other dependents" refers to the black slaves. This social structure is reflected on U.S. Census racial classifications.

In order to analyze the U.S. Census racial classifications of persons of African descent, one must first define the terms used. U.S. federal institutions mainly used the umbrella categories of black or Negro and mulatto. Despite the attempt at scientific justification in these definitions, most were subjective and influenced by the cultural and accepted norms of the general public and by courts. Originally "Negro" was used specifically for descendants from Africa. With the increase of racial mixing, "Negro" soon defined any slave or descendant of a slave no matter how mixed (Davis). "Black" and "Negro" both refer to a person with any African lineage; this includes unmixed members of sub-Saharan Africa. At the end of the 1960s Black Power movement, the term "black" replaced "Negro." "Black" was used on the U.S. Census until 1930, when the category was changed to "Negro" until 1960. In correspondence with the Black Power movement, the 1970 U.S. Census category changed to "Negro or black." Currently, according to the U.S. Census Bureau, "Black or African American" is defined as "A person having origins in any of the Black racial groups of Africa. It includes people who indicate their races as 'Black, African Am. or Negro' or provide written entries such as African America, Afro-American, Kenyan, Nigerian, or Haitian" (State & County QuickFacts).

The Spanish root for mulatto means hybrid. Initially, mulattos were defined as an offspring of a "pure African Negro" and a "pure white." Later, it came to be known as anyone who is mixed of any degree of black blood. Depending on the degree of black blood, mulattos were assigned to different racial categories as seen on the 1890 U.S. Census. Mulattos defined someone having 3/8th to 5/8th black blood, while "quadroon" was used for someone having 1/4th black blood. An "octoroon" defined someone with 1/8th or any trace of black blood (Gauthier 27). The term "colored" for a brief time referred to light mulattos, although it later became a euphemism for darker Negros (Davis).

All these historical definitions eventually resulted in a sole definition for blacks: any person with any known African black ancestry is black regardless of percentage of blood. This definition of the so-called "one drop rule" is rooted in the South's Jim Crow segregation laws created between 1876 and 1965. Jim Crow mandated separate schools, water fountains and other facilities, establishing the doctrine of "separate but equal." Segregating aspects of everyday life allowed for the creation of clear separate racial categories between whites and blacks. One critical court case "Plessy vs. Ferguson" in 1896 challenged the Jim Crow law about segregated seating on trains in Louisiana. Plessy, who was 1/8th black and could pass as white, felt entitled to sit in the white train car. The Supreme Court rejected his plea and took a "judicial note" of what was assumed to be common knowledge: a Negro is any person with any degree of black ancestry. This challenge ultimately led to a concrete definition for blacks, and upheld the "separate but equal" doctrine. The "one drop rule" was eventually implemented into the U.S. Census.

In the U.S. Census from 1790 to 1840 racial classifications for African Americans did not exist. Slaves, being typically of African descent, were numbered under the white household without a corresponding name. The first U.S. Census in 1790, administered in the 13 original states plus the districts of Kentucky, Maine, Vermont, and the Southwest Territory (Tennessee), asked basic questions of the household including: the name of the head of the family, the number of people living in the household, free persons as well as slaves. Other questions included the age and sex of the white inhabitants. While the 1800 and 1810 censuses collected the same data as in 1790, on the 1820 U.S Census, there was a separate entry for free colored persons and slaves. Moreover, in the section of the census dedicated to free colored persons and slaves, the sex, age and number of persons engaged in agriculture, commerce and manufacturing were taken. The 1830 census was the first that followed a uniform schedule as previously schedules had been provided by state marshals. Additionally, the 1830 census included questions on the number of slaves as well as additional information on individuals' physical state, including whether individuals were deaf, dumb or blind. The 1840 census followed the same format.

The 1850 census had two separate schedules, one for "Free Inhabitants" and the other for "Slave Inhabitants," and was the first census in which racial categories were used. Under the heading "color" if you were white the box was left blank, if you were black insert "B" and if you were mulatto insert "M." There were no specific instructions for determining who was black or mulatto. While racial categories were used in both the free and slave inhabitant schedules, the box for whites was not included on the slave schedule. Moreover, the "Slave Inhabitant" schedule had additional questions including: "deaf and dumb, blind, insane, or

idiotic; the numbers of fugitives from the state; and the number manumitted" (Gauthier 12). The 1850 census marked the first time that individuals were enumerated, yet only seen on the "Free Inhabitants" schedule. While instructions to the marshals for the 1860 census were to determine race as on the 1850 census, additional questionnaires were used to collect data on "slave inhabitants, mortality, agriculture, products of industry and social statistics" (Gauthier 12).

Changes in color awareness led to changes in racial categories which were apparent on the 1870 census. On previous census forms, whites were to leave the color box blank. On the 1870 census, however, additional notes were provided to the Enumerators. First, if there was nothing written in the column, it was not to be assumed that a person was white. Second, Enumerators were instructed to be particularly careful in reporting the class mulatto, which in this case was used generically to include quadroons, octoroons, and all persons having any perceptible trace of African blood. Important scientific results depended upon corrected determination of the mulatto class in schedules 1 and 2 (Gauthier 14), particularly after the Civil War, which had affected economic development in the North and South (Bennett 165). After the Civil War, there was a need to re-establish white control of the government, which the U.S. Census was able to do in part by determining who had the right to vote, as seen in the 15th Amendment, which "prohibited the exclusion for the suffrage of any person on account of race color or previous conditions of servitude."

The 1880 census was greatly improved from previous years, led by the efforts of Francis A. Walker—a dominant figure in making the census more professional and organized by creating a census office. She divided the country into 150 census districts each with a supervisor. Beyond bureaucratic changes in managing the census, supplementary statistical investigations were used. "From determining the characteristics of various population groups, to assessing disease patterns, and to tracing the progression of immigration and urbanization, Census data have been used to resolve important social, political and ethical issues" (Washington 20). The racial categories, however, were the same used on the 1870 census.

The 1890 census made some major changes in the racial classifications of mulattos, partly because Southern politicians made it a point to further divide the black population in order to keep racial purity (Bennett 166). Superintendent Robert Porter told Enumerators to "be particularly careful to distinguish between blacks, mulattos,

quadroon and octoroon. The word 'black' should be used to describe those persons who have three-fourths or more black blood; 'mulatto,' those persons who have from three-eights to five-eighths black blood; 'quadroon,' those persons who have one-fourth black blood, and 'octoroons,' those persons who have one-eighth or any trace of black blood" (Wright 187). On the 1890 census, there were 6,337,980 blacks; 956,989 mulattos; 105,135 quadroons; and 69,936 octoroons. According to Robert Porter, these numbers "aroused much needless anxiety in certain quarters concerning the future of the two races and the welfare of the country." Having such large numbers of mixed people created a concern for the white establishment. There was an issue of blacks passing for white and the inability to distinguish between "social whites" and "legal Negroes" (Washington 84).

In 1930, the mulatto category was dropped completely, and the "one drop rule" was introduced. Negro replaced black as the racial category. "A person of mixed White and Negro blood was to be returned as Negro, no matter how small the percentage of Negro blood; someone part Indian and part Negro was to be listed as Negro unless Indian blood predominated and the person was generally accepted as an Indian in the community" (Gauthier 59). The previous quote illustrates the common definition of the "one drop rule" which is still reflected in contemporary categorizations.

The goal of this research is to examine the racist thinking that motivated some of the racial categorizations used by the U.S. Census. I argue that while the U.S. Census was created to enumerate the nature of the American population, it was also used early on as a governmental tool to create racial definitions and categories that would help maintain white dominance of those of African descent. Initially, racial categories were simply designated as "white" and "black." However, the presence of mixed-race or mulatto people created a wide range of skin tones and privilege levels—eventually blurring the boundaries of who was or was not "white" or "black." Ultimately, to further their dominance, state governments legislated what became known as the "one drop rule." The "one drop rule" suppressed potential advantages of any person with any amount of African blood. Further research will continue to examine the social and historical underpinnings of racial categories in the U.S. Census.

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Lord Nelson: A Study of Sex, Politics, and Memory

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Abstract

Using Admiral Lord Nelson as a case study, this project examines how sexual improprieties do or do not affect a person's legacy. Nelson is one of the greatest naval commanders in British history, but his affair with Emma Hamilton was well documented during his lifetime. Due to an array of factors, this affair has been incorporated into Britain's memory and consciousness in a rather peculiar manner.

Throughout history, the legacies of many great men and women have been tarnished by tales of sexual promiscuity. From presidents to popes, historical figures have often coupled outstanding public service with an inauspicious private life. In recent years, the chronicled infidelities of such American personalities as John F. Kennedy, Bill Clinton, and Kobe Bryant have generated significant uproar due to society's belief that they failed in their duty to uphold a higher level of accountability and fell short of the standard of decorum. Some, however, have managed to maintain open affairs at the peak of their power and status, entering history as glorious in death as they had been in life. One such case is that of Lord Viscount Horatio Nelson, who, two centuries after his death, is still widely considered by many Britons to be their finest military commander. The primary inquiry of this research project is to analyze how public perceptions of the sexual behavior of elites vary according to time, place, social conditions, structures, and politics. This research is also meant to challenge readers to compare and contrast the British public's response to Nelson's adulterous relationship at the turn of the 19th century with reactions and portrayals of modern-day sex scandals in the United States. It asks: are there significant changes over time and variation across locations? Are the similarities and differences important? Finally, what do responses to these stories reveal about conceptions of public morality in the world today? Lord Nelson's relationship with Emma, Lady Hamilton, will be used as a case study to confront these larger questions. It is my hope that this research project will contribute to a more historically specific understanding of public morality and collective memory and the role of sexuality therein.

Appointed to his first captaincy in 1779 at the age of 21, Nelson met his future wife, the young Francis Nisbet, on the island of Nevis in 1785. The daughter of Nevis' senior judge and widowed at 20, Nisbet was the antithesis of the kind of woman a seaman typically pursued. However, Nelson, who had been twice scorned in love and still carried lingering effects from his mother's death, was attracted to her. A courtship ensued, and the two were married on March 11, 1787. They moved back to England and resided in Norfolk for the next five years. With Britain at relative peace, Nelson was unemployed. In 1793, hostilities began with France, and the nation was again at war.

In 1793, he was appointed to command the *Agamemnon* and was dispatched to Naples to seek help in defending Toulon, a town in southern France that was resisting the Revolution. It is here that Horatio Nelson first met Emma Hamilton, the wife of the British Ambassador to Naples, on September 11. In a letter addressed to Lady Nelson on September 14, 1793, Lord Nelson mentions Hamilton for the first time in his correspondence: "Lady Hamilton has been wonderfully kind and good to Josiah [Nelson's stepson, who accompanied him on the expedition]. She is a young woman of amiable manners and who does honour to the station in which she is raised."[1] In an amazing twist, the initial meeting was without much consequence and the two would not see each other again for five years.

The next two years, 1797–1798, were highlighted by three battles that made Nelson an icon among Britons. On Valentine's Day 1797, Nelson was involved in a massive clash off the coast of Cape St. Vincent, Portugal, highlighted by the dramatic scene of Nelson leading two boarding parties onto the *San Nicolas*, the largest ship in the Spanish fleet. Nelson was subsequently knighted and made rear admiral.[2] Nelson was again involved in battle, this time off the coast of Cadiz, Spain, on July 3rd. He again led a boarding party, but this time his right arm was wounded beyond repair and had to be amputated. Returning to England after this injury, Royal Navy historian N.A.M. Rodger writes, "Over the winter, he was lionized everywhere in London, and the hero's public devotion to his wife was widely noted."[3] On August 1–2, 1798, Nelson engaged the enemy off the coast of the Nile. In what was perhaps the Navy's greatest victory of the 18th century, Nelson's forces destroyed three French battleships and captured nine. Recovering from the fatigue of battle, Nelson returned to

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[1] Maffeo, Steven. *Seize, Burn, or Sink: The Thoughts and Words of Admiral Lord Horatio Nelson*. Lanham: The Scarecrow Press, 2007. 166.

[2] N.A.M. Rodger, 'Nelson, Horatio, Viscount Nelson (1758–1805)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, Sept. 2004; online ed., May 2006 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/19877, accessed 21 June 2007], 8.

[3] Rodger, 9.

Naples. At this juncture, we shift our attention from Nelson to the life of Emma Hamilton, the woman he would meet again at Naples, and who would forever change the course of his life.

Emma Lyon was born in Cheshire, England, and baptized on May 12, 1765. She spent most of her early years in the care of a nursemaid and is described as being an exceptionally charming girl in her youth. At the age of 15, her persona seems to have taken a more amorous turn, when she supposedly began drinking routinely, encountered numerous men well over her age, and, although there are no definitive records to prove it, even worked briefly at a brothel. What is certain is that, early in the 1780s, she became involved with the Hon. Charles Greville. A patron of the arts who consorted with Europe's well-known painters and musicians of the era, Greville eventually fell on hard times and searched for a means to relieve this burden. In 1784, his uncle, William Hamilton, came to visit him in London. The English Ambassador to the Kingdom of Two Sicilies, Hamilton was captivated by his nephew's young mistress. In a transaction reflective of the period, Greville proposed that William take Emma back to Naples, in exchange for which Hamilton would recognize Greville as his heir. Hamilton agreed, and the new couple settled down in Naples.[4] They married in 1791—Hamilton was 60, Emma just 27. The marriage was one of noted interest, making Lady Hamilton most certainly a public figure. They spent the next seven years mainly in Naples, where Emma played the role of politician's wife. She befriended the Queen of Naples, made numerous public appearances, and was more of a socialite than ever. However, the fast living took its toll, as she began losing her looks. Once described by the German intellect Goethe as having "a beautiful face and perfect figure…like nothing you ever saw before in your life,"[5] she was growing corpulent.

Lord Nelson, fresh off his victory at the Nile, was welcomed at Naples by a flurry of congratulatory parades and festivities prepared by Lady Hamilton, who was enthralled by the heroic Nelson. No matter that he had lost his right arm and was blinded in his right eye since they had last met: she was attracted to his celebrity. Although Admiral John Jervis had warned him, "Do not let your fascinating Neapolitan Dames approach too near him; for he is made of flesh and blood and cannot resist their temptations,"[6] Nelson was extremely vulnerable. Ill, tired, and receiving few letters from his wife, he was a man that wanted love, and, in time, Emma would be there to requite his need.

Nelson spent the early months of 1799 in Naples with the Hamiltons drinking, socializing, and gambling. Nelson's reputation amongst his fellow seamen began to suffer. In a letter dated June 30, 1799, Charles Lock provides one of the first inflammatory statements criticizing Nelson and the damaging effect on his status as a result: "The extravagant love of [Nelson] has made him the laughing stock of the whole fleet and the total dereliction of power and the dignity of his diplomatic character."[7] The relationship directly affected the British war effort. He flatly refused orders to go to the island of Minorca, claiming that Naples was strategically more important. In August 1799, Napoleon escaped from Egypt while Nelson was glaringly absent from sea—having remained instead in Naples. Upon Nelson's arrival in London (with the Hamiltons), it did not take long for the press to pounce on the contentious new relationship. In November 1799, the *Times* printed the first public reference of the duo, comparing Nelson to Marc Antony following Cleopatra in the Nile rather than fighting Octavius. Included in the article was caricaturist James Gillray's sketch of a rotund Lady Hamilton cleverly titled, "A Lyoness."[8]

The newspapers heightened their coverage. In a much publicized meeting, the issue climaxed on November 9, 1800, when Nelson and the Hamiltons met with Mrs. Nelson. After a heated argument, Nelson's marriage officially ended. While there was no formal divorce, he never lived with Francis again. Nelson's military accomplishment no longer outweighed his private behavior in the public's estimation of his character. Nelson and the Hamiltons "were ostracized by the court and polite society. The caricatures, notably by Gillray, showed Nelson as a seducer, Sir William as an elderly cuckold, and his wife as an obese nymphomaniac."[9]

In the brief decade following Nelson's death in 1805, writers created novels that directly or indirectly focused on the affair. As David Cannadine writes in *Admiral Lord Nelson: His Context and Legacy* (2005), most of the early books romanticized the relationship. The Nelson-like character was presented as "a sensitive but melancholic hero resorted to spirits by his passion for the expressive heroine…presenting him and the heroine as experiencing a deep sentimental friendship."[10] However, the publication of the Nelson-Hamilton letters in 1814 brought a furious reaction from the public. They contained abusive diatribes against Lady Nelson and sexually explicit content. Nelson wrote that in one of his dreams, "You [Hamilton] came in and taking me in your embrace whispered

4 Tom Pocock, 'Hamilton, Emma, Lady Hamilton (*bap.* 1765, *d.* 1815),' *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/12063, accessed 21 June 2007], 2.

5 J.W. Goethe, *Italian Journey (1786–1788)*, trans. W.H. Auden and E. Meyer 1970, 199).

6 Russell, Jack. *Nelson and the Hamiltons*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1969. 67.

7 Russell, 98.

8 Russell, 183.

9 Pocock, 5.

10 *Admiral Lord Nelson: His Context and Legacy*. Edited by David Cannadine. (Basingstoke, Hampshire; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005.) 73.

[*sic*] I love nothing but you my Nelson. I kissed you fervently and we enjoy'd the height of love."[11] Until this point, many people had continued to praise Nelson, refusing to accept that he could be faithful to his country but unfaithful to his own wife. With proof that their seemingly infallible hero was not so perfect after all, newspapers that had once praised Nelson now crucified him for his licentious behavior. By the time Victoria began her reign, British society had become more conservative, and just as Victorian reticence increased, so did the appeal of conventional women in literature. In William Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, he compares the personality traits of Nelson and Arthur Wellesley, the 1st Duke of Wellington. The book "promotes Wellington as the ideal because his controlled behaviour inspires the nation's 'resolute faith' and identifies Nelson with a bygone age."[12] Charlotte Brontë's classic novella, *Jane Eyre*, published in 1847, introduces another aspect of the Nelsonian figure not seen before in literature. While the story does involve a true love story, British historian Linda Colley argues that the two characters, Jane and Mr. Rochester, cannot really fall in love until he is wounded, blinded, and dependent on her care.[13] Nelson's Column, the seemingly glorious monument erected in the heart of London in Trafalgar Square, was not erected until 1843—almost 40 years after his death. We cannot be certain that Nelson's personal life was responsible for these inconsistencies; however, the suspicion that his infidelity played some role in the monument's delayed construction is not easily discounted.

Towards the beginning of the 20th century, however, scholarly views on Nelson and Hamilton shifted. In perhaps the definitive work on Hamilton's life, Walter Sichel argues in his 1905 *Emma, Lady Hamilton* that people should not allow the affair to darken her memory—for Sichel, it was an authentic relationship rooted in love. As the nation prepared for World War I, Nelson's image blossomed. It was then that October 21st became Trafalgar Day, celebrating Britain's greatest naval victory and the death of the venerable Nelson. Rodger writes that, on the eve of the Great War, "Nelson the man…had been largely forgotten in Nelson the hero, and his heroism was looked for not in his humanity but in formulas."[14] The last great public depiction of the affair was Alexander Korda's 1940 film, *That Hamilton Woman*. Debuting during the height of World War II and the Battle of Britain, the film served not only entertainment purposes but also as a source of nationalist propaganda. Like Brontë's *Jane Eyre* almost a century earlier, the relationship is not consummated until the poignant scene in which Nelson, fresh off the Nile, reunites with Hamilton—bruised, broken,

and bleeding—to shroud the contagious, charismatic personality she was in life.

My research suggests that the story and depictions of the Nelson-Hamilton affair reveal a unique trend: in times of war or national crisis, it was portrayed in a positive manner, gratuitously frowned upon but ultimately romanticized. Nelson's fame grew exponentially during these periods. During peacetime, however, the relationship was recalled repeatedly as a dark chapter in Nelson's life, a chink in his armor, an unmistakably regrettable facet of his otherwise noteworthy life. Therefore, I would argue that affairs and other acts of sexual infidelity occurring within the context of a stressful situation or era, such as a war, economic depression, or otherwise tumultuous occurrence, are more readily accepted because they are manifestations of love despite adverse conditions.

We modern Americans, perhaps, are the heirs of Victorian values, rejecting the transgressions of a peacetime president (Clinton) while ignoring those of one leading during wartime (Franklin Roosevelt). Perhaps we are more merciful toward a prominent minister who preached during heightened racial tensions (Dr. King) than one who preached during the late '80s (Jim Bakker). The most glaring trend, I submit, is that the public's response to and portrayal of an adulterous relationship seems to be contingent on the *context* rather than the *crime*. Infidelity was once believed to be inherently bad, unaccepted without exception or excuse. But, as Nelson's case proves, unfaithful culprits are able to shed this shameful label and maintain an honorable level of respectability depending on the standard vicissitudes and changes that society does and will always experience.

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11 Maffeo, 168.

12 Cannadine, 83.

13 Cannadine, 84.

14 Rodger, 28.

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Is Race an Inherent Advantage or Disadvantage?: Comparing the Emancipation Sculpture of Edmonia Lewis and John Quincy Adams Ward

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John Quincy Adams Ward, an artist of note who worked in Brooklyn and Washington, D.C., is endearingly known as the "Dean of American Sculpture" for his labor to create a new art uniquely American in flavor.[1] Mary Edmonia Lewis, a female artist of Chippewa/Haitian descent, is commonly known as the "first neoclassical sculptor of color to gain an international reputation."[2] Two polar-opposite artists, one a white male, the other a Black female, both prominent sculptors of the mid-19th century, approached a similar subject—emancipation of the American slave—in completely different ways.

J.Q.A. Ward created "The Freedman" (Fig. 1), a bronze sculpture of an African American man, in 1863. Edmonia Lewis sculpted "Forever Free" (Fig. 2), depicting an African American man and woman in "gleaming white Carrara marble" in 1867.[3] Both artists drew inspiration from the Emancipation Proclamation delivered on January 1, 1863, by Abraham Lincoln, freeing all Southern American slaves.[4] Lewis was a strict adherent to the neoclassical movement, while Ward prescribed to a naturalistic style with updated classical affinities. Although Ward and Lewis both sought to achieve the same end—a sculptural work that exposed the similarity of the recently freed Negro (and Negress) to their Caucasian counterparts—the methods they used differed greatly. Ward emphasized the raceless physiognomy of the body and the universal human capacity for contemplation. Lewis bypassed naturalistic physical similarities and instead relied upon the use of a beloved artistic style associated with Caucasians to evoke notions of similarity through association. Through visual analysis and an examination of critics' responses, this paper analyzes the methods both artists used to deliver their message about the emancipated to their 19th-century audiences. It also reassesses Lewis' sculpture in light of recent negative criticism. I argue that the artists' social and gender status in 19th-century America must be taken into account in order to understand and to offer meaningful critical assessments of their work.

At 19 inches in height, "The Freedman" represents an anonymous, semi-nude, African American male seated on a tree stump. His back is twisted to allow his left arm to rest on the stump while his right forearm rests on his thigh. The subject, whose brow is furrowed, appears deep in meditation. Newly emancipated, he seems to be deep in thought about the travails he has endured as well as his new social status in the world. The weight of the situation, however, does not seem to be more than he can bear, for with the "broken manacles of servitude on the…left wrist and in [the] right hand" he sits with head held high.[5]

Ward's use of naturalism imbued the work with an air of dignity—a novel concept in the rendition of an emancipated slave. Sharp, McSpadden, and other historians agree it is perhaps the first American sculpture to combine those elements.[6] One contemporary critic found it a refreshing change in a medium that was full of bland, neoclassically rendered sculptures of goddesses and pretty girls with single-word monikers like Hope, Faith, and Innocence that could "be changed at…will so that one statue can be made to do service for a whole gallery of sentiments."[7] Another contemporary critic who viewed the piece at its first exhibition in 1863 agreed, proclaiming in a review in *The New York Times*, that the realistic representation of the anatomy showed "the African share[d] with the European the exalted proportions of the human figure."[8] He was so impressed with Ward's sculpture that he declared he knew of "no [other] American statue which more nearly approache[d] the classic, either in conception or execution."[9]

Given Edmonia Lewis' birth to an African American father and Native American mother, one might think that she would find it easier to tackle the topic of slavery and impending emancipation. Upon closer analysis, it is evident that her kinship with ex-slaves was a double-edged sword that required much skill for Lewis to maneuver successfully. Lewis, a serious sculptor, sought credible kinship with the

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1   Lewis I. Sharp, *John Quincy Adams Ward, Dean of American Sculpture: With a Catalog Raisonne* (Newark, DE: University of Delaware Press, 1985).

2   Helen M. Shannon, "Edmonia Lewis," in *To Conserve a Legacy: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 210.

3   Hugh Honour, *From the American Revolution to World War I: Slaves and Liberators*. Vol. IV.1 of *The Image of the Black in Western Art* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1989), 250.

4   "John Quincy Adams Ward: The Freedman (1979.394) Object Page," *Timeline of Art History*, http://www.metmuseum.org/toah/hd/abrc/hod_1979.394.htm (accessed 23 September 2006); Wayne Craven, "Henry Kirke Brown: His Search for an American Art in the 1840s," *American Art Journal* 4, No. 2 (1972): 248; J. Walker McSpadden, *Famous Sculptors of America* (New York: Dodd, Mead, & Co., 1924), 10.

5   "John Quincy Adams Ward: The Freedman (1979.394) Object Page."

6   McSpadden, 16. "John Quincy Adams Ward: The Freedman (1979.394) Object Page."

7   "Mr. Ward's Statue of the Fugitive Negro, at the Academy of Design," *The New York Times*, 3 May 1863.

8   "John Quincy Adams Ward: The Freedman (1979.394) Object Page;" "The National Academy of Design," *The New York Times*, 24 June 1863, quoted in John P. O'Neill et al., *American Sculpture in the Met Museum of Art*, Vol. I: *A Catalogue of Works by Artists Born before 1865* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 1999), 140.

9   "The National Academy of Design," *The New York Times*, 24 June 1863.

neoclassical tradition and equal coverage by its critics. Precisely because she was non-white, she faced the risk of having her work deemed folk art. Her dilemma became finding a way to pay homage to the topic so dear to her life and peoples and still handle it in a manner that would pay respect to her craft. Because Lewis wanted her sculpture to educate and enlighten, she resisted succumbing to the standardized use of slave iconography.[10] Her goal was to transcend mere reliance on her intimate knowledge of slavery and to avoid conforming to expectations of viewers.

Viewer expectations cannot only extend into the execution phases of creation but reach backward into the conceptual phases, as well. It is a popular misconception that artistic inspiration derives from an emotionally charged state such as Van Gogh's mental instability, which produced turbulent landscapes. On the contrary, artists typically generate pieces based on inspiration and creative control. In like manner, it should not be assumed that racial identity defines an artist's work rather than the artist's individuality, talent, training, and personal desire to convey particular messages. Viewers pre-determined that Lewis' work, because of her Black and Native American descent, would not only invoke intense racial identity and pride, but would also be more "ethnic." For instance, when Lewis portrayed Indian maiden *Minnehaha* (Fig. 3) from Longfellow's *The Song of Hiawatha*, she was criticized for its European inflections because many assumed that being "part Ojibwa herself," she would render it with greater adherence to physiognomic authenticity.[11] The expectation that an African American artist should deliver a more convincingly "African" piece or that a white artist lacks the ability to deliver a physiognomically correct sculpture of Africans due to lack of blood association is a cultural bias viewers commit subconsciously.

Lewis' composition in "Forever Free" consists of an African American male and female on "The Morning after Liberty," the original name of the piece.[12] A male stands in an exaggerated contra pasto, with his left foot propped on a detached metal ball. He clenches and raises the broken manacle victoriously above his head with his left hand. His thin,

slightly muscular build and youthful face framed by tightly curled hair possibly indicate that he has not yet reached the age of maturity. He is joined by a younger female genuflecting in prayer. She wears a simple cloth dress to match his cloth shorts. Her head, which barely reaches the male's waist, is covered by straight, long hair that flows down her back on which the male's right hand rests. The marble statue is 41 inches high.

While it is true that an artist's message will inevitably be molded by experience, first and foremost it is molded by choice. The decisive right of choice is unhampered by skin color and employed every moment of every day by artist and nonartist alike. Unsurprisingly, Lewis' choice, or free will, was highly scrutinized and "predicted." Perhaps because of this, Lewis avoided conforming to the expectation of blind "loyalty to race" and instead endeavored to achieve something beyond the expectations. "Forever Free" demonstrated Lewis' freedom as an artist to choose her method, style, nuance, physiognomy, and, yes, even ethnic design.

Lewis' gender posed another set of dilemmas. Not only was she the first Native/African American sculptor to gain popularity, she was one of only a select few female artists to tackle sculpture in the 1860s. Sculpting at the time was a male-dominated field in which women were ostracized. Lewis' contemporary, Harriet Hosmer, for example, received mistreatment and snickers from the men who dominated the field.[13] Lewis' demonstration of competency in the standard sculptural methods of the time may have also been used strategically to counter gender bias, leaving her to adhere to the more prevalent form of Romantic, neoclassical sculpture. Ward, by contrast, as a white male, was never in jeopardy of exclusion from the male-dominated profession. Therefore, unlike Lewis, he was free to take risks like using an unpopular academic style to address a subject that was out of the mainstream.

The ways in which "Forever Free" tackles the topic of gender reflect the opportunities and constraints Lewis faced. Lewis would have been expected to identify with

10 Juanita Marie Holland, "Mary Edmonia Lewis' *Minnehaha*: Gender, Race and the 'Indian Maid,'" in *Diaspora and Visual Culture: Representing Africans and Jews*, edited by Nicholas Mirzoeff (New York: Routledge, 2000), 45. In Rome, Lewis was part of a larger circle that included literary greats like Nathaniel Hawthorne, Robert and Elizabeth Browning, and Hiram Powers, so she had ample opportunities to be influenced by literary greats of the time.

11 Richard J. Powell and Jock Reynolds, *To Conserve a Legacy: American Art from Historically Black Colleges and Universities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1999), 210.

12 Kirsten P. Buick, "The Ideal Works of Edmonia Lewis: Invoking and Inverting Autobiography," in *Reading American Art*, edited by Marianne Doezema and Elizabeth Mulroy (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 193.

13 Charlotte Streifer Rubinstein, *American Women Artists: From Early Indian Times to the Present* (New York: Avon Books, 1982), 77.

emancipation as a woman and to present a female perspective. By giving neoclassical features to the female in "Forever Free," she transcends the circumstances of her unique racial identity and points to the shared struggle for equality for all women, be they of African American, Anglo American, or Native American heritage. The blending of the African American condition of bondage with European features allowed her to speak to a larger audience of viewers and called attention to the common plight of oppression.

It is interesting that the woman Lewis sculpted is an idealized, child-like, classical image of a chaste maiden, embodying all the Victorian virtues of "True Womanhood,"[14] given that we know she subscribed to a very different ideal in her private life (even though the press presented her as diminutive, mousy, and naïve). Never marrying or having children, she did not live the "domestic, submissive, pious, or virtuous" life prescribed by True Womanhood. Determined and strong-willed, Lewis fled America to Rome to join a group of white expatriate women sculptors to prove her artistic ability. In choosing to sculpt a more conformist and, thus, acceptable female figure in "Forever Free," however, Lewis demonstrated foresight in separating her personal ideals from her work. Sculpting a determined, strong-willed, independent, unafraid woman modeled on her would likely have alienated her patron audience. Still, one wonders if the neoclassically sculpted female might not only have represented an ex-slave but also her chosen community—the daring colony of expatriate women sculptors who had themselves set forth into a new field, freed from the gendered constraints of America.

Though "Forever Free" does not contain the obvious traits of personal biography that viewers expect, I would argue that Lewis infused it with personal sentiment, albeit subtly. Closer inspection of the sculpture reveals that the duo could be a brother and sister. The female's diminutive body makes her appear much younger than the male. Significantly, it was Lewis' brother, first and foremost, who supported her after their parents' death. He paid for her tuition to McGrawville and Oberlin Colleges and protected her much like the male seems to protect the female in "Forever Free." Moreover, it may be no coincidence that Lewis sculpted "Forever Free" at approximately the same time she finally set herself free. Lewis created "Forever Free" just two years after she finally earned enough money to purchase a ticket to Rome and establish permanent residency there. Perhaps she used these references to imbue her

work with sentiments that emphasized her individual rather than racial identity.

As both Lewis and Ward created their sculptures early in their careers, they were likely especially sensitive to their respective audiences. While still receiving some funds from her brother, Lewis primarily supported herself in Rome. Taking a huge risk, she borrowed the monies needed to have her designs for "Forever Free" carved into marble, then shipped the piece to the abolitionist circle in America without prior warning, in hopes that they could raise the monies for repayment. Being educated by and living among abolitionists for many years, Lewis had a close enough affinity to them to feel she could ask for their assistance. Considering her economic limitations, Lewis would have deemed it necessary to sculpt a piece that would appeal to her known client base. The abolitionists, and patrons they would find for her, would be deeply religious, God-fearing people. A statue that did not conform to established ideas about God as the Creator and highest power would not have sold. They would expect recently freed slaves to naturally display piety and offer thanks to the highest power and provider in their lives, God. Thus it is no surprise that the female, on bended knee, clasps her hands as if in prayer, while both figures in "Forever Free" look upward to God.

Ward undertook the controversial social topic of slavery early in his career in response to a desire he sensed in the American public. Although "Social issues…did not attract the finest artists in America," Ward, deemed by many an artist of promise, knew their representations were important because, "America was embroiled in civil unrest [which] increased the need for national pride, heroes, and heroic acts."[15] In an interview about the popularity of his "contemporary war work," Ward acknowledged that the public "wanted to glorify heroes…it was goodbye to ideal [classical] subjects."[16] In creating "The Freedman," he responded to those desires and gained fame as an American image-maker; "The Freedman" "establish[ed]…Ward as the leader of post-Civil War naturalism."[17]

Expectations dictated that Ward, a white male, would churn out the ideal, while Lewis, a female of Native/African American blood, would create the new naturalistic aesthetic. The paradox is that, while Ward vehemently disliked using the classical ideal unless wedding it closely to American naturalism, Lewis felt drawn to neoclassicism and obliged to use its methods to convey even her ethnic subjects. Ward's

[14] Buick, 192.

[15] Ellwood Parry, *The Image of the Indian and the Black Man in American Art 1590–1900* (New York: George Braziller, 1974), 37.

[16] McSpadden, 10.

[17] *Notable Acquisitions: 1979–1980. The Metropolitan Museum of Art* (New York: Bradford D. Kelleher, 1980), 55.

privileged whiteness and maleness, however, afforded him the liberty to create "The Freedman" without fear of marginalization or retorts that the work was mere autobiography and, therefore, lacking in any true creativity. Lewis' gender and race—constant sources of discussion and external identification—may have led her, contrary to Ward, to establish distance between her personal identity and her work so as to be taken more seriously as an artist.

Both shrewd business people, Ward and Lewis tailored their art to the desires of their respective viewing publics. Lewis even "shifted identity between Black and American Indian depending on her perception of the market for her sculpture."[18] Each gave audiences what they wanted at the time, which may account for the success of both statues. However, while Ward's audience—lovers of the "new naturalism"—was still young and growing, Lewis' audience, favoring the classical ideal, had already peaked and was in decline. Ward's career burgeoned during and after the Civil War; Lewis' career began to wane shortly afterward. The changing social and political climate was no doubt a reason for the decline in audience and patronage for Lewis. The reunion of North and South brought a need for a renewed patriotism, for frank and natural representations of American subjects.

"Forever Free" has not stood up well to criticism. Modern historians have made few observations that could be deemed positive. In her decade-old study of the work, Buick describes scholars' unflattering comments on how the "non ethnic…or keen European features" including flowing, straight hair showed Lewis "had no real care for 'her people.'"[19] Buick goes on to say that critics like Albert Boime found fault with the "condescending" male and overly "passive" female.[20] Overall, recent critics are unhappy about the manner in which Lewis treated racial and sexual identities.

Why have modern viewers not embraced a deeper and more sympathetic interpretation of her sculpture; why can so few get past its physical appearance? First and foremost, sculpture is a visual medium. It is the eyes that first engage us and create a connection to a work. We see and then interpret. We must be pleased with what we see in order to stay engaged and interpret it further with the rest of our faculties. Those unaware of the artist's background or the dominant social notions of gender or ethnicity in which the work was created can feel both uninspired and unimpressed. Unfortunately, few viewers take the time needed to further analyze a visually displeasing or perplexing work.

Contrary to modern critiques, I would argue that Lewis adopted neoclassicism to gain acceptance for a race of people through association with a timeless and highly respected European art form. However, as modern sensibilities evolved, more and more viewers sought realistic or naturalistic expressions, and the Greek and Roman model became outdated. The intimate and extensive knowledge of pre-Civil War American culture required to fully appreciate Lewis' work may be why Edmonia Lewis' work fails to gain the applause of modern critics and why J.Q.A. Ward's work continues to garner praise. Because Ward's approach speaks to contemporary sensibilities without requiring historical knowledge about the artist or era, it succeeds primarily by providing a visually appealing image, satisfying the most instinctual sense an audience relies upon when critiquing art—sight.

Fig. 1

Fig. 2

18   Powell and Reynolds, 211.

19   Buick, 190.

20   Buick, 190.

Fig. 3

List of Illustrations

Figure 1. "The Freedman," 1863. Bronze sculpture, John Quincy Adams Ward.

Figure 2. "Forever Free," 1867. Marble, Edmonia Lewis.

Figure 3. "Minnehaha," 1868. Marble, Edmonia Lewis.

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"As their sex not equal seemed": Language, Education, and Gender in *Paradise Lost*

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Abstract

As we look closely at Milton's *Paradise Lost*, we find a language of seeming in which, through both language and imagery, the lines between appearance and reality are blurred; it appears in passages that have inspired some of the most heated debates on Milton and gender that question whether Adam and Eve are really sufficient to have stood against temptation. We discover that understanding the language of seeming is an ongoing process that requires repeated experience and choice—Adam, Eve, and the reader's educations in the language of seeming are performative, in which we repeatedly learn and relearn how to use the language of seeming and interpret gender.

> And the serpent said unto the woman, Ye shall not surely die: For God doth know that in the day ye eat thereof, then your eyes shall be opened, and ye shall be as gods, knowing good and evil. And when the woman saw that the tree was good for food, and that it was pleasant to the eyes, and a tree to be desired to make one wise, she took of the fruit thereof, and did eat, and gave also unto her husband with her; and he did eat.
>
> Genesis 3:4–6

> in her ears the sound
> Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregned
> With reason, to her seeming and with truth
> *Paradise Lost* IX, 736–38[1]

Milton's *Paradise Lost* makes many additions to the story of "man's first disobedience." The poem offers a war in heaven, council scenes in heaven and hell, and detailed psychologies behind the characters' actions. As we look closely at the text, we find that involved in those psychologies is the language of seeming in which, through both language and imagery, the lines between appearance and reality are blurred. Of scholars exploring the language of seeming, Stanley Fish's work on the vigilant reader has proven to be the most insightful.[2] Missing from Fish's analysis, however, is gender. While the language of seeming appears in passages that have inspired some of the most heated debates on Milton and gender, it has yet to be thoroughly analyzed in a gendered vein.[3] As we read "seem" throughout *Paradise Lost*, especially in books five through nine, the apparent difference between Adam and Eve's educations in the language of seeming poses troubling questions: What role does knowledge of the language of seeming play in the fall? If there is a gendered difference in Adam and Eve's educations, are Adam and Eve really sufficient to have stood? We find the answer in the final books of the poem, as we reevaluate our own educations in the language of seeming alongside those of Adam and Eve.

Before we discuss the language of seeming, or what Michael Lieb calls the language of appearance, we must first clearly define how Milton uses the word seem and note the differences between the uses.[4] Often "seems" or "seemed" is used to express true resemblance: "on the bare outside of this world, that seemed | firm land imbosomed without firmament" (III, 74–75). Milton also uses the word "seem," as Fish suggests, in reference to an apparent resemblance in which there is a gap between appearance and reality.[5] Here the language of seeming is undermining claims of clarity. From the very beginning of the poem, we as readers are being educated in the language of seeming. We are being taught to stop and evaluate the word's use, even to be suspicious of the seeming that is pervasive throughout the text.

The Readers' Knowledge of the Language of Seeming

Beginning in the scenes in hell, we, as readers, are educated in the language of seeming that is based on manipulation. For Milton, manipulation is multilayered. As early as Book II, "seemed" appears in the narrator's description of hell and the fallen angels. Our first lesson reveals how evil can appear and sound good, or even reasonable, as Fish suggests, when analyzing the following passage about Belial:

> he seemed
> For dignity composed and high exploit:
> But all was false and hollow; though his tongue
> Dropped manna, and could make the worse appear
> The better reason, to perplex and dash
> Matures counsels: for his thoughts were low;
> To vice industrious, but to nobler deeds
> Timorous and slothful: yet he pleased the ear
> II, 110–117

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[1] All quotations of *Paradise Lost* are taken from: Milton, John. *Paradise Lost*, ed. Alastair Fowler, 2nd Longman ed. (Harlow: Longman, 2007).

[2] Stanley Fish, *Surprised by Sin: The Reader in Paradise Lost* (London: Macmillan, 1967).

[3] See Joseph Wittreich, "John, John, I blush for thee!" Mapping Gender Discourses in *Paradise Lost*, in *Out of Bounds: Male Writers and Gender(ed) Criticism*, eds. Laura Claridge and Elizabeth Langland (Amherst: UMass Press, 1990), 22–54; Michael Lieb, "'Two of Far Nobler Shape': Reading the Paradisal Text" in *Literary Milton: Text, Pretext, Context*, eds. Diana Treviño Benet and Michael Lieb (Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP, 1994), 114–132; Catherine Gimelli Martin, *The Ruins of Allegory: Paradise Lost and the Metamorphosis of Epic Convention*, (Durham, NC: Duke UP, 1998).

[4] Lieb, "'Two of Far Nobler Shape'," 114–132.

[5] Fish, *Surprised by Sin*.

Here the narrator is pointing to the discrepancy between appearance and reality. Whatever we would have assumed about Belial, based on his appearance and speech, is wrong. We are given a warning, and that warning is strongly tied to the word "seem." As the word "seemed" continues to appear, suspicion provoked by the word grows. Towards the end of Book II, the language of seeming comes into play again in reference to Satan, Sin, and Death. Sin "seemed woman to the waist, and fair, | but ended foul in many a scaly fold" (II, 650–51). Death's description is even more elusive:

> The other shape,
> If shape it might be called that shape had none
> Distinguishable in member, joint, or limb,
> Or substance might be called that shadow *seemed*
> For each *seemed* either; Black it stood as night,
> Fierce as ten furies, terrible as hell,
> And shook a dreadful dart; what *seemed* his head
> The likeness of a kingly crown had on
>   III, 666–73, italics added

Milton's description of Death is disorienting. The only resonating feature is that of shadow, which suggests feelings of uncertainty about the nature of this creature. However we do know, at the very least, that we should be suspicious of Death, for he wears a crown; he is a symbol of monarchy. Milton was an active member during the Puritan Revolution and even defended regicide in *The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates*—he was no friend to the monarchy. "Seemed" does more than gesture towards Death's appearance, it articulates his persona and standing in the world, at least in the eyes of the narrator and Satan, for we assume that this scene is a product of the narrator looking through Satan's eyes. At the same time, one could argue that Death wearing a crown is a symbol of and tribute to monarchical power, not of monarchical deleteriousness. The language of seeming makes this possible; it gives readers a choice.

The subsequent language of seeming in Book III makes the reader question divine power. For readers of Milton, some of the most frustrating and even outrageous passages are those in which God, the supreme creator, is acting in the poem. Early in Book III, God the Father notes how "no bounds prescribed...can hold [Satan]; so bent he seems | On desperate revenge," when God's very own prescription was to make Satan the guardian of Hell's gates (III, 81–85). Readers are thus encouraged to question divine power by the troubling language of seeming. How can God, an omniscient being, remark on what *seems* to be? Should he not already know? To God, Satan should not appear to be bent on revenge; God should *know* that Satan is bent on

revenge. If Milton's God does not know, how can we expect any heavenly being, much less earthly, to know? And indeed, the language of seeming raises similar questions about the angels Uriel and Gabriel.

The language of seeming with Gabriel most closely resembles its usage with God. Gabriel genuinely does not *know* what Satan is up to, for Satan is "employed it *seems* to violate sleep, and those | whose dwelling God hath planted here in bliss" (IV, 883–84, italics added). The whole scene is absurd when one considers that the archangels are not even aware initially that it is actually Satan whom they have captured. The effect is that the angels are portrayed as commissioned stooges; the language of seeming is merely enhancing the appearance of divine impotence.[6] But then, towards the end of his conversation with Satan, Gabriel can identify not only hypocrisy but the manipulative nature of seeming: "And thou sly hypocrite, who now wouldst seem | Patron of liberty, who more than thou | Once fawned, and cringed, and servilely adored | Heaven's awful monarch?" (IV, 957–60). Unfortunately, Gabriel's revelation, that is, his assertion of the power of divine reasoning, occurs too late. Likewise, in Book V, even Raphael notes how the illusion of contentment in heaven after the exaltation of the Son made it possible for Satan to rise to power in his revolt against God: "So spake the omnipotent, and with his words | All seemed well pleased, all seemed, but all were not" (V, 616–17). The repetition of "seemed" twice in the same line suggests an intentional emphasis by Milton.

From Uriel's deception in Book III, the reader experiences the difficulty of discerning false resemblance. Simultaneously, we also witness the failing of angelic reasoning—and seeming is implicated in the process:

> And oft though wisdom wake, suspicion sleeps
> At wisdom's gate, and to simplicity
> Resigns her charge, while goodness thinks no ill
> Where no ill *seems*: which now for once beguiled
> Uriel, though regent of the sun, and held
> The sharpest sighted spirit of all in heaven
>   III, 686–92

Not only do we experience the double meaning of "seem," there appears to be no ill and the idea of ill in this situation does not "fit." We also discover how evil is able to go unnoticed and can even be aided "for neither man nor angel can discern | hypocrisy, the only evil that walks | invisible, except to God alone" (III, 682–84). Often, we cannot "see" the works of Satan because they are disguised in angel's garb. Yet again, "seem" is connected to a flawed perception and points

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6   Fish, *Surprised by Sin*, would argue here that the Christian reader would interpret apparent divine inadequacies as God's plan for free will to be the ultimate force in man's first disobedience.

toward the fall. Phillip Gallagher suggests that Uriel's deception is proof that Adam and Eve are equally susceptible to fall, given that Satan is a superior creature; Uriel's deception makes the fall more believable.[7] We, as readers, know what is going to happen, but Milton's reworking of the Genesis story relying on the word seem inspires a suspicion of the quality of the relationships in *Paradise Lost*. Eventually, interrogating the text becomes a natural reflex.

Adam and Eve's Knowledge of the Language of Seeming Before the Fall

Adam, Eve, and Raphael all exhibit knowledge of the language of seeming. When Eve relates her dream to Adam in Book V, she identifies a discrepancy between true resemblance and illusion: "fair it [the tree] seemed, | Much fairer to my fancy than by day" (V, 52–53). Satan's apostrophe to the tree's fruit also uses the language of seeming: "O fruit divine, | Sweet of thyself, but much more sweet thus cropped, | Forbidden here, it seems, as only fit | For gods, yet able to make gods of men" (V, 67–70). Remembering how adept Satan is at manipulating the language of seeming, readers should be instantly on guard. While the congruence of "fit" and "seem" can be misleading, the differences between Satan's knowledge of seeming and Eve's knowledge of seeming have already been shown. In order to identify the differences between the illusion of the tree in her dream and the actual tree in Eden, Eve needs something within her realm of experience. Satan, however, is skilled in manipulating the language of seeming in order to fit his ambitions.

It is never declared which form of "seem" Eve absorbs in the dream scene: does she think that Satan is referring to true resemblance or illusion? Later, however, Eve uses "seem" again, enabling us to understand the extent of her knowledge after her encounter with Satan in her dream. In Book IX, right before the fall, Eve speculates on for whom the tree was created, or rather, who has the right to enjoy the fruit of the tree: "For us alone | Was death invented? Or to us denied | This intellectual food, for beast reserved? | For beasts it seems: yet that one beast which first | Hath tasted, envies not, but brings with joy | The good befallen him, author unsuspect, | Friendly to man, far from deceit or guile" (IX, 767–72). Eve's use of the word "seem" in the above lines suggests that she only understands it as true resemblance. Her lack of knowledge of the language of seeming contributes to her fall. She does not know, as the readers do, that she should be wary of what Satan can do with the language of seeming. Eve fails to recognize "seeming," despite the fact that Adam and Eve are given examples of several uses of "seem" in the dialogue with Raphael.

Early in the book, Raphael narrates the conversation between Abdiel and Satan in which Abdiel reveals Satan's error in judgment: "All are not of thy train; there be who faith | Prefer, and piety to God, though then | To thee not visible, when I alone | *Seemed* in thy world erroneous to dissent | From all" (VI, 143–46, italics added). Here "seem" has multiple meanings: it can refer to appearance, false appearance, or that siding with God does not "fit" in Satan's word.

Raphael also shows Adam and Eve how the language of seeming can extend to the body—an all-too-important lesson, given that Satan uses similar language during Eve's temptation in Book IX. When Satan and Michael are about to confront each other in battle, "likest gods they seemed, | Stood they or moved, in stature, motion, arms | Fit to decide the empire of great heaven" (VI, 301–03). Their angelic forms are being personified to symbolize infinite power and their prowess as warriors via the language of seeming, providing parallels to both descriptions of Sin and Death in Book II and descriptions of Satan in Book IX.

Lastly, Adam and Eve are presented with a form of "seem" that creates an illusion of the self that is blinding and destructive. During his musings on the possibility of eternal war in heaven, Satan searches for proof of God's imperfection: Satan and the fallen angels "have sustained one day in doubtful fight….What heaven's lord had powerfullest to send | Against us from about his throne, and judged | Sufficient to subdue us to his will, | But proves not so; then fallible, it seems, | Of future we may deem him, though till now | Omniscient thought" (VI, 423–30). Raphael represents Satan as desperately reaching for a positive spin on his rebellion through the language of seeming. In addition to the passages above, Raphael also provides examples of similes that use the language of seeming, giving Adam and Eve a seemingly sufficient stock of knowledge to be able to detect and use the language of seeming.

Adam also learns about the language of seeming from Raphael's cosmology lessons when Eve is absent. In Book VIII, Adam exercises his newfound knowledge of the language of seeming conversing with Raphael about gender. When recounting his own creation story, Adam articulates a shift in his perception of God's creations:

> Under his forming hands a creature grew,
> Manlike, but different sex, so lovely fair,
> That what seemed fair in all the world, seemed now
> Mean, or in her summed up, in her contained
> And in her looks, which from that time infused
> Sweetness into my heart, unfelt before
>
> <div align="right">VIII, 470–475</div>

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[7]   Philip Gallagher, *Milton, the Bible, and Misogyny* (Columbia: U Missouri Press, 1990).

Adam goes from wanting nothing more than to worship his creator to worshiping God's final creation:

> Yet when I approach
> Her loveliness, so absolute she seems
> And in herself complete, so well to know
> Her own, that what she wills to do or say,
> Seems wisest, virtuousest, discreetest, best:
>
> VIII, 546–550

Adam, although unfallen, is manipulating the language of seeming in a way similar to Satan. His perception of and relationship with God has shifted and, as a result, everything else shifts. Satan could not recognize Sin, and Adam does not recognize God because he cannot see past Eve's adornments. As scholars have noted, Adam makes the crucial mistake of not evaluating the quality of Eve's person—relying instead on her appearance, the language of seeming and illusion—which contributes to his fall.[8] Raphael recognizes Adam's mistake and reproaches him: "Accuse not nature, she has done her part; | Do thou but thine, and be not diffident | Of wisdom, she deserts thee not, if thou | Dismiss not her, when most thou needst her nigh, | By attributing overmuch to things | Less excellent, as thou thyself perceiv'st" (VIII, 561–66). Raphael realizes that Adam is using his perceptions, the possibility of seeming, to manipulate the world around him, yet tries to teach Adam the correct way to engage the language of seeming. Because the imagery behind Adam's description of Eve seems so tangible we, as readers, are seduced into believing that something significant about Eve's character has been revealed. Raphael's reproach, however, directly counters this belief, as it illuminates how *Adam's* knowledge of seeming and ability to manipulate his reality are what really make this exchange possible.

The Language of Seeming and the fFall

In the fall, gender, education, and all of the implications of the language of seeming throughout the poem converge and can be observed through Adam, Eve, and Satan. Used more here than anywhere else in the poem, the influence of the language of seeming is inescapable in the events just before and after the fall. The gendered education that Adam and Eve have received contributes to their fall: Eve does not discern false resemblance and Adam continues to use the language of seeming to manipulate reality. Still, Satan is by far the most artful in his use of the language of seeming; it even extends to his serpentine form.

While leading Eve to the Tree of Forbidden Knowledge of Good and Evil, Satan, as the serpent, rolls "In tangles, and made intricate seem straight, | To mischief swift" (IX, 632–33). Here the language of seeming extends to the serpent's body, personifying Satan's ability to manipulate reality, especially Eve's. Of course, this passage appears just before Satan's final temptation of Eve, with Satan using the language of seeming as he claims that if she would "eat thereof, your eyes that seem so clear, | Yet are but dim, shall perfectly be then | Opened and cleared, and ye shall be as gods, | Knowing both good and evil as they know" (IX, 706–709). Aware of Eve's inability to recognize the language of seeming, Satan manipulates Eve's vision and hides his deception behind vague imagery.

Although able to stand against temptation, Eve, inexperienced, does not detect the illusion Satan has constructed. She believes him: "in her ears the sound | Yet rung of his persuasive words, impregned | With reason, to her seeming and with truth" (IX, 736–38). Only after the fall do we begin to see Eve recognizing and even manipulating the language of seeming "for Eve | Intent now wholly on her taste, naught else | Regarded, such delight till then, as seemed, | In fruit she never tasted, whether true | Or fancied so, through expectation high | Of knowledge, nor was godhead from her thought" (IX, 785–90). As she eats the fruit, Eve begins to identify illusion that was originally "impregned with reason," recognizing that her perceptions of the fruit could be true or fantasy. Her recognition is completed when she reflects on the consequences of her actions and the possibility of death: "but I feel | Far otherwise the event, not death, but life | Augmented, opened eyes, new hopes, new joys, | Taste so divine, that what of sweet before | Hath touched my sense, flat seems to this, and harsh" (IX,

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8   Some seminal works on Milton and gender include Mary Nyquist, "The Genesis of Gendered Subjectivity in the Divorce Tracts and in *Paradise Lost*," in *Re-Membering Milton: Essays on the Texts and Traditions*, eds. Mary Nyquist and Margaret W. Ferguson, (New York: Methuen, 1987), 99–127; Christine Froula, "When Eve Reads Milton: Undoing the Canonical Economy," in Critical Inquiry 10 (1983): 321–47; Joseph Witreich, *Feminist Milton*, (Ithaca: Cornell UP,1987); Diane McColley, *Milton's Eve*, (Urbana, U IL, 1983); For a range of contemporary views on Milton and gender see; Ronald Levao, "'Among Unequals What Society': *Paradise Lost* and the forms of Intimacy," in Modern Language Quarterly 61,1 (2000) 79–107; John Rogers, "Transported touch: the fruit of marriage in *Paradise Lost*," in *Milton and Gender*, ed. Catherine Gimelli Martin (England: Cambridge UP, 2004) 115–132; Gina Hausknect, "The gender of civic virtue," in *Milton and Gender*, ed. Martin, 19–33; Martin, *The Ruins of Allegory*.

983–87). The language of seeming in this passage in its use of pleasure and physical senses closely parallels Adam's in Book VIII when his perceptions of the world God has created and Eve shift. Likewise, this passage marks Eve's shift from inability to ability in being able to manipulate her reality, but her knowledge comes at a great price.

Adam, on the other hand, actually manipulates, as is most evident in his reaction to Eve's disobedience: "So having said, as one from sad dismay | Recomforted, and after thoughts disturbed | submitting to what seemed remediless" (IX, 917–19). Yet again, Adam is creating a reality to suit his desires. The situation is *not* remediless; Adam makes it remediless and lacks the judgment needed to decide when it is or is not appropriate to manipulate his surroundings, a lack that inevitably leads to his fall.

In the final books of the poem, we see that while the language of seeming may have played a role in the fall, it could not have caused the outcome, because the educations of Adam, Eve and the reader continue after the fall. Adam's use of "seem" in Book X is the key to the puzzle, best illustrated in his attempt to justify his actions to the Savior: "Her doing seemed to justify the deed" (X, 142). Jesus sees through Adam's explanation and rebukes him, drawing upon the appropriate language of seeming for the situation: "adorned | She was indeed, and lovely to attract | Thy love, not they subjection, and her gifts | Were such as under government well seemed" (X, 154). Jesus uses "seem" to refer to "beseem" or "fit," which more genuinely reflects the situation, correcting Adam's use of the language of seeming and by extension, Adam's misinterpretation of Eve.

Adam seems to grow in his ability to properly use the language of seeming in Books X and XI. Revisiting this language of seeming, his tone changes, as many of his final uses gesture are toward God or a simile of some kind, for instance when he tries to make sense of this sentence: "Inexplicable | Thy justice seems" (X, 754–55). Adam and Eve exchange laments in Book X that consider different outlooks on their disobedience. After Eve's final lament, Adam uses the language of seeming to bring their best possible future to the foreground: "Eve, thy contempt of life and pleasure seems | To argue in thee something more sublime |And excellent than what thy mind contemns" (X, 1013–15). And, again, Adam exercises his ability to tell the difference between appearance and reality when he states that God "will relent and turn | From his displeasure; in whose look serene, | When angry most he seemed and most severe" (X, 1093–95). This new use of the language of seeming signals to the reader that finally, perhaps, Adam has learned how to use the language of seeming.

Despite this growth, Adam's ability to appropriately use the language of seeming wavers in Books XI and XII. During one of his visions Michael, Adam's new tutor, must instruct him to "Judge not what is best | By pleasure, though to nature seeming meet, | Created thou art, to nobler end" (XI, 603–05). This statement echoes one made by Raphael three books earlier. When Adam falters in his most important lesson after the fall, Michael responds by reiterating the point: "For that fair female troupe thou sawest, that seemed | Of goddesses, so blithe, so smooth, so gay, | Yet empty of all good wherein consists | Woman's domestic honour and chief praise" (XI, 614–17).

While it seems as if Adam has made some progress in his use of the language of seeming, Michael's reminder suggests that he has yet to complete his education. In the same way, we, the readers, in misunderstanding Adam's progress, may also require more work to complete our own educations. Understanding the language of seeming, then, seems to be an *ongoing process* that requires repeated experience and choice. From Uriel, Raphael, and Michael's tutoring, to Eve's dream, one can see the performative aspect of repeatedly learning and relearning the language of seeming that streams throughout the poem.

Paradise Lost, as a poem of seeming, presents an experience of reading that is an intellectual challenge in which the reader, too, must learn and grow. Choices must be made—and there are right and wrong choices. But, like Adam and Eve, the reader must remember that things are not always as they seem.

The Struggle for Morality

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Abstract

The following paper is the culmination of a research project conducted through the Mellon Mays Undergraduate Fellowship Program. Through my research, I strove to unearth the moral conflicts African Americans faced during their time of enslavement in North America. This process included an examination of the various types of situations they were placed in, the actions they were required to commit, and/or actions they were not allowed to commit, which may have been in conflict with their personal ethics and, ultimately, their moral code. I am also seeking to understand how they dealt with those conflicts.

In the year 1501, the first African slave arrived in the New World. Capitalizing on weaknesses caused by internal conflicts, European powers began to invade the African continent with the intent of capitalizing on its people and resources. Though Africans were being traded all over the world, North America would distinguish itself from the rest of the world with its particular form of slavery, which became known as the "peculiar institution," forever altering history. Given slavery's widespread practice throughout the globe, it is important to specify the form of slavery being discussed. In this paper, I discuss the institution of slavery as practiced in the North American continent, which I will therefore refer to as simply "slavery" throughout the remainder of my paper.

While the morality of the institution of slavery has long been debated, the primary focus of this research is neither to confirm nor disprove its morality but to examine the moral conflicts created by the system and the process by which African Americans dealt with these conflicts. Primarily, my concerns are with the moral conflicts that occurred inside that system, African Americans, and the process by which they dealt with them. In *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, Linda Brent observes about the institution of slavery, "Only by experience can any one realize how deep, and dark, and foul is that pit of abominations" (McKay 5). There is no shortage of artists, historians, theologians, politicians, and social theorists who have given their definition of the institution of slavery as practiced in North America. Some seem to rely on their imaginations to define what the world of slavery was like. Still others appear to focus on the accounts given by the people whom either witnessed it firsthand or were a part of it. As McGary states, "Contrary to popular opinion, slaves reflected deeply on every aspect of the miserable state they were forced to endure" (McGary and Lawson xvii).

In my attempt to better understand the experience of daily life within the institution of slavery, I gravitated toward slave narratives and scholarship that relied heavily on firsthand accounts. According to these accounts, "frequently, masters, masters' sons, and other men who visited or lived in the neighborhood felt themselves entitled to the sexual favors of any female slaves they encountered, pubescent and adolescent girls included" (Schwartz 161). It was not uncommon for slaves to be undernourished and overworked or for murders to go unpunished. Human beings were told they were only $3/5$ths of a person and someone else's property, able to be bought and sold. Within this institution of slavery, families were sold away from each other—children away from their mothers and husbands away from their wives. Frederick Douglass argues,

> It would astonish one, unaccustomed to a slaveholding life, to see with what wonderful ease a slaveholder can find things, of which to make occasion to whip a slave. A mere look, word, or motion, —a mistake, accident, or want of power—are all matters for which a slave may be whipped at any time (Andrews 54).

In such a system, African American slaves' moral ethic was utilized every day to help them process and react appropriately to what they were experiencing.

A necessary component when investigating the moral conflicts experienced by members of a group of individuals is to acquaint oneself with the group's moral ethic: what they believe to be right and wrong. As this paper will later show, one's moral ethic can be as unique to oneself as a human being's thumbprint. There are a myriad of influences that were part of shaping the African American slaves' moral code. These influences include African spirituality and moral customs, prevalent moral systems in their contemporary local communities, the morals of those in direct authority, and their personal beliefs. The slave trade enslaved peoples from all over the African continent, with a majority coming from the western coast. There is immense diversity throughout the African continent, with significant cultural practices and moral standards differing not only from country to country and region to region, but also from tribe to tribe.

Because these multiple groups were mingled together without regard for differences in customs, culture, and language, it presented an opportunity for moral conflicts. According to what has been documented about the middle passage, Africans were kept in horrendous conditions. The holding area, where slaves were kept, was a cesspool of bodily excretions. The amount of time that slaves had to remain in such filth depended on the cleanliness of the crew aboard the ship. Some slaves were improperly clothed either due to the perversions of the crew aboard ship or because of the neglect to provide for the needs of the slaves. This alone accounts for moral conflict when considering standards of decency and cleanliness that were often an important facet of many African cultures.

Many of the Africans coming over were of the Islamic faith, while others maintained ancestral beliefs. Generally speaking, either these beliefs were treated with blatant disregard, or their practice was punishable. Several African religious practices throughout were tied to the land and the ancestors who were buried there. Relocation to North America obviously put a strain on the practice of such religions. Although African slaves brought their customs, traditions, culture, and beliefs with them to the new world, through the process of seasoning, they were forced to adopt new customs, traditions, culture, and beliefs in North America and almost completely abandon their own.

The moral practices of the communities to which the Africans were brought were themselves influenced by more than one moral ideology. Certainly the communities were influenced, and to an extent controlled, by the laws that governed them. Howard McGary states in his text *Between Slavery and Freedom* (1992) that, "Crucial to an understanding of slavery is the role of the government in fostering and maintaining slavery as a social practice" (xxiii). While there were laws applied nationwide, in each region, there were sets of laws unique to that region. Generally speaking, in all states where slavery was being practiced, state laws both sanctioned the practice and legally defined a slave as $^3/_5$ths of a person. Similarly, while there were laws governing the treatment of slaves, the intensity with which these laws were enforced varied between regions and states. McGary goes on to explain that slavery was indeed a social practice, with "rules and guidelines for the behavior of both Blacks and whites" (xxiii). Thus, in addition to laws sanctioned and issued by the government, there were also the "laws" of social practice. These, too, varied from state to state, region to region, and even

county to county. One might argue that the dominant religion in America throughout the institution of slavery's history was Christianity. Its influence can be seen in each level of society, in the laws both nationally and statewide and also in the lives of all class levels.

The very nature of the institution of slavery causes there to be a direct relationship between a master and slave. Hegel argued that the relationship between master and the slave is a co-dependent relationship, with the master being "the essential reality for the slave" (26). Power, however, rested squarely within the hands of the master. Though there were ways of controlling how a master used this power through coercion, deception, and other devices, essentially the master controlled power over slaves' lives, and actions rested within the master's hands. The laws that governed the country, as well as the sentiments and sensitivities of large populations of people within it, sought to ensure the continued power of masters.

How did the master's will influence what a slave called morally right and wrong? Nietzsche argues, "In order to come about, slave morality first has to have an opposing external world, it needs, physiologically speaking, external stimuli in order to act at all—its action is basically a reaction" (20). Because of the controlling relationship, the slave loses its autonomy and its ability to turn within and define his own sense of morals. It turns to the outside, to its oppressor, and reacts to their morals and systems of belief. Nietzsche further argues that slave morality gives birth to *ressentiment*, where there is a reversal of the way in which the slave defines what is wrong or right, good or bad. If the master defines physical strength as good, the slave defines physical strength as bad. Nietzsche's argument has been criticized as being too simplistic—failing to account for the complex nature of a human being and, thus, failing to account for the various influences on a slave's morality. However, in later writings, Nietzsche argues, "human beings have in their bodies the heritage of multiple origins, that is, opposite, and often not merely opposite, drives and value standards that fight each other and rarely permit each other any rest" (111–112). It is unclear whether Nietzsche would, at this point, include slaves into his definition of a "human being." If so, it is possible to argue that Nietzsche might refine his earlier argument (stated above) to articulate that a slave's morality cannot be seen as merely opposite that of his master but is influenced by the myriad of forces present within himself.

Certainly there is evidence to support Nietzsche's observation of the influence that a master would have over a slave in defining their moral ethic. This relationship had various effects. For example, Linda Brent, in her narrative, *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, told a story of her brother, Benjamin, who had considered suicide but thought better of it when he remembered his grandmother. After, Benjamin recounts this story to his family, and his grandmother then asks whether he thought of God in that moment. Observing Benjamin's reaction, Linda Brent notes, "I saw his face grow fierce…He answered…'When a man is hunted like a wild beast he forgets there is a God…He forgets everything in his struggle to get beyond the reach of the bloodhounds'" (McKay 22). Benjamin's treatment at the hands of his master and oppressors inspired a strong aversion to the belief in a god. This situation suggests a strong correlation between the master and the formulation of the slave's moral code.

Contrary to Nietzsche's theory of the slaves' total dependence on the master to determine what they define as morally right or wrong, however, I suggest an alternative perspective: there were multiple influences upon a slave's morality. Must we believe that because of the oppressive nature of slavery and the constant abuses experienced therein, slaves should be exempt from moral analysis? Is moral analysis reserved for those who can claim full autonomy over themselves? A closer examination suggests that slaves did maintain a level of autonomy over themselves.

As Nietzsche rightly concluded, there were myriad influences that defined the moral intellect of slaves. Yet, each slave had to process the different moral ideologies with which they were bombarded individually in order to use or arrange them in a way to create his or her own moral code. The final influence on a slave's morality was his or her self, and the decisions each made in determining what to consider morally right or wrong. Navigating through each circumstance, they used a unique form of morality they had assembled within themselves to make decisions as to what was right and wrong. This unique form of morality is the lens through which I examine the situations in which slaves were placed and to discern how they dealt with what was happening to them. Thus, morality, as I conceive it, is indeed unique to each individual. However, it is also true that slaves' personally defined morality often paralleled the moral ethic across African American slaves. Thus, one manner of exploring slaves' personally defined morality is to examine standards of moral ethics among African American slaves at large.

As victims in such an oppressive system, African American slaves needed a way to maintain stability and equilibrium in their lives; the art of deception, manifested through a variety of methods such as lying, duplicity, omitting the truth, and faking sickness, was one of the skills slaves employed to do so. Deception for slaves then was often used as an essential tool for survival. Ex-slave Lavinia Bell, when interviewed about her experience during slavery, told reporters that she employed a number of deceptive techniques including "counterfeiting madness, inability to walk and see" (Blassingame 345). Marie Schwartz, in her book, *Born in Bondage* (2000), argues that slaves learned how to use deception in order to gain some control over their lives:

> As they grew, children increasingly took it upon themselves to negotiate with owners over living and working conditions, using tactics ranging from artful deception and duplicity to outright defiance, in imitation of their parents. By early childhood, slave boys and girls had learned it was possible to manipulate all the adults around them….By…adulthood, they stood ready to use whatever openings they might find in the slaveholder's need for labor or desire for outside approval to negotiate the terms under which they lived and worked (209).

As the above quote illustrates, children learned the skill from parents who shared their experiences. To fully understand this persistent call to be duplicitous, we must keep in mind that slaves did not need to do anything "wrong" in order to receive punishment. An unsatisfactory answer to a posed question was enough to be sold, whipped, maimed, or otherwise punished. Moreover, even when beyond the presence of their master, a slave had to be careful of his or her words and actions. Slaveholders would often send "spies among their slaves, to ascertain their views and feelings in regard to their condition" (Andrews 21–22). In light of this, slaves believed it to be better that they "suppress the truth rather than take the consequences of telling it, and in so doing prove themselves a part of the human family" (Andrews 22). Thus, it is no surprise that a common proverb amongst the slaves was that "a still tongue makes a wise head" (*Ibid.*). In this context, deception, rather than being seen as a negative trait, was considered a wise one.

Another manifestation of the unique, contextually defined moral ethics of slaves appearing frequently across narratives and scholarship was the act of infanticide or the wish that the child would die by unforeseen circumstances. Marie Schwartz explains how African American midwives were feared because of their power to conjure and produce

medicines that would abort a baby: "If left unsupervised, they could induce abortion, thereby reducing the number of slave births. The physician John Morgan gave voice to these fears.…some women, he said, were 'willing and even anxious to avail themselves of an opportunity to effect an abortion,' using tansy and other plants 'commonly cultivated in our gardens'" (41). Schwartz also mentions a slave by the name of Lucy who "denied her pregnancy, then delivered the child (whether stillborn or alive was not known) and hid it" (*Ibid.*).Women were known to use sticks to abort their babies or internally damage their reproductive organs so that producing children would no longer be possible. Similarly, explaining how mothers feel about their children, Linda Brent states in her narrative, "often does she wish that she and they might die before the day dawns…she has a mother's instincts and is capable of feeling a mother's agonies" (McKay 17). Perhaps the most well-known example of infanticide was that carried out by slave Margaret Garner. The inspiration for Toni Morrison's novel, *Beloved*, Garner was a slave who had a family of four children and a husband. In their attempt to escape slavery, they were tracked down and trapped inside a cabin with no way of escape. The following is what Garner did when faced with this situation:

> Suddenly, Margaret Garner seized a butcher knife and turned upon her three-year-old daughter. With swift and terrible force she hacked at the child's throat. Again and again she struck until the little girl was almost decapitated….Now Margaret Garner turned toward one of her little boys who pleaded piteously with his mother not to kill him….Finally Elijah Kite's wife managed to disarm Margaret Garner who all the while sobbed that she would rather kill every one of her children than have them taken back across the river….The arresting party next brought up a heavy timber, battered down the front door, and the little house was carried…their eyes met the almost lifeless body of the little girl. Two other children were bleeding profusely, and a fourth, an infant of less than a year, was badly bruised (Yanuck 52).

A common interpretation of slave infanticide was to assume mental illness, that perhaps the mother was murderous or had lost her senses. However, the testimonies of slave women could be read to argue that infanticide was a just end, while it was immoral to bring a child in to the world under this most abhorrent system of slavery. The above examples illustrate the slave mothers' primary justification for considering to kill their child or to rejoice over its death is because, to them, death was better than slavery.

Even those slaves who, at times, felt themselves transformed, like Douglass, into "brutes," did not lose their essential humanity.…Indeed, one of the central and inspiring truths of African American history…was the way slaves succeeded in asserting their humanity and reinventing their diverse cultures, despite being torn away from their natal African families and societies, despite being continuously humiliated, bought and sold, and often subjected to torture and the threat of death (David Brion Davis 3).

Defining a moral code for oneself can be difficult. Yet, for a slave inside the institution of North American slavery, the difficulty of this task was intensified. Through listening to their voice and the stories they left behind, hopefully, we, as scholars, can gain some insight into how they fought for the right to define their own morality.

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