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# American Studies

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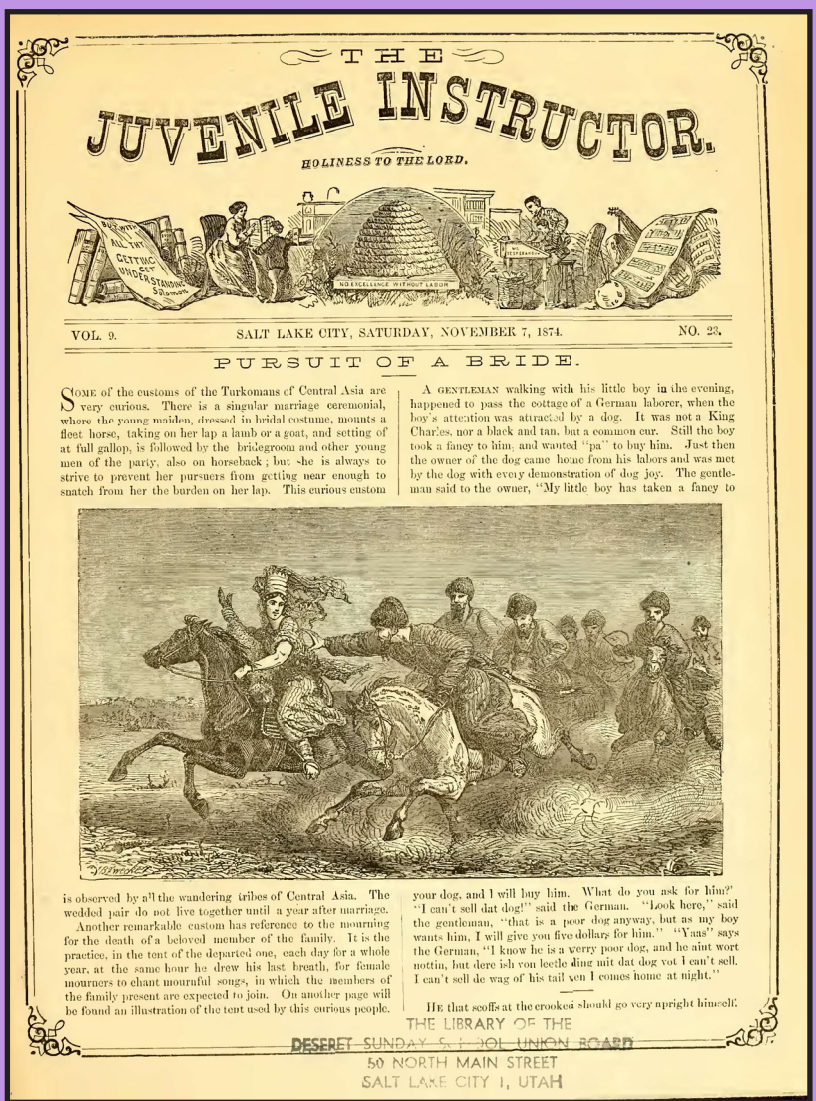

THE
JUVENILE INSTRUCTOR.

HOLINESS TO THE LORD.

VOL. 9. SALT LAKE CITY, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 7, 1874. NO. 23.

## PURSUIT OF A BRIDE.

SOME of the customs of the Turkomans of Central Asia are very curious. There is a singular marriage ceremonial, where the young maiden, dressed in bridal costume, mounts a fleet horse, taking on her lap a lamb or a goat, and setting off at full gallop, is followed by the bridegroom and other young men of the party, also on horseback; but she is always to strive to prevent her pursuers from getting near enough to snatch from her the burden on her lap. This curious custom is observed by all the wandering tribes of Central Asia. The wedded pair do not live together until a year after marriage.

Another remarkable custom has reference to the mourning for the death of a beloved member of the family. It is the practice, in the tent of the departed one, each day for a whole year, at the same hour he drew his last breath, for female mourners to chant mournful songs, in which the members of the family present are expected to join. On another page will be found an illustration of the tent used by this curious people.

A GENTLEMAN walking with his little boy in the evening, happened to pass the cottage of a German laborer, when the boy's attention was attracted by a dog. It was not a King Charles, nor a black and tan, but a common cur. Still the boy took a fancy to him, and wanted "pa" to buy him. Just then the owner of the dog came home from his labors and was met by the dog with every demonstration of dog joy. The gentleman said to the owner, "My little boy has taken a fancy to your dog, and I will buy him. What do you ask for him?" "I can't sell dat dog!" said the German. "Look here," said the gentleman, "that is a poor dog anyway, but as my boy wants him, I will give you five dollars for him." "Yans" says the German, "I know he is a verry poor dog, and he aint wort nottin, but dere ish von leetle ding mit dat dog vot I can't sell. I can't sell de wag of his tail yen I comes home at night."

HE that scoffs at the crooked should go very upright himself.

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**On the cover:** The *Juvenile Instructor* was a publication of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Photo courtesy of: Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

# American Studies

**with American Studies International**

## *Articles*



## *Reviews*




**2019** **Volume 58, Number 1**

# Apocalypse Here: Reading the Natural World in Native American Mormon Visions

**Quincy D. Newell**

In the November and December 1874 issues of the *Juvenile Instructor*, a publication for the youth of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (the LDS, or Mormon, Church), readers found a four-part article interpreting the conversion of the Deep Creek band of Goshute Indians as the fulfillment of prophecy.[1] John Nicholson, the author of the series, wrote that the events he narrated "should be interesting to every Latter-day Saint, as showing plainly that the Lord is working visibly among the remnant of His people, in fulfillment of the predictions concerning them, and in confirmation of His promises to their fathers."[2] Nicholson's article, which recounted a report from Mormon farmer and missionary William Lee, began with a dream and vision experienced by a Goshute man named Torbuka, whom Nicholson characterized as "a leading chief."[3] Torbuka's experience—as he told it to Lee, Lee reported it to Nicholson, and Nicholson related it to *Juvenile Instructor* readers—included a strong affirmation of the truth of Mormonism, instructions about how Torbuka and his people should live, and an apocalyptic scene of punishment for the enemies of the Indians and triumph for the Indians themselves.

Six years later in 1881, LDS missionary Christian "Lingo" Christensen used his journal to record the vision of another Native American man. Christensen later transcribed the narrative, titling it "An Indian vision by a member of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S. of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion," adding at the end that the narrative had been translated "through the

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Navajo." Moenkopi is a Hopi town in a region that was occupied by both Hopi and Navajo people. Thus, it is likely that the visionary here was a Hopi man, but Christensen never recorded his name.[4] The fact that Christensen transcribed this passage of his journal suggests that he shared it with church members and may have sought to publish it formally. Like Torbuka's vision, the vision that Christensen recorded asserted the truth of Mormonism, instructed the visionary about how to live well, and described in detail an apocalyptic scene of punishment for evildoers and reward for the good. It is likely that Christensen and those with whom he shared this narrative, like William Lee, John Nicholson, and the *Juvenile Instructor*'s readers, found in these Native American visions a kind of independent confirmation of their faith.

Spiritual visions and dreams like the ones that Christensen and Nicholson reported were foundational to the LDS Church. Indeed, the founding narrative of Mormonism turned on the visions of Joseph Smith, Jr., who reported encounters with God the father, Jesus Christ, an angel named Moroni, and other biblical figures. Smith was not the only one to experience such manifestations. In 1893, well after Smith's death, historian Truman G. Madsen reports that "[a]pproximately 63,000 participated in the dedicatory sessions of the Salt Lake Temple, and many reported seeing visions and hearing heavenly music."[5] Visions and dreams (terms that Latter-day Saints often used interchangeably) were experiences that undergirded and augmented individuals' faith, but they were also understood as experiences that should be shared with the community. Madsen writes that "the most crucial" supernatural experiences in the early LDS Church, many of which included visionary elements, "were shared, witnessed, and recorded."[6] These experiences, told and retold, shaped the beliefs and practices of the LDS Church.

As the official name of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints suggests, Mormons in the nineteenth century incorporated a significant dose of millennialism into their faith. The expectation that Jesus would return soon led many Mormons to be on the lookout for signs of the savior's coming, and at least some Mormons appear to have interpreted the Ghost Dance movement of the 1870s as just such a sign. James Mooney reported that "Mormon priests accepted" the Ghost Dance "as a prophecy of speedy fulfillment of their own traditions, and Orson Pratt, one of the most prominent leaders, preached a sermon . . . urging the faithful to arrange their affairs and put their houses in order."[7] Mormons' willingness to engage other religious traditions was motivated in part by the origins of their own scriptures: the Book of Mormon describes itself as the history of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas. Mormons' belief that God spoke through people other than those recorded in the Bible, and that God had caused extra-biblical scriptures to be created and then restored in the "latter days," suggested that additional divine communications might yet be received.

Nineteenth-century Latter-day Saints believed Native Americans were descendants of ancient Israelites called Lamanites, whose history was recorded in the Book of Mormon. As such, Native Americans' conversion was a crucial

step in hastening the restoration of God's kingdom on Earth. For that reason, the LDS Church began sending missionaries to Native Americans almost as soon as it was officially organized in 1830. For the most part, these missions were spectacularly unsuccessful in persuading Native Americans to join the LDS Church, though exceptions did occur from time to time.[8] In almost every instance, the historical record of these encounters between LDS missionaries and Native peoples is entirely one-sided: it was written by the missionaries and perhaps the occasional outside observer, completely excluding the perspectives of Native peoples themselves. Scholarship on these interactions is similarly lopsided. Limited to missionaries' reports, diaries, letters, and the like, scholars have generally shied away from speculating about how Native Americans interpreted their contact with LDS missionaries. Scott R. Christensen's 1999 biography of Shoshone leader Sagwitch may be the most comprehensive treatment of the life of a nineteenth-century Native American who accepted Mormon baptism. But even Christensen did not dig deeply into the reasons behind Sagwitch's decision to join the Mormons. Instead, Christensen laid out the desperate economic situation Sagwitch and other Shoshones faced, and he suggested that these factors might have led the Shoshones to be open to baptism. Christensen then wrote that Sagwitch's decision "seems to have gone beyond a calculated response to his circumstances. Contemporary Mormon sources imply that Sagwitch and other band chiefs experienced some kind of spiritual conversion to Mormonism through dreams or visions." Christensen briefly summarized one such vision, which bore notable similarities to Torbuka's account. Nevertheless, following these remarks, Christensen's account focused more on George Washington Hill, the LDS man who baptized Sagwitch and his band, than it did on Sagwitch himself.[9] Christensen's strategy is understandable: it is easier (and, to many scholars, more plausible) to explain Sagwitch's baptism in terms of his material circumstances than to dissect his spiritual experiences as they were reported by a missionary invested in the success of the LDS Church.[10]

To modern scholars, accounts like Hill's and the two I analyze in this article may seem like wishful thinking based on an imperfect understanding of Native American languages and cultures. It is tempting to dismiss them as colonialist fantasies that confirmed for their audiences the truth of Mormonism, the success of LDS missionary efforts, and the ultimate triumph of Euro-American society and culture over Native American peoples and their traditions. Such an interpretation, however, misses a great deal of nuance in the ways these visions were narrated and reported. Both of the visions I analyze below used imagery quite specific to the visionary's immediate environment. In what follows, I read Nicholson's and Christensen's accounts of these visions with an eye to how they portrayed the nonhuman natural world and positioned the futures of the visionaries' communities in those environmental contexts. Far from illustrating the defeat of Native peoples and traditions, these visions, which situated well-lived Native lives and apocalyptic end times in local geographies, demonstrated the cultural resilience of Native people who absorbed elements of Mormonism

and narratively grounded them in the deserts and mountains of the Intermountain West.[11]

Long before Joseph Smith experienced his first vision, Native American cultures recognized visions and dreams as an important element of human experience through which people gained a more complete understanding of their world, access to cosmic power, and knowledge about how to wield that power. Like Latter-day Saints, Goshute Indians understood visions and dreams to be two forms of the same basic experience. For the Goshutes, this experience was a medium through which spirits provided guidance for the individual and the community, and the primary way in which shamanic powers were conferred.[12] Dreams, then, were a means of individual and social empowerment, moving the dreamers to act in ways that benefited themselves and their communities, whether through traditional or innovative action.[13] In contrast to Goshutes, Hopi Indians emphasized dreams and visions less and placed higher priority on prophecy, regardless of how the prophetic message was received. Like dreams and visions for Goshute Indians, Hopi prophecies both affirmed tradition and advocated change. The Hopi vision I analyze here fit well within the Hopi prophetic tradition as that tradition has been reported and analyzed by scholars.[14] However, because Christensen's journal entry indicates that the visionary did not conceive of his vision as a prophecy, I analyze the narrative in its original framing as a vision rather than interpreting it in the broader context of Hopi prophecy. Given their capacity to both affirm tradition and introduce innovation, visions like those I analyze below may have been a crucial conduit for the absorption of Mormonism into Native American worlds.

The Goshute Indians lived in the southwestern part of the Great Basin. They are part of the Newe, the Shoshonean-speaking peoples of the Intermountain West. Culturally, then, they shared much with other Indian groups in the area: the Utes, Paiutes, Shoshones, Bannocks, and others.[15] When the Mormons emigrated to the Great Basin in 1847, that very fragile environment suddenly had to support a much larger human population. White settlers' livestock destroyed Goshutes' food sources; water was quickly in short supply. The Goshutes responded by killing livestock and threatening settlers, trying to drive them out. In an attempt to ameliorate the situation, the U.S. government established a farm at Deep Creek, near the present-day Utah-Nevada border, in the late 1850s, the same place where Torbuka and his band would later be baptized [see Figure 1]. Mormon farmers had already established farms in the area by the early 1850s. They sporadically engaged in attempts to help the local Indians by employing them as farm laborers. The U.S. government's Deep Creek Indian farm initially seemed successful, but the agent who established the farm resigned at the end of the decade, and the government abandoned the project shortly thereafter.[16]

Instead of supporting farming projects like the one at Deep Creek, the federal government forced the Goshutes to sign a treaty in 1863. The terms of the treaty allowed the construction of telegraph lines, railways, and stage lines


**Figure 1:** Deep Creek and Skull Valley, with present-day state boundaries. Map by Meghan Kelly.

through Goshute territory. It also allowed white settlers to cut timber, build mills, dig mines, and maintain ranches in the area. In return, the federal government would pay the Goshutes one thousand dollars a year for twenty years. However, the government annuities were insufficient for the Goshutes' survival, and they were cut off long before the twenty years had elapsed. Despite the government's failure to meet its treaty obligations, the Goshutes moved to adopt an agricultural lifestyle, settling on farms at Deep Creek and in Skull Valley. In Skull Valley, a Mormon farmer named William Lee helped the Goshutes get their farms going. Lee gained the trust of the Skull Valley band and ultimately acted as a spokesperson for them in their ongoing negotiations with the government in the 1870s. The federal government kept trying to relocate the Goshutes to a reservation; the Goshutes persistently refused to cooperate with this strategy. As white encroachment continued, the Goshutes faded into the background, becoming invisible to even the whites who occupied their lands.

This history might incline us to see the Deep Creek Goshutes' decision to accept LDS baptism as a strategy to gain access to additional resources that the LDS Church could provide to a native population on the brink of collapse. Torbuka's dream and vision, in this interpretation, might just be window dressing, a story that Torbuka told the missionary to smooth the Goshutes' path into

the church's good graces. But a close reading of Nicholson's account reveals that the events that led to the baptisms of Torbuka and the other Goshute Indians who accompanied him were ripe with meaning in both Goshute and LDS cultural contexts.

The chain of events that resulted in the Goshutes' baptisms began with Torbuka's dream and vision. In the spring of 1874, Torbuka and some part of his band were camped west of Deep Creek. One night, Torbuka had a dream. "He thought he saw a beautiful meadow, through which flowed a fine stream of clear water," Nicholson wrote. "He thought he saw Elder Lee, who told him that himself and [his] people must wash in that stream." In Newe tradition, unsolicited dreams were the most effective way of acquiring spiritual power, so Torbuka already had a religious framework within which to make sense of this dream.[17] Placing this dream within that framework makes Lee a spirit tutor, a bearer of supernatural power. Spirit tutors frequently gave their pupils very specific instructions about behavior, dress, and so on, so this instruction to wash was not all that surprising. Newe shamans frequently painted themselves following the directions of their spirit tutors.[18] The only difference here was that Torbuka and his band were, essentially, "unpainting" themselves. This move was consistent with what Lee probably said in the flesh: Mormons were constantly after the Indians to stop painting themselves. Indeed, in the second part of his article, John Nicholson told his readers that "Almost the first question asked of the Elders by those Lamanites who were baptized was: 'What can we do to be independent? We wish to support ourselves and be like the white people.'" The elders—men who held the LDS priesthood—responded that the Indians should cease drinking alcohol and that "it was better to wash their faces and keep them clean than to paint them, and many of them have ceased to use paint."[19] When Torbuka awoke, he went with his people to wash in a creek that was nearby, enacting the instructions from his spirit tutor and perhaps preparing for the tutor's subsequent teachings.

Later, sitting alone in his tent, Torbuka was visited by a handsome, gray-bearded man. Nicholson wrote that Torbuka

> gazed at this personage for a few moments, when he, the stranger, addressed Torbuka, the substance of his words being that the time had come for the Indians to be buried in water, baptized; that the "Mormons" were their friends; that they had a book which told about their fathers, that Brigham [Young] held communion with God, and they must hear him. He also told Torbuka that the enemies of the Indians had driven, robbed, plundered and abused them, but that the time when their enemies could do that was nearly past, that the time had almost arrived when those who had wronged them would be like the "dry wood upon the mountains that would be consumed, and they," the Indians, "would walk over the ashes."[20]

The visitor then left the tent and disappeared. Torbuka later received a second visitation, this time from two different personages who repeated what the first visitor said. These two left in the same way as the first, apparently disappearing into thin air. Finally, one of them came back for a third visitation and repeated, again, what had already been said. The visitors, even more than the dream-state Elder Lee, were clearly spirit tutors, instructing Torbuka.[21]

The repetitive nature of these visits suggests that a formal structure undergirded Torbuka's narrative, requiring a threefold repetition. However, the replication of visits may have been an artifact of Goshute storytelling practice instead. Folklorist Sven Liljeblad observed that in Great Basin cultures, "after finishing a detail of the plot, the storyteller used to pause for response or questions, whereupon he repeated or rephrased his utterance. Thus, an episode or a single phrase would recur in the same or in a slightly different form, as the narrator continued his story step by step. Repetition also gave the narrator an opportunity to elaborate an incident with epic embellishment."[22] In the translation of Torbuka's vision narrative to text, William Lee might easily have mistaken such repetitions for separate episodes, rendering three visitations when Torbuka only recounted one.

By predicting the destruction of the Indians' enemies, Torbuka's visitors articulated a millennialist vision that Torbuka and the other Goshutes would have found particularly attractive. Although it remained unstated, circumstances suggested that the "enemies of the Indians" marked for destruction in the first visitor's remarks consisted of white settlers and agents of the federal government, whose combined efforts had essentially made it impossible for the Goshutes to follow their traditional lifeways. This distinction between the "Mormons" and other white Americans was consistent with messages the Goshutes and other Indians had heard from Mormons for years. In 1857, for example, Mormon missionary Dimick Huntington recorded in his journal that he had met with "5 Goshah Utes," and "I told them that if the [U.S. federal] troops killed us they would then kill them[.] I told them all that they & the mormans [*sic*] was one but the Lord had throuen [*sic*] the Gentiles a way [*sic*]."[23]

The millennium, as the visitors described it to Torbuka, would occur within a Great Basin environment: camped near Deep Creek, the Goshutes were surrounded by mountains. The Indians' enemies would be destroyed by fire, a force with which Torbuka and other Goshutes were so intimately familiar that they described it as their Grandfather. Lightning strikes were and are a frequent occurrence in the Great Basin summer heat, and they regularly sparked forest fires. In addition, some Great Basin peoples may have deliberately set fires in order to maintain bighorn sheep habitat and to capture game animals.[24] Fire researchers have used a variety of sources to reconstruct the fire history of the western United States, and the results show that forest fires burned regularly in the region, though their frequency appears to have diminished in the nineteenth century due to some combination of climatic factors, Euro-American settlement, and the decline of Native American populations.[25] Goshute men hunted in

the mountains, so they ran across burn sites fairly frequently, and they walked over the ashes in pursuit of game.

The destruction of the Indians' enemies in Torbuka's vision was thus less a fantasy of vengeance and more a forecast of a natural cycle. The decline of fires in the nineteenth-century Great Basin was, in some ways, more threatening to the Goshutes than a large-scale conflagration would have been: without fire, vegetation changed and game animals were forced to find new habitat. Although John Nicholson and his readers might have associated the fire-charred landscape in Torbuka's vision with death and destruction, within the Goshute world the ashes were the ground from which new life might spring. Torbuka's spirit visitors thus invoked a cycle of renewal with which the Goshutes were intimately familiar.

Having received the message of the vision, Torbuka swung into action. He gathered as many people as he could and set out for Deep Creek. Once he got there, he sent a message to William Lee, the elder who had appeared in Torbuka's original dream. Torbuka was probably already acquainted with Lee, because Lee had worked for several years on behalf of the Goshute Indians. Lee met Torbuka and the Goshutes and, Nicholson wrote, "preached the Gospel to them, explaining the principles thereof in as simple a manner as he could, to meet their capacities." Then Lee and the Mormon men who accompanied him baptized as many as wanted to be baptized, a number Nicholson pegged at more than one hundred, despite the heavy rain that "commenced to pour down" during the baptismal ceremonies.[26]

Water, a key element throughout the story that Nicholson told, was (and remains) an important resource for the Goshute people. One native etymology of their name traces it to a native word meaning "desert people," describing the ecology of the Great Basin and indicating the importance of water to their survival.[27] Like fire, water occupied a respected kinship role, that of "Grandmother."[28] This was one way of recognizing the nurturing, sustaining qualities of this particular resource and the Goshute's foundational relationship with it. In addition, water was a source of power in Goshute cosmology. Anthropologist Jay Miller wrote that for Great Basin peoples, including the Goshute, water was "the keystone of the religion because power as the life force-and-energy has a very great affinity for all living things, all of which depend on water."[29] The scene that Torbuka witnessed in his dream, "a beautiful meadow, through which flowed a fine stream of clear water," corresponded pretty closely in physical description to the Deep Creek valley where Torbuka and his people were camped but also includes a key element of power, figured as both familial relation and life force, in the form of the stream. Likewise, the Goshutes may have experienced their baptisms and the downpour that accompanied them as an outpouring of spiritual power, an immersion in the physical manifestation of life force.

The millennialism of Torbuka's vision was consistent with Mormonism, which expected the second coming to occur at any moment, but the expecta-

tion of an imminent end to the existing world was also a common feature of other religious movements among native peoples in the Great Basin around the same time. One of the most well-known of these is the 1870 Ghost Dance movement, which had taken hold a few years before Torbuka's visitations.[30] Historian Greg Smoak wrote that Ghost Dance prophets "returned [from the land of the dead] with a message of identity and community healing. Ghost Dances were a community curing rite that promised the restoration of a world free of disease, death, and spiritual disharmony."[31] Torbuka received a very similar message, but rather than the Ghost Dance, Mormonism was the vehicle by which the Goshutes would arrive in that restored world. Torbuka's dream and vision, which called for an immersion in Grandmother Water and the people's vindication by Grandfather Fire, incorporated elements of Mormonism into a Goshute apocalypse in the Great Basin environment, making the events meaningful and plausible.

That millennial vision was less than clear on the ultimate relationship between the Indians and the Mormons, but within the visitors' instructions, the Indians were always kept separate from "the Mormons." The Mormons were cast as the Indians' "friends," not as the people the Indians would become. The Indians were the ones who would have revenge on their enemies, and though it looked like the Mormons were not part of the group that "would be like the 'dry wood upon the mountains that would be consumed,'" the enemies of the Mormons were left out entirely. Thus, Torbuka's vision afforded a glimpse of triumphant Indian identity, bolstered by, but not entirely dependent upon, white Mormons, constructed from Mormonism but congruent with Goshute culture and religion as well, and, importantly, located in the Goshute environment.

Mormons and other outside observers described the Goshutes in derogatory terms, frequently referring to the people whose homelands they had invaded as "Diggers" because of the Goshutes' practice of digging up wild roots for food.[32] In 1859, U.S. topographical engineer James Simpson wrote in his diary of the Goshutes that "[t]hey are most wretched-looking creatures, certainly the most wretched I have ever seen, and I have seen great numbers in various portions of our country."[33] But the Latter-day Saints characterized the Hopi Indians to the south as "a more noble race."[34] The LDS Church began missions to the Hopis in 1858 and maintained a fairly steady presence among the Hopi people for the next several decades. Shortly after the Hopis converted the settlement of Moenkopi from a seasonal farming settlement to a year-round colony in the 1870s, Mormon missionaries established a mission outpost there[35] [Figure 2]. Despite the missionaries' best efforts, few Hopis accepted the LDS gospel.[36]

Christian "Lingo" Christensen may have taken comfort in the vision he recorded in his journal, reported to him by a Native American man whose name he did not record, but whom he identified as a "member of the Church of Jesus Christ of L.D.S. of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion." This man experienced his vision on a hill one morning while praying. "After saying a few

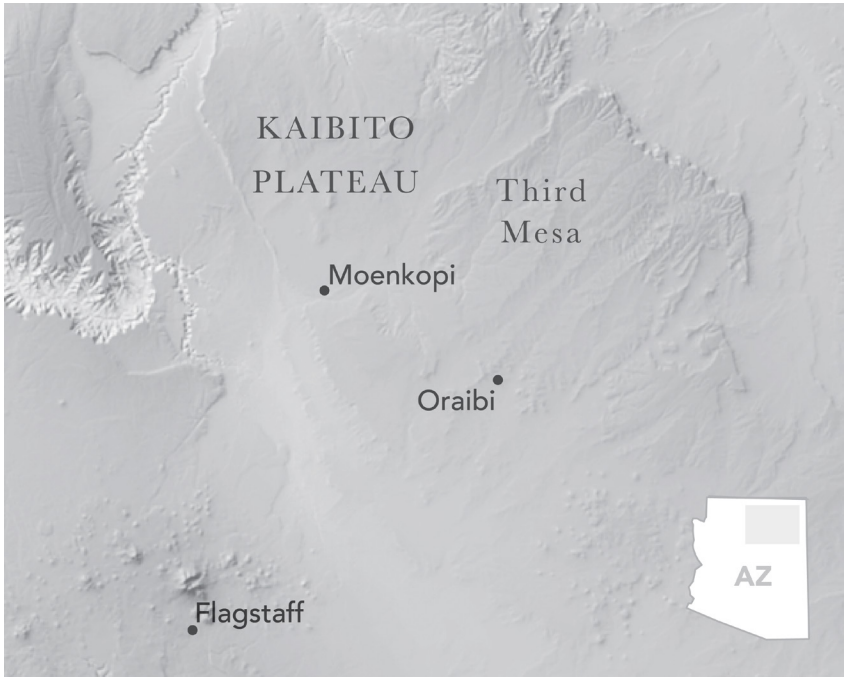


**Figure 2:** Moenkopi and surrounding region. Map by Meghan Kelly.

words," he recounted, "two persons came to me, one large man with red hair and beard, the other one was small and did not have much to say." The men introduced themselves as "brothers to my Fathers," a phrasing that suggests they were not claiming a genealogical relationship, but rather a ceremonial relationship that signified bonds of affection and respect.[37] The visitors told the visionary that he had done well to ask for confirmation of the LDS message, and they said that the Mormons preached the truth. The Mormon way was "the straight road," and eventually, the speaker said, the majority of the Indians would believe in the LDS gospel.[38]

In the meantime, these spiritual beings had some very specific advice for the visionary and other Indians:

> He said for us to always to tell the truth nothing deviating, nor steal nor even use anything that did not belong to them. Be kind and cleanly, raise your children in love. Adultery is the greatest ruination of all people and very ugly in the sight of our Great Father. Rise early in the morning so you will be stout and then you will love to work and sustain life that is good. Do not buy guns nor make arrows to kill men with. You may kill deer, antelope, and rabbits; they are your food. Cat-

> tle and horses does not belong to you. Do not touch them for it will make enemies of your superior race the Americans.[39]

The narrator's self-positioning vis-à-vis his spiritual visitors shifted over the course of this passage: he began by speaking about the visitor in the third person ("he") and the Indian community in the first person plural ("us"). By the second sentence, he had adopted the visitor's point of view, addressing the Indians in the second person ("your children"). This shifting point of view raises a question about the identity of "them" at the end of the first sentence: To whom does this pronoun refer? One way to interpret this passage is to read "them" as referring to the Indians. Such an interpretation is thematically appropriate, given the content of the passage, and it is easy to imagine a glitch in the translation process yielding "them" instead of "us." This reading of the instructions would have fit well with Christensen's understanding of the behavioral guidelines he hoped to impart to the Indians and with a Euro-American understanding of private property.

However, perhaps "them" referred to the two visitors the visionary met. This reading establishes a close connection between the visitors and the Indians, extending the ceremonial relationship they constructed in their introductions by requiring the Indians to use only those items that belonged to the visitors. This reading also helps explain the distinction the visitor drew between wild game and domesticated livestock: deer, antelope, and rabbits were all animals native to the Hopis' world and could be understood as belonging to the divine beings to whom the Hopis were related, whereas cattle and horses were European introductions. In that sense, the proscribed livestock might have been seen as animals "that did not belong to them," the brothers of the visionary's fathers.

Reading "them" as referring to the visitors highlights the traditionalist thrust of these teachings that was evident elsewhere in the visitors' instructions as well. Not creating nor acquiring the means to kill other humans, and killing only wild game for food, were both ways of perpetuating the traditional Hopi lifeway, which centered around the hard work of raising corn in the desert. Likewise, not committing adultery and loving children were ways of strengthening families, counterbalancing the clan structure of Hopi society with kinship ties and thus creating strong bonds throughout the society. As Emory Sekaquaptewa and Dorothy Washburn put it, this way of life was and is based on a shared moral system "institutionalized in reciprocal obligations among kin and clan that are practiced by all community members."[40] Following the visitor's instructions would ultimately allow the visionary and his community to "sustain life that is good," which some scholars have argued was the supreme goal of Hopi life.[41]

From instruction, the vision turned to apocalypse. The visionary was "carried away in the Spirit," and, he said, "I saw the earth as a Garden of Eden, a level plain. All things looked beautiful and [the visitor] said it would be so again."[42] The flatness of the Garden of Eden was telling: if the land was not

flat, the roads could not be straight. The "straight road" of Mormonism, which the visionary mentioned at the beginning of his narrative, presupposed a "level plain," as in this Edenic scene. The Garden of Eden was a vision of the world as it once was, but the visionary and his spirit guides knew that this picture did not reflect the world as it currently existed. Indeed, the land around Moenkopi was hardly flat: located on the Kaibito Plateau, Moenkopi was surrounded by canyons and separated from the Third Mesa, where its "mother" village of Oraibi was located. If the world had once been level, as the Garden of Eden appeared in this vision, by the time of the visionary its surface had been rent by chasms dividing the mesas and plateaus from one another. The visitor explained "that in its present state [the Earth] had become old and not desirable through the transgressions and foolishness of mankind."[43] This explanation for why the world was no longer perfect was strikingly similar to Hopi origin myths, which described human ancestors living in a series of worlds. As human society in each world broke down because of fighting and general disobedience to divine commands, the world in which humans lived also broke down, and eventually a divine ancestor led the people to the next world, where they began again. Thus, the idea that the "transgressions and foolishness of mankind" had made the earth "old and not desirable" was perfectly consonant with traditional Hopi cosmology. The difference here is that the visitor did not predict a journey to a new world; rather, this world would be made new again, but not before things got worse.

"I saw that the Mormons and my people were living on the tops of the Mountains," the visionary went on.[44] The phrasing here was very LDS and may have been an artifact of translation: Mormons conceived of their settlement in the Rocky Mountains as the literal fulfillment of prophecies in Isaiah and Micah that the house of God would be built in "the tops of the Mountains."[45] However, it also described the exact state of affairs at the time of the vision: Moenkopi was situated on a small plateau at approximately 4,800 feet above sea level.[46] The rest of the Hopi people lived on mesas even higher than Moenkopi. Though mesas and plateaus may be distinguished from mountains in topographical terms, the difference is slight. But far from being the idyllic refuge that the Utah settlers invoked, or even the site of the Indians' vindication, as in Torbuka's vision, the Hopi visionary saw this mountain home as the site of great strife for both the Mormons and the Indians. It stood in stark contrast to the Edenic "level plain" the visionary described earlier.

It was in "the tops of the Mountains" that the Mormons and Native Americans came face to face with the consequences of their disobedience to God. As the visionary explained, "the Lord was a little angry with us all for not being <u>good</u> and the Gentiles came against us for our <u>belief</u> and threatened us with destruction and we were entirely surrounded by our enemies."[47] The Indians made common cause with the Mormons in this dire situation, and, strikingly, it was in this passage that the visionary chose to describe "the Gentiles" (a label Mormons commonly applied to non-Mormons) in terms of their lack of relationship

with the natural world. Recall: earlier the visionary was told not to buy guns or make arrows for killing people, and not to touch cattle or horses because they belonged to the Americans. At the climax of this story, the Gentiles "loaded their guns," and, the visionary said, "horses and carriages and money was all their desire."[48] None of these items—guns, horses, carriages, or money—were a part of the traditional Hopi world. The Gentiles were entirely foreign, and their lack of connection with the natural elements of the Hopi world strengthened their association with death, which they were threatening to bring upon the Native Americans and Mormons alike.

Although a scene of apocalyptic destruction would have fit well at this point in the vision, with Gentiles threatening the lives of both Native Americans and Mormons, instead the scene turned into a cosmic joke. "They cocked their guns and aimed at us and I saw that water came from the muzzle of the guns and they were harmless," the visionary recounted.[49] Historian of religions Jonathan Z. Smith would point us to the incongruity in this passage: that guns, an instrument of death, instead deliver water, the stuff of life.[50] According to anthropologist John Loftin, "Moisture . . . is perceived by the Hopi as the 'spiritual substance' of the cosmos."[51] The incongruity in this scene was heightened by the juxtaposition of the natural world and the world of manufactured goods: guns were produced by Gentiles, yet in place of bullets was water, a foundational element of the Hopis' natural world.[52] This seemed to be a joke that the Great Father himself authored; he at least enjoyed it, according to the visionary. "I looked," he continued, "and saw our Great Father standing at the extreme south end of our people laughing and he said nothing but his power could have preserved them alive and all was happy."[53]

Placing the Great Father in the south was a curious choice: the Hopi cardinal directions are not north, south, east, and west (as they were for Christensen and other Euro-Americans), but northeast, northwest, southeast, and southwest. It is possible that an ambiguity in the translation muddled the speaker's meaning: there are two terms in the Hopi language for *southwest*. One of them, *atkya*, means "down below." To Christensen, whose directional orientation was forty-five degrees different from his Hopi interlocutor, it might have made the most sense to render *atkya* as "south" rather than "southwest."[54] If so, Christensen missed a great deal of the meaning in the Great Father's position: the Hopi considered (and still consider) the San Francisco Peaks, to the southwest of their homeland, a sacred site. They were and remain the site of shrines as well as one home of the *katsinam*, "spiritual beings who play a prominent role in Hopi cosmology and ethical life."[55] Indeed, the visionary may have understood the Great Father to be a *katsina* himself, rather than the supreme deity that Christensen believed him to be.

This scare was not the end of the Mormons' and Native Americans' trials in the visionary's narrative; instead, the joke served as a prelude to tribulations. First, polygamists were persecuted; then all who believed in the Book of Mormon were targeted. Finally, the visionary told Christensen, "there began a fam-

ine that lasted for 7 years and my people consumed everything, corn, horses, dogs, snakes and all reptiles and then they suffered."[56]

Contrasting this list of items the people ate during the famine to the earlier list of animals the Indians were allowed to kill for food—"deer, antelope, and rabbits"—reveals the striking disjunction between the ordinary time in which the visionary lived and the apocalyptic time he saw. Corn was understandable: it was one of the Hopis' main crops and a central symbol in their religious system. The Hopi people identified with corn to such a degree that they saw it as their sacred Mother, again invoking a kinship relationship with the natural world.[57] But the people ate "everything," the visionary said: that meant they were left without seed corn for the next growing season. In practical agricultural terms, this was a problem, but for the Hopi it was also a spiritual problem. As the Hopi understood the religious practice of growing corn, they planted kernels of corn not because these kernels would germinate and produce new corn stalks, but because the kernels would communicate to Muy'ingwa, the underworld god, what kind of plants the people wanted him to send to grow on the earth.[58] Thus, consuming the seed corn removed one of the Hopis' important avenues of communication with the divine.

Perhaps even more importantly, for the Hopi, planting corn was a fundamental part of what it meant to be Hopi. Hopi origin myths explained that they had selected the growing of corn as their means of subsistence before arriving in this world. They were given corn and taught to farm it, and this work, Loftin explained, "recall[ed]—or, more accurately, reactualize[d]—the timeless time when everything was one with the sacred. Paradoxically, by working, by doing specifically human activity, the Hopi re-experience[d] the creation of their world."[59] The choice of corn for subsistence meant a life of hard work for the Hopis. Loftin wrote that "hard work embodies the spiritual essence of the Hopi way."[60] Planting corn thus fulfilled the visitor's instruction that the people should "love to work and sustain life that is good," and consuming all the corn left the Hopi without a way to comply with what the visitor had said they should do.

After the corn, the people ate horses and dogs, the work animals. Horses were one of the two animals that the visitor specifically proscribed in his instructions, because killing them would make enemies of the Americans. But at this point in the vision, the Americans had already proven their enmity to the Indians by persecuting them, so killing the horses no longer carried the potentially dire consequences the visitor had predicted. While the earlier instruction seemed to mandate a traditional lifestyle, the move here to kill and eat horses and dogs expressed desperation. The seven-year famine exhausted the stores of corn; now the work animals had to be killed for their nutritional value.

The turn to horses and dogs also illustrated another problem in the famine-stricken world of the vision: the deer, antelope, and rabbits that the visitor had said were acceptable to kill as food were nowhere to be found. This might have been because the people had already wiped out the wild game as food became

scarce, so the supply of deer, antelope, and rabbits had simply been exhausted. Another explanation, which may go along with the first, is that the Great Father had hidden the wild game because he was upset about the people's transgressions.

The full extent of the famine became clear from the last two items in the list of animals the people consumed: "snakes and all reptiles." These animals were not included in the Hopis' traditional diet, so in one sense these items were of a piece with the previous two: the famine was so bad that they ate anything that they could. But from another perspective, the inclusion of snakes was particularly perverse. The Hopi ceremonial cycle included a Snake Dance, performed every summer in order to bring rain for the crops: corn, squash, and beans. The ritual featured men dancing with live snakes in their mouths, so the visionary's image of the people eating snakes formed a parallel. However, in the dance, the snakes were subsequently released outside the village in order that they might spread the message of the renewal of life throughout the land. Eating the snakes would prevent them from carrying this message. The consumption of snakes as a result of famine may thus have signified to the visionary a malignant inversion of the Snake Dance: instead of bringing rain so that the corn would grow, it destroyed the very means of producing corn. No seed corn, no work animals, no snakes to bring rain: these were, indeed, the end times. The visionary might have been familiar with dire circumstances like the ones he was shown; from 1866 to 1870 the Hopis experienced "a nearly total crop failure," resulting in the abandonment of some villages. Moenkopi, which had an irrigation system (in contrast to many Hopi settlements, which used dry farming techniques), may have become a permanent settlement as a response to this agricultural disaster.[61]

The visionary went on:

> I saw men walk in the street and fall dead, them that took the name of God in vain and talked lightly of sacred things. I saw sickness of all kinds amongst both man and beast and the Earth opened and many like the sand fell in the cracks. I [saw] lightnings and big winds and everybody was scared to death and I saw war and so many other things that it made me sick and [I] asked why all this and he [the visitor] said because they would not believe in the True God and his books, and [I] saw the water was angry and Poison an[d] destroyed many people so there were but few left and I saw a time when all that are dead will come up upon the Earth and the good will rejoice.[62]

Attending to Hopi conceptions of the nature of water reveals that several of these events—sickness, earthquakes, the anger and poisonousness of the water, and the return of the dead—may have been related phenomena. As I noted

above, water was sacred to the Hopi, to the extent that they saw it as the spiritual substance of the cosmos. But water was not always beneficent. In fact, as we might expect about a religiously charged substance, the Hopi surrounded water, and especially springs, with taboos. Springs were thought to be the home of water serpents, divine beings who controlled all kinds of bodies of water, and who made it available to humans. The serpents had to be propitiated and treated correctly, and if the local communities maintained a good relationship with the water serpents in the nearby spring, all was well. However, water serpents could also cause fatal illnesses, often resulting in individuals becoming bloated with water or dehydrated to the point of death. The water serpents visited illnesses like this upon people who violated the taboos surrounding springs, but they could also range more widely, striking people who disrupted the community.[63] Earthquakes were the result of the writhing of the water serpents underground. A Hopi story about the destruction of Hisatsongoopavi attributes the destruction of the settlement in the fifteenth century to earthquakes caused by the water serpents.[64] Thus, the idea that there were earthquakes and that the water was angry were connected here as two manifestations of the water serpents' displeasure. Likewise, the poison water and the widespread sickness might be interpreted as two more signs of the water serpents' destructive activity.

The apocalyptic situation resolved with the return of the dead to the earth and the joy of the living. In one sense, this conclusion sounded much more LDS than Hopi. In Hopi cosmology, when the world became old and degraded, the good people went to a new world; the restoration of the existing world did not fit this pattern. But Hopi beliefs about rain offer another interpretation: Loftin noted that "the Hopi petition their own departed ancestors to visit their villages in the form of clouds to bless them with the sacred gift of rain."[65] Thus, the return of the dead might have meant the return of rain, the renewal of life with the new possibility of agriculture and the blessing of water that was neither angry nor poisonous.

While the Hopis' resistance to outside influence is well known and was largely successful in warding off LDS missionaries, the Goshutes have generally been seen as victims of colonization by Mormons and other white Americans.[66] But attending to how Torbuka and the Hopi visionary portrayed the natural world and situated their own communities' futures in their local environments reveals the cultural resilience of both the Hopis and the Goshutes. Both visions absorbed elements of Mormonism into Native worldviews: in Torbuka's vision, the LDS cultural proscription on body paint paralleled a spirit tutor's instruction to wash in the creek; in the Hopi man's vision, the world had lost its Edenic perfection because of humans' bad behavior, just as Hopi emergence myths said. Both visions also situated LDS and Native American millennialist expectations in local contexts, using imagery specific to the visionary's immediate surroundings. For Torbuka, the Indians' enemies were like "dry wood," ready to be consumed in a forest fire, an image that made sense in western Utah where forest fires were as inevitable as the changing of the seasons. For the

Hopi man, people who were destroyed were like sand falling through the cracks of the earth, an image that fit perfectly in the desert environment of Moenkopi.

By expressing the apocalypse in imagery drawn from the environments in which the visionaries lived, these visions quite literally brought Mormon millennialist expectations down to earth. The LDS sacred time of beginnings was located in North America according to the Book of Mormon, but the end times also found a concrete location in North America in these visions, rooting elements of Mormonism in specific local environments. These case studies thus illustrate that cultural changes such as a conversion to Mormonism may become naturalized by their narrative grounding in local environments and that Euro-American religions like Mormonism may be adapted through the same process. These visions and others like them both affirmed traditional ideas and values and opened the way for Native American peoples to absorb Mormon beliefs and practices into their changing worlds.

## Notes

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1. John Nicholson, "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 23 (November 7, 1874): 274–75; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 24 (November 21, 1874): 280–81; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 25 (December 5, 1874): 291–92; "The Lamanites," *The Juvenile Instructor* 9, no. 26 (December 19, 1874).

2. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 7, 1874, 275.

3. Ibid.

4. Christian "Lingo" Christensen, "An Indian Vision by a Member of the Church of Jesus Christ of LDS of the Moenkopi Little Colorado Stake of Zion," 1881, MSS SC 775, L. Tom Perry Special Collections, Brigham Young University, Provo, Utah.

5. Truman G. Madsen, "Religious Experience," *Encyclopedia of Mormonism* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1992), 1210.

6. Ibid., 1209.

7. James Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*, Smithsonian Institution, Bureau of American Ethnology Annual Report 14 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1896), 703–4, https://archive.org/details/ghostdancerelig01moongoog, quoted in Gregory E Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity: Prophetic Religion and American Indian Ethnogenesis in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 131.

8. See, for example, Lori Elaine Taylor, "Elder Nigeajasha and Other Mormon Indians Moving Westward," *John Whitmer Historical Association Journal* 24 (2004): 111–24.

9. Scott R. Christensen, *Sagwitch: Shoshone Chieftain, Mormon Elder, 1822–1887* (Logan: Utah State University Press, 1999), 84 and, more generally, 77–102.

10. Sagwitch may well have understood his material circumstances and spiritual experiences to be indivisible from one another. My concern here is simply that Christensen did not analyze the reported vision, choosing to focus solely on the economic circumstances of Sagwitch's band instead.

11. As such, narratives like these suggest that Native American conversions to Mormonism may fruitfully be interpreted as utopian movements. See B. C. Mohrbacher, "The Whole World Is Coming: The 1890 Ghost Dance Movement as Utopia," *Utopian Studies* 7, no. 1 (1996): 75–85.

12. Carling I. Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," in *Shoshone Indians* (New York: Garland, 1974), 53–54.

13. Lee Irwin, "Dreams and Visions," in *American Indian Religious Traditions: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 242–44, 248.

14. On the Hopi prophetic tradition, see John D. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 2nd ed., *Religion in North America* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 112–15; Armin W. Geertz, *The Invention of Prophecy: Continuity and Meaning in Hopi Indian Religion* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994); Richard O. Clemmer, "'Then Will You Rise and Strike My Head from

My Neck': Hopi Prophecy and the Discourse of Empowerment," *American Indian Quarterly* 19, no. 1 (1995): 31–73.

15. On the formation of distinct people-groups in the intermountain West, see Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 15–47. On Goshute ethnogenesis specifically, see Jared Farmer, *On Zion's Mount: Mormons, Indians, and the American Landscape* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008), 31–32.

16. The information in this paragraph and the following paragraph is based on Dennis R. Defa, "The Goshute Indians of Utah," in *Utah History to Go: Utah's Native Americans*, http://historytogo.utah.gov/people/ethnic_cultures/the_history_of_utahs_american_indians/chapter3.html; and Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 79–130; See also David Hurst Thomas, Lorann S. A. Pendleton, and Stephen C. Cappannari, "Western Shoshone," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 263–64.

17. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 51–52.

18. Ibid., 53; Julian H. Steward, "Culture Element Distributions, XXIII: Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," *University of California Anthropological Records* 8, no. 3 (1943): 345.

19. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 21, 1874, 280.

20. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 7, 1874, 275.

21. These visitors may have been manifestations of the figure the Deep Creek Goshute knew as *Toyanum*, or Mountain man, a spirit who could give several different kinds of power to dreamers. But Malouf's description of this figure makes this identification less likely. According to Malouf, "Typically this personage was described as being two or three feet high." Nicholson did not mention the size of Torbuka's visitors at all, instead describing the first as "having a white or rather a grey beard, and a very handsome contenance" and the visitors who came next as two personages, one "considerably taller than the other." Nicholson, 275; Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 54; Steward, "Culture Element Distributions, XXIII: Northern and Gosiute Shoshoni," 283.

22. Sven Liljeblad, "Oral Tradition: Content and Style of Verbal Arts," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1986), 650.

23. Dimick B. Huntington Journal, 1845–1859, MS 1419, folder 2, LDS Church History Library, Salt Lake City, Utah, entry for August 18, 1857, digitized as images 00010 and 00011. On Mormon efforts to draw a distinction between themselves and "Americans" in Indians' minds, and the U.S. federal government's concern about these efforts, see Brent M. Rogers, "A 'Distinction between Mormons and Americans,'" *Utah Historical Quarterly* 82, no. 4 (2014): 251–72. The Mormons also fought with the Goshutes, particularly in the early years of contact. For more on LDS-Goshute conflict, see Todd M. Compton, "Becoming a 'Messenger of Peace': Jacob Hamblin in Tooele," *Dialogue* 42, no. 1 (2009): 1–29.

24. Stanley G. Kitchen, "Historical Fire Regime and Forest Variability on Two Eastern Great Basin Fire-Sheds (USA)," *Forest Ecology and Management* 285 (December 1, 2012): 64, https://doi.org/10.1016/j.foreco.2012.08.012; Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 13–14.

25. Kitchen, "Historical Fire Regime and Forest Variability on Two Eastern Great Basin Fire-Sheds (USA)," 63–64; Scott Mensing, Stephanie Livingston, and Pat Barker, "Long-Term Fire History in Great Basin Sagebrush Reconstructed from Macroscopic Charcoal in Spring Sediments, Newark Valley, Nevada," *Western North American Naturalist* 66, no. 1 (2006): 64–77; Franco Biondi et al., "Dendroecological Testing of the Pyroclimatic Hypothesis in the Central Great Basin, Nevada, USA," *Ecosphere* 2, no. 1 (2011): 1–20; Thomas A. Minckley, Cathy Whitlock, and Patrick J. Bartlein, "Vegetation, Fire, and Climate History of the Northwestern Great Basin during the Last 14,000 Years," *Quaternary Science Reviews* 26, nos. 17–18 (2007): 2167–84; Emily K. Heyerdahl, Penelope Morgan, and James P. Riser, "Multi-Season Climate Synchronized Historical Fires in Dry Forests (1650-1900), Northern Rockies, USA," *Ecology* 89, no. 3 (2008): 705–16.

26. Nicholson, "The Lamanites," November 21, 1874, 275.

27. John W. Van Cott, *Utah Place Names: A Comprehensive Guide to the Origins of Geographic Names: A Compilation* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1990), 159; Carling I. Malouf, *The Gosiute Indians* (Salt Lake City: University of Utah Press, 1950), 30.

28. Forrest S. Cuch, *We Shall Remain: A Native History of Utah*, videorecording (KUED, 2009).

29. Jay Miller, "Numic Religion: An Overview of Power in the Great Basin of Native North America," *Anthropos* 78, no. 3/4 (1983): 344; see also Michael Hittman, "Power, Great Basin," in *American Indian Religious Traditions: An Encyclopedia* (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-CLIO, 2005), 750.

30. On the 1870 Ghost Dance, see Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 113–51. On the better known 1890 Ghost Dance, see Mooney, *The Ghost-Dance Religion and the Sioux Outbreak of 1890*; Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 152–90; Mohrbacher, "The Whole World Is Coming." On contemporary scholarly understandings of the Ghost Dance, see especially Joel W. Martin, "Before and beyond the Sioux Ghost Dance: Native American Prophetic Movements and the Study of Religion," *Journal of the American Academy of Religion* 59, no. 4 (1991): 677–701.

31. Smoak, *Ghost Dances and Identity*, 58.

32. Malouf, "The Gosiute Indians," 16.

33. James Simpson, *Report of Explorations across the Great Basin of the Territory of Utah for a Direct Wagon-route from Camp Floyd to Genoa, in Carson Valley* (1876; rpt., Reno: University of Nevada Press, 1983), 52, entry of May 9, 1859, quoted in Compton, "Becoming a 'Messenger of Peace,'" 7.

34. Jacob Hamblin, in LDS Church Journal History, September 10, 1858, quoted in Charles S. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858-1873," *Utah Historical Quarterly* 39, no. 2 (1971): 181.

35. John C. Connelly, "Hopi Social Organization," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 542; Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858–1873," 192. In contrast, anthropologist Shuichi Nagata suggests that the Mormon settlement made possible the conversion of Moenkopi to a year-round colony. *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*, *Illinois Studies in Anthropology* 6 (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), 31–33, 301–3.

36. Peterson, "The Hopis and the Mormons, 1858–1873," 193.

37. Mischa Titiev, "The Hopi Use of Kinship Terms for Expressing Sociocultural Values," *Anthropological Linguistics* 9, no. 5 (1967): 46–48.

38. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 1r.

39. Ibid., fol. 1v.

40. Emory Sekaquaptewa and Dorothy Washburn, "As a Matter of Practice ... Hopi Cosmology in Hopi Life: Some Considerations for Theory and Method in Southwestern Archaeology," *Time and Mind* 2, no. 2 (2009): 212.

41. See, e.g., Sekaquaptewa and Washburn, "As a Matter of Practice," 202.

42. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 1v.

43. Ibid., fol. 1v.

44. Ibid., fol. 2r.

45. The prophecies are in Isaiah 2:2 and Micah 4:1. No translation that I have found uses "tops" (plural), but for examples of Latter-day Saints using this phrasing, see, e.g., George J. Adams remarks, Thomas Bullock minutes, April 8, 1844; Brigham Young, Winter Quarters Council meeting, February 26, 1847; and L. Marcham, Provo School of Prophets Minutes, June 8, 1868, all in Ronald K. Esplin, "'A Place Prepared': Joseph, Brigham, and the Quest for Promised Refuge in the West," in *Window of Faith: Latter-Day Saint Perspectives on World History*, ed. Roy A. Prete (Provo, Utah: Religious Studies Center, Brigham Young University, 2005), 71–97, https://rsc.byu.edu/archived/window-faith-latter-day-saint-perspectives-world-history/place-prepared-joseph-brigham-and; and "History of the Church (Continued)," *Juvenile Instructor*, August 17, 1872, 135.

46. For elevation, see "Moenkopi, Arizona Terrain Map," Google Maps, https://www.google.com/maps/@36.1125221,-111.2303702,15z/data=!5m1!1e4. For comparison, many mountains in the Adirondacks are shorter than this plateau.

47. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2r.

48. Ibid., fol. 2r.

49. Ibid., fol. 2r.

50. Jonathan Z. Smith, *Map Is Not Territory: Studies in the History of Religions*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 265–309.

51. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 16.

52. Observers have commented on the use of humor in Hopi religious ceremonies, most especially the activities of "clowns." See, for example, Jake Page, "Spider Coming Down," *Journal of Religion and Health* 42, no. 2 (2003): 111–16; Louis A. Hieb, "Social Memory and Cultural Narrative: The Hopi Construction of a Moral Community," *Journal of the Southwest* 44, no. 1 (2002): 91–92; and John D. Loftin, "Supplication and Participation: The Distance and Relation of the Sacred in Hopi Prayer Rites," *Anthropos* 81, no. 1/3 (1986): 188.

53. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2r.

54. Maria Glowacka, Dorothy Washburn, and Justin Richland, "Nuvatukya'ovi, San Francisco Peaks: Balancing Western Economies with Native American Spiritualities," *Current Anthropology* 50, no. 4 (2009): 557.

55. Ibid., 556.

56. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fols. 2r–2v.

57. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 42.

58. Ibid., 7–8.

59. Ibid., 5.

60. Ibid., 5.

61. Edward A. Kennard, "Hopi Economy and Subsistence," in *Handbook of North American Indians* (Washington, DC: Smithsonian Institution, 1979), 555. Nagata attributes the move to year-round occupation of Moenkopi to the arrival of Mormons, who could effectively limit Navajo depredations on the otherwise vulnerable Hopi settlement. See Nagata, *Modern Transformations of Moenkopi Pueblo*, 31–33, 301–3.

62. Christensen, "An Indian Vision," fol. 2v.

63. Lyle Balenquah, "Connected by Earth: Metaphors from Hopi Tutskwa," in *Thinking like a Watershed: Voices from the West*, ed. Jack Loeffler and Celestia Loeffler (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2012), 56.

64. Ekkehart Malotki et al., eds., *Hopi Tales of Destruction* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 2.

65. Loftin, *Religion and Hopi Life*, 11; see also Marianne L. Stoller, "Birds, Feathers, and Hopi Ceremonialism," *Expedition* 33, no. 2 (1991): 37.

66. See, for example, Malouf, *The Gosiute Indians*, 73–133.

# "A night already devoid of stars": Illuminating the Violent Darkness in Kyle Baker's *Nat Turner*

**William Murray**

Kyle Baker's *Nat Turner* (2008) not only illustrates the storytelling power of graphic novels, but it also reconstructs and reimagines Nat Turner and his uprising in new and challenging ways.[1] Baker's text centers on Turner's August 1831 rebellion, in which a group of enslaved men, led by Turner, visited sixteen plantations and killed fifty-five slave owners, including women and children. [2] The rebellion struck fear in the hearts of whites across the South, and in its aftermath, at least two free black men and forty-two enslaved persons were executed on the suspicion they might have been involved in the plot.[3] Largely through the tension between the novel's pictures and words (or lack of words), Baker creates an account of Turner's life that speaks against revisionist histories and, at the same time, connects the nation's racist past to its supposedly postracial present.

*Nat Turner* primarily speaks to the United States' present by pushing back against the nation's pervading sense of individualism. The novel's focus on systemic violence and injustice reminds readers, even in an increasingly neoliberal age, they are still connected to the larger societies they coinhabit and help create. Recently, for whites in particular, racial discrimination seems to be perceived as being disconnected from historic and entrenched systems of inequality. According to 2016 data from the *Pew Research Center*, 70 percent of whites in the United States believe individual rather than institutional racism is the bigger problem when it comes to discrimination against African Americans.[4] In

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other words, most whites believe the racial ills plaguing the nation are the result of a few bad actors, usually located somewhere else.[5] Baker intervenes against this tendency to fixate on individual guilt or innocence. Instead, he uses his novel to emphasize how structural violence tends to stain and degrade everyone in the nation. Put simply, Baker makes it clear that in societies that condone and promote violence and human commodification there is no such thing as innocent, empowered individuals who watch from the sidelines. Rather, all who participate in unjust systems are enmeshed in violence done by that society—regardless of feelings about one's own individual identity.

Baker accomplishes this focus on systemic injustice by revealing how American slavery created structures of power wherein to have public agency meant engaging in the dehumanization and destruction of other human bodies. Therefore, rather than becoming preoccupied with Turner himself, as a hero or a villain, Baker focuses on how systems of power go beyond individuals and their actions. Particularly, through the images in the novel, he creates a narrative in which readers encounter a sweeping sense of trauma. He then uses the few written words that do enter into the story to illustrate how the nation has traditionally hidden from or tried to ignore the true horrors of slavery. The words Baker includes are taken almost entirely from white-authored, nineteenth-century "histories." These texts, unsurprisingly, belie much about the realities of slavery, and Baker uses his vivid and compelling artwork to color in the violence Americans so often want to ignore or explain away.

Also, by using images to counter older, written histories, Baker ties his work into a long African American literary tradition. The pictures in *Nat Turner* echo the artistic and oral practices that kept alive African memories and cultures in an America that denied black men and women the freedom to write their own stories. Baker's text, then, pushes back against the notion of "post-blackness,"[6] which as literary critic Stephanie Li puts it, "threatens to become a dangerous abdication of history."[7] In other words, if we forget the way current texts and cultural structures are connected to specific histories and systems of power, we are in danger of neglecting still-present ramifications born from those histories. African American resistance and resilience underlies the power of Baker's artwork, tying his narrative to a legacy of nonwritten expression used to preserve and share black experiences. As Li goes on to explain, post-blackness seems to deny the reality that "literary traditions emerge from a web of intertextual meaning," and "texts gain coherence by responding to the past and becoming part of a legacy that exceeds any single performance."[8] The graphic novel's unwritten language, along with Baker's evocation of Turner's life and the violence of antebellum America, places his text within a rich African American context. In doing this, Baker reminds readers, despite the impossibility of a singular history, there are still parts of the past that uniquely speak to black experience and can inform understanding of the United States' present. Revisiting the often unwritten violence inherent in slavery also allows Baker to make it clear that

readers should pay attention to African American art and how it can illuminate frequently unseen aspects of the national character.

Finally, Baker's interplay between text and image also illustrates an advantage of the graphic genre.[9] As comics scholar Coulton Waugh explains, "The special feature of [the graphic novel or comic] is that it jumps at the reader picture side first—you see the situation" and "the writing is a side explanation which the mind picks up, often without being aware of the process."[10] Baker uses this "special feature" of graphic novels to reclaim Turner's narrative from the written texts that have previously tried to define him. Instead of using this reclamation to try and present a factual account of Turner's life, however, Baker uses his artwork and the conventions of comics to remind readers that history is always a matter of perspective. The images and pictures create competing "truths," and if we were to take the words or images by themselves, we would only end up with half the story. When we consume both together, though, as graphic novels are intended to be read, we can gain access to a deeper appreciation of how a multitude of voices shape and produce history and culture.

Since narratives that include images are read, as Waugh puts it, "picture side first," readers naturally develop a certain amount of faith in Baker's drawings, but early in the novel he uses his artwork to resist this initial trust. While he certainly imbues the pictures with a truer sense of slavery's intrinsic violence than is included in the nineteenth-century texts, neither the words nor the artwork can be taken as entirely reliable—at least in the sense that the events actually happened as they are depicted. For instance, we can recognize how the artwork rejects historical realism in the narrative's opening action, when a slaver manages to lasso Turner's mother while she is diving off a cliff.[11] Baker's use of classic comic book action in this scene helps signal the book jacket's claim to "a historically accurate story" is not so much a claim for the text's factual veracity as a statement about how history is always a "story," which makes *accuracy* a relative term. After all, the white lawyer Thomas Gray also begins his 1831 account, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*,[12] with the demonstrably false claim that his words are "An authentic account of the whole insurrection."[13] Baker, then, reflects historian Hayden White's assertion that "historical narratives . . . are verbal fictions, the contents of which are as much invented as found and the forms of which have more in common with their counterparts in literature than they have with those in the sciences."[14] Put again, Baker uses the relationship between his stylized art and the "historic" texts to blur lines between fiction and history, and in this blurring, Baker calls attention to the reality that conceptions of the past are inevitably created stories or fictions, no matter who is telling the story.

While the graphic novel does much to affirm history's fictive attributes, Baker's work is more than simply an effort to frame accounts of the past as being untrue or no longer useful to the present. Instead, he makes it clear there are real consequences to the stories in which the United States invests. By drawing attention to the all-encompassing cycles of violence that were born from fic-

tions of white supremacy, Baker illustrates the costs of societal beliefs in created narratives. In fact, the scope of American violence resulting from fantasies of white, Eurocentric exceptionalism is the central theme of Baker's story. Almost every page reminds readers that the history, which helped enable slavery, had a tangible and felt human price. *Nat Turner*, therefore, reminds readers that despite the reality that history is always a story, it is, nonetheless, important that we are conscious of which stories we give power and how those narratives can have real and inherited costs, especially for historically marginalized people.

At the end of the text, Baker gives a clear example of how American histories have promoted fantasies of white innocence. In the closing pages, he includes Thomas Gray's list of whites who were killed in the insurrection, but on the opposite page, Baker also adds an image of a slaughtered African American man, whose name would not have been included as one of the "persons murdered."[15] Baker, through this bloody image of a dead black man, adds ignored violence back into the narrative and asks readers to observe a broader account of the rebellion in all its gory details. This accounting means paying attention to the countless men and women who died nameless and were left out of the record by people like Gray. When readers acknowledge the full body count, it becomes apparent the blood Turner spilt was a small drop in an ocean of slaveholding, white-initiated violence. Witnessing the ocean of violence and Turner's response, however, leaves readers feeling somewhat sicker rather than encouraged or comforted by what they have seen. In other words, Baker does not make it easy to cheer on Turner's rebellion; instead, he asks readers to consume and take in the pain and suffering that accompanies even justified violence.

Much of the criticism already dedicated to *Nat Turner* recognizes the novel's pervasive focus on violence, but there is a wide array of reactions as to what this violence signifies. One popular response is to largely ignore Baker's more troublesome depictions and to read Turner as being cast as an exemplary and heroic figure. For instance, Michael Chaney's *Callaloo* article, "Slave Memory without Words," argues that Baker's reimagining of the rebellion allows readers to witness "Nat Turner's heroic example" and to discharge past trauma, which ultimately leads to a "recuperation of a usable history of slavery for contemporary African Americans."[16] In much the same way, Jennifer Ryan, in her chapter "Kyle Baker Retraces Black History," interprets Baker's text as being wholly celebratory of Turner. She casts Turner, according to Baker, as a martyr who works "as a central symbol of solidarity and resistance to social injustice."[17] Tim Bruno, in "Nat Turner after 9/11," also concludes that Baker, by imbuing his character with "Christological" attributes, has created another "too familiar Messiah."[18] Finally, in "Commence the Great Work," Jonathan Gray argues, "Baker clearly intends that his readers understand Turner's rebellious response to the indignities of slavery as heroic."[19] Gray, however, struggles to explain why Baker might include such graphic scenes of violence, especially against children, in his attempt to "update our cultural understanding of Turner."[20]

Like Gray, other literary scholars have recognized that Baker complicates Turner's heroic legacy, but they also stop short of coming to a clear conclusion as to why Baker might create such an ambiguous and violent Turner. For instance, Andrew Kunka concludes that Baker works "to suspend closure . . . and leave in play multiple Nat Turners."[21] Craig Fischer similarly determines that Baker's text is "incoherent," which "provokes dissent and response" from readers.[22] Both authors, though, conclude their essays before fully explaining what we are to do with multiple Nat Turners or an incoherent narrative—beyond simply recognizing that Turner was a complicated man or that history contains multiple perspectives. Therefore, while Kunka and Fischer call attention to the moral ambiguity of Baker's novel and its postmodern emphasis on multiple truths, they seem less comfortable with the full implications of the text's focus on a bloody and violent revolt, in which women and children, along with all of the novel's central characters, die.

Comics scholar and literary critic Conseula Francis comes closest to explaining why Baker might include so much violence in his novel. In her insightful chapter, "Drawing the Unspeakable," she argues that Baker's text does important work in updating conceptions of enslaved persons. Francis explains the dominant image of enslaved people is often shaped by socially acceptable slave narratives, which ignore the full humanity and rage of those who suffered in the South. She contends *Nat Turner* allows us to see "righteous anger" born from the dehumanization inherent in slavery, and therefore, we gain a better perspective on why Turner struck back as violently as he did.[23] Francis, however, also wrestles with the novel's full scope of bloodshed. While she thinks Baker "achieves exactly the right ambiguous tone in the story,"[24] Francis concludes her chapter with a series of questions rather than answers. She writes:

> How should we judge the man who lashes out violently against the system that has degraded and dehumanized him, that stole his father from him, that stole his family away? How much do we sympathize with his desire to break the system that broke him? When is violence driven by righteous anger and when does it become reckless revenge? How violent does slavery have to become before violence is a justifiably appropriate response?[25]

These are all valid questions, but they point to how (like Gray, Fischer, and Kunka) Francis is still working to come to a firm conclusion on Turner's role in the rebellion's bloodshed.

While I would certainly agree Baker's text elicits useful questions about Turner as a man, I also want to suggest that focusing on his individual morality misses an important aspect of the novel. I argue Baker, for the most part, rejects popular ideations of Turner (both in his originally depicted villainy and in his more recently created purity) in order to show how larger cultures inevitably

impact and shape individual behavior. Put more simply, Baker refuses to reconfigure Turner as someone who exists outside the devastating realities of slavery. He, instead, offers readers access to a man who has to try to survive in a society where agency and disturbing forms of violence are inextricably linked. This immersive violence generated a culture where no one truly escaped unscathed. Baker neither condemns Turner as a scapegoat nor serves him up as an uncomplicated hero. Rather, he takes a scythe to much of antebellum America, and the devastated landscape Baker creates offers few characters readers should wish to fully mimic.

Baker's rejection of antebellum society, however, does not mean he disapproves of the revolt or casts it as unnecessary. Instead, he uses Turner's rebellion to warn against all views and cultures that embrace and glorify violence. Throughout the United States' history, there is a tendency to revere those who best dominate and dehumanize other people. Whether it be George Washington's military prowess or Superman's ability to destroy his enemies, Americans love individuals who are able to overcome great odds and diminish those who stand in their way. As Frances Gateward and John Jennings point out, "the genre of the superhero is very much a white-male-dominated power fantasy,"[26] and Baker, in his novel, resists turning Nat Turner into simply another character, like the traditional superhero, who is celebrated because of his ability to commit and compel violence. Certainly, we can see how Turner could be understood as a kind of superhero. He takes on the entire institution of slavery and is able to strike a blow against an evil system. Baker, nonetheless, forces readers to reckon with the inherent horror and messiness of all violent solutions, which, in turn, compels his audience to reflect back on America's problematic conflation between heroism and the ability to devastate and kill.

Again and again in the novel, Baker demonstrates that torture and murder are always ugly and regrettable. In showing this ugliness, he frames even the best and most justifiable violence, like Turner's, as still being disturbing and hard to consume. Baker, then, echoes Martin Luther King Jr.'s call for nonviolence, and in many ways, *Nat Turner* illustrates King's claim that "the ultimate weakness of violence is that it is a descending spiral, begetting the very thing it seeks to destroy. . . . Returning violence for violence multiplies violence, adding deeper darkness to a night already devoid of stars."[27] I want to reiterate, though, that Baker's apparent rejection of violence does not mean he condemns Turner or judges the enslaved man negatively for rising up against his condition. Like King, who understood "the riot is the language of the unheard,"[28] Baker appears to recognize fighting back is sometimes the only and most appropriate option. Both King and Baker, however, also seem to posit that even necessary violence tends to produce more violence and should be mourned rather than celebrated. Violence, therefore, is cast in the novel as always being regrettable, even if it is being wielded for a just and righteous cause. Primarily through his drawings, Baker asks readers to gaze at the cyclical and destructive horror that characterized early America, and after witnessing this all-consuming violence, readers

are left with one overwhelming truth: very little of ideological worth survived the institution of slavery or the systems of violence it produced and promoted.

In order to fully grasp how *Nat Turner* demonstrates the failures and costs of violence, one must first learn to read the graphic novel with all of its complexities and layers of meaning. Baker begins educating his readers with the cover art, which contains an upraised black fist holding a bloody sword against a white moon (see Figure 1).[29] Each element of the composition offers readers

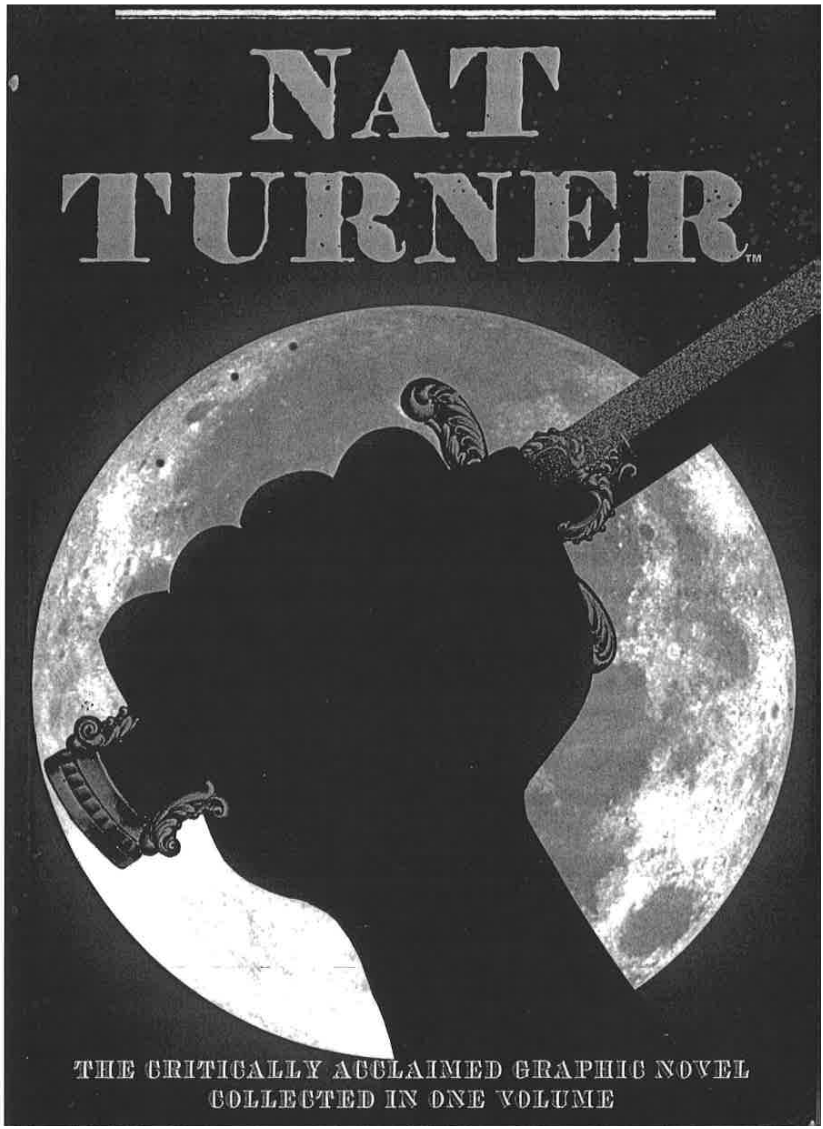


**Figure 1:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), Front Cover.

insight into how the novel will play with ideas of history and fiction. Chaney also recognizes the cover's significance, and he describes Baker's artwork as "fusing two distinct styles of representation."[30] He labels these styles as, first, cartoonish, which can be seen in the hand, and, second, photorealistic, which he claims can be seen in the moon and sword. Chaney then goes on to argue that Baker's cover "emblematizes a primary objective of the book, to bridge chasms of history and memory, fact and inference,"[31] and he concludes, "the cartoonish is what seems most alive, while such correlates of photorealism as the material evidence of the past are left to appear coldly instrumental."[32] Much of what Chaney says here is true, especially about the "coldly instrumental" moon and the way the cover speaks to the novel's ambitions, but I believe he is missing something important in that there are actually three distinct styles of art on the cover. The two that Chaney identifies (photorealism and cartoonish) describe the moon and the fist, respectively, but the sword and blood are actually rendered in their own individual way. They are drawn in a style that bridges these two extremes and resides somewhere between photorealistic and cartoonish. It is this middle style that is continued in the majority of the novel,[33] and when we look more closely at these three artistic styles, we can begin to better understand an important element of Baker's argument.

What we can see is that the moon and the hand represent two poles of history that Baker rejects in favor of his own interpretation of the past, which is represented by the sword and blood. The first version of history Baker dismisses is reflected in the moon's photorealistic surface. This large, white orb, with all of its connections to lunacy, works as a symbol of the accepted, written historical record, which had until the late 1960s vilified Turner as a lunatic and a murderer. This version of history, in which Turner was almost exclusively cast as a villain or insane, has been portrayed by society as being both like a photo (truthful) and like the moon (appearing independent in its output). In reality, however, photos are the product of the photographer, and the moon only reflects the light of another source. In much the same way, the written history Baker includes in his novel reflects only the aims and intentions of the larger white society. By using a style in his novel other than photorealism, Baker then indicates he has little use for this false light that claims to illuminate the past.

Baker, though, also uses the cover to reject a very different characterization of Turner, one that emerged in the late 1960s.[34] Most notably in William Styron's *Nat Turner: Ten Black Writers Respond* (1968), we can see how Turner was reimagined as a symbol of empowerment and virtue.[35] While the "ten black writers" provided necessary contradiction and contextualization to Styron's *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1967), their writings also largely ignored the more troublesome violence carried out during the rebellion. Baker, on the cover and throughout the novel, pushes back against sanitizing Turner's actions. As Kunka explains, "While Baker seems to reject Styron's version of Nat Turner, he does not wholly embrace the version proffered by Styron's critics, either."[36] Rather, he uses the novel to work between these two extremes, and the cartoon-

ish black fist on the cover helps us understand this refusal to use Turner as a straightforward symbol of masculine empowerment. The cartoonish style of the hand, which is a style Baker often uses but is not continued in this novel,[37] suggests that the fist, like the photorealistic moon, has no place in Baker's account of Turner's life. He discards both popular depictions of his subject, and neither the historical record that labels Turner a notorious madman nor the revisions that ignore the revolt's violence work for Baker's story. Instead, by associating the style that continues throughout the text with the sword and blood, Baker indicates his decision to face the era's violence head-on. Therefore, even before opening the book, readers are prepared to navigate between two extremes of history and to focus on the all-consuming violence that damages every aspect of antebellum America.

In the preface, Baker further sets up how his novel will steer away from other attempts at capturing Turner's life and legacy. Borrowing from the tradition of Henry James,[38] he uses his introductory remarks to teach readers how to consume and make sense of his book. The primary lesson he conveys is a warning against oversimplifying Turner and his rebellion. There is a tendency to assume authors who bring the past to life, especially in comic book form, will give readers valiant heroes to be imitated and clear villains to be condemned. Baker rejects these expectations, and when we look at the opening words, we can see Baker wants us to be suspicious of easily packaged morals and characters, even when we are considering Baker's own attempt to depict Turner and his rebellion.

Baker sets up his novel's complexity in how he talks about Turner as a model for current behavior. Late in the preface, after highlighting Turner's "superior brain," Baker draws a link between his own action of freeing himself from the publishing industry and Turner's attempt to free himself from slavery. This comparison could be read as a straightforward example of how Baker wishes readers to embrace Turner's revolutionary spirit, which is how Chaney reads it.[39] However, while Baker did gain some freedom through publishing his own work, it is also important to note his attempt at self-publishing eventually led him back to a large publisher. In fact, the edition containing the comparison is not self-published. It is published by Abrams, which is a company that produces everything from the *Diary of a Wimpy Kid* series to *Life's a Bitch and Then You Change Careers*—a far cry from romantic freedom from large publishers. Put simply, Baker's attempt to be like Turner is a short-lived one. The, as he puts it, "lovely edition you are now holding" is the result of his giving up on the notion that imitating Turner and rebelling is always a good idea.[40] In reality, Baker benefits from not fully following Turner's example, as his book becomes more "lovely" and reaches a wider audience when it is published by Abrams, one of his "all-time favorite publishers."[41] Baker's preface, then, teaches his readers that neat, easy truisms should not be trusted. Ultimately, even what comes from Baker should be carefully questioned and evaluated, and by speaking against himself in the preface, Baker prepares readers to be skepti-

cal and critical consumers of history, ready to engage with the nuances of a time period full of contradictions, falsehoods, and violence.

Baker then concludes his preface with a gesture toward the power of reading, which further indicates he wants to promote something beyond just violent rebellion. He informs readers that his ability to write and eventually publish *Nat Turner* with Abrams is the product of his "free access to reading."[42] This concluding thought, where Baker points to the importance of literacy, links the preface to the novel's very first picture, which actually precedes Baker's opening words. The image is drawn opposite the title page, and all we see is a book and a pair of eyes illuminating an otherwise dark page. By placing this image at the very beginning of the text before any words, besides the name "Nat Turner," Baker signals his version of the insurrection will advance literacy, rather than violence, as being capable of shedding light on darkness.

In other words, through the preface and image of the illuminated book, Baker warns readers against embracing the novel's nihilistic violence. Rather, he frames his text with hope for the future, a hope that he closely links to advantages accessed through education and reading. This belief in education as being a potent and dangerous tool that can be used against those in power is revisited throughout the novel. Early in the story, readers see an enslaved woman risking everything to read a few pages from a book. When she is caught, Baker shows the fear this causes white slave owners, as the woman is suspended and whipped for her transgression.[43] Later, Baker shows Turner reading through the Bible, and we see how the book opens the young man's eyes to the injustices of slavery and the promises of freedom.[44] As Baker points out early in the preface, Turner "became a leader of men because he had developed his mind by reading."[45] This ability to gain agency through education is central to the hope Baker offers, and he uses it to cut against the cynicism that could otherwise dominate the novel.

While Baker rejects the pessimism born from a belief in unending violence, his novel also does not gloss over the atrocities that led to inevitable bloodshed. Other scholars, such as Conseula Francis and Michael Chaney, have already done much to demonstrate how *Nat Turner* sheds light on the existing record's inadequacies.[46] Before moving forward, though, I want to emphasize how Baker uses the graphic form to try to capture the real and human roots of American violence. The pictures force us to contend with the physical violation of actual beings, which is often lost in texts relying solely on the written word. Certainly, there is a long legacy of historically minded writers who have tried to illuminate the visceral realities of enslavement. In joining together text and image, however, Baker asks readers to witness, in a relatively new way, the institution's consumption of men, women, and children. In the novel's opening pages, we can see a clear example of how visual art can add to what written history often leaves out. The action starts in Africa, and Baker draws a serene village where families are peacefully going about their business. Slavers, however, soon disrupt this tranquility, and over the next 25 unnarrated pages, read-

ers watch as people are trampled by horses, blown away by shotgun blasts, and Nat Turner's mother is captured, stripped, shaved, and branded.

The cumulative effect of these images is somewhat overwhelming, and by the time words enter into the narrative,[47] readers have already been bombarded with the horrors of the slave trade. Baker then uses a cold explanation from Brantz Mayer's *Captain Canot or Twenty Years of an African Slaver* (1854) to describe what has just happened to Turner's mother.[48] As Conseula Francis explains, the contrast between words and images demonstrate the importance of Baker's addition to the story and the potential power of pictures.[49] Mayer simply writes, "The head of every male and female is neatly shaved, and if the cargo belongs to several owners, each man's brand is impressed on the body of his respective negro. . . . They are entirely stripped, so that women as well as men go out of Africa as they came into it—naked."[50] The antiseptic, neat language of *Captain Canot* is placed on the page directly below an image of Turner's mother, who has a slaver's hand around her neck and a glowing razor blade pushed against her face, ready to shave and cut her (see Figure 2).[51] When readers turn the page, they again encounter Turner's mother, whom they have already cheered for while she bravely resisted capture. They stare into her eyes as she is pinned to the ground screaming while the letter W, perhaps for the whites who now claim to own her, is seared into her flesh.[52] The shaving and

**Figure 2:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), 36.

branding Baker depicts, when placed next to Mayer's brief and cold description of the same actions, illustrates how the novel's artwork adds a physical body and human face to the anonymous violence described by older, written histories.

Baker, however, complicates more than just the written historical record. As the novel continues, his artwork also turns its sights on violence hiding behind popular American mythologies. This disruption of myth is important because, like accepted histories, cultural fictions shape much of what is conceived as historically accurate or as truly authentic. Baker challenges American mythologies in several ways, but he uses his text primarily to intervene against romanticized accounts of the plantation. Few myths have captured the national imaginary as heartily as what Craig Thompson and Kelly Tian call the "Moonlight and Magnolia myth."[53] They explain that this myth frames the South as being descendant from "an idyllic society devoted to a moral code of Christian honor and virtue that opposed the greed, avarice, and lowly mercantile interests attributed to Northern industrialists."[54] In recent years, the idealized antebellum South has perhaps lost some of its status, but nonetheless, it is still reimagined and given life. We can see its continued presence not only through the sustained popularity of films like *Gone with the Wind* (1939), but also through television shows like *Hart of Dixie* (2011–2015) and *Southern Charm* (2014–2018) or films like *The Blind Side* (2009), that breathe life into older forms of Southern, white "gentility." These more recent productions, despite their gestures toward racial accord, reify versions of plantation romance by how they try to sever the link between Southern aristocracy and the racial realities that helped produce that wealth. These productions draw from the myth that noble, genteel whites can live and enjoy the luxuries of the "big house" while escaping the stain of slavery's legacy.

"Moonlight and Magnolia" productions are united by their depiction of the region as a space where racism and racists are either nonexistent or simply inconvenient distractions to an otherwise enlightened and largely white populace. This version of an unproblematic and romantic region creates space for national audiences to embrace a fantasy where the inherent dehumanization of slavery has no relevance to the wealth and harmony they enjoy. Baker, though, in a way similar to how he highlights the inadequacies of the historical record, confronts readers with the shortcomings of mythologies that disconnect wealth from the marginalized labor used to produce it. In other words, Baker employs *Nat Turner* to disrupt imagined innocence, and to do this, he characterizes his plantation as an unquestionably violent and ugly place that left little unsoiled.

Baker's focus on the South, however, also runs a risk of simply feeding into another fantasy of national innocence, where the problems of slavery and racism are funneled onto the South and safely enclosed there.[55] This imagined version of the United States tends to position slavery's legacy as belonging only to a specific region of the nation, which makes its material impact seem irrelevant to most Americans. Baker, however, by confronting the mythology

of the plantation, is in reality speaking against a national investment in Southern commodities and enslaved labor. As books such as Sven Beckert's *Empire of Cotton* (2014)[56] or the collection of essays in *Plantation Kingdom* (2016)[57] have recently explained, the entire nation is intimately linked to slavery and its profits. The United States relied on enslaved labor for its financial place in the world, and therefore, its legacies stain the entirety of the national fabric. Baker, then, by revealing the horrors of the plantation, rejects national fantasies of benign antebellum capitalism and confronts readers with the harsh realities that helped form and build the U.S. economy.

One important way Baker dismantles the plantation mythos is by taking on its most popular symbol: the romanticized icon of the Southern belle.[58] Brought to life, most notably, in Margret Mitchell's still ubiquitous *Gone with the Wind*, the Southern gentlelady became a national symbol of grace and femininity. In the novel (1936) and then film (1939), the character of Melanie Wilkes is portrayed as an unimpeachable embodiment of virtue. Her soft, delicate disposition symbolizes the mythologized beauty and serenity of the American agrarian who was being replaced by rougher and more utilitarian capitalists—like Scarlett O'Hara and Rhett Butler. Melanie and her husband Ashley, along with their bucolic home Twelve Oaks, epitomized the projected romance of a bygone age that was disappearing in the wind, and whites, in every part of the nation, mourned this passing. Baker dismantles this mythology of Southern aristocracy by illustrating how these narratives discount and erase the lives and labor of enslaved men and women who suffered to produce the luxuries those like Melanie and Ashley enjoyed. Put simply, Baker does not allow a sanitized account of slavery where violence can be swept under the large rugs of the antebellum mansion or shed onto the backs of Southerners alone. Rather, he asks readers to gaze directly at an American history where violence is manifested throughout the society and no one escapes unharmed.

In Baker's novel, there are neither Southern belles nor romantic scenes of agrarian beauty. Instead, he draws the Southern woman-of-the-house as an obese lady lying in her bed while enslaved African Americans serve her tea and take away her excrement.[59] Baker, in this image of the woman, provides readers with a window into the means by which the belle's status was attained. To drive this cost home, he places the reclined figure opposite two bloody, dismembered hands, which stain the plantation ground and further draw attention to the blood spilled for her comfort (see Figure 3).[60] These African American hands, which were cut off because an enslaved man used them to create his own cultural production (by playing a drum), not only serve as a sharp contrast to the lady's opulence, but they also illustrate the silencing of African American art and music so the myth of the plantation could endure. In this depiction, we can begin to wrestle with the costs lurking behind national investments in white myths of romance and innocence.[61]

Baker also goes on to show that the manufactured innocence, which the woman enjoys, does not actually afford any real separation or protection from

**Figure 3:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), 68.

the violence perpetuated by the plantation economy. He demonstrates that the bloodshed she participates in, even as she lies in her bed, still begets more violence, and as Simone Weil points out, violence always tends to revisit itself upon those who believe they can use it with impunity.[62] In the novel, no one is safe from the ramifications of slavery, and Baker uses the death of a white

child to illustrate how presumed innocence does not provide asylum from the violence carried out by the larger society. We first see the doomed white boy in an encounter that takes place before the insurrection. The young child smiles and waves at a large black man who is chopping wood. The enslaved man looks down at the boy, grins, and waves back—all seems peaceful and serene, and the action of the story continues.[63] We meet the boy again, though, during the rebellion as he turns to see a group approaching in the distance. The boy once again smiles, and with arms outstretched, he runs to meet the crowd of men and women. In the group is the familiar face of the black man whom the boy knows, but instead of responding with a friendly smile and a wave, the man, who is now liberated, swings his axe and decapitates the young boy.[64] This act of violence, like much of the novel, is hard to consume, but it illustrates an important point that goes beyond just acknowledging children died in the revolt. What Baker shows in these two scenes helps readers understand that infantile naivety and avoiding the truth neither excuses nor shelters individuals from the ugly repercussions of a society built on the oppression of its inhabitants.

Undoubtedly, the white child believes he is innocent and also loved by the enslaved man. However, the boy dies nonetheless, and through this scene of violence, Baker suggests even if antebellum whites hid behind a childlike belief in their own innocence, all participants related to the institution of slavery were implicated in the society's collective actions. Patricia Yaeger defines this childlike inability or unwillingness to honestly assess the region's racial reality as the "unthought known," which is "to register horrendous facts without thinking about them."[65] Yaeger goes on to describe this term, which has roots in psychology, "as a residue of childhood imprinting us with expectations about the way the world will shape itself (or fail to shape itself) around us."[66] In the full-page image of the decapitated boy, Baker rejects the idea that this self-perpetuated innocence creates any real distance from the society's violence. The boy (whether he realizes it or not) participates in a culture that degrades and dehumanizes people. As a result, he stands to suffer along with the rest of society. Therefore, while Baker acknowledges there were certainly individuals in antebellum America who clung to the myth that they were innocent or beloved by those they enslaved, he shows their involvement in slavery still made them susceptible to the violence that defines the plantation. In this boy's beheading, then, we can again see Baker calling our attention back to the ways violence seeped into every facet of the culture and how in such an environment, individual innocence or guilt becomes immaterial in the face of systems that demand an ever-increasing body count.

Readers further witness how antebellum violence damaged every aspect of society, as Baker also shows how slavery marred intraracial relationships as well as interracial ones. The ugly reality that enslaved people, at times, aligned their values with their captors is often one of the harder aspects of slavery to consume. Discussions of ways black men and women internalized ideologies of the white power structure and reinforced institutions that were used to harm

them can come uncomfortably close to victim blaming; however, avoiding this aspect of slavery omits the abhorrent ways African Americans were historically pitted against one another to benefit white society. Examples of this kind of alignment with Eurocentric ambitions are apparent in many of the early slave narratives in which, consciously or unconsciously, enslaved men and women supported the very practices and ideologies that enslaved them.[67] Baker explores this uncomfortable reality throughout the novel, and while he drives home the truth that whites were solely responsible for slavery and its atrocities, he also illustrates how the institution's inherent dehumanization extended across color lines, creating a pervading, toxic culture in which to have public agency and power meant dominating and degrading those around you.

One particularly horrific account of intraracial violence is encapsulated in a series of panels at the beginning of the novel. The scene starts with an aged man (whose hands we have already discussed) slipping off into the woods to play a tribal drum. The rich rhythmic "Boom, B-B-Boom, B-B-Boom, Boom, Boom, B-Boom" spreads throughout the pages,[68] but just as the man becomes consumed with his music, he hears something in the woods behind him. He turns as readers turn the page, and they find a shiny double-barreled shotgun pointed at the old man's head. In what follows, readers experience some of the novel's most disturbing depictions of violence. After the old man is captured, a large African American man whips the aged drummer, who has been stripped naked and is suspended by his wrists.[69] The depiction of the old man's torture is graphic. In the first panel, we can see blood dripping off the whip and collecting around his feet as women and children watch in horror, but it gets worse. Over the next three pages, the enslaved man is cut down; salt is rubbed into his wounds; his arms are pulled out of joint; and his hands are cut off. This violence is undoubtedly carried out on the orders of the white slave owner, who remains present throughout the torture; however, Baker wants to make it clear that the large black man, who is doing the whipping, the salt rubbing, and the hand chopping, is enjoying the power he has been given. We can see this enjoyment plainly as Baker draws the enslaved man with a large smile on his face while he holds up the salt to rub into the elderly man's wounds.[70]

This depiction of torture is perhaps an incomplete characterization of intraracial interaction, as Baker does not fully delve into how whites manipulated enslaved men and women to carry out these acts of violence.[71] The images, however, send readers' minds spinning in potentially productive ways. The younger enslaved man is working within the confines of his environment to maintain a semblance of agency and self-control. As a result, he supports and aids the corrupt power structure by lashing out at those who are even more marginalized. The horrific images Baker shows, therefore, again demonstrate how slavery dehumanized all who came in contact with it. They also illustrate how the institution led to multidimensional, widespread violence that cannot be measured or defined simply by looking across racial lines. To better grasp the damage done to the United States by slavery, one must look at the ways it

helped create a system wherein gaining societal empowerment meant violating another person's body. Understanding this relationship between violence and power in America is key to recognizing the import of Turner's rebellion, as Baker depicts it, in that this relationship frames how the insurrection can be necessary and heroic while also being a regrettable continuation of a damaging system.

Baker further illustrates how antebellum violence is complicated and often transcends traditional delineations of guilt and innocence by coming back, again and again, to the death of children. The white boy is neither the first nor the last child to die in the novel. In fact, the brutalization of young people plays a major role in how Baker reveals slavery's systemic destructiveness. The first child who dies is an infant thrown overboard during the Middle Passage. Readers witness a young African woman, who, similar to Sethe in Toni Morrison's *Beloved* (1987), decides to end her baby's life rather than see the child survive in slavery. The young woman seizes her infant, runs to the edge of the ship, and hurls the baby toward the open mouth of a waiting shark. The white slavers try to protect their "property," but the mother fights them off and eventually manages to free her child into death (see Figure 4).[72] Again, as Conseula Francis points out, "Baker puts us in the position of applauding something awful,"[73] but Baker makes it clear, as the novel continues, that if the mother did not act, the child would simply be devoured in another way. Loss of life and liberty are fundamental realities of slavery, and 44 pages later, Baker illustrates this

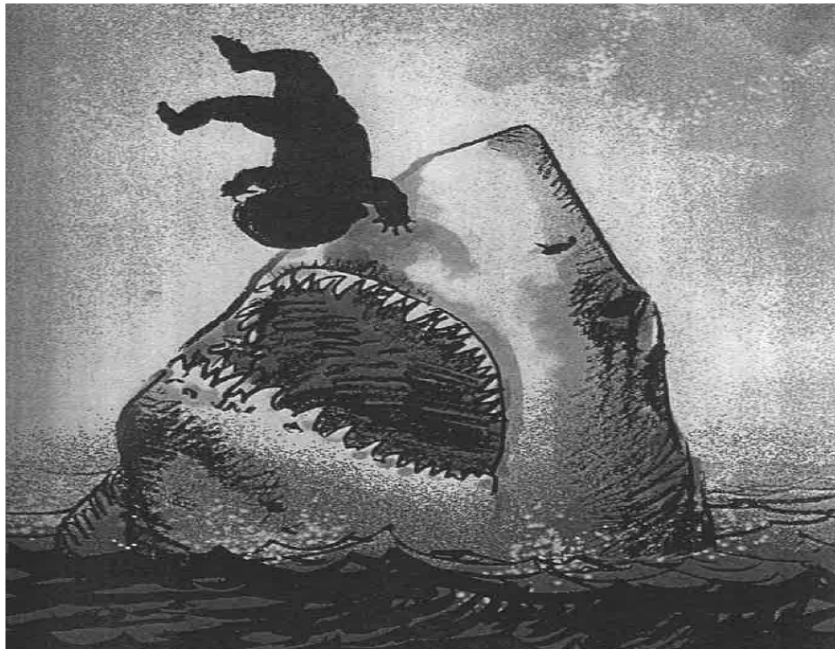

**Figure 4:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), 55.

unavoidable consumption by revisiting the image of the shark and child. Baker draws the man who buys Nat Turner's youngest child with open arms, like the open jaws of the shark, ready to consume human flesh (see Figure 5).[74] In this connection, Baker shows a pattern between enslavement and the devouring of black children.

**Figure 5:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), 99.

Later, Baker again demonstrates that this violence has eventual repercussions for whites. Not only do we see the beheaded child, but also, during the rebellion, Turner contemplates whether or not they should go back to kill an infant they had left behind. As he thinks, he reflects on the scene of his children being taken from him.[75] In the next panel, after the recalled image, readers see previously enslaved men going back and hacking apart a white, sleeping baby. Through the link between these images of devoured children, who are both black and white, readers can again recognize a white-initiated cycle of violence that starts with the slave trade and extends through the righteous anger of the rebellion.

Yet even during Turner's wholly justified rebellion, the depictions of dead children are difficult to stomach, and Baker uses these images to help illustrate the scope of antebellum violence. As we discussed earlier, the novel forces readers to confront the American "story" and reexamine the way we consume it. He uses the scene where Turner's men kill a sleeping infant, along with the depictions of other murdered children, to again ask readers to revisit the cost of violence. One of the most well-known aspects of Turner's revolt is that children died, but Baker shows how history often leaves out the devastating and cyclical violence that led to these deaths. Thomas Gray describes the scene where the men go back to kill the baby, writing simply that Turner told him, "There was a little infant sleeping in a cradle, that was forgotten, until we had left the house and gone some distance, when Henry and Will returned to kill it."[76] Baker includes Gray's words in his text, but while in both accounts a baby dies, readers of Baker's work get to see the more complete story. The death of this white infant begins with a pattern of devoured black children, and therefore, the white child's death fits into a logical cycle of violence, where blood is repaid with more blood. However, while Baker clearly demonstrates Turner's revenge is more than merely justified in the "eye for an eye" tradition, he still makes the violence an awful thing to ingest. In fact, it is hard to imagine a scenario where harming young people and babies causes anything but a negative reaction. By presenting readers with several murdered and damaged children, Baker clearly

shows how violence, even against those who may deserve it, is still ugly and unfortunate.

As readers consume more and more of the novel's bloodshed, they begin to search for some sort of redemption or a hero to stop the violence. Baker, however, initially resists their desire for relief and instead gives his audience two ineffective Christ figures who are pitted against one another in the rebellion. First, he draws the man who leads the effort to stop Turner. The white man Baker creates has the facial features and attributes of common, Western depictions of Christ. He is introduced as a gentle and kind person who cares for children and animals,[77] and upon hearing the alarm bells, he runs to protect his family with no regard for his own safety.[78] While helping to bring about the end of the insurrection, he receives an axe wound to the head and falls dead. He then, like Christ, dies adorned with a crown of blood after sacrificing himself for others. Baker, though, shows the problems with this Christ figure, as the white man dies fighting against the novel's other unsuccessful savior: Nat Turner.

Turner, too, is shown as a symbolic Christ,[79] and in the depictions of his execution, we can clearly see this parallel being drawn. As Turner is carted to the tree where he will be hung, a crowd gathers to mock him, but when he is hoisted to his death, the sky darkens, the leaves fall from their trees, and the crowd grows silent as they stare at Turner with obvious respect in their eyes.[80] This pattern, of mocking viewers, dark skies, and then a stunned and respectful audience, alludes to the depiction of the biblical crucifixion as recorded by Mark: "In the same way the chief priests and the teachers of the law mocked him. . . . At noon, darkness came over the whole land. . . . And when the centurion, who stood there in front of Jesus, saw how he died, he said, 'Surely this man was the Son of God!'"[81] However, while it is apparent that Baker means for us to see these men as giving up their lives in a manner similar to Christ, they do not actually seem to redeem anything with their sacrifice. After their deaths, America largely remained unchanged; it was and still is, in many ways, a divided nation full of the same white-initiated racial violence. We are left at the end of the rebellion still searching for some meaning or redemption from all the bloodshed and death Baker asks us to consume.

Baker, though, does not leave us without hope, and in *Nat Turner*'s closing action, he revisits the beginning of his text and provides an indication as to what we can take away from the novel's violence. In the closing panels, a white man, after stealing the concept for the cotton gin from a young enslaved woman, goes upstairs. The woman watches as the man leaves, then springs into action. She grabs from the desk a copy of *The Confessions of Nat Turner* and retreats into the darkness to read. It is important, however, that this version of the rebellion is much thicker than the short text Gray published in 1831. In fact, it appears much closer in size to Baker's more nuanced graphic novel.

In this final scene, Baker encourages readers to emulate this woman as she consumes the violence found in America's history. She risks her life and safety to bear witness to the voices and pain that traditionally have been excluded

from the nation's understanding of itself. While her (and our) engagement with antebellum America may elicit only an uncomfortable interaction with the nation's culture and violent heroes, the woman's example suggests there is real value in facing the systemic violence that hides in the nation's past. The truth is, we will never wholly comprehend the myriad ways slavery damaged the United States, but this does not mean we should stop seeking to grasp more fully the institution's wide-ranging consequences. This confrontation and reevaluation of American violence also means questioning things like the cost of Manifest Destiny and why we still honor those responsible for torturing and killing indigenous and enslaved peoples. It also means addressing how we react to the dropping of bombs or the ordering of drone strikes that claim human lives. Finally, one has to look no further than recent events in Ferguson, Sanford, New York, Baltimore, Charleston, Charlottesville, and countless other places to see the importance of reflecting on the nation's unhealed racial wounds.

Texts like Baker's help us better grapple with the context of these events and how they are rooted in systems of violence with which the United States has not yet reckoned. As a nation, we are quick to trade away the complex messiness of the past for easy heroes and villains, but Baker's novel reminds us there is real value in disturbing binaries and questioning the stories in which we invest. What this means, and we can see this illustrated in the novel's final panel, where only a book is illuminated (see Figure 6),[82] is that we should take advantage of our free access to reading so that we may locate texts that help us better see and understand our current environment. With this enhanced vision, it is hoped, we can then start chartering a better path forward, one in which we confront and mourn violence while also celebrating the power and creativity born from education and literacy.

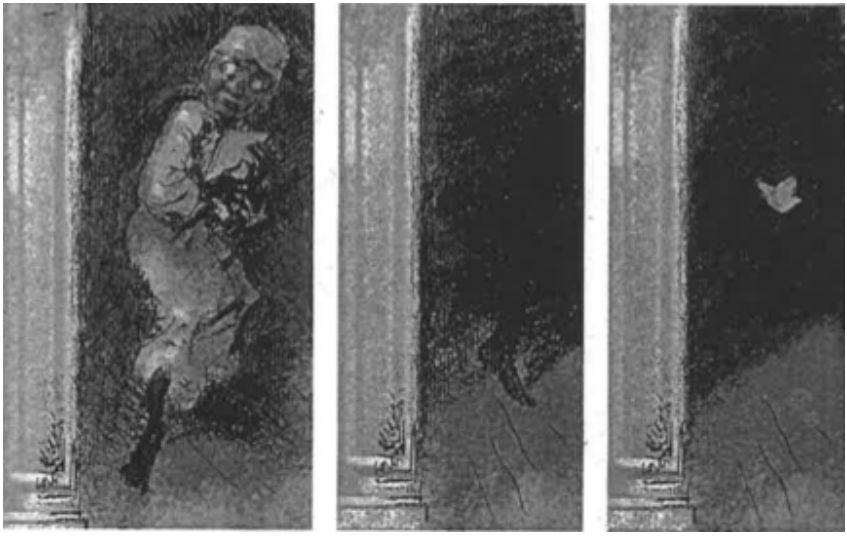

**Figure 6:** Kyle Baker. *Nat Turner*. (New York: Abrams, 2008), 200.

## Notes

1. A converted conference paper of mine dealt with some of these same ideas and was published by the *CEA Critic* in 2015, "Reimagining Terror in the Graphic Novel: Kyle Baker's *Nat Turner* and the Cultural Imagination," *The College English Association Critic* 77 (2015): 329–38.

2. The first half of Baker's *Nat Turner* was originally self-published by Baker as a miniseries, which he then collected and published as *Nat Turner: Encore Edition: Volume 1* (2005). In 2007 the second half was published under the title *Nat Turner: Revolution*. Finally, in 2008, Abrams published the two halves as a single book, simply entitled *Nat Turner*. For this paper, I use the 2008 edition, published by Abrams.

3. For a full account of the rebellion, its context, and its aftermath see David F. Allmendinger Jr.'s book *Nat Turner and the Rising in Southampton County* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2014).

4. "On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart." *Pew Research Center's Social & Demographic Trends Project*, Pew Research Center, 27 June 2016, www.pewsocialtrends.org/2016/06/27/on-views-of-race-and-inequality-blacks-and-whites-are-worlds-apart.

5. Ibid. The data also show that most whites view their own communities as not having many racial problems, leading to "only 36% of whites saying [racial discrimination] is a major reason that blacks may be struggling to get ahead, 34 percentage points lower than the share of blacks who say the same."

6. For a more complete treatment of the philosophy and reaction to "post-blackness" see Houston A. Baker and Merinda K. Simmons, ed., *The Trouble with Post-Blackness* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015).

7. Stephanie Li, "Black Literary Writers and Post-Blackness," in *The Trouble with Post-Blackness*, ed. Houston A. Baker and K. Merinda Simmons (New York: Columbia University Press, 2015), 45.

8. Ibid., 49.

9. This does not mean that comics always need an interplay between text and image, as explained by Roy T. Cook's "Do Comics Require Pictures? Or Why Batman #663 Is a Comic".

10. Colton Waugh, *The Comics* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1991),14.

11. Kyle Baker, *Nat Turner* (New York: Abrams, 2008), 28.

12. The full title of Gray's book is *The Confessions of Nat Turner, The Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, Va. As Fully and Voluntarily Made to Thomas R. Gray in The Prison Where He was Confined, and Acknowledged by Him to be Such When Read Before the Court of Southampton; With the Certificate, Under Seal of the Court Convened at Jerusalem, Nov. 5, 1831, For His Trial. Also, an Authentic Account of the Whole Insurrection, With Lists of The Whites Who Were Murdered, And of The Negroes Brought Before the Court of Southampton, And There Sentenced, &C.*

13. Thomas R. Gray, *The Confessions of Nat Turner, the Leader of the Late Insurrection in Southampton, VA* (electronic edition, *UNC*, 1999), https://docsouth.unc.edu/neh/turner/turner.html.

14. Hayden White, "The Historical Text as Literary Artifact," *Clio: A Journal of Literature, History, and the Philosophy of History*, 3, June (1974): 278.

15. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 178–79.

16. Michael A. Chaney, "Slave Memory without Words in Kyle Baker's Nat Turner," *Callaloo* 36, no. 2: 283–84.

17. Jennifer D. Ryan, "Kyle Baker Retraces Black History," in *Projecting Words, Writing Images: Intersections of the Textual and the Visual in American Cultural Practices*, ed. John R. Leo and Marek Paryż (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars, 2011), 302.

18. Tim Bruno, "Nat Turner After 9/11: Kyle Baker's *Nat Turner*," *Journal of American Studies* 50, no. 4 (2016): 951.

19. Jonathan W. Gray, "'Commence the Great Work:' The Historical Archive and Unspeakable Violence in Kyle Baker's Nat Turner," in *Afterimages of Slavery: Essays on Appearances in Recent American Films, Literature, Television and Other Media*, ed. Marlene D. Allen and Seretha D. Williams (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2012), 194.

20. Ibid., 196.

21. Andrew J. Kunka, "Intertextuality and The Historical Graphic Narrative: Kyle Baker's 'Nat Turner' and the Styron Controversy," *College Literature*, 38, no. 3 (2011):187.

22. Craig Fischer, "Provocation through Polyphony: Kyle Baker's Nat Turner," in *The Blacker the Ink: Constructions of Black Identity in Comics and Sequential Art*, ed. Frances K. Gateward and John Jennings (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 272.

23. Conseula Francis, "Drawing the Unspeakable: Kyle Baker's Slave Narrative," *Comics and the U.S. South*, ed. Brannon Costello and Qiana J. Whitted (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 2012), 131.

24. Ibid., 135.

25. Ibid., 135–36.

26. Frances K. Gateward and John Jennings, "The Sweeter the Christmas," *The Blacker the Ink: Constructions of Black Identity in Comics and Sequential Art* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2015), 5.
27. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (New York: Harper & Row, 1967), 62.
28. Martin Luther King, Jr., "The Other America," in *The Radical King*, ed. Cornel West (Beacon Press, 2015), 235–44.
29. Jennifer Ryan also calls attention to how Baker, in *Truth: Red, White, and Black* (2004), uses his cover art to signal the larger arguments taking place within the text itself (*Truth*, 69, 72, 73, 75, 79).
30. Chaney, "Slave Memory without Words," 279.
31. Ibid., 279.
32. Ibid., 280.
33. See page 152 in Baker's text for a clear example of a weapon and blood drawn in the same style as on the cover.
34. We can also see examples of authors claiming Turner as a largely unproblematic hero in Terry Bisson's and Coretta Scott King's *Nat Turner: A Slave Revolt Leader* (1989), Sharon Ewell Foster's *Resurrection* series, and most recently, in Nate Parker's film *The Birth of a Nation* (2016).
35. For a complete treatment of the relationship between Baker's and Styron's texts, see Kunka, "Intertextuality and the Historical Graphic Narrative," 168–93.
36. Ibid., 185.
37. We can see examples of Kyle Baker using a cartoonish style throughout the narrative in *Truth: Red, White, and Black* (2004) and *Birth of a Nation* (2004).
38. Baker, like James, employs the introductory remarks of his novel to "assume authority over his work both as its creator and ideal consumer, and then overtly and covertly instruct his readers how to appreciate and discriminate [his] literary art." Pearson, John H. *The Prefaces of Henry James: Framing the Modern Reader*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1997.
39. Chaney argues that this equation between Baker and his character illustrates that Turner's "heroic action is thus to be understood allegorically, typologically; it encompasses a regime of proper behaviors" ("Slave Memory Without Words," 283). As Chaney puts it later, Baker hopes "ideal readers of Turner's self-reliant literacy . . . will do something worthy of Nat Turner's heroic example," as Baker did in publishing his own novel (284). Chaney admits that there is some humor intended in Baker's equation between his and Turner's actions (284); however, in large part he reads these comments in the preface to be Baker demonstrating how those in the present can use Turner's heroic example to find their own symbolic freedom, wherever that might be located.
40. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 7.
41. Ibid., 7.
42. Ibid., 7.
43. Ibid., 74.
44. Ibid., 86–87.
45. Ibid., 7.
46. See Chaney, "Slave Memory Without Words," 279–97; *Arts & Humanities Citation Index*. Web. 8 Mar. 2015; Francis, "Drawing the Unspeakable, 113–38; Kunka, "Intertextuality and The Historical Graphic Narrative," 168–93.
47. There are some words that precede this quote, but they simply indicate a sound or a general sentiment, like a "boom" for the sound of a gun, or a "$" to indicate the slaver is talking about the monetary worth of an African woman his companion is about to murder.
48. Brantz Mayer's book *Captain Canot or Twenty Years of an African Slaver; Being an Account of His Career and Adventures on the Coast, in the Interior, on Shipboard, and in the West Indies*, recounted the adventures of a slaver named Theodore Canot. Mayer, a journalist, published it in 1854 (New York: D. Appleton) to try to persuade the United States to cease the slave trade. For more on this text and Mayer see John Albertus Kinneman, "Anthony Adverse or Theodore Canot," *Journal of Negro History* 30 (1945): 304–10.
49. Francis, "Drawing the Unspeakable," 125.
50. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 36, and Mayer, *Captain Canot,* 103.
51. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 36.
52. Ibid., 38.
53. Craig Thompson and Kelly Tian, "Reconstructing the South: How Commercial Myths Compete for Identity Value through the Ideological Shaping of Popular Memories and Counter Memories," *Journal of Consumer Research* 34, no. 5 (2008): 599.
54. Ibid., 599.
55. For more on the way the nation tends to locate its problematic racial history as solely a product of the South, see Leigh Anne Duck's *The Nation's Region: Southern Modernism, Segregation, and U.S. Nationalism* and Jennifer Rae Greeson's *Our South: Geographic Fantasy and the Rise of National Literature*.

56. Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A New History of Global Capitalism* (New York: Allen Lane, 2014).

57. Richard J. Follett, et al. *Plantation Kingdom: the American South and Its Global Commodities* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2016).

58. For more on the role of antebellum Southern women and their relationship to the myth of the Southern Belle see Catherine Clinton, *The Plantation Mistress: Woman's World in the Old South* (New York : Pantheon Books, 1982), and Thavolia Glymph, *Out of the House of Bondage: The Transformation of the Plantation Household* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 2008).

59. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 69.

60. Ibid., 68.

61. On page 195, Baker goes on to drive home this negative depiction of the Southern belle by creating a link between women from the region and the biblical Eve. Opposite a panel depicting Turner's execution, he draws a white woman taking a bite out of an apple. Baker, here, through the allusion to Eve's participation in humanity's original sin, names women as being coequal accomplices in the violence carried out in the region.

62. Simone Weil and James P. Holoka, *Simone Weil's the Iliad, or, the Poem of Force: A Critical Edition* (New York: P. Lang, 2003), 57.

63. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 108.

64. Ibid., 135.

65. Patricia Yaeger, *Dirt and Desire: Reconstructing Southern Women's Writing, 1930–1990* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), 101.

66. Ibid., 101.

67. We can see examples of this relationship to the white power structure in the grandmother in Harriet Jacobs' *Incidents in the Life of a Slave Girl*, as she aligns herself with the whites trying to keep Linda/Harriet from escaping to the North. We can see it again in Frederick Douglass's *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass,* as he aligns with his masters' ideology in belittling Sandy Jenkins as superstitious and simple when Sandy embraces African traditions, and again, we can see this alignment between an enslaved man and the white power structure, perhaps most clearly in Solomon Northup's *Twelve Years a Slave,* as Northup served eight years as a driver enforcing backbreaking labor on fellow enslaved men and women. Also, we can see a more recent example of the complex ways African Americans were pitted against one another in Edward P. Jones's *The Known World* (2003).

68. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 63.

69. Ibid., 65.

70. Ibid., 66.

71. Douglass speaks to this manipulation in his *Narrative* as he writes about how whites used the holidays "to disgust their slaves with freedom" and make them feel as if slavery was their natural and preferred condition (75).

72. Ibid., 55.

73. Francis, "Drawing the Unspeakable," 126.

74. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 99.

75. Ibid., 120–21.

76. Ibid., 120, and Gray, *The Confessions of Nat Turner*, 13.

77. For more on this white character as a Christ figure see Kunka's "Intertextuality and the Historical Graphic Narrative."

78. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 145–46.

79. For more on Turner as a Christ figure see Tim Bruno's "Nat Turner after 9/11."

80. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 192–97.

81. Mark 15:31, 15:33, 15:39, *Bible*, *New International Version*, Biblehub, 2011. Web. 18 Apr. 2015.

82. Baker, *Nat Turner*, 200.

# Pro-Slavery Appropriations and Inadvertent Agencies: The Elder(ly) "Uncle" in Plantation Fiction

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The plantation-school genre of American literature, which featured harrowing tales of the white planter class, scores of racial stereotypes, and seemingly endless defenses of enslavement, began in the early 1830s and remained popular for nearly a century. Given that the offensive racial caricatures and cringe-inducing arguments maintained by the apologist, or pro-slavery school of writers, are repugnant to the majority of modern readers and the texts themselves are derivative, tedious, and uninspiring, the genre has received little critical attention in the humanities since the time of the civil rights movement. At that time, an increasing number of scholars turned their attention to the recovery of African American histories and literature, as told or written by themselves.[1] Yet, on closer examination, acts of resistance emerge through the racist representations, specifically regarding their elder(ly) enslaved caricatures. In revealing glimpses of the real-life acts of agency they were attempting to disprove, apologist writers exposed unavoidable schisms between their aged characters as signifiers for slavery's supposed benefits and how they presented them in their pro-slavery texts.

Although enslaved and formerly enslaved people were adroit at employing oratory and song for communication, commemoration, and cultural critique, the majority were not able to read the appropriations of themselves that supported their bondage and thus were unaware and unable to answer back in writing. Coupled with the fact that, more often than not, it was young and able-bodied

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men and women who escaped North and subsequently shared their experiences, forced illiteracy surely accounted for the lack of accounts written by men and women who had survived enslavement into old age. Consequently, the relative absence of primary texts published by elder(ly) enslaved African Americans in the mid- to late nineteenth century leaves one searching for how this silenced group was depicted at the time as well as what effect such one-sided representation had on public perception and opinion. As William R. Taylor writes in *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character*, "There are many things about the history of an era that cannot be learned from its literature, but historians . . . have been too timid about searching out the things that can. Stories and novels, even bad and unskillful ones, possess an element of free fantasy which is sometimes very revealing."[2] Although these authors manipulated the lives and experiences of the elder enslaved in order to depict a carefree existence and twilight years of leisure, trauma and resistance are ubiquitous in representations of the "happy South." What these texts make plain to modern readers, if not nineteenth- or early-twentieth-century readers, is that the local color of the Deep South was haunted by racial violence to the extent that these issues could not help but permeate every attempt at description or defense. As a result, the agency of the aged enslaved materializes despite the derivative characterizations and racism to reveal certain truths about the physical and mental traumas suffered by the people on whom these caricatures were based and the often overlooked efforts they put forth to survive.

In studying the antebellum plantation fiction that fascinated northern and southern readerships, we can glean elements of the resistant and resilient lives of the elder(ly) enslaved by analyzing the many unintended implications and double meanings extant in the genre that depicted them more than any other. John Pendleton Kennedy's *Swallow Barn; or, a Sojourn in the Old Dominion* (1832) is widely regarded as the prototype for the pro-slavery plantation romance.[3] Mark Littleton, the book's narrator and cousin to the residents of a Virginia Tidewater plantation, arrives with northern ideas about the ills of slavery but leaves a southern sympathizer.[4] This blending of plantation romance with the popular travel writing genre was repeated throughout the 1850s and 1860s by numerous apologists, including "nonfiction" works by northern clergymen extolling the virtues of enslavement after brief visits to the South.[5]

As more enslaved people escaped North and disseminated their stories through abolitionist platforms in the 1840s and 1850s (e.g., meetings, pamphlets, newspapers, and full-length publications), the American literary market was inundated with both abolitionist and apologist narratives—all claiming to provide a firsthand glimpse into the "peculiar institution." Following the unparalleled success of Harriet Beecher Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, "Anti-Tom" texts, such as William Gilmore Simms's *The Sword and the Distaff*, flooded the literary scene, and most were much bolder in their racist offenses than anything that had appeared in Kennedy's *Swallow Barn* twenty years earlier.[6] Pro-slavery writers were eager to publish, no pun intended, "whitewashed"

accounts of slavery *as it really was*, offering up caricatures of Uncle Tom with one key change: unlike Stowe's robust, courageous, middle-aged character, the surrogate Toms were depicted as desexualized elderly figures relying on paternal white caretaking and charity for their survival.

After the end of the war in April 1865, the "Negro Question," or "Negro Problem," as the plans for the future of African Americans were then termed, was addressed by nearly every major pro- and anti-slavery figure of the day, including Joel Chandler Harris, Thomas Nelson Page, Harry Stillwell Edwards, Anna Julia Cooper, Booker T. Washington, W. E. B. Dubois, Charles Chesnutt, and Ida B. Wells. By donning the guise of nostalgia and preying on an American public still traumatized by war, apologists carried on the legacy of their antebellum antecedents by redeploying the "Storytelling Uncle" trope to argue that African Americans, especially the elderly, had felt happier and more secure with whites making decisions for them and determining their fates. Unfortunately, nearly everything related to America's popular culture in the nineteenth century—its literature, music, theater, toys, games, and stereograph cards—had featured unintelligent and untrustworthy caricatures of African Americans. This constant barrage of racial stereotypes surely played a part in the white public's general ambivalence toward institutionalized racism, including the dismantling of the rights of the new black citizenry, and the implementation of Jim Crow legislations that eliminated political competition from African Americans.

Analyzed alongside the freedom narratives and black-authored fiction of the nineteenth century, the once popular but relatively abandoned genre of plantation literature informs modern readers as to how antebellum southern writers articulated and expressed their fears regarding the institution of slavery and the threat of emancipation, and how they sought to quell these fears through fiction writing that further misdirected an already misinformed public. Sarah Roth's research on pro-slavery antebellum novels examines the emasculation of black males relegated to positions of servitude and childlike dependency, the latter of which became the cornerstone apologist argument for slavery as a paternalistic institution. This infantilization was complicated, however, by the forthright combativeness of David Walker's 1829 *Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World*[7] and the bloodshed of Nat Turner's 1831 Revolt—after which, as Roth's work illustrates, pro-slavery writers concentrated on disseminating the figure of the young black man as a degenerate brute.[8] The subgenre of "Savage Slave" fiction published throughout the 1830s played on the fears of the American public following Turner's Revolt by portraying black "savagery, carefully concealed from whites most of the time," but which "could erupt without warning in disturbing episodes of violence."[9] The bold threats made against slaveholders that appeared in Walker's *Appeal* and, later in Martin Delany's *Blake; or the Huts of America* (1859), chronicled the angst of black men in such a way that would not be seen again until the late nineteenth century, when authors such as Charles Chesnutt reintegrated the subject back into mainstream American literature.[10]

Pro-slavery fiction writers positioned enslaved "Uncles" as both old men and children, with supposedly inferior intellects and faithful demeanors that made them ideal companions and entertainers for white youth. Whereas pro-slavery depictions of aged "Aunts" are starkly different in the antebellum period from those in the postbellum—a reflection of the changing interactions between whites and elder black women following emancipation—the trope of the "Storytelling Uncle" was apparently successful enough in both the pre- and the postwar periods that it not only was maintained but also remained highly popular in American literature and popular entertainment from the 1830s through the 1940s. Consequently, the orality of elder black men was appropriated for well over a century as a symbol of their alleged ineptitude to provide for and take care of themselves and their families. This perceived incompetence did not, however, preclude slaveholders from relying on elder black men to safeguard the well-being of their own children; thus, the "Storytelling Uncle" proved a thinly veiled attempt to suppress and discredit a wholly capable but nevertheless degraded group of men.[11]

After the Civil War, apologist writers *did* adapt their literary stereotypes of aged black females, yet the changes were merely a new, much crueler means of silencing their "Aunt" characters. In antebellum fiction, pro-slavery writers had restricted both the mobility and the orality of black women in their works through the "Deathbed Aunty" trope, which confined the old women to their cabin deathbeds and limited their speaking subjects to Christian conversions, serving their "white families," and, in the majority of examples, of having nursed white children at their breasts. Since there was no longer a need to argue the contentedness of elderly "Aunties" following emancipation, apologist fiction writers decisively killed off their frail, beloved old nurses and replaced them with mentally and spiritually broken outcasts. Passing off the psychological aftereffects of chattel slavery as Deep South local color, postbellum apologists employed the "Distracted Aunty" trope to further diminish the speaking power and dismiss the traumas of black women in the minds of nineteenth-century readers.

Narratives defending enslavement consistently manipulated the experiences of black elders for sociopolitical and economic gain, misappropriating their orality to eradicate the notion of *believable* testimony by African Americans in the country's literature and collective memory. Approached with an eye toward subtle acts of subversion, however, a pattern emerges among apologist caricatures of the aged enslaved wherein their "happy" fictions begin to blur with tragic realities. Pro-slavery writers did not consider their black subjects as equally human, and incorporating suffering slaves as specimens[12] of local color in their plantation romances allowed them to repeatedly expose their readers to the racial violence they were accustomed to. Because fans literally bought into the plantation myth by continually purchasing apologist works, many readers surely failed to recognize that the genre consistently revealed the extent

to which the barbarities of chattel slavery had affected conceptualizations of normalcy both within the South and well beyond its borders.

The pro-slavery texts examined here are formulaic in their attempts to reinforce the notions of racial superiority and sexual dominance held by young and middle-aged white men—the authors, narrators, and a substantial readership of such works—by making *old* black men a major focus of their stories. Plantation-school writers worked under the widely held assumption that white masculinity was under constant attack and apparently believed that the most effective means of reinforcing the collective status of their peer group was to represent black males as dependent, effeminate, eccentric, and frail. However, employing the aged "Uncle" trope to suppress black agency and diminish the concept of black masculinity did not result in the social and racial harmony depicted in apologist works. On the contrary, a large part of the Civil War and postbellum-era public—in both the North and the South—became convinced that any black man who did not meet the parameters of the simplistic, jolly, elderly stereotype was likely a deviant or rebel whose words, actions, and passions must be suppressed at all costs. The result in positioning all nonelderly black men as direct threats to the age-old security of whiteness was a damning rhetorical move that had—and continues to have—deadly consequences for black men and boys throughout America.

## Subtle Subversions in the Antebellum "Uncle"

John Pendleton Kennedy's early plantation romance *Swallow Barn* (1832) begins with the narrator's "Introductory Epistle" to a friend, wherein he provides context for the narrative that follows. Meant to draw readers into the "reality" of the author's representations through his (alleged) personal letters, the epistolary motif also serves to privilege literacy over oral testimony and promotes penned adaptations over the voices of experience. As Heather Tirado Gilligan asserts, "Unlike the literature of abolition, the novel offered readers a doubly authenticated narrative; it gave not just the eyewitness testimony of *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and the slave narratives, but testimony that was both eyewitnessed and told from the point of view of an outsider who is persuaded to ideological transformation by the social scene before him."[13] This tension between the written and the spoken word reflects the disparate lives of young, white, educated authors and their narrators and the old, black, uneducated people whose stories and traumas they stole and perverted as fodder for pro-slavery texts.

Although southern literary reactions to Walker and Turner began with the adoption of the "Savage Slave" trope in 1835, the timing of the 1832 publication of *Swallow Barn* is significant, as it followed on the heels of Nat Turner's Revolt, which had taken place the previous year.[14] Despite the intense panic aroused by the uprising, Kennedy's novel includes a rebellious and heroic young slave named Abe, who is shockingly *not* depicted as a bloodthirsty black

villain. As literary historian Jean Fagan Yellin notes, "It is strange that in the first important book to celebrate the antebellum South, the closest approximation to a true hero is a rebellious slave."[15] Indeed, *Swallow Barn* might very well be the *first* and *last* instance in which a "rebellious" male slave—or, indeed, any young-to-middle-aged slave—is positioned as a hero (or a character of any significance) within a pro-slavery work.

Littleton, the novel's narrator, establishes early on that the events he is recounting took place in 1829, two years prior to the slave rebellion that shocked the country and intensified the fears and paranoia of southern slaveholders. As Littleton writes, Abe had "molested the peace of the neighbourhood by continual broils" and "was frequently detected in acts of depredation upon the adjoining farms."[16] After nearly being lynched, Abe was sent to work as a seaman on the Chesapeake. Once free from the restrictions of the plantation, he thrived and achieved a name for himself, thus achieving the freedom that Frederick Douglass covets in his soliloquy about the boats on Chesapeake Bay, which are "loosed from your moorings, and are free" and "move merrily before the gentle gale . . . freedom's swift-winged angels, that fly round the world."[17] Prior to Abe's being sent away, Littleton explains how the enslaved are reluctant to leave their birthplaces because of "a strong attachment to the places connected with their earlier associations,—what in phrenology is called inhabitiveness," which he believes is the result of "the pride of remaining in one family of masters, and of being transmitted to its posterity with all their own generations."[18] Strangely, Kennedy's characterization of Abe disproves this pseudoscience both through his initial rebellions and through his success on leaving the plantation.

Although Kennedy devotes ample space to Abe's story, most future apologists ceased including any admirable traits in their young, black, male characters. Shifting the collective focus to superannuated slaves, pro-slavery writers depicted the elderly as nonthreatening to both whiteness and masculine authority—easily manipulated spokespeople for the system that denied them personhood. This literary turn enabled apologist writers to effectively erase young African Americans, particularly men, from their literary genre, and with them, the passions they maintained were inextricably tied to black youth. And yet, despite the alleged superiority of youth over old age and the written over the spoken word, one of Kennedy's central characters, an old groom named Carey who is also the resident minstrel at Swallow Barn, proves a worthy adversary against his supposed betters. Carey is (in)famously combative, and his behavior pushes the boundaries of what would have been considered acceptable, even for an elder. However, in the paternalistic, feudal world that Kennedy creates at Swallow Barn, it is clear that Carey need not worry about the cruel punishments suffered by millions of enslaved people in the real world.[19]

Carey regularly argues with the plantation's steward, Meriwether, over "the affairs of the stable, [and] in such a sagacious strain of equal debate, that it would puzzle a spectator to tell which was the leading member in the council."[20] Carey asserts his superior knowledge of the subject and then scolds Meriwether

for challenging him. The old man rightfully contends that his decades of first-hand experience with the horses means he knows much more than the young man, who merely owns them. Once Carey plays the "I bounced you on my knee" card, Meriwether admits defeat and, walking away, attempts to save face with Littleton by saying, "'a faithful old cur, too, that licks my hand out of pure honesty; he has not many years left, and it does no harm to humour him!'"[21] Thus, Meriwether maintains Carey's faithfulness while admitting that the only way to "keep him" is to keep him happy by listening to and believing him and by staying out of his way. To avoid conflict with the old man, he appropriates Carey's assertiveness and repackages it as benevolence on his part to maintain the upper hand. Although Kennedy acknowledges the wisdom of the old slave, Carey's ability to openly declare his venerability and defend his expertise without fear of violent reprisal is indeed the stuff of fiction.

Meriwether's nonreaction to Carey's claims of authority is the exact opposite of what Frederick Douglass describes in his 1845 *Narrative* as the cruel and fickle temperament of Colonel Lloyd, who delights in the physical torture of his grooms, old Barney and young Barney. Unlike the fictional Frank Meriwether, "Colonel Lloyd could not brook any contradiction from a slave. When he spoke, a slave must stand, listen, and tremble."[22] Whereas Kennedy's character regularly challenges white men without rebuke, in reality, Lloyd punished his two grooms mercilessly and without impunity for a litany of "the slightest inattentions" to his horses, for which "no excuse could shield them."[23] Not only were old and young Barney prohibited from speaking in their own defense, but they also received much harsher punishment if they did. Douglass lists the offenses charged against them at length, stating it was not unusual for Lloyd to whip old Barney, "at fifty or sixty years of age,"[24] thirty or more lashes at a time. Additionally, since the two Barneys were father and son, their mutual inability to help the other throughout years of physical and mental abuse would have resulted in a constant cycle of violent emasculation.

Littleton further documents Carey's equine expertise in *Volume II*, when Meriwether takes him to see the horses at pasture and proceeds to brag about their pure and noble blood. Carey quickly steps in and takes full ownership of the thoroughbreds, whom he calls his "children," naming and explaining their prestigious lineage, to which Meriwether responds by calling him a "'true herald.'"[25] In this feudal comparison, Meriwether supposes himself the king and Carey his royal mouthpiece and keeper of family history. This chivalric sentimentalism obfuscates the existing racial power structures with a seeming camaraderie between owner and slave. Although the character of Meriwether repeatedly attempts to minimize Carey's assertions of superiority in relation to one of the more costly and valuable ventures on the plantation, Kennedy's desire to mimic the popular feudalism of Walter Scott leads him to inadvertently highlight the superior skills and intelligence of a black slave over a white gentleman.[26]

As stated previously, apologist writers began eschewing younger enslaved characters after Nat Turner's 1831 Revolt and the 1832 publication of *Swallow Barn*, and in the literary backlash that followed *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in 1852, it is a rarity to find any black male character of note under age fifty. Representing the aged enslaved as little more than comedic, loyal, gray-haired children in need of white caretaking became the go-to apologist strategy for infantilizing all black peoples, and it was highly effective in influencing public opinion. If blacks were perceived as physically dangerous or sexually threatening, pro-slavery caricatures became increasingly older and more docile to suggest absolute servility. If religious readers questioned the morality of slaveholding, dying African "Aunts" recited Bible passages and thanked God that enslavement was their path to spiritual salvation. If African Americans proved their intellectual equality to whites in the public sphere, apologist caricatures were imbued with thicker dialects, increased shows of ineptitude, and more restrictive ties to the slave cabin. Simply put, the nature of pro-slavery literature was highly defensive, as evidenced by the multiple waves of refutations and reinterpretations intended to guard against abolitionist indictments.

Although apologists often acknowledged the responsibilities and accountability that the aged enslaved were subject to, they nevertheless managed to convince themselves that the black race was completely dependent on and thankful for white paternalism. One such author was William Gilmore Simms, a South Carolinian with a prolific literary career and an especially provocative (i.e., highly disturbing) perspective on master-slave "relationships." Simms's 1852 *The Sword and the Distaff: Or, "Fair, Fat, and Forty," A Story of the South, at the Close of the Revolution*[27] was part of the wave of southern fiction published in response to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, although, according to Joseph V. Ridgely, Simms tried to avoid alienating northern readers with "too blatant a defense" of slavery, as in other anti-Tom novels.[28] In choosing colonial America as his setting, Simms circumvented much of the traditional plantation fiction content, yet the novel nevertheless stands as a shocking example of the lengths to which apologists went to persuade northern and southern readers that those enslaved preferred bondage to freedom.

As the title relates, Simms's novel takes place at the end of the Revolutionary War, but the interactions between the corpulent, debt-ridden planter's son, Porgy, and his old slave Tom (Porgy's attendant and his regiment's cook) are very much concerned with anxieties about the tenuous future of slavery in the South. As in many pro- and anti-slavery texts, the subject of selling/collecting slaves as payment for a profligate planter's outstanding debts arises in relation to Porgy, who claims of his favorite slave, "'I love Tom. Tom is virtually a free man. It's true, being a debtor, I cannot confer his freedom upon him. . . . He shall never fall into the hands of a scamp. I'll sacrifice him as a burnt offering for my sins and his own. Tom, I'm thinking, would rather die my slave, than live a thousand years under another owner.'"[29] Because Porgy's debt is worth more than the sale of all of his slaves and his mortgaged plantation combined,

he knows Tom is liable to be taken as payment toward the remaining debt, yet he goes on to say that as long as he is able to eat, Tom will be the one to cook for him. Porgy continues to assert that, even if he loses everything else, as long as Tom remains, "'it is still possible for me to live.'"[30] Porgy's statement that he would die without Tom (and not the other way around) illustrates the dependency of slaveholders on those they claimed were in every way inferior to themselves.

When Tom is complimented on his cooking, he mentions an acquaintance of Porgy's whom he proudly claims would do nearly anything to steal him away. Tom's boast prompts an impassioned and disturbing speech in which Porgy reiterates his earlier promises/threats, making the additional vows: "'I will neither give you, nor sell you, nor suffer you to be taken from me in any way. . . . Nothing but Death shall ever part us, Tom, and even Death shall not if I can help it. When I die, you shall be buried with me. We have fought and fed too long together, Tom, and I trust we love each other quite too well, to submit to separation.'"[31] Porgy's insistence that they remain side by side in life *and* interred together in death has queer connotations and goes well beyond the "normal" same-sex parameters of the owner/slave "relationship."[32] Although it is unmistakable that he finds Tom's services invaluable, to what extent he *values him* is less clear. Is it as an attentive subservient? A lifelong companion? A lover? Tom is already a feminized character, and Porgy's morbid sexual aggressiveness is all-consuming.[33] Nothing will appease him but hearty consent from Tom that he desires nothing more than to be buried (in the same coffin?) together. Porgy is unyielding in his demands of Tom, and his belief in his own power and influence are palpable when he declares,

> Yes, Tom! you shall never leave me. I will put a brace of bullets through your abdomen, Tom, sooner than lose you! But, it may be, that I shall not have the opportunity. They may take advantage of my absence—they may *steal* you away—coming on you by surprise! If they should do so, Tom, I rely upon you, to put *yourself* to death, sooner than abandon me, and become the slave of another. Kill yourself, Tom, rather than let them carry you off. Put your knife into your ribs, any where, three inches deep, and you will effectually baffle the blood-hounds![34]

The romantic language Porgy uses to try to convince Tom to murder himself rather than be taken is more than a slaveholder demanding obedience from a slave; it is one man pleading for another to declare that his love, loyalty, and subservience extend into the afterlife.[35] For Tom to comply with his owner's unusual demands would result in Porgy essentially owning the old man "body and soul," a matter that held great significance for the enslaved, as evidenced by the common use of the fearful phrase in both freedom narratives and other abo-

litionist works. Porgy, like many of Simms's readers, believes that his old slave is utterly devoted to him, yet Tom, the supposedly faithful caricature, remains strategically silent and refuses to give his consent.[36]

In Porgy's ideal scenario of their death, he dies first, and Tom, like a Shakespearean lover, kills himself rather than live without his mate. Believing that their bond is strong enough to last beyond death, Porgy's jealous control over the man he purports to love prevents him from even considering manumission. In rejecting any scenario in which Tom is not by his side for eternity, Porgy ensures that Tom stays in what Porgy believes is his "proper place." Unlike Frank Meriwether's theory of inhabitiveness in *Swallow Barn*, "Simms understood social and religious development to be contingent upon a people having a permanent home and believed that African Americans were natural-born wanderers who would establish a permanent location only when forced."[37] Porgy indeed forces Tom into "a permanent location" by discounting any possibility of separation during their respective lifetimes; however, to require this permanency in death amounts to nothing short of obsession. Tom, less than thrilled at the idea of committing suicide, asserts, "'Wha'! me, maussa! kill mese'f! . . . Nebber, in dis worl [world] maussa!'"[38] Porgy's infatuation leads him to challenge Tom's manhood although paradoxically, through queer appeals, declaring, "'I thought you were more of a man—that you had more affection for me! Is it possible that you could wish to live, if separated from me? Impossible, Tom! I will never believe it. No, boy, you shall never leave me.'"[39] Although Porgy is aggressive in his attempts to emasculate Tom, his pleas are submissive. In reality, Porgy, like many slaveholders, relies on forced labor for nearly everything. Unable to complete the most basic tasks, Porgy cannot function on his own. Without Tom, Porgy is sedentary, incompetent, childlike in his tantrums, and no model of masculinity. Rather, Porgy *needs* Tom to sacrifice all opportunities of a better life—or any life—to validate his own vanity and sense of self-worth and to allow him to situate himself as the dominant one of the two men.

In order to wholly convince Tom that there is no escaping his fate and that the enslaved man must remain his devoted servant in the afterlife, Porgy uses the stereotype of slave superstition against Tom, who is beyond frightened: "'If you are not prepared to bury yourself in the same grave with me when I die, I shall be with you in spirit, if not in flesh; and I shall make you cook for me as now.'"[40] Porgy's threat that nothing, not even death, will free Tom from the master-slave power dynamic he is subject to is pure monomania. Furthermore, what he describes is a domestic partnership wherein Tom is posited as a wifely figure, expected to take care of Porgy indefinitely. Although Porgy's obsession might be due to Tom's culinary skills and his own massive appetite, it is evident from his constant attestations that he not only expects but also yearns for Tom's utter submissiveness. Porgy makes it clear that his greatest fear is to be without Tom, whom he speaks of as his temporal partner and spiritual savior, exhibiting the latter when he asserts, "'I'll sacrifice him as a burnt offering for my sins and his own.'"[41] The desire of white men to "master" black bodies

is a recurring theme throughout pro-slavery and abolitionist literature, yet the morbid depths of Porgy's obsession with Tom go far beyond any other anti-Tom novels. Simms's white protagonist is both maniacal and deviant, and Porgy's vacillation between anger and supplication is textbook behavior for what we now identify as psychological domestic abuse. Regardless, Tom never agrees to kill himself or to be buried with the man who so adamantly demands it, again demonstrating the slippage between the apparent purpose of the character and what Simms makes—or does not make—him say.[42]

As a white man, Porgy can threaten Tom into *acting* like he loves him, but he cannot guarantee that he will remain faithful—the possibility of which plagues the security of his white privilege. Tom maintains his faithfulness in serving Porgy but never agrees to take his own life or be buried with him. Thus, if Simms's character is intended to prove the love the enslaved had for their owners and the necessity of keeping them close for "their own good," he missed the mark. What *is* clear, both from Porgy's obsession and from Tom's silence, is that the slave is not the one in need of a caretaker—literally, Porgy cannot dress himself. Instead, these scenes from *The Sword and the Distaff* illustrate an absurd dependency by whites on slave labor for anything and everything in daily life as well as the tendency to presume that the aged enslaved, having given their blood, sweat, tears, and children to the plantation system their entire lives, had no living left to do. Simms's depiction of Porgy's utter reliance on Tom not only disproves the much-touted "cradle to grave" policy of pro-slavery advocates but also demonstrates that nothing—not old age and apparently not even death—exempted the enslaved from forced labor, intimidation, and abuse.

As war between the North and South increased, slaveholders felt their way of life and pocketbooks continually threatened. Afraid of being reduced to the childlike, submissive position ascribed to blacks via paternalism, apologists devised elderly enslaved caricatures to contrast with the youth and vitality of their white characters and to act as literary spokespeople for the institution. Edward A. Pollard was a southern journalist and writer whose works focused on the politics of slavery, the nationwide advantages of reopening the slave trade, and the state of the Confederacy and its leaders during and after the Civil War. Pollard peoples his book *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South* (1859) with the elderly enslaved.[43] All the letters that make up the work are addressed to a "Mr. C," or David M. Clarkson, Esq. of Newburgh, New York, whose beliefs on the institution purportedly contrast with the author's.[44] None of Mr. C's letters are included, allowing the collection to function as one sustained argument by Pollard, interjected with, but hardly interrupted by, the unseen objections of Clarkson. In the first letter of the collection (which he admits he plans to publish), Pollard explains that his intent is to provide "sketches, which may amuse you, may correct the false views of others, derived, as they chiefly are, from the libels of Northern spies, who live or travel here in disguise."[45] In providing his sketches of "happy" slaves, Pollard forgoes characterizing the young and middle-aged and focuses solely on the elderly:

Uncle George (also called "Old Bones") and his wife, Aunt Belinda, Uncle Jeamus (or Jimboo), Pompey (a "Guinea negro"), Aunt Judy, Uncle Nash, Aunt Marie, and Uncle Junk.

Knowing that the racial power structure forced the enslaved to stifle their opinions and beliefs in order to comply with whites—what bell hooks describes as "the capacity to mask feelings and lie" that serves as "a useful survival skill for black folks"—apologists employed the allegedly innocuous elderly slave population to argue that whites families and their slaves "loved" each other.[46] Pollard's collection of letters focuses mainly on the aged enslaved men and women he supposedly knew over a lifetime spent in the South. Although "Diamonds" in the title refers to cultural gems "Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South," it is also suggestive of the monetary worth of those represented as well as the longevity of his aged subjects. That any person could have lived to be seventy or eighty years old under the yoke of enslavement suggests immense physical and mental fortitude and/or creativity in acting the dehumanizing parts demanded daily. However, to the authors who depicted the aged-slave population as representative of sincere faithfulness and natural (racial) resilience and fortitude, such adaptive strategies were unlooked for and therefore often went unrecognized.

Pollard's *Black Diamonds* is in many ways typical of apologist literature at the time, particularly regarding the "scenes of slave life" he depicts and his focus on the aged enslaved as the primary support for his pro-slavery arguments.[47] Never one to miss an opportunity to reiterate his love for his family's elderly slaves, Pollard claims he "was trained in an affectionate respect for the old slaves on the plantation" and "was permitted to visit their cabins, and to carry them kind words and presents."[48] He describes Uncle George, the Pollard family's head gardener, as one who had "grown old gently," who "had never seen any hard service," and who, "with that regard commonly exhibited toward the slave when stricken with age," "had every attention paid him in the evening of his life."[49] Despite the great lengths Pollard's family supposedly took to care for George in his old age, the author first introduces him as "a very genteel beggar" who "has the ugly habit of secretly waylaying [visitors], and begging them to 'remember' him."[50] In Letter II, the author writes that once, after returning home after several years' absence, George fell to his knees and held fast to his legs to prevent him from leaving. Ostensibly overwhelmed by the emotional recollection of this act, Pollard continues, "This poor old man was 'a slave,' and yet he had a place in my heart. . . . Miserable abolitionists! You prate of brotherly love and humanity. If you or any man had dared to hurt a hair of this slave, I could have trampled you into the dust."[51] Pollard uses George's advanced age to substantiate the presumed helplessness of the enslaved against the predatory nature of abolitionists and to suggest (ironically) that black elders faced physical harm at their hands.

Antebellum apologist fiction and nonfiction consistently depicted enslavement as a patriarchal system that provided and cared for its "workers" from

"cradle to grave," or from birth until death. For many African Americans who grew old within the system of chattel slavery, there was an expectation, if not a spoken or legal understanding, that they would be cared for after lifetimes of forced labor and after seeing their children sold away to fund the livelihoods of their owners and their descendants. Both southerners and northerners viewed this unofficial policy of caregiving as an act of selfless mercy on the part of slaveholders, as it cost money to support older slaves who were no longer contributing to the plantation economy as they had formerly. The pro-slavery authors who promoted this paternalism crafted their southern settings around depictions and assertions of black contentment and even gratitude, where their enslaved characters were described as rarely sold, rarely beaten, always loved, and happily housed and fed long after they had ceased to be "valuable" members of the plantation labor force. The latter of these—the notion of security in old age—surely struck a chord with many nineteenth-century Americans anxious about their own physical or mental decline and fearful of the uncertainties of old age in a time before Social Security and twentieth-century commitments to the welfare state. As the existence of antebellum anti-manumission laws demonstrates, however, this was not always the case.[52] Many elderly enslaved men and women found themselves turned away from the only homes they had ever known—forced into reliance on friends and neighbors for shelter, sustenance, and care in their old age.[53]

For all his attestations that the aged enslaved men and women he knew were living in comparative leisure and luxury, Pollard contradicts this in Letter VII, in which he tells the story of Nash, "the old black patriarch" who "fell in harness, and died with on [*sic*; no] master but Jesus to relieve the last mysterious agonies of his death."[54] Pollard wistfully recalls "the excitement of the search for Nash, and the shock to my heart, of the discovery, in the bright morning, of the corpse lying among the thick undergrowth, and in the whortleberry bushes of the wood."[55] Given Pollard's description of Uncle George's "retirement," Nash likewise should have been excused from field labor, and yet he "fell in harness" the same as any animal worked to death. Thus, despite the professed insights of Pollard and other pro-slavery advocates, the deadly realities of the system are clearly evident in their own narratives. Although some slaveholders realized it was counterproductive to cripple their assets and workforce, it nevertheless remains that others did not care and reveled in their cruelty. Certainly, the argument that old slaves were generally "retired" from hard labor is disproved by Pollard's own inclusion of the circumstances of Nash's death. The truth is that Nash dies alone in a far-off field where he spent his life enriching his owners and their estates—*not* in the relative comfort of a fire-lit cabin like the "Deathbed Aunty" depicted in *Black Diamonds* and numerous other apologist novels.

Although Pollard writes of several elder(ly) slaves, his narrative of Uncle Junk, a storyteller supposedly unaffected by his position as the property of another, is the most prolonged and in depth. And yet, on closer inspection, the

character contradicts the author's apparent aims, as his wild stories and little white lies prove a clever form of sedition and show him to be the opposite of a man tempered by time into accepting his lowly position. Letter IX gives a detailed account of Junk, a "most distinguished palavarer [*sic*], romancer, diplomat, and ultimately a cobbler of old shoes."[56] According to Pollard, "Junk had not always been a cobbler. To believe his own narrative, he had been a circus-rider, an alligator hunter, an attaché of a foreign legation, and a murderer, stained with the blood of innumerable Frenchmen, with whom he had quarreled when on his European tour."[57] As Pollard explains, Junk's owner had once intended to take him to Europe but left him home due to mounting fears that abolitionists might persuade him to run away. Pollard intended Junk's imagined experiences killing white men—because they were *French* men—to act as proof of his loyalty, yet it actually suggests more about the selective listening of whites than it does the supposed absurdity of an old slave's speech.

Apologist writers claimed that living in or even briefly visiting the South provided them with insights regarding the inner workings of enslavement and the "true nature" and/or character of the black race in general, yet many freedom narratives reference the many ways in which African Americans *performed* the racial expectations of whites as a means of survival—often through orality. Henry Louis Gates Jr.'s theory of "Signifyin(g),"[58] or the performing of an ascribed racialized identity, positions the black speaker within the contextual confines of enslavement as one who employs the rhetorical techniques of a trickster to simultaneously persuade and mislead the intended audience. Signifyin(g), or performing blackness in ways that seemed to validate notions of white racial superiority, helped the enslaved to survive by masking their anger and agency. Although Pollard's characterization of Junk is meant to demonstrate the tendency of aged "Uncles" to fabricate stories and humorously inflate their own importance, he instead provides an example of Signifyin(g) in which an old slave is able to publicly brag about killing white men by playing into the vanity and nationalism of white southerners. Furthermore, Pollard's narrative inadvertently highlights the importance of oral culture within the enslaved community, both as a momentary distraction from the drudgeries of bondage and as a coping mechanism through which African Americans reimagined their world.

Junk performs the role of plantation storyteller, and so his is a cultural performance, a "social process by which actors . . . display for others the meaning of their social situation," a "meaning that they, as social actors, consciously or unconsciously wish to have others believe."[59] By and large, the members of the enslaved community venerate Junk, defend him, and "crowd around him on every possible occasion, as he dispensed the eventful experiences of his pilgrimage."[60] Despite a few detractors, Junk is esteemed because he does for his fellow slaves what few can: he provides them with what Joel Chandler Harris later called a "laughin'-place"—a suggestion for white children in Harris's context but a necessity for the enslaved, as it provided momentary escapes from the unmitigated miseries of their reality.[61] Pollard's inclusion of Junk's wild

tales was likely meant to function within the pro-slavery narrative as a means of propagating the unreliability and gullibility of the black race through an alleged tendency toward fantasy and naïveté (which Junk and his audience represent). Rather than demonstrating that African Americans *needed* white caretakers, however, the old man and his stories are both aspirational and inspirational, as his eager application of mental and emotional distancing provides himself and his community with imaginative mobility when physical freedom is not possible. Thus, the character of Junk accomplishes much more beyond inventing entertaining stories; he conceives experiences full of dangerous thrills, far-off adventures, and racial power shifts (that his audience experiences vicariously through him), ultimately revealing a decades-long fixation on violent retribution toward whites that is anything but infantile contentedness and elder faithfulness.

## Tales of Trauma and Survival: Local Color and the Postbellum Plantation

Nineteenth-century African American writers fortunate enough to find publication outlets for their works were tireless in their efforts to refute the sentimental depictions of enslavement that had made antebellum plantation literature so popular with northern and southern readerships. Although contemporary readers familiar with the slave narrative genre are well acquainted with the significance of written and spoken testimonies as counternarratives to the inflammatory and paternalistic arguments of pro-slavery advocates, they may be less informed as to the ways in which African American fiction writers responded to some of the apologist texts previously discussed. In studying representations of superannuated slaves in white- and black-authored texts from the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, two things become clear: 1) black writers recognized that the elderly of their race were being appropriated and silenced as apologists' symbols for the alleged benefits of slavery, and 2) in response, those writers crafted narratives highlighting the intelligence, agency, and orality of their elders to counteract the damage of the ubiquitous black geriatric stereotypes engrained in American popular culture.

In the postbellum era, particularly post-Reconstruction, African American authors became increasingly prominent on the national literary scene, although their numbers were still comparatively low as the race struggled against the public's weariness over the topic of slavery and the introduction of Jim Crow. As Frances Smith Foster explains, "After the grim reality of the American Civil War, the emancipation of the slaves and Reconstruction, the primary concerns of slave narratives had only historical value. The slavery issue, in the opinion of the reading public, had been settled, and the wounds were too fresh for objective contemplation."[62]

Although the topic of slavery ceased to hold the interest of the public when written by black authors, the same cannot be said of the many white authors who continued to address the subject in their fiction and nonfiction for decades

following emancipation. In her discussion of slave narratives published post-Reconstruction, Foster notes a "revision of priorities" that prompted black authors to appease readers by avoiding the devastating descriptions of bondage featured prominently in the genre before the war. At the same time, white northern readers underwent a different "revision of priorities," after which they turned their attention to a new niche of autobiographies flooding the literary market following the war: memoirs by Civil War soldiers.

The written accounts of Union prisoners of war corroborated reports of the inhumane treatment and living conditions of the Confederacy's most infamous prison camps, with some authors including emaciated images of themselves taken on their release.[63] Such memoirs—literally dozens of them—were in constant publication from 1865 through the end of the century. What this trend demonstrates is that although the general, postbellum public were past reading about slavery, they were very much intrigued by the stories coming out of the war—which, ironically, contained many of the same issues (starvation, sickness, physical restrictions, and being hunted by "slave hounds") that had been chronicled in antebellum narratives of the enslaved. According to Benjamin G. Cloyd's research on Civil War prisons, the northern soldiers subjected to these pitiable conditions blamed their captors, their own leadership, and the slaves themselves for their suffering. Cloyd writes that Union prisoners "bitterly complained of the injustice imposed on them in order to protect the rights of African Americans," as their situations "defied many prisoners' racial logic and tested their loyalty that, as white men, they should have to endure captivity for the cause of African American freedom."[64] Taking the animosity of Union prisoners and soldiers into consideration, the disregard of white northern readers to the narratives of black writers appears to have been more than an aversion to a settled topic.

The views of some northerners that the war had been fought on behalf of those who did not deserve such sacrifice surely contributed to the decline in northern readership of African American literature. When fiction writers such as Joel Chandler Harris and Thomas Nelson Page reverted to tales of plantation life in the 1870s and 1880s, however, they achieved massive popularity among readers nationwide by employing familiar, southern antebellum "local color" that reinforced the notion that although the black race may have been freed, the power dynamics and social customs of the color line would remain intact.

Whereas William Gilmore Simms had argued that African Americans would settle into a permanent location only when forced, both John Pendleton Kennedy and Edward A. Pollard addressed the idea of "inhabitiveness" among the enslaved within their antebellum fiction and used the theory to argue that the enslaved wanted to remain the property of others. Of course, Joel Chandler Harris's Uncle Remus is the most famous example of an emancipated elder caricature with no desire to leave the plantation where he was a slave. Like Pollard's Uncle George, Remus is a "genteel beggar" who relies on charity and who often earns his meals by telling tales. In the titular story from Harris's

*Daddy Jake the Runaway and Short Stories Told after Dark* (1889), the author takes a momentary break from his (in)famous Uncle Remus to tell the story of Jake, a hardworking and "faithful" slave who runs away after a new overseer strikes him and he strikes back.[65] Contrary to the apologist motif of the contented, aged slave, Daddy Jake not only returns the abuse doled out to him but also believes he has killed the overseer in the struggle. Aware that if he stays, his punishment for striking a white man might be branding with a hot iron, being sold to a speculator, or being hanged, Jake takes to a canebrake in the swamp where other runaways are hiding.

After Jake's flight, the story's two young protagonists, Lucien and Lillian (the children of Jake's owner, Doctor Gaston), take to the river to retrieve their favorite source of entertainment. While everyone on the plantation is frantically trying to figure out how to find Jake—not to punish him, of course, but to bring him and the children home—two old slaves named Sandy Bill and Big Sam have a conversation in which Harris exposes the hypocrisy of the "Storytelling Uncle" trope that he had helped revive in his postbellum "Southern humor." When Sandy Bill admits to Big Sam that he knows where the children are, Sam is shocked that his friend would hesitate to make their whereabouts known. Bill explains his secrecy, stating that although he feels bad for Gaston, "'t'er folks got trouble too, lots wuss'n Marster.'" When Sam asks, "'Is dey los' der chillum?'" Bill replies matter-of-factly, "'Yes—Lord! Dey done los' eve'ybody. But Marster ain' los' no chillum yit.'"[66] Although Harris does not have him spell out what he means, Bill is referencing the collective traumas of the families torn apart under enslavement, such as the old woman "Crazy Sue,"[67] who is hiding alongside Jake. His concern is not with the fates of the two children but rather with protecting people who have already suffered more than enough.

Bill continues, admitting not only to having directed Jake to the canebreak in the first place but also to knowing who else is hiding there. Justifying his action and subsequent inaction to Sam, he clarifies, "'ef I 'd 'a' showed Marster whar dem chillum landed, en tole 'im whar dey wuz, he 'd 'a' gone 'cross dar, en seed dem niggers, an' by dis time nex' week ole Bill Locke's nigger-dogs would 'a' done run um all in jail.'"[68] Harris's characterization of Sandy Bill is one who is absolutely loyal but not to his owner or even his owner's innocent children but rather to the communities of the enslaved people living in the surrounding areas. Through the hushed exchange, Harris reveals glimpses of a character within his caricature, a rarity for the author given his career-long reliance on the most loquacious "Uncle" in American literature. Rather than protecting the interests (and children) of his owners, let alone the monetary interests of the neighboring slaveholders who are seeking to reclaim their "property," Harris maintains Bill's silence. His decision *not* to have the old man report what he knows allows him to, paradoxically, make Jake return to the plantation willingly. However, Harris's focus on demonstrating the faithfulness of Daddy Jake to his owner's family does not negate or resolve his inclusion of Sandy Bill's silent rebellion or his assertion that the lives of two white chil-

dren—Harris's primary audience—were not worth the lives of the dozen or so runaways hiding in the swamp.

In telling the story of Jake's flight, Harris highlights the plights of other fugitives and reveals elements of resistance within a supposedly content and docile aged slave population. Thomas Nelson Page's 1887 *In Ole Virginia, or Marse Chan and Other Stories*, on the other hand, aligns more with the traditional apologist strategy of depicting only the undying loyalty of the aged slave to his owner.[69] One of the most popular writers of late-nineteenth-century plantation literature, Page was born in Virginia to formerly affluent but nevertheless respected stock. *In Ole Virginia* is the author's depiction of what he felt were injuries to both whites and blacks following the war and emancipation, although his descriptions of their respective experiences are, of course, vastly different. Regardless of the author's intent to depict the faithfulness of the titular character, the collection's most unsettling story, "Ole 'Stracted"—called such because he is *distracted* by trauma—instead confesses the great wrongs of the institution and inadvertently acknowledges the depths of despair experienced by the enslaved.

Ole 'Stracted's suffering has made him obsessive and delusional, an outcast, yet Page presents him as a mere eccentric who takes up residence in an abandoned, dilapidated cabin. He writes how the old man was

> unable to give any account of himself, except that he always declared that he had been sold by some one other than his master from that plantation, that his wife and boy had been sold to some other person at the same time for twelve hundred dollars (he was particular as to the amount), and that his master was coming in the summer to buy him back and take him home, and would bring him his wife and child when he came.[70]

In all, Ole 'Stracted spends forty years telling and retelling this story to anyone who will listen. Although the forced separation from his family breaks him mentally, the repetition of his narrative and the hope he finds in retelling it sustains and heals him emotionally. It was surely not Page's aim, but 'Stracted's orality and insistence on being reunited with his family has more in common with post-Reconstruction fiction by African American authors than it does with typical apologist fiction. The old man's narrative differs from these, however, in that he is not concerned with making friends with the community of former enslaved men and women who live nearby. Instead, 'Stracted exerts all his energy on preparing for the long-awaited homecoming of the family he was helpless to protect.

True to the "Storytelling Uncle" trope, however, the aged outsider *is* fond of his neighbors' children, who "steal down to his house, where they might be found any time squatting about his feet, listening to his accounts of his expected

visit from his master, and what he was going to do afterward. It was all of a great plantation, and fine carriages and horses, and a house with his wife and the boy."[71] By linking his family's return with the return of his former owner, Page attempts to make it seem as if Ole 'Stracted focuses all of his energy and efforts toward the past when the exact opposite is true of the character, just as it was with countless emancipated people in real life. According to Page, "Everything since that day was a blank to ['Stracted], and as he could not tell the name of his master or wife, or even his own name, and as no one was left old enough to remember him, the neighborhood having been entirely deserted after the war, he simply passed as a harmless old lunatic laboring under a delusion."[72] The deteriorated state of the old man's mental faculties makes him pitiable in the eyes and hearts of his neighbors, yet for him, the illusion functions as a coping mechanism without which he may not have survived as long as he has. With each retelling, 'Stracted reassures himself that the homecoming he has been imagining for decades is not only possible but also nigh at hand. His obsession with regaining what was lost leaves no room for the old man to think on or of anything else. Thus, he lives near the site of the traumatic separation and earns whatever anyone will pay him to cobble shoes.

When a new landlord takes ownership of the property, the imagined reunion of 'Stracted with his family, the lives and livelihoods of his caretaker neighbors Polly and Ephraim, and everyone else who lives on the grounds of the old plantation are threatened. The Yankee carpetbagger demands immediate mortgage payments in full or expulsion from the property, which Polly and Ephraim agree will kill 'Stracted, who not only relies on their charity to meet many of his basic needs but also, fearful of missing his family's return, never leaves his house. When the couple visits the cabin shanty to deliver a shirt Polly has mended for 'Stracted, the old man tells them through his death throes that he has managed to save $1,200—the purchase price of his wife and son—and has hidden it away to buy them back on their return: "'I been savin' it ever sence dee took me 'way. I so busy savin' it I ain' had time to eat, but I ain' hongry now; have plenty when I git home.'"[73] Thus, Ole 'Stracted dies having sacrificed decades of his own well-being to nourish his life's single ambition, and he dies with it unrealized.

Whereas 40 years of unrelenting toil and unrealized prospects would surely have defeated weaker, less determined individuals, 'Stracted finds a constant strength through his unshaken faith in a man's word and his own hopeful outlook on life. In this way, the elderly man is not "distracted" at all; on the contrary, his focused determination compels him to survive, helps himself and younger generations to dream, and ultimately accomplishes in death what he cannot in life, as the money he leaves behind will provide a home and financial security for the long-lost son he had sought for so many years—his neighbor, Ephraim. In Page's view, 'Stracted's many retellings of his history made for compelling fiction about a slave's love and trust for his master; hence, the author does not assume within the story any responsibility for the loving husband and father's

prolonged suffering. Page appropriates black orality and trauma and spins them as nonsense by positing that 'Stracted's only means of remembering his family is the very proof of his insanity. By framing black trauma as an inconsequential and/or humorous aftereffect of enslavement, apologist works assuaged the guilt of northern and southern readers by masking the miseries of African Americans with nostalgic "Aunt" and "Uncle" caricatures. Although Page's story remains true to the "Storytelling Uncle" trope, Ole 'Stracted's tale is anything but lighthearted or comedic. On the contrary, it speaks volumes about the callousness of both plantation fiction writers and readers regarding the tragic experiences of enslavement.

To Page, 'Stracted's narrative illustrated how the enslaved loved and trusted their owners, yet it very clearly documents the greed and deception of whites both before and after the war. Similarly, Georgia journalist, writer, and editor Harry Stillwell Edwards betrays the apologists' touted "cradle to grave" defense as the sham it was in his story, "Mas' Craffud's Freedom," from the 1899 collection *His Defense and Other Stories*.[74] As the story's title suggests, the tale portrays the slaveholder—and not those who were actually enslaved—as the primary party released from the burdens of chattel slavery by forced emancipation. His professed bondage was related in no way to labor or other hardships but rather to the supposed demands of owning and managing human beings. In conversation, Major Crawford Worthington and his old (now former) slave, Isam, discuss the changes about to take place on the plantation and across the South. When Crawford asks Isam if the slaves understand that emancipation has also made *him* free, he explains his galling statement by claiming that he is "'free from the care of you lazy rascals . . . I'm free at last, and I reckon I'll say 'Thank God!' before the year is out. Every man on this place must look out for himself and family hereafter; I don't want one of them. I am going to enjoy emancipation myself until I can look round.'"[75] Anxious about how freedom will affect him and his newly liberated community, Isam asks where they are to find food, to which Crawford coldly responds it is no longer his concern. When Isam explains that Crawford will still need workers to make the plantation run, he scoffs, countering, "'Who's going to pay you? I wouldn't give a dollar a month for four of you.'"[76]

Following this exchange, Crawford addresses the rest of the nearly 300 newly freed men and women, repeating what he has previously told Isam and adding that he has hired "'two soldiers representing the government'"[77] to ensure he gets his money's worth out of those who wish to stay. Edwards's purpose is to make light of emancipation as if it were not a serious blow to a planter's way of life. What "Mas' Craffud's Freedom" actually describes, however, is a cultural turning point—a depiction of the exact moment in which a gentleman planter ceases all pretenses of benevolence. Edwards's story of the beleaguered slaveholder is counter to most apologist works in that it asks readers to believe that planters were relieved to be free of the "burdens" that had built and maintained their social status and way of life; it also departs from the contentment

stereotype by demonstrating the disillusionment of the aged enslaved who were callously turned out after a lifetime of deceptive "cradle-to-grave" assurances.

In 1919, twenty years after the debut of *His Defense and Other Stories*, Edwards published his most famous work, *Eneas Africanus*,[78] an epistolary story that begins with an advertisement (paid for by a George E. Tommey) seeking information on the whereabouts of one of his former slaves, Eneas—the last-known possessor of a silver goblet that Tommey wants to reclaim in time for his daughter's wedding. As the title and meandering nature of Eneas's travels make clear (in eight years he travels "3350 Miles Through 7 States"), Edwards positions the former slave as the haphazard, elderly, African American equivalent of the Trojan hero Aeneas; however, Edwards is no Virgil, and his definition of Eneas's "heroism" is strictly limited to the old man's faithfulness.[79] In Edwards's delusional version of a newly freed slave's experience in the world, his protagonist spends the first eight years of his freedom trying to get back to the Georgia plantation where he was enslaved—a slap to the face to the thousands of people who spent years trying to reunite with family members following emancipation.

As expected, Eneas arrives "home" just in time to bestow the silver "Bride's Cup" to his former owner's daughter on her wedding day, but in addition to the cup, he offers up his children, claiming excitedly, "'I done brought you a whole bunch o' new Yallerhama, Burningham Niggers, Marse George! Some folks tell me dey is free, but I know dey b'long ter Marse George Tommey, des like [the horse] Lady Chain and her colt!'"[80] Here, Eneas goes much further than the common, derogatory "Uncle Tom" stereotype, perfecting the role of the ingratiated slave by announcing to a party full of white people that he views his own children as Tommey's livestock. This is a calculated way to conclude the text, as Edwards knows it is exactly what southern whites wanted of blacks: for them to publicly announce that slaveholders had been right to hold them in bondage, that they were happy and had wished to remain on the plantation, that African Americans were not fit to manage for themselves, and that they did not care for their children as whites did theirs. In his discussion of stereotypical representations of African Americans, George R. Lamplugh asserts, "This process of delineating the Negro was a continuing one. Each author further refined the efforts of his predecessors, until their black cardboard creation moved with the precision of a skillfully-fashioned puppet from one ludicrous or sentimental situation to another."[81] If apologists' aged slave characters were reduced to "cardboard" by the end of the nineteenth century, by the time Edwards published *Eneas Africanus* in 1919, they had become cellophane: unbelievably thin and completely transparent.

With the exception of "Mas' Craffud's Freedom," each of the works examined here betrays the foundational argument of slavery's apologists: that it was a benevolent system that the enslaved themselves heartily endorsed. As these narratives cannot help but illustrate, the exact opposite was true—it was the enslaved, regardless of advanced age and decades of forced labor, who toiled to ensure the comfort and prosperity of their white owners from birth until death.

Thus, despite the confidence of apologist writers in their elderly slave characters, their own portrayals of aged "Aunts" and "Uncles" contradict the cornerstone stereotype of contentedness, or "inhabitiveness," more often than not. Although their literary works were intended to elicit pathos for slaves "deprived" of their owners, pro-slavery writers could not attempt to justify the institution without depicting it—and to depict any aspect of the slave experience is to invite undeniable realities to come to the surface and make themselves known.

## Notes

1. This phrasing is a nod to the convention of the slave narrative genre, wherein authors such as Olaudah Equiano and Frederick Douglass included the words "Written by Himself" in their book titles in order to demonstrate the veracity of their accounts and to make clear the intellectual and literary capabilities of Africans/African Americans; I have added "as told by" so as not to privilege literacy and discount orality.
2. William R. Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee: The Old South and American National Character* (New York: George Braziller, 1961), 16.
3. John Pendleton Kennedy, *Swallow Barn, or A Sojourn in the Old Dominion*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Carey, 1832), available at https://docsouth.unc.edu.
4. The converted-northerner motif was popular among apologist writers and can be found in the following: Caroline E. Rush, *The North and South, Or, Slavery and Its Contrasts: A Tale of Real Life* (Philadelphia: Crissy, 1852); Rev. Baynard R. Hall, *Frank Freeman's Barber Shop* (New York: Scribner, 1852); Martha Haines Butt, *Antifanaticism: A Tale of the South* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1853); and Caroline Lee Hentz, *The Planter's Northern Bride* (Philadelphia: Peterson, 1854)
5. See Nehemiah Adams, D.D., *A South-Side View of Slavery; or, Three Months at the South, in 1854* (Boston: T. R. Marvin, 1854), and Rev. Samuel Seabury, D.D., *American Slavery Distinguished from the Slavery of English Theorists, and Justified by the Law of Nature* (New York: Mason Brothers, 1861).
6. Harriet Beecher Stowe, *Uncle Tom's Cabin; or Life among the Lowly* (Boston: John P. Jewett, 1852), available at http://utc.iath.virginia.edu.
7. David Walker, *Walker's Appeal, in Four Articles; Together with a Preamble, to the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in Particular, and Very Expressly, to Those of the United States of America* (Boston: Revised and Published by David Walker, 1830), available at https://docsouth.unc.edu.
8. Sarah N. Roth, *Gender and Race in Antebellum Popular Culture* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).
9. Ibid,, 38–39.
10. Martin Robison Delany, *Blake, or The Huts of America*, ed. Floyd J. Miller (Boston: Beacon, 1970), available at http://utc.iath.virginia.edu.
11. For more on the degradation suffered by enslaved black men, see Thomas A. Foster, "The Sexual Abuse of Black Men under American Slavery," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 20, no. 3 (2011): 445–64.
12. I use the word "specimens" here in reference to Joel Chandler Harris's 1883 letter to Georgia newspaperman R. W. Grubb, in which the author, seeking tales to provide the content for his Uncle Remus books, asks, "Can't you get some one, who has the knack, to get in with some old negro, male or female, and secure me a dozen or more specimens?" Jennifer Ritterhouse, "Reading, Intimacy, and the Role of Uncle Remus in White Southern Social Memory," *Journal of Southern History* 69, no. 3 (2003): 585–622.
13. Heather Tirado Gilligan, "Reading, Race, and Charles Chesnutt's 'Uncle Julius' Tales," *ELH* 74, no. 1 (2007): 200.
14. This is according to Roth's table (2.1) on *Slavery-Related Novels and Narratives, 1830s*—in which the author lists Jerome Holgate's *Sojourn in the City of Amalgamation* (New York: Published by the Author, 1835) as the first anti-abolitionist novel to use the "Savage Slave" trope. Roth, *Gender and Race in Antebellum Popular Culture*, 40–41.
15. Quoted in Paul Christian Jones, *Unwelcome Voices: Subversive Fiction in the Antebellum South* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2005), 147.
16. Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*, vol. 2, 240–41.
17. Frederick Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass, an American Slave* (Boston: Anti-Slavery Office, 1845), 64, available at https://docsouth.unc.edu.
18. Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*, vol. 2, 243.
19. For more on feudal influences in plantation literature, see Taylor, *Cavalier and Yankee.*

20. Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*, vol. 1, 31.
21. Ibid.
22. Douglass, *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass*, 17.
23. Ibid., 16.
24. Ibid., 17.
25. Kennedy, *Swallow Barn*, vol. 2, 215.
26. In her discussion of enslaved black horsemen, Katherine C. Mooney writes, "Victory in competition belonged not only to the man who owned the horse. It surely belonged as well to the trainer because of his intimacy with the animal" (52–53). Mooney's argument extends to grooms such as Carey, who doubtless feels as much pride and responsibility for the accomplishments of "his" horses as the men who race them. Mooney continues, "A white man might legally own the bodies of both man and animal, but ownership might not have been the first feeling of a black man in the winner's circle. A white man could enjoy the control of a great horse by proxy, but the black man still enjoyed it in fact" (53). Since Meriwether is not heir but rather executor to Swallow Barn, his situation is especially relevant to this notion of success "by proxy," whereas Carey, working with the horses every day, would have felt their successes "in fact." See Mooney, *Race Horse Men: How Slavery and Freedom Were Made at the Racetrack* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014).
27. William Gilmore Simms, *The Sword and the Distaff: Or, "Fair, Fat, and Forty." A Story of the South, at the Close of the Revolution* (Philadelphia: Lippincott, 1852), available at https://archive.org/index.php.
28. Joseph V. Ridgely, "Woodcraft: Simm's First Answer to *Uncle Tom's Cabin*," *American Literature* 31, no. 4 (1960): 425.
29. Ibid., 124.
30. Ibid., 125.
31. Ibid., 203–4.
32. As Craig Thompson Friend writes, "Until the mid- to late-nineteenth century, language exchanged in male homosocial friendships was often indistinguishable from the idiom and images of love relationships" (259). He continues, however, asking, "where was the line between homosocial intimacy and homoerotic interests drawn?" (259). In a "master–slave" relationship, the "master" drew the line (not that all slaves adhered to it), and we should not be so naive as to ignore the fact that male slaves were also forced to commit sexual acts by those who owned them. See Friend, "Sex, Self, and the Performance of Patriarchal Manhood in the Old South," in *The Old South's Modern Worlds: Slavery, Region, and Nation in the Age of Progress*, ed. L. Diane Barnes, Brian Schoen, and Frank Towers (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011), 246–65.
33. Sarah Roth discusses how, as a cook, "Tom's manhood was symbolically submerged beneath a load of women's implements," citing Tom's own admissions that he had "a hundred poun' of pot and kettle on [his] t'ighs!" and a gridiron "well-strapped to his member!" Roth, *Gender and Race in Antebellum Popular Culture*, 150.
34. Simms, *The Sword and the Distaff*, 206.
35. According to Friend, "Premodern Americans had constructed masculinity as a status more than as a gender . . . they defined it in opposition to childhood and, more specifically, to those who were childlike—dependents." Friend, "Sex, Self, and the Performance of Patriarchal Manhood in the Old South," 261. Porgy's poetic speech, in which he proclaims his love and loyalty to his male friends, is that of a Revolutionary War–era American and is therefore consistent with the speech of premodern American males, yet his insistence of devotion from Tom—who he considers a childlike dependent—exposes both his strengths and his weaknesses.
36. See DoVeanna S. Fulton, *Speaking Power: Black Feminist Orality in Women's Narratives of Slavery* (New York: State University of New York Press, 2006).
37. Laura Ganus Perkins, "An Unsung Literary Legacy: William Gilmore Simms's African-American Characters," *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 42, no. 1 (2009): 84.
38. Simms, *The Sword and the Distaff*, 205.
39. Ibid., 206.
40. Ibid.
41. Ibid., 124.
42. In Porgy's final tirade, which makes up the novel's final chapter, he shares his plans to live out his life maintaining male relationships only. Fired up amidst an all-male audience, he forswears the company of women and soliloquizes on perpetual bachelorhood. Porgy uses the same romantic language used previously to (a)rouse Tom to suicide, except that he does not take it to such a morbid, haunting conclusion—or lack of conclusion—as he does with his slave. Porgy is willing and seemingly delighted to announce his utter submissiveness to the group of white men asking nothing of them in return, suggesting that his particular brand of sexualized argumentation is reserved for Tom and, possibly, any other man over whom he can exercise authority.
43. Edward A. Pollard, *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South* (New York: Pudney, 1859), available at https://archive.org/index.php.
44. Likely a reference to English abolitionist Thomas Clarkson.

45. Pollard, *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South*, 19.
46. bell hooks, *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem* (New York: Atria, 2003), 55.
47. Although many aspects of *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South* are typical of the genre, Pollard's attempts at proving a mutual devotion between owner and slave come off as desperate, morbid, and perplexing in several instances (not unlike the character of Porgy in Simms's *The Sword and the Distaff*). His extended literary treatment of the "Deathbed Aunty," Marie, is particularly disturbing, as he describes how, "horror-struck, I gazed upon the scene of death, and yet curious, eager to note every sign of the awful change, stretching forward to see each token of agony and each print of death. For twelve hours I witnessed that scene" (93).
48. Pollard, *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South*, 49.
49. Ibid., 32.
50. Ibid., 31.
51. Ibid., 33.
52. For more on the anti-manumission laws of the slave states, see Lydia Maria Child, *An Appeal in Favor of That Class of Americans Called Africans* (Boston: Allen, 1833), available at https://archive.org/index.php.
53. The most famous literary reference to an elder enslaved person being left to fend for herself is that of Frederick Douglass's grandmother, whose pitiable experience he chronicles in his *Narrative*.
54. Pollard, *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South*, 88.
55. Ibid.
56. Ibid., 99.
57. Ibid., 99–100.
58. Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of Afro-American Literary Criticism* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988).
59. Jeffrey C. Alexander, *Performance and Power* (Cambridge, MA: Polity, 2011), 28.
60. Pollard, *Black Diamonds Gathered in the Darkey Homes of the South*, 101.
61. Joel Chandler Harris, *Told by Uncle Remus: New Stories of the Old Plantation* (New York: McKinlay, 1905), 56, available at https://archive.org/index.php.
62. Frances Smith Foster, *Witnessing Slavery: The Development of Ante-Bellum Slave Narratives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994), 150.
63. Including Danville and Belle Isle prisons in Virginia; the Savannah, Charleston, and Columbia prisons in South Carolina; and, most notably, Libby prison in Virginia and Andersonville prison in Georgia.
64. Benjamin G. Cloyd, *Haunted by Atrocity: Civil War Prisons in American Memory* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2010), 19.
65. Joel Chandler Harris, *Daddy Jake the Runaway and Short Stories Told after Dark* (New York: Century, 1889).
66. Ibid., 34.
67. The character of Crazy Sue exemplifies the postbellum "Distracted Aunty" trope discussed previously. Sue tells the doctor's young children how, when younger, she accidentally fell asleep nursing her twin babies. Her punishment was to work the fields while they lay hungry in the scorching sun beyond her reach. Prevented by the overseer from attending to her suffering babes, both of Sue's children died as a result. The death of Sue's children leads to mental break, and as she relates several decades later, she still hears their cries ringing in her ears.
68. Harris, *Daddy Jake the Runaway and Short Stories Told after Dark*, 36.
69. Thomas Nelson Page, *In Ole Virginia or Marse Chan and Other Stories* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1895), available at https://docsouth.unc.edu.
70. Ibid., 153.
71. Ibid., 154.
72. Ibid., 153.
73. Ibid., 159.
74. Harry Stillwell Edwards, *His Defense and Other Stories* (New York: Century, 1899), available at https://www.hathitrust.org.
75. Ibid., 144–45.
76. Ibid.
77. Ibid., 157.
78. Harry Stillwell Edwards, *Eneas Africanus* (New York: Grosset, 1940). "At least 45 editions were published between 1920–2007." Joe Lockard, "Eneas Africanus," *Antislavery Literature Project*, August 24, 2015.
79. Edwards, *Eneas Africanus*, inside-cover art.
80. Ibid., 36.
81. George R. Lamplugh, "The Image of the Negro in Popular Magazine Fiction, 1875–1900," *Association for the Study of African American Life and History* 57, no. 2 (1972): 180.

# Cultivating Aztlán: Chicano (Counter)Cultural Politics and the Postwar American University

**Dennis Lopez**

> *Chicano Studies mean, in the final analysis, the re-discovery and the re-conquest of the self and of the community by Chicanos.*
>
> Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* (1969)

> *The Chicano academic must do what he or she knows best. The first priority is to establish himself or herself as an authentic member of the academy. It is much easier and better to deal within the academy and in the community from a position of strength and authenticity. Professional development should be the number one priority.*
>
> Tomás Rivera, "The Role of the Chicano Academic and the Chicano Non-Academic Community" (1988)

Speaking at the Modern Language Association's annual convention in December 1975, Rolando Hinojosa observed that a "serious consequence of poor researching may be that Chicano studies will wither. Since we are labeled as a minority group we may be also marked off *en masse* as deficient when it comes to digging for facts and in the performance of the highly detailed and laborious task of investigative research."[1] With the newfound attention devoted to

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Chicana/o literature and culture within academic circles, Hinojosa saw an urgent need by the mid-1970s for "serious scholars," rather than "faulty researchers," in Chicano Studies. "If we don't police ourselves," he opined, "others will whether we like it or not for there is already good material on Chicanos being turned out."[2] As Hinojosa explained to Juan Bruce-Novoa during an interview in the spring of 1975, the reality remained that Chicana/o literature increasingly was "being read in the universities for the most part. It is read outside, of course, but at this stage, Chicano literature is being discussed in universities through symposia, colloquia, seminars, etc."[3] In Hinojosa's estimation, then, the very viability and prospect of a genuinely Chicana/o literary arts and cultural criticism, if not simply a Chicana/o presence, within the academy and beyond appeared to rest on the success of professionalized scholarship by Chicano Studies academics and intellectuals. Hinojosa's comments point to the ways in which the university and its institutional protocols and proprieties continued to exert tremendous pressure on Chicana/o scholars and cultural workers, despite their unequivocal alignment with the radicalism and disruptive politics of the age.

Marginalized, ignored, and disparaged for decades, Chicana/o writers and intellectuals now encountered in the postwar U.S. university a new willingness—although an admittedly tenuous one—to support, disseminate, and study their work. According to Adolph Reed, Jr., the 1960s and 1970s revealed once more "the university's significance in ethnic pluralist politics," and as one would expect, when confronted with mounting anti-racist militancy and challenges to institutional forms of discrimination, "the university reflected the world of which it was a part—a step behind."[4] However, the social and racial turmoil racking the United States during the Vietnam War era called on the university to do more than simply catch up with the times. As Jodi Melamed details, campus-based "insurgencies" by students and faculty saw the complete transformation of universities "as key to liberation struggles."[5] To this end, the objective was never simply representation, professionalization, and disciplinization via academic training and inclusion, but rather "open admissions for nonwhite students, the validation of the new knowledges produced by social movements, autonomy for black and ethnic studies faculty and students, and an education relevant to the concerns of marginalized communities."[6] Although forced to address the question of racial difference and inequality, U.S. universities invariably adopted a different agenda and vision than the one fostered by student movements. "[T]he essential function of the university in this period," Melamed concludes, "was to make minoritized difference work for post-Keynesian times—to produce, validate, certify, and affirm racial difference in ways that augmented, enhanced, and developed state-capital hegemony rather than disrupted it."[7] In a similar vein, Roderick A. Ferguson argues that the insurgent politics espoused by Sixties radicals of color elicited "an academic moment that helped to rearticulate the nature of state and capital, a moment in which truth as the ideal of the university and the mediator of state and civil society was joined by difference in general, and minoritized difference in particular." The postwar university,

he adds, "became the 'training ground' for state and capital's engagement with minority difference as a site of representation and meaning."[8] Such a move carried serious ideological and material consequences, ones not wholly unfamiliar to the history of the American university.[9]

Turning to liberal cultural pluralism for the basis on which to remap its place and bearing within the changing national landscape, the postwar U.S. university again emerged as social gatekeeper and as an active force in defusing and counterbalancing antiracist political threats to the status quo. Vijay Prashad makes the point in a discussion devoted to the "American ideology" of multiculturalism: "In my estimation, multiculturalism emerged as the liberal doctrine to undercut the radicalism of antiracism. Instead of antiracism, we are now fed with a diet of cultural pluralism and ethnic diversity."[10] For Melamed,

> English departments and discourses of literary multiculturalism did the lion's share of the work, socializing students as multicultural subjects, commodifying racialized culture, setting terms of social solidarity, and generating knowledges about racial difference within a liberal-multicultural framework, framing race as a matter of identity, recognition, and representation.[11]

Such was the new ideological and institutional backdrop against which students and academics of color expressed their demands for radical change. Rosaura Sánchez maintains that "ethnic studies programs were instituted at a moment when the university had to speak a particular language to quell student protests and to ensure that university research and business could be conducted as usual."[12] As a result, colleges and universities became "receptive to bilingualism and cultural pluralism," and suddenly it seemed "hip to be 'ethnic.'" However, according to Sánchez, the upshot was less than encouraging: "In the process the discourse of 'ethnic power' was totally neutralized. Thus despite the discourse of 'black power' and 'Chicano power' [on university campuses], back in Watts and East L.A. nothing changed."[13]

The celebration, recognition, and cultivation of diverse cultural traditions and identities, particularly on the part of the university, afforded an attractive alternative to the dismantling of racist material relations and institutional structures of oppression and exploitation. Ferguson contends that "state, capital, and academy saw minority insurgence as a site of calculation and strategy" and, in doing so, "began to see minority difference and culture as positivities that could be part of their own 'series of aims and objectives.'"[14] But the central goal was always the same: "to redirect originally insurgent formations and deliver them to the normative ideals and protocols of state, capital, and academy."[15] In order to achieve this task, a new "adaptive hegemony" was necessary, one that relied on "the disembodied and abstract promotion of minority representation without fully satisfying the material and social redistribution of minoritized subjects,

particularly where people of color are concerned."[16] The postwar university became, as Ferguson insists, a key site for the elaboration of an "adaptive hegemony" that would secure new modes of U.S. power, domination, and exploitation:

> Things academic would provide a new opportunity for power, one that would allow power to foster an entirely new relation between academy, capital, and state. This new relation would revolve around the very question promoted by the U.S. student movements, the question of minority difference—how to understand it, how to negotiate it, how to promote it, and how to regulate it.[17]

Rather than open hostility and sustained opposition to student protests and demands, the university ultimately welcomed engagement with notions of racial difference advocated by radicals of color throughout the 1960s and 1970s, if only as a means to "understand," "negotiate," "promote," and thus "regulate" its incorporation into the academy and post-Fordist capitalist society.

The standard historical narrative depicts university administrations as retreating in the face of antiracist militancy and ethno-nationalist protest on college campuses, with ethnic studies capturing a tenuous but still autonomous stronghold of opposition within the university. But this version offers only part of the story, since once the chanting and picket lines stopped the university actually had much to say with regard to the ultimate form and content of early ethnic studies programs and departments like Chicano Studies. Nineteen-sixties social movements adopted forms of ethnic cultural nationalism that, while projecting an oppositional political stance, ultimately supplied the common ground and language shared with institutions of American higher education. Specifically, "culture" emerged as the *lingua franca* between Sixties activists and university officials. As a consequence, the university would play a pivotal role in helping to recast more organic forms of ethnic political radicalism and antiracism.

This essay examines the close, if albeit complicated, relationship between prominent sections of the Chicano Movement and the postwar American university, exploring the latter's impact on the formation of a widely influential "counterculture" among of Chicana/o students, intellectuals, and artists.[18] By the first half of the 1970s, a significant number of well-known Chicana/o writers and poets held academic positions, and universities became the locus for the production, distribution, and consumption of Chicana/o identity and culture via aesthetic texts. Rather than an obstacle, el Movimiento's emphasis on cultural identity and cultural traditions, on the recovery of an Indigenous humanist value-system and spirituality, and on the production and promotion of suppressed histories, knowledges, and cosmologies—what I term its "countercultural"[19] ethos—supplied a means by which to operate within the institutional matrix of the university, but at the same time to maintain an oppositional stance toward its dominant forms. The postwar university represented one constellation of

forces—a particularly important one—that helped to shape the issues, subject matter, and approaches ultimately formulated and adopted in the writing and teaching of Chicana/o cultural texts.

## "Aztlán Belongs to Those Who Plant the Seeds": Movimiento Counterculture and the Cultivation of Chicana/o Hearts and Minds

In the introduction to *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature* (1972), a seminal addition to the early canon of Chicano Studies, Luis Valdez opens by reminding Chicana/o readers that "the root of [our] uniqueness as Man lies buried in the dust of conquest. In order to regain our corazon [heart], our soul, we must reach deep into our people, into the tenderest memory of their beginning."[20] Close to 500 years of colonization and imperialism had robbed the Chicano of "all his ancient human fullness," leaving nothing "in our hearts but an empty desire, a longing for something we could no longer define."[21] The conquistador was not "content to merely exploit," but rather "stuck his bloody fingers into the Indian brain, and at the point of the sword, gun, and cross ripped away a vision of human existence," forcing Indigenous America and its descendants "to accept his world, his reality, his scheme of things."[22] Valdez saw the need "to recapture the soul-giving myth of La Raza," a project that forced the Chicano poet "to re-examine the facts of history, and suffuse them with his own blood—to make them tell his story."[23] For Valdez, "logic alone" could never reveal the "most basic truth" of Chicana/o history and culture: "that man is a flower . . . [that] there is poetry in reality itself."[24]

Echoing Valdez, the popular Movimiento poet Alurista remarks, in an interview with Bruce-Novoa, that Chicanas/os needed to "*expel the Yankees from our heart*" and take up "the responsibility of constructing a vision of the world that is truly ours, not a colonized vision of the world."[25] Alurista aimed to produce a poetry that would "nurture [and] cultivate my heart as well as the heart of my people, so that we can reconstruct our selves."[26] Decolonizing the hearts and minds of Chicanas/os thus consigned certain specific tasks to Movement intellectuals and cultural workers: artists and writers should strive to offer an alternative to the alienation, materialism, and spiritual sterility of postwar U.S. capitalism by reclaiming the humanist and communitarian worldview of Indigenous Mesoamerica, principally figured through the Movement's various artistic retellings of the myth of Aztlán. El Movimiento's reclaiming of Aztlán centered on a militant call for self-identity, self-determination, and the retrieval of stolen lands as a vehicle for obtaining political sovereignty. As Alurista proclaims in the central manifesto of the Movement, "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán" (1969): "*we,* the Chicano inhabitants and civilizers of the northern land of Aztlán from whence came our forefathers, reclaiming the land of their birth and consecrating the determination of our people of the sun, *declare* that the call of our blood is our power, our responsibility, and our inevitable destiny. . . . Aztlán

belongs to those who plant the seeds, water the fields, and gather the crops and not to the foreign Europeans. We do not recognize capricious frontiers on the bronze continent."[27] Calls for economic self-determination and political control of land served as the fulcrum around which the Movement's countercultural politics revolved. Nevertheless, the reclamation of land served less as a political objective than as a rhetorical trope enlisted in the service of a (counter)culturalist program.

The Chicano Movement operated with two related ideological constructions of Aztlán. The first denoted a geographic region stretching from California to Texas, as well as a historical point of reference for evoking the territorial expropriation and political transfer of power sanctioned in 1848 by the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo.[28] References to Aztlán by Movimiento advocates were intended rhetorically to position the call for Chicano social protest within the context of a broader history of colonial dispossession and anticolonial resistance. However, Aztlán also served as a floating signifier that supplied, through the recovery of pre-Cortésian mythos and symbology, the semiotic ground for cultural-nationalist Chicano identity formation. According to Luis Leal, "second, and more important, Aztlán symbolized *the spiritual union* of the Chicanos, *something that is carried within the heart*, no matter where they may live or where they may find themselves."[29] Deep within every Chicana/o slumbered a powerful cultural inheritance of oppositional Indigenous knowledge and spirituality, a potential talisman against the encroachments of a deadening "Anglo" culture. In his study of Chicano Movement appeals to Mesoamerican cosmology, J. Jorge Klor de Alva observes that "Chicanos have used the symbols and ideas of past civilizations of Mexico not only as a foil by which to attack the dominant Anglo society, but also as a fetish by which to protect themselves from its malice."[30] These competing, if mutually dependent, conceptions of Aztlán—as anticolonial symbol and as cultural "fetish"—reveal the fault lines along which the Chicano Movement's political, economic, and cultural commitments ultimately fractured. Rafael Pérez-Torres contends that rival representations of Aztlán within el Movimiento demarcate the space of "a split between a strategic critique of sociopolitical reality and an iconographic instrument of cultural unity."[31] The latter figurative formulation of Aztlán became crucial in facilitating what Chicano Studies scholar Gustavo V. Segade describes as the transition from "the culture of politics" promoted by early Movement activism to "the politics of culture" dominant by the 1970s among a large number of Chicana/o radicals, scholars, and cultural workers.[32]

The symbolic search for Aztlán involved the clearing and cultivating of the Chicano "corazon," replanting for the future the forgotten seeds of "a new yet very ancient way of life and social order," as Valdez puts it.[33] No wonder Alurista stresses the more-than-political basis to his poetry, insisting: "I'm a cultivator. I consider myself *a farmer of the heart. I cultivate hearts, thoughts, feelings*. And I'm not the only one."[34] In this sense, Movement counterculture had less to do with questions of territory and political and economic sover-

eignty across the Southwest than with a spiritual and artistic renaissance of cultural identity, practices, and beliefs that could supply Chicana/o communities with the basis for an alternative value system and way of life in the absence of the direct control of land. As with the New Left and with Black Nationalism in particular, Chicano countercultural politics set out to conceive an alternative worldview that challenged the sterile materialism and commoditized forms of American consumer culture. As such, it supplied a powerful critique of what the Frankfurt School Marxist and New Left philosopher Herbert Marcuse at the time characterized as the instrumentalist and one-dimensional aspects of late capitalism.[35] Sheila Marie Contreras observes that references by Movement artists to "Nahuatl mythic deities . . . serve[d] to propel a critique of U.S. society that is marked boldly by attempts to demystify consumerism and the quest for instant gratification in the quick-fixes of television, fast food, and the beauty industry."[36] Nevertheless, she says earlier that the "central objective of Aztec revitalization was to transform self-image."[37] The emphasis on "self-image" invokes once more the primacy of culture and a cultural politics that aimed, in Alurista's words, to "*expel the Yankees from our heart*," if not exactly from the conquered lands of Aztlán. Furthermore, it calls attention to the especially fertile soil of the university, allotted as the prime site for the cultivation of national culture and wherein eventually much of Chicano Movement counterculture took root.

Summarizing the aims of the university as characterized by Benjamin Ide Wheeler, president of the University of California at the turn of the twentieth century, Christopher Newfield concludes that the "goal of university teaching was the student's self-development, whose goal was self-determination."[38] U.S. higher education pursued the pedagogical ideals of "self-development" and "self-determination" through the teaching of vital cultural and civic values, which the university helped to sustain by both generating and reinforcing a unified and coherent archive of national identity, culture, and tradition. Bill Readings insists that the history of the modern research university must be read in terms of its function as "one of the primary apparatuses through which [the] production of national subjects was to take place in modernity."[39] In Readings's words, "[t]he state protects the action of the University; the University safeguards the thought of the state. And each strives to realize the idea of national culture."[40] Their critics during the 1960s saw the university and the state as overly committed to a white-supremacist uniformity of cultural and ethnic identity, reproducing in the service of capital accumulation a narrowly Eurocentric, racist, and ideologically distorted image of the national subject.

More out of necessity than anything else, the university emerged in the late 1960s and 1970s as one of the prime benefactors of Chicano ethnic identity and culture, granting an admittedly circumscribed number of Chicana/o faculty and resident artists the resources, training, and authority with which to embark on the quest for Aztlán. Crucially, the cultural politics advocated by the Movement met important needs for the new postwar university. As Read-

ings argues, the shift from Fordist to flexible, neoliberalized global regimes of capitalist accumulation divested the research university of its original social mission, namely, to consolidate a unitary national culture and citizenry.[41] For Readings, the economic, social, and political crises of the Sixties brought to the fore what henceforth has become "an endemic condition" of higher education in the post-Fordist age: "the absence of a cultural center."[42] Along with Black Nationalism and African American Studies, most especially, the Chicano Movement supplied the university with a means of reconciling this condition, and equally important, the university became the designated social space for such a politico-cultural reconciliation. "If state and particularly capital needed the academy to reorient their sensibilities toward the affirmation of difference," Ferguson explains, "then it also meant that the academy became the laboratory for the revalorization of modes of difference."[43] The outcome of student protests and confrontations on university campuses "was not the downfall of a cultural center per se but its reconfiguration." Ferguson elaborates:

> Indeed, the cultural center was recalibrated in terms of diversification rather than standardization, no longer a center organized around a homogenous national identity but now a center structured according to the capacities for and the principles of heterogeneous absorption. This is the historic period that tried to perfect the motto 'e pluribus unum' as a technique of power, as a strategic situation for the U.S. nation-state, for American capital, and for the American academy. This perfection, in a moment of movements and agitations, would inaugurate a new dramatic turn for modern institutions in the United States, a shift that entailed a manifest rather than latent engagement with marginalized differences and cultures, an engagement that helped to constitute new modes of regulation and exclusion.[44]

Now more open to the conciliatory kinds of cultural pluralism championed by postwar new liberalism, the university was in these cases eager to substitute American Eurocentrism with calls for cultural diversity and liberal forms of American multiculturalism. The Chicano Movement countercultural ethos offered one set of parameters by which to *reconfigure* and *recalibrate* the "cultural center" of the university. To do so, the postwar university sponsored a tenuous but impactful relationship with Chicana/o radicals and intellectuals, one that helped to hold in abeyance the political, social, and class tensions perennially threatening to unsettle the Movement's precarious residence and aspirations in higher education. In the end, the university worked to make assimilable the radical discourses and demands of Chicana/o student and faculty activists in such a way as to resist the imperative for fundamental change set in motion

by the wide-ranging struggles of working-class communities of color and the global New Left.

Chicana/o cultural workers played a singular role in this process. On the one hand, Chicana/o artistic texts functioned as a form of cultural recovery and political contestation, with Movimiento counterculture posited as an emancipatory force. On the other hand, insofar as Chicana/o poetry and literature enacted a symbolic recapturing of the mythic homeland Aztlán and its lost "organic" relationships and values, the advocating of a counterculture of self-examination and self-development could assume equal priority with political efforts to reclaim lost and stolen lands. Movement cultural workers evoked a moment of loss and dispossession in their writings in order to challenge and expose the history of colonial exploitation, racist oppression, and cultural deracination endured by Mexican and Chicana/o communities in the Southwest. Yet these invocations offered the aesthetic experience of Aztlán in place of a much more difficult to achieve political self-determination and reacquisition of territorial sovereignty. Hence, writing in 1978, Segade remarked on the cultural politics of Aztlán: "Not everyone could have land; 80 percent of the Chicano population live in an urban setting. But everyone could share a mythic past, and the knowledge that their forebears were buried in lands now lost to strangers."[45] As a literary trope, then, Aztlán both marked and sought to redress a tension between past and present, between utopian possibility and "the Real" of U.S. postwar capital. Countless Chicanas and Chicanos possessed no land and confronted the distortions of a ravaged Indigenous inheritance. Movement invocations of Aztlán suggested how the lost control and cultivation of the earth might become instead an incipiently literary self-cultivation.

It is only fitting, as Leal indicates in his influential essay "In Search of Aztlán" (1981), that Alurista initiated the Movement's recovery of the myth of Aztlán in a university classroom: "Apparently, it [Aztlán] owes its creation to the poet Alurista who already, during the Autumn of 1968, had spoken about Aztlán in a class for Chicanos held at San Diego State University."[46] In "Poem in Lieu of Preface" (1970), which originally served as prologue to the inaugural spring 1970 issue of *Aztlán: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and the Arts*, the flagship academic journal for nascent Chicano Studies, Alurista delivers a seminal example of the ways in which Chicana/o cultural workers employed the trope of Aztlán in their writing. According to the speaker in Alurista's poem, modern Chicanas and Chicanos "dream of roses and / swallow thorns / . . . swallow / thorns / in powdered milk."[47] Government-issued "powdered milk" figures as a metaphor for the centuries-long systematic dispossession, impoverishment, and marginalization of Mexican-American communities within the United States, a reference not unfamiliar to Movement advocates. Reies López Tijerina, for instance, the prominent leader of the land-grant movement Alianza Federal de las Mercedes in New Mexico, exclaimed to his local supporters that "[t]hey took your land and gave you powdered milk."[48] The chief goal for López Tijerina and the Alianza was reclamation of stolen lands and com-

munal self-determination, but the struggle concomitantly carried a cultural and spiritual importance. Jose Madril, an Alianza member and co-editor of the New Mexican Movement newspaper *El Grito del Norte*, clarified in 1970 during an interview with the New Left *Ramparts* magazine: "Anglo eyes, an Anglo heart, they don't see things the way we do, they don't see what the land means to the people. It's like the *viejo* [old man] said in El Grito: 'The land is our mother. If we lose the land we are orphans. Where will we go?'"[49] The land as "mother" to the people nurtures the collective social, cultural, and spiritual bonds threatened by the imposed political order and corporate logic of "Anglo" domination. But, as "Poem in Lieu of Preface" indicates, the vital and life-giving nurture once supplied by the Earth-Mother has been replaced by the artificial and enervating "powdered milk" of the U.S. welfare state, less maternal than paternalistic in its persistent colonial and economic subjugation of contemporary Chicanas and Chicanos.

In Alurista's poem, Aztlán stands as a response to colonial expropriation, systemic racism, and discriminatory institutional practices; it emerges as cultural origin and as a future promise of spiritual endurance for the Mexican-American community. The past "mYthical land / wherefrom the AZTECS CAME" embodies the unfulfilled desires of contemporary Chicanas and Chicanos who, the speaker reiterates, "swallow / thorns / in powdered milk / feeling guilty about smelling flowers / about looking for AztlaN."[50] Alurista's figurative "expedition"[51] to Aztlán charts not geography but rather a possible path toward achieving ontological and cultural wholeness. Aztlán, as literary trope, allows Alurista to map an autonomous space for the cultivation of a genuine Chicano selfhood, culture, and humanity. The poem itself thus becomes the figurative soil of Aztlán in which Alurista can plant the seeds "to cultivate my heart as well as the heart of my people, so that we can reconstruct our selves."

Terry Eagleton reminds us of the etymological links between "cultivate" and "culture," as well as of the implications of political power and social hierarchy embedded in this semantic history:

> "Culture" at first denoted a thoroughly material process, which was then metaphorically transposed to affairs of the spirit. The word thus charts within its enigmatic unfolding humanity's own historic shift from rural to urban existence, pig-farming to Picasso, tilling the soil to splitting the atom. . . . But the semantic shift is also paradoxical: it is the urban dwellers who are "cultivated," and those who actually live by tilling the soil who are not. Those who cultivate the land are less able to cultivate themselves. Agriculture leaves no leisure for culture.[52]

The word "cultivation" thus simultaneously speaks both to the material labors expended on the land and to the spiritual affairs of the heart and mind, as

well as to the political and economic forces that create a social chasm between sites of agricultural cultivation and spaces of self-cultivation. In Alurista's writing, the language of cultivation likewise signals the close relationship that existed for the Chicano Movement between a political discourse of "stolen lands" (à la López Tijerina) and a politics of cultural reclamation and ethnic identity formation.

## "Flowers Growing Where We Planted Bayonets": Movement Radicalism and the University's "Politics of Culture"

Mark McGurl points out that the late 1960s and 1970s witnessed, along with the rise of student activism and militancy, "a gradual shift in emphasis from disruptive political protest to less demanding (literally) interventions in the symbolic domain of cultural representation."[53] Threats unleashed by the temporary collapse of customary boundaries purported to separate the "autonomous" university from the state and civil society produced "for the better part of a decade . . . what might be described as a series of sometimes tragically violent, but increasingly *intramural*, and eventually purely symbolic and highly professionalized, conflicts." For McGurl, the university largely succeeded in resisting the imperative for fundamental change set in motion by activists of color and the New Left, making partially assimilable the transformative discourses and demands of student and faculty radicals. Chicano Movement counterculture illustrates, in important ways, this broader turn during the late Sixties toward a symbolic cultural politics (Segade's "politics of culture") that partly facilitated the translation of radical political and social demands into the language of culture dominant in the university.

The tendency on the part of the university to tolerate and tenuously endorse Chicano countercultural politics, while downplaying radical activism and militancy, did not go unnoticed by key cultural workers and intellectuals within el Movimiento. José Montoya, for example, would scathingly attack this trend in two important, if not often cited, Movement poems. An artist by training, Montoya helped to found the Rebel Chicano Art Front and in 1971 became professor of Art Education at California State University (CSU), Sacramento. In "From '67 to '71" (1972), a poem written shortly after beginning his tenure at CSU Sacramento, Montoya pessimistically points to a political shift within el Movimiento:

> Flowers are growing where
> we planted bayonets
> Hopelessness provides a respite
> and reckless impulses subside
> I no longer wait for the rains
> only cold winter evenings

I wince at revolutionary talk-talk
and a tear and a smile confuse
my prodigies[55]

Flowers serve as a traditional, perhaps even archetypal, symbol for the aesthetic. In Montoya's poem, the flowers blossoming in place of the Movement's "planted bayonets" may also allude to *florícanto* (or "*flor y canto*"), a term derived from the Nahuatl expression, or *difrasismo*, for "poetry" (*in xochitl* [the flower], *in cuicatl* [the song]) and popularized by Alurista to denote Chicana/o artistic production. On one level, *flor y canto* again draws attention to the countercultural juxtaposition of the material and the mystical, the tangible and the ineffable, concrete fact and private affect. Cordelia Candelaria points out that "[b]y yoking the flowers of the earth in their aromatic, colorful, natural beauty to the human created song of the air, the Nahuas demonstrated their recognition of the transcendent quality of poetry. The very term, its disparities brought together in wonderful communion, embodies the holistic, synthetic power of poetry to transform the mundane experience into mystical insight."[56] Within el Movimiento and Chicano Studies, *flor y canto* became accepted parlance for referring to Chicana/o art, literature, and especially poetry. The year following the publication of "From '67 to '71," Alurista inaugurated the cultural and literary arts celebration *Festival Floricanto*, or *El festival de flor y canto*, at the campus of the University of Southern California.

Montoya's opening line initiates a turn toward the past, contrasting what for the poem's speaker appears to be two very different legacies of el Movimiento. This temporal distance establishes a mode of analysis and critique by which to judge and possibly fault the final outcomes of Movement activism. For the retrospective speaker, a harvest of "flowers" now replace the "bayonets" once "planted" and cultivated by the Movement. The metaphoric reference to the land and agriculture is noteworthy, calling to mind the confrontational labor actions of César Chávez's United Farm Workers in California and the armed land-grant campaign spearheaded by López Tijerina in New Mexico. But now, the speaker laments, el Movimiento and Chicana/o communities are left with apparently empty "revolutionary talk-talk" and with an attendant sense of "Hopelessness" as substitutes for the once "reckless impulses" that at the very least led to forms of direct political action and radical optimism.[57] In the end, Montoya collapses the critical distance between the speaker and the Movement, as the poetic persona confesses in the closing stanza equal culpability for the apparent shortcomings of el Movimiento: "I don't want to recall / when I became ineffective / but I do."[58] The deep sense of "feeling guilty about smelling flowers" expressed in Alurista's "Poem in Lieu of Preface" returns in Montoya's verse, but in a quite different register. Where Alurista's "flowers" connote cultural revival and endurance, no doubt seen as a possible weapon against the dehumanization and oppression experienced at the hands of U.S. economic and racist domination, the "flowers" in Montoya's poem signal a retreat from

the political and social commitments espoused at one time by el Movimiento. The causes behind the Movement's gradual political shift are internalized in "From '67 to '71," framed by the poem's voice as a personal failure that leaves "my prodigies" in a state of confusion and the speaker with only "a tear and a smile" that betray the irony of history's ruse.

In Montoya's later satiric poem "The Movement Has Gone for Its Ph.D. Over at the University, Or the Gang Wars Are Back" (1992b), the responsibility for el Movimiento's failings and shortcomings is primarily attributed to the impact of the university on Chicana/o radicalism. The poem opens with a series of questions that contrast the initial revolutionary intentions of La Causa and the seemingly disbanded and defunct present-day Chicano Movement of the mid-1970s:

> What has happened to the Movement, camarada?
> What has happened to la causa and the guns?
> All those vatos de proposals y programas
> Federales, ¿Dónde están?
> Qué paso con EOP and education
> weren't we going to build a nation
> called Aztlan?[59]

Missing from the current political landscape is not only the radical militancy of the late 1960s ("la causa and the guns"), but also the federally sponsored War on Poverty programs that promised to ameliorate past racial injustices and economic inequalities ("proposals y programas / Federales"). For the poem's speaker, the struggle for an oppositional "nation / called Aztlan," along with the institutional remedies offered to students of color by the Educational Opportunity Program (EOP) and higher education, have failed to solve the serious problems plaguing Mexican-American communities. In fact, as the poem consistently intimates, "EOP and education" perhaps came to pacify and appease rather than radicalize and liberate the Chicana/o community. "¿De qué sirvio? [What was the use?]," asks the speaker, "las marchas [the marches] and all that yelling."[60]

The direct linking of the university ("EOP and education") and Chicano countercultural politics ("build a nation / called Aztlan") represents an early indication of where Montoya, at least in "The Movement Has Gone for Its Ph.D.," places the blame for the alleged failings of el Movimiento. While firing barbs at the conservative political establishment and the federal repression carried out by "all those plants and agents—all the / ones that / infiltrated,"[61] Montoya reserves his most severe and scathing criticism for Chicanas and Chicanos who much too quickly and comfortably acclimated to the institutional and bureaucratic culture of the university. The poetic voice queries, "Where do you suppose they've gone, / All those bad-ass bigotones / que llegaron shouting RAZA / y viva EL BARRIO / and they couldn't even roll their R's?"[62] Montoya

marshals a familiar cultural nationalist trope in these lines, satirizing Chicana/o PhDs via a rhetorical claim of cultural inauthenticity. Yet, at the same time, Montoya's satire in the poem foregrounds the fact that the very rhetoric and political assumptions of Chicano cultural nationalism proved politically misleading, allowing many self-professed radicals to project a position of seeming opposition through a cultural politics that fit rather nicely within the institutional matrix of the university.

In response to the political urgency and demands of Chicana/o communities outside the academy—"¡Ay! Qué Raza / no se aguanta—just what do these people want?"—the speaker ironically announces, "If they'd only go to college so that they / could learn Marxism / and learn of the benefits of cultural / pluralism!"[63] The struggle for political power, economic justice, and against racism embraced by the Movement and its New Left counterparts has been replaced by "the benefits" of a college education in liberal cultural pluralism. For Montoya, the university has effectively neutralized the political valence of Sixties militancy and radicalism, making academically palatable even Marxist revolutionary doctrines. Acquiescence and institutional coexistence rather than political antagonism now mark the Movement's residency in the university:

> Now consider los colegios and the
> progress de los estudiantes Chicanos
> donde MEChA mano a mano
> has just won the intramural cup!
> Y los profes y estudiantes siguen
> siempre deligentemente pa' delante
> all keep searching for those stipends
> in the sky.[64]
> [Now consider the colleges and the / progress of the Chicano students / where MEChA hand in hand / has just won the intramural cup! / And the professors and students keep / always diligently moving forward / all keep searching for those stipends / in the sky]

MEChA and Chicano Studies professors and students enjoy the intramural activities and rewards of the pluralist postwar university, moving diligently forward, no longer in search of a "a nation / called Aztlán," but instead on a quest for "those stipends / in the sky." Arguably, Montoya's sardonic criticisms speak to more than an individual sense of disillusionment, frustration, and cynicism over the purportedly altered politics of el Movimiento. More crucially, his poems draw attention to the changing institutional, political, and cultural landscape of the postwar American university.

Writing in 1974, Raymond V. Padilla similarly records in his dissertation on the development of Chicano Studies at Berkeley what he depicts as "a shift in Chicano Studies goals."[65] For Padilla, debates over Chicano Studies curricu-

lum and research, at least in Berkeley, culminated in "a compromise between the initial activistic [*sic*] goal of the program and the need to legitimize Chicano Studies on campus."[66] The compromise meant to mediate a sharpening contradiction within the evolving objectives of Chicano Studies. While initially centered on "people-community development," Chicano Studies soon became preoccupied with "sheltering students from an alien and inhospitable university environment."[67] Shielding Chicana/o students proved crucial, since originally these students supplied the main body of support for the new discipline, as well as the basis for its justification. In "an attempt to shelter the program itself," Padilla explains, Chicano Studies advocates gradually implemented a strategy that "took the form of identification with other liberal arts programs in the university."[68] However, in Padilla's judgment, such a strategy betrayed an "incongruency," since "attempts to make Chicano Studies function like 'any other liberal arts' program on campus . . . stands in contradiction to the first goal of activism."[69] According to Lisa Lowe, the need to grapple with such an "incongruency," or political contradiction, was not unique to Chicano Studies:

> Interdisciplinary studies express contradiction . . . to the degree that they provide the sites from which to reevaluate disciplinary methods that assume Western cultural autonomy and the universality of the Western subject. . . . In this sense, Ethnic Studies scholars do not reproduce the methods of literary, historical, or sociological studies merely to celebrate "ethnic culture" as an object separated from the material conditions of production and reception. . . . At the same time, institutionalizing such fields as Ethnic Studies will contain an inevitable paradox: institutionalization provides a material base within the university for a transformative critique of traditional disciplines and their traditional separations, and yet institutionalization of any field or curriculum that establishes orthodox objects and methods submits in part to the demands of the university and its educative function of socializing subjects into the state.[70]

Rather than dismantling and remaking the institutional demands and material relations of the university, interdisciplinary programs and departments like Chicano Studies and Ethnic Studies obtained institutionalized space on college campuses on the basis of a new "adaptative hegemony" that recognized difference, but only on the strict condition that the structural logic of the academy remained intact. For this reason, argues Michael Soldatenko, "Chicano Studies failed not because it had not properly implemented *El Plan* or any other vision, but because it was successful in grafting itself onto the academy."[71] As Soldatenko tersely concludes, "the community was replaced by the institution."[72] "All in all," Soldatenko sums up, "Chicano studies replicated all the traditional

practices and institutions of academic disciplines."[73] While not as ubiquitous as Soldatenko suggests, it is true that university campuses throughout the 1970s witnessed a palpable shift away from more organic forms of community-based political activism and militancy.

For Chicano educators like Montoya and Padilla, the increased concern over university institutionalization and disciplinary professionalization seemed to run counter to the initial anti-establishment and antibureaucratic radicalism of Sixties social movements. A proposal for a Third World College published during the turbulent 1969 Third World Liberation Front strike at the University of California, Berkeley, identified as one stated goal "an academic enterprise deliberately designed to focus on solving the problems that victimized Third World people, Third World communities, in a way unencumbered by obstacles of tradition too characteristic of our educational institutions."[74] Likewise, in his contribution to the 1970 Chicano Studies Institute, Manuel I. López stresses the need to espouse and implement a transformative approach toward U.S. higher education: "We must recognize that that which we seek in Chicano Studies calls for radical change in the university."[75] In López's estimation, a "radical" reconception of the university should lie at the core of the political and educational objectives behind Chicano Studies: "In order to change archaic admissions standards, irrelevant classes, a cutthroat grading system, institutionalized racism and faculty control of courses, the function and values of the university must be changed."[76] And, yet, the realities of institutional marginalization and underfunding constantly left Chicano Studies susceptible to the gilded promises of the university and its allied philanthropic organizations. The political scientist Mario Barrera warned in 1974 that "[t]here is great temptation to accept the assumptions of the profession and the funding agencies, since this makes it much easier to work in that environment."[77]

According to Johnnella E. Butler, a central founding and enduring principle of Ethnic Studies in its multiple forms (e.g., African American Studies, Chicano Studies, Latino Studies, Asian American Studies, and Native American Studies) is the scholarly and pedagogical drive "to illuminate the possibility of a vibrant, multiracial, and multiethnic national culture and a just society."[78] Consequently, Ethnic Studies must grapple with what Butler characterizes as "the repetitive forces of assimilationist imperatives" in large part sustained and promulgated by the university.[79] Indeed, the formation of Ethnic Studies programs throughout the late 1960s and 1970s represented a direct challenge to "the ingrained concept of universities as the carriers of Anglo-American values and as the domain of the elite."[80] As Butler rightly sums up, Ethnic Studies emerge as a corrective and a countervailing force to the "exclusionary universalistic theories and scholarly expressions of a national self-understanding birthed in slavery, racism, and colonialism."[81] The university thus signified for Sixties radicals a vital front in the battle to revolutionize the cultural, economic, and political foundations of the United States.

Chicano Movement activists and advocates waged fiercely turbulent campaigns against the university's institutional racism and elitist bureaucracy. However, such struggles more often than not (and especially during the 1970s) worked to reformulate and partially appropriate, rather than call into question and overturn, the sociohistorical mission of the university. Writing toward the end of the Movement years, the Chicano historian and scholar-activist Juan Gómez-Quiñones portrays the student movement among Chicanas and Chicanos as primarily directed at obtaining "reforms which in sum sought to democratize the relations between the community and the dominant system, but also to democratize the university and society as a whole."[82] As *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* stipulates, the goal of Chicana/o student and faculty activists was to compel universities and colleges "truly [to] live up to their credo, to their commitment to diversification, democratization, and enrichment of our cultural heritage and human community."[83] In defiance of the longstanding Eurocentric practices and interests of the American university, the Movement and Chicano Studies fostered a pedagogical strategy based on a countercultural ethos that called for the revaluation of cultural difference and national self-identity.[84] However, under the new adaptive hegemonic regime of the postwar university, Chicano counterculture proved complementary to the academy's shifting ideas on national culture, now anchored to notions of cultural pluralism and diversity. In fact, in his later assessment of el Movimiento, Gómez-Quiñones classifies Chicano counterculture and nationalism as a strain of "ethnic liberalism," concluding that in its artistic expressions as well as in its political and educational objectives the Movement "emphasized pride, condemned discrimination, and demanded equities. This message was easily assimilable by the dominant society and the varied sectors in the community. The emphasis was on ethnic contributions and participation, not insurgency."[85]

Insofar as it persisted at the level of culture, the push to "democratize the university" continued in large part—despite its frequent politically-charged rhetoric—to speak *in* rather than *against* the standard language of the institution.[86] For university administrators and boards of trustees, such an approach proved especially attractive as a means by which to dissuade and undercut radical proponents of autonomous Third World colleges, of participatory and democratic institutional governance, and of community-based and practice-oriented liberationist education. Rosaura Sánchez foregrounds just these political and bureaucratic exigencies facing the university during the late Sixties:

> New academic programs like ethnic studies and women's studies arose not out of a state interest in a body of knowledge but out of interest in ensuring campus order and security. . . . The university was able to create and integrate these programs administratively under its umbrella, allowing . . . for a potential firecracker to defuse itself.[87]

On the one hand, extremely difficult and fervent antiracist struggles raged on high school and college campuses over changes to the admission policies, cultural outlook, and curricular program of the U.S. education system. These hard-fought and salutary victories were in no way spontaneous, automatic, or generously granted by those in positions of power. On the other hand, as some Chicana/o intellectuals and activists frustratingly put forward, Movement countercultural politics at the end of the day evidently fell short of undermining the avowed mission and overall normalized operations and practices of the university. Sánchez concludes: "The discourse of ethnic power, opportunity, and pluralism led to an unrealistic assessment of the extent of struggle possible at the institutional level and masked our incapacity to avoid serving privilege and class domination within academia. In the end our counter discourses have been co-opted, silenced, or ignored by mainstream discourse."[88]

Similar concerns were voiced early on by Movimiento academics and activists. For instance, Carlos Vásquez anticipates Sánchez's later evaluation in his concluding piece for the critical collection of essays *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education*:

> Culturally 'relevant' or 'pluralistic' programs have been conceded merely to confuse and obfuscate the real heart of the problem in the American educational system: a class-based and structured educational system which allows no signs of opening up for those of low socio-economic standing (Chicanos in our case), but instead continues to recreate and reproduce the same conditions and relations of production which capitalism has always needed to insure the realization of its motive force—surplus value or profit. . . . They [Chicano Studies programs] were allowed. They harmed no one. They threatened no one, least of all the capitalist mode of production. They quieted the campuses and busied the insurgents in the bureaucracies which their 'struggle' produced. With the increased intervention of the State, campuses languished in extra funds while Chicano college recruits enjoyed the fruits of 'struggle': a financial aids package and all the rhetoric they could master.[89]

Although not all so overtly Marxist and scathing in their analysis as Vásquez, most of the contributors to *Parameters of Institutional Change* offer similar critical assessments of Movement activism and its relationship to the institutional matrix of the university, likewise stressing the negative consequences of this ostensible *rapprochement* between el Movimiento and the university.

Not everyone regretted the outcome, however. In a celebratory rather than condemnatory tone, a 1978 Ford Foundation-sponsored report on the state of Ethnic Studies likewise highlights an apparent shift in the focus and com-

mitment of newly established disciplines like Chicano Studies. Interestingly enough, the Ford Foundation was a leading financial supporter of Ethnic Studies programs throughout the 1970s, seeing them as an instrument with which to improve "race relations" and to diffuse racial tensions in the United States through the fostering of cultural integration, diversity, and awareness—that is, by actively promoting liberal cultural pluralism. The report, aptly titled *Widening the Mainstream of American Culture*, claims to describe "the evolution of . . . ethnic studies programs,"[90] underscoring the move away from a much-feared earlier political radicalism:

> Although some misunderstanding remains on college and university campuses about the role and content of undergraduate ethnic studies programs, their place now appears secure. The exaggerated political rhetoric that once enveloped ethnic studies has largely disappeared; many weak programs have been winnowed out, and the more established ones have entered a new phase of improved staffing, curricula, and financial support.[91]

The language in the passage suggests a natural *evolution* for Ethnic Studies, with the gradual extinction of "weak programs" and the persevering through adaptation of "more established ones." In so doing, the report entirely downplays the very important role of university administrators and the Ford Foundation itself in determining which Ethnic Studies programs survived and which disappeared. The contestatory impetus behind the original calls for Ethnic Studies by student- and scholar-activists is dismissed as simply "exaggerated political rhetoric," most of which has now thankfully given way to "improved" administrative, curricular, and pedagogical practices. Butler notes that the "report's narrative belies the very tension that Ethnic Studies has attempted to address that plagues it from within and without: the battle against scholarship and teaching that reinforces through its theory and epistemology the racist assimilationist imperatives" of traditional higher education in the United States.[92] Although critical of the report, Butler welcomes the auspicious opening up of the university's curricula and scholarship that the Ford Foundation facilitated through its financial contributions to Ethnic Studies. Nevertheless, the trajectory of this advancement within the academy charts the contested ground of competing visions for Ethnic Studies and the institutional and financial weight the university and philanthropic foundations brought to bear on the process of resolving the significant political, scholarly, and pedagogical disagreements that punctuate the history of interdisciplinary programs and departments.

The sociologist Joan Roelofs draws attention to the longstanding influential, if not determinative, relationship enjoyed between charitable foundations and U.S. public education. Roelofs argues that philanthropic organizations within the United States historically have turned time and again to "the mask of

pluralism"[93] in order to preserve a hegemonic cultural dominant, to obfuscate and thus pacify class and racial antagonisms, and to shape public policy and opinion in the service of domination and capital accumulation. According to Roelofs, the Ford Foundation in particular was instrumental during the 1970s and 1980s in promoting and funding "initiatives [that] helped transform radical movements into professional-led scholarly or bureaucratic organizations."[94] In the face of growing political solidarity among radicals of color, "[f]ragmentation was regarded as urgent" by the ruling elite, a crisis that in Roelofs's opinion prompted foundation-backed "publications, institutes, and university programs . . . [that] helped create 'identity politics'" in its most innocuous academic forms.[95] Commenting on the Ford Foundation specifically, Roelofs stresses that when "an organization such as Ford, with assets of approximately $15 billion, decides to throw its weight behind one cause rather than another, it is no small distortion of democracy. This steering prevents threatening alternatives from appearing on the serious political agenda. Those who see our travails arising from corporate power and wealth gradually are excluded from political discourse; they are labeled 'irresponsible,' 'unrealistic,' and 'unfundable.'"[96] The Ford Foundation's role with respect to Sixties radicalism highlights exactly this hegemonic function of institutional selection, delimitation, and elimination characteristic of social philanthropy.

On September 29, 1968, the *New York Times* reported "a major policy shift" in the financial focus and operations of the Ford Foundation.[97] The announcement came from new Ford Foundation president McGeorge Bundy (1966–1979), who coincidently had served under President John F. Kennedy and President Lyndon B. Johnson as National Security Advisor, engineering many of the early military pacification policies employed in Vietnam. According to Bundy, the philanthropic organization now planned to "place part of its investment portfolio in ventures aiding the poor and minority groups and land conservation rather than enterprises offering greater financial return."[98] The new investment course, explained Bundy, stemmed from a determination on the part of the Foundation's trustees to "enlarge our kit of tools for trying to help in the social crisis of our time."[99] While expecting a "'probable low return'" on such investments, Bundy assured the *New York Times* that the potential financial losses would be offset by "'a high social yield.'"[100] Earlier in the same month, the *New York Times* reported that under Bundy's stewardship the Ford Foundation "has come to see itself . . . increasingly as an agent for the resolution of civil conflict."[101] In addition to its grant contributions and programs, the Ford Foundation's financial investments now also assumed as a chief objective the creation of business ventures, commercial and service organizations, educational opportunities, and handpicked leadership that could provide an alternative to the local self-directed actions and militant radicalism of the New Left, Black Power groups, and the Chicano Movement.

Regarding el Movimiento specifically, the Ford Foundation played a direct role in establishing and funding a number of service-oriented organizations

for Mexican Americans, including the Southwest Council of La Raza and the Mexican-American Legal Defense and Education Fund. Announcing in 1970 the Ford Foundation's decision to continue to fund the Southwest Council of La Raza, donating $1.3 million over a two-year period, President Bundy hailed the Southwest Council's success in creating "a visible organization with a sense of permanence and stability."[102] The significance of this achievement, in Bundy's opinion, should not be underestimated, since the Southwest Council had "taken the first steps toward converting the long pent-up anger and frustration of its people, ever in danger of explosion and violence, into beneficial programming and planning. We are glad to assist in this pioneering effort *to provide constructive direction* to the growing energy and momentum of the Mexican-American movement."[103] For Bundy, the Southwest Council of La Raza succeeded in meeting the target goal behind the Ford Foundation's "major policy shift," namely, the "converting" of popular anger and fight-back into less confrontational and volatile forms of bureaucratic "programming and planning." As another Ford Foundation executive, Boudinot P. Atterbury, affirmed much more bluntly, "We're going to show these people like Reies Tijerina, we're going to show these advocates of violence, that Ford has a better way."[104]

Writing for the New Left magazine *Ramparts*, Rees Lloyd and Peter Montague described the Ford Foundation's intent as mirroring that of prior colonizers of the Southwest: "to 'benefit' the natives—this time with a pacification program aimed at heading off the new militancy, creating a poverty-foundation complex, and building up a 'safe' leadership for La Raza akin to the NAACP or the Urban League."[105] Gilberto Ballejos, editor of the Albuquerque-based Movement newspaper *El Papel*, voiced a similar critique of the Ford Foundation's philanthropic work with respect to Mexican-American communities: "They're trying to create *Vendido* Power (Sellout Power), *Lame* Power (Asskisser Power), and they want the poor Raza to pay the price. . . . It's Bundy's bullshit, he's trying to bring Vietnam to New Mexico and trying to create 'leaders' the system can use as tools."[106] The Ford Foundation's assistance for the "benefit" of Mexican Americans was not limited to the barrio and the countryside, but extended into the university as well, where it also sparked criticism on the part of some Chicana/o radicals.

Between 1970 and 1978, the Ford Foundation contributed almost $11 million in grants to Ethnic Studies and more than $47 million in graduate fellowship packages, ranging from one to five years, for African American, Chicana/o, Puerto Rican, and Asian American graduate students.[107] According to its report *Widening the Mainstream of American Culture*, this financial support on the part of the Ford Foundation represented the means by which to assist Ethnic Studies in "developing their own scholars and scholarship, in order to enlarge self-understanding and to expand general awareness and appreciation of the rich ethnic diversity of American culture."[108] In this fashion, Ethnic Studies research and teaching would carry forward the "heightened consciousness of minority students [that] led to the recognition that non-European cultures had

been neglected by a white, European-oriented academic tradition."[109] In the eyes of the university and the Ford Foundation, Ethnic Studies programs like African American and Chicano Studies were charged with fostering the cultural "self-understanding" of Black and Chicana/o students, respectively, and with creating a "general awareness" of cultural difference among all students on campus, with the principal goal of encouraging "ethnic diversity." *Widening the Mainstream* wholly reworks and re-envisions the general intent and radical ends of Sixties campus militancy, deliberately endorsing a liberal cultural-pluralist politics at the expense of the "exaggerated political rhetoric" of protesting students and faculty of color within the university.

In tracing the history of Chicano Studies, Soldatenko highlights the early backing the Ford Foundation gave to programs, councils, and scholars, while also noting that such financial support remained "an issue of concern" for the Movement.[110] For instance, José Angel Gutiérrez, one of the founders of the Mexican American Youth Organization and later of La Raza Unida Party, worried that Chicana/o groups funded by the Ford Foundation would be "less accountable and accessible to the Chicano militants."[111] In reference to the Southwest Council of La Raza, longtime Mexican-American labor organizer and civil rights crusader Bert Corona admitted that financial dependence on the Ford Foundation "limited the effectiveness and autonomy of the group and steered it toward more of an establishment perspective."[112] In the eyes of more than a few Movimiento activists, concludes Soldatenko, the Ford Foundation and other similar philanthropic institutions "served to moderate Chicano academic politics."[113] Citing an article by Abel Amaya, a program officer in the Ford Foundation's higher education division, Soldatenko stresses the push to endorse and finance academic proposals that "had moved away from slogans, utopias, and cult of leadership" and instead embraced a "more legitimate effort" at guaranteeing a high level of Chicana/o scholarship and educational advancement.[114] Writing in 1974, Amaya opines that "[t]here are hopeful indications that Chicano 'education activists' have transcended the narrow rhetorical focus of the movement."[115] In Amaya's estimation, the Chicano Movement was finally "beginning to grapple with the real hard issues of educative progress," a sign that "our dreams and hopes are less utopic than yesterday."[116] However, for a significant number of Chicana/o faculty and students, Amaya's repudiation of earlier Movement militancy and anti-establishment attitudes confirmed their suspicion that the Ford Foundation and comparable charitable organizations strove "to moderate forces within ethnic studies"[117] while inducing proponents of el Movimiento to abandon the left radical ideals and emancipatory goals initially motivating demands for fundamental changes on college and university campuses.

Cultural pluralism and discourses of opportunity and social betterment within the university worked hand in glove with the broader program of pacification carried out by the U.S. government and affiliate public institutions during the volatile 1960s and 1970s. Sánchez reiterates the point in stark language:

"Thus to ensure domestic tranquility, the federal government initiated a liberal discourse of affirmative action, war on poverty, aid to education, bilingual education, and economic opportunity. This discourse was part of federal policy throughout this period as the government sought to maintain law and order in the streets at a time when the U.S. was concentrating on an expansion of the war in Vietnam."[118] The expansion of social and educational opportunities helped to underwrite the literary and scholarly recovery of formerly denigrated ethnic traditions and cultural practices. Nevertheless, for Sánchez and other scholars and activists, it also played a key role in safeguarding the fundamental relations of inequality, oppression, and exploitation responsible for the marginalization and domination of U.S. working-class communities of color in the first place.

## "We Have Gun-Point Education": Institutions of De-Education and Chicano Countercultural Politics

Movement participants gradually came to see the university as a primary agent for change on behalf of La Causa. Surveying the state of Chicano Studies programs and departments in 1973, Refugio I. Rochin observes that "Chicanos perceive the university as a vital institutional instrument of change," despite the fact that "higher institutions of education had contributed directly to the deprived conditions of the Chicano, rural and urban."[119] Chicano Studies intellectuals and student activists, now armed with el Movimiento's countercultural ethos, believed they could wield the institutional resources, expertise, and commitments of the university to undo much of its past harm. On the one hand, "American universities had neglected the Chicano's socioeconomic and educational needs and had tried to impose the Anglo-American monoculture syndrome on all Chicanos in general."[120] On the other hand, the university seemed to offer, particularly through its expanding Chicano and Ethnic Studies units, the possibility of "strengthening . . . Chicano cultural heritage"[121] and therefore held out the possibility of bolstering and reinvigorating the countercultural politics at the heart of the alternative Chicano "value system." *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, the Movement's manifesto on higher education, candidly states: "the university has contributed mightily to the oppression of our people."[122] However, the university traffics in "knowledge, which is power," *El Plan* maintains, and if harnessed correctly and effectively, can no doubt "contribute to the liberation of the Chicano community."[123] Through the developing of research and pedagogy that addressed the particulars of the Chicana/o cultural experience, programs and departments in Chicano Studies could potentially effect a countercultural radical transvaluation of the university's institutional mission.

Above all, Chicano Studies should strive for "re-definition" and "re-interpretation," observe Reynaldo Macias, Juan Gómez-Quiñones, and Raymond Castro in an important early essay on the nascent field: "It in effect affirms a counter culture that is authentically Chicano and universal."[124] The Curriculum

Committee for the Chicano Studies Division at Berkeley makes just such a countercultural point in its "A Proposed Curriculum for an A.B. Major in Chicano Studies" (1971), which Rochin quotes: "Every developmental force—economic, political, linguistic, demographic—has confirmed the Anglo-American monoculture and denied the Mexican-Americans their own, and the substantial contribution it would have made to the total society. Chicano Studies exists to rectify this cultural imbalance."[125] The university's "cultural" impact on the greater society could be marshaled to reverse the racist "imbalance" that persisted across the U.S. Southwest, if not the United States as whole, to the detriment of Mexican-American communities. Simultaneously, then, the university embodied for Chicana/o intellectuals and cultural workers both an enemy and a friend: a weapon of the ruling classes and the Eurocentric status quo, as well as a powerful and indispensable tool for dismantling existing societal relations of inequality and overturning the ideological apparatuses and repressive structures that maintained them.

Soldatenko identifies this "equivocation about the university" as fundamental to the basic outlook and eventual institutional trajectory of the discipline.[126] However, the Chicano Movement retained no exclusive claim to this paradoxical relationship with and perspective on the university. In fact, el Movimiento's ambivalent attitude reflects a more general contradiction endemic to the thinking of Sixties radicals and intellectuals vis-à-vis the academy. The historian Russell Jacoby notes that, "[w]hile activists often disdained academics, New Left intellectuals largely envisioned themselves as future professors. . . . Unlike the old left, the New Left frontally attacked the university. Yet young intellectuals entered it with less regrets."[127] Despite the initial negative assessment of the university and its "cumbersome academic bureaucracy" voiced in "The Port Huron Statement" (1962), the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) recognized college campuses in particular as "an overlooked seat of influence" and "a potential base and agency in a movement of social change."[128] Given its relation to knowledge and knowledge-production, its strategic geographical distribution, its range of political and ideological commitments, and its mounting concentration of youth populations, the university emerged for the New Left as "an obvious beginning point" for its organizing and quite possibly the last remaining social institution "[f]rom where . . . power and vision [could] be summoned."[129] Throughout the Vietnam War era, the New Left consistently viewed the university as a "significant source of social criticism and an initiator of new modes and molders of attitudes," and therefore as holding out the possibility for "revealing new potentialities, new levers for change."[130] As with the Chicano Movement, the New Left acknowledged the structural limitations and repressive nature of the postwar university, while at the same time emphasizing its latent uses for radical ends insofar as it comprised "a crucial institution in the formation of social attitudes."[131] For el Movimiento as much as for the New Left, successful social revolution depended on the instilling of new cultural values and practices, whether recovered from a communitarian past or pro-

leptically imagined from an egalitarian future. Given its standing as "a crucial institution in the formation of social attitudes," the university thus proved vital to this broader project for radical transformation.[132]

In Padilla's estimation, Chicano Studies "saw the university as a repository of resources which could be effectively harnessed for the development of the oppressed and exploited Chicano communities outside of the campus."[133] Yet, although Chicana/o academics "sought to address community problems by using campus resources," Padilla adds that many likewise regarded the "maintaining [of] an adversary relationship with the very same campus" to be not only desirable, but also necessary.[134] American higher education, despite its prospective benefits and advantages, still epitomized for Chicanas and Chicanos a neocolonial and authoritarian institution geared toward the socializing of subjects under the rule of an oppressive state apparatus. Mark McGurl describes this shared paradoxical outlook on the university during the late 1960s as a "confusing proximity of empowerment *by* institutions [of education] to imprisonment *in* institutions [of education]."[135] For Sixties radicalism, the possible positive and liberatory functions of the university ironically entailed mobilizing its institutional commitments and concrete practices against those very same commitments and practices: scholarly research and academic instruction geared toward the overturning and reformulating of the academy itself. As McGurl indicates elsewhere, the New Left and the various ethno-nationalist movements of the Vietnam War era called not for "*less* education, then, but *more* education, *as long as this education can be re-imagined as an education in resistance to assimilation by education*."[136] For McGurl, the impetus behind the "many ethnic studies programs and centers" formed during the late 1960s and early 1970s signifies not a desire for "inclusion simply, but a paradoxically *included exclusion*, the construction and maintenance of the outside within."[137] From its inception, Chicano Studies involved just such a counter-assimilative project. Chicana/o scholars and student activists sought to undermine existing power relations and institutional racism by framing and popularizing from *within* the university an alternative value system, rooted in Chicano countercultural politics, that ultimately would transform higher education in the process of extending *beyond* the university's walls to impact conditions in the local barrios and eventually to radicalize American society as a whole. Early Chicana/o "organic" intellectuals, insofar as they understood their role in such terms,[138] steadily looked to the university as a base of operations with a specific strategic mission: first, to tear the traditional veil of intellectual autonomy and objectivity shielding what Christopher Newfield calls the "triple helix" of the university-military-industrial complex,[139] and, second, and most importantly, to build el Movimiento and its countercultural politics by encouraging and molding—by *cultivating*—Chicana/o undergraduate and graduate students into future "organic" intellectuals tasked with returning to and assisting Mexican-American communities across the United States.

Carlos Muñoz, Jr., explains that *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* "loosely defined [Chicano Studies] as simply curricula on the Chicano experience, past and present, with a focus on the cultural aspects of that experience."[140] Muñoz maintains that the "rationale for Chicano Studies as outlined in the *Plan* was predicated on an *inward look* at the Chicano experience," in the hope that it would lead the Chicana/o student "to the discovery of his people's cultural traditions, thus providing an understanding of himself and his people."[141] Hence, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara* asserts that the "critical dialectics of Chicano Studies are the individual and culture which produces identity and new culture; the individual and community produces social action and change."[142] In this way, then, as with the postwar American university more generally, early formulations of Chicano Studies articulate an explicit commitment to the power of culture. "I teach their children in my university classes," the children of Mexican-American middle-class families, explains the famed Chicano novelist Rodolfo A. Anaya, "and find most don't speak Spanish, most do not know the ways or the history of the traditional culture. Now we will see if the elements of that culture that took hundreds of years to evolve can survive in the middle class."[143] The Chicano Movement, Anaya insists, reflected the "struggle of our community to exist and retain not only its cultural ways but its soul."[144] In the 1960s, young Mexican Americans "would look back in anger and realize they were losing many of their traditional ways."[145] A middle- and high-school teacher turned university professor, Anaya personally witnessed this struggle for the "soul" of the Chicana/o student unfolding daily in the academic and administrative spaces of the U.S. education system.[146]

In a similar vein, Alurista argued that the vitality and usefulness of Chicano Studies to el Movimiento rested on the extent to which Chicana/o faculty, administrators, and students succeeded in fostering el Movimiento's countercultural ethos on university and college campuses. In "Chicano Studies: A Future" (n.d.), a tract written for the first California State College Chicana/o faculty conference, Alurista explained that the promise of Chicano Studies depends on the rejection of a materialistic and militaristic U.S. status quo readily embraced by traditional academic disciplines.[147] Alurista underscored that "the future of Chicano Studies" as a positive contributor to the goals of the Movement presupposed a "rejection of endless dependence of the American way of life and its institutions," and conversely, the promotion of "the way of life indigenous to this continent."[148] Unfortunately, "insofar as we are inside the gringo institutions," wrote Alurista, "our task to transform our gringo patterns of existence is made more difficult since many of our members learn to enjoy the plastic way of life of the gringo student, the gringo teacher, or the gringo administrator."[149] For Alurista, combating the appeal of this "plastic way of life" necessitated an emphasis on countercultural "practice" rather than the "empty" and "pure" theorizing common within the university: "And it is our practice that will diferentiate [*sic*] us from other academic studies detached from the corrupt American reality which they practice every day."[150] In assessing Alurista's views on

Chicano Studies, Soldatenko highlights this point, reiterating Alurista's stress on the fact that "Chicano studies must reflect different practices than other academic endeavors. Chicano studies is about practice, about advocacy for change, a different way of life."[151] Significantly, as with much of his writing, in "Chicano Studies: A Future" Alurista conceives of such "practice" in almost strictly cultural terms.

The nurturing of Chicano counterculture within and beyond the university constituted an urgent task for el Movimiento, and as Alurista specified, "[t]o speak of cultivating a way of life is to speak of culture."[152] The university's attraction for Alurista rested on its power to impact culture, to alter attitudes and perspectives that motivated the daily practices, actions, and commitments of Mexican-American communities and of American society more generally. Chicano Studies, which had access to "flowing resources"[153] absent for the Movement outside the university, could thus undertake the vital practice of cultural self-renewal and self-determination, of reestablishing a different and oppositional "way of life" centered on an Indigenous Mesoamerican worldview:

> To recognize, reconocer, is to know again, to identify as known, as part of one. Chicano Studies may aid La Raza to recognize ourselves through our history. To recognize ourselves through our literature. To recognize ourselves through our arts. To take cognizance of our indigenous roots. . . . To take cognizance of the Way of Life, the culture which must be cultivated if our Nation is going to rise.[154]

The university and its resources afforded the much-needed opportunity to carry out a reclamation of Chicano identity and culture, but only if Chicano Studies oriented its pedagogy and research toward a "cognizance of our indigenous roots," Alurista insisted. Meeting this educational challenge would lay the foundation to "begin to offer, by example, an alternative to the American way of life and from our practice, from habitual lives that we develop, construct a different system of production."[155] Cultural revolution precedes social and economic revolution. Moreover, as Alurista's essay indicates, the responsibility now fell on Chicano Studies and the postwar American university to effect this cultural transformation of individual and community through the cultivation of a countercultural pedagogy and consequent new social "practice" and "way of life."

Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales, the outspoken leader of the Denver-based grassroots Movement organization Crusade for Justice and the co-founder of an independently run Chicano school and college, La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco, likewise asserted the need "to create a cultural renaissance, a cultural revival of whom [*sic*] we were," during his first formal address to Chicana/o students at Arizona State University (ASU).[156] Delivered on October 14, 1970, Gonzales's speech stressed that, in order for Movimiento activists to tackle the

economic and political problems confronting Chicana/o communities, "[f]irst, we have to create cultural awareness."[157] "When you have that cultural awareness," maintained Gonzales, "then you can create your own economic base. Then you can get yourselves together." For Gonzales, this necessary and urgent cultural knowledge remained sorely absent among Mexican Americans and, more crucially, continued to be deliberately withheld by American educational institutions.

As Gonzales was wont to point out, dominant U.S. social and cultural institutions systematically deprived Chicanas and Chicanos of even a basic understanding of their history, culture, and communal identity. Through the daily practices and policies of an oppressive, colonial-like political structure, a racist and commercialized network of media outlets, and especially an education system with a penchant for mystifying and distorting sociohistorical truth, several generations of Chicanas and Chicanos had lost touch with their cultural heritage and collective sense of self. Instead, a number of Mexican Americans within the barrio and many more outside of it blindly valued what Gonzales and like-minded Movement advocates deemed the cutthroat individualism, crass materialism, and hollow societal mores of a technocratic U.S. capitalism. "Most of this society is brainwashed by their own TV, by their own literature, their own news media," Gonzales remarked during his ASU speech.[159] The university, in particular, worked to inculcate a sterile, deadening, and conformist cultural logic: "the educational system teaches you that you can make it as long as you conform to society. This means that you must become a robot. You have to become another one of those human beings out there in that no man's land of a neurotic society. This is what you have to become to be what they want out of their schools."[160] Not surprisingly, given its widespread popularity and appeal in the United States by 1970, Gonzales's language echoes New Left critiques of a technologically rationalized, instrumentalist, and bureaucratic postwar capitalism.

Regardless of its ostensibly humanistic mission, the principal function of the university for the New Left proved to be anchored in the "one-dimensional" structure of late capitalist modernity, to use yet again Marcuse's then-fashionable term. The "actual intellectual effect of the college experience," reads "The Port Huron Statement," "is hardly distinguishable from that of any other communications channel—say, a television set—passing on the stock truths of the day."[161] The university "transforms the honest searching of many students to a ratification of convention and, worse, to a numbness to present and future catastrophes."[162] For the SDS authors of this New Left manifesto, the college student invariably learns the standard lesson dispensed in class after class at institutions of higher education: "to accept elite rule within the university, which prepares him to accept later forms of minority control."[163] The university, as Mark Rudd puts it in 1969, "serves the interest of the ruling class" above all by "getting people socialized to take a role, filling a slot in the society."[164] Similarly, Gary R. Weaver, an instructor and former Assistant Dean at The American Univer-

sity, declares in the introduction to his edited collection *The University and Revolution* (1969) that "we have used universities as Xerox machines to reproduce the *status quo*—they have been cultural cookie-cutters taking as their pattern white, male, Anglo-Saxon, middle-class America."[165] Gonzales more than agreed. Schools are "cookie-making-machines," he emphatically told listeners at ASU: "Really! It is a cookie-making machine that goes boom, boom, boom, boom, and all the cookies come out looking alike. The only thing wrong is that some of them have names like Trujillo, Quintana, and some of them are black cookies. They don't fit the slots."[166] Along with his New Left counterparts, Gonzales saw higher education—in fact, the U.S. educational system as a whole—as actively complicit in the perpetuation of an extremely stultifying, alienating, and dehumanizing social condition, one felt much more deeply by students of color. For Chicanas and Chicanos, the "stock truths" of the "cookie-making-machines" translated not only into an enervating conformity and critical stupor, but also into a form of "self-hatred" engendered by cultural deracination and internalized racism.[167]

One Chicana student at St. Mary's University in San Antonio summed up the prevailing situation at the close of the 1960s: "Schools try to brainwash the Chicanos. . . . They try to make us forget our history, to be ashamed of being Mexicans, of speaking Spanish. They succeed in making us feel empty, and angry, inside."[168] Arguments in favor of Chicano Studies programs, departments, research centers, and support resources repeatedly referenced throughout the 1970s (and even up to today) the need to remedy the estrangement and feelings of inferiority experienced by the growing but still relatively small number of students of color on American college and university campuses. Evaluating in 1974 the formation of Chicano Studies at Berkeley, Padilla writes that these nascent academic units advocated "the goal of people-community development" along with "the creation of a 'hospitable environment' on campus for the Chicano student. This goal assumed that the university environment was generally inhospitable and alienating for the Chicano."[169] Likewise, in his paper for the 1970 Chicano Studies Institute, López underscores the alienation and enmity awaiting the newly arrived Chicana/o undergraduate. "The Chicano student found the university a strangely hostile and alien environment," López confessed:

> He found it staffed by administrators and faculty that knew nothing of his history or his culture. He found that he was expected to change into that which they said he should be. He was tested by tests that were not based on his values and by testers that did not relate to him. He was confronted by admission standards that were designed to keep him out, and he experienced anomie of the soul and heart.[170]

The university, in other words, mirrored and helped to preserve the broader social inequities and racial injustices of midcentury America. Institutional racism, inherent to the American culture industry, stigmatized and caricatured the traditions, history, and cultural values of La Raza. Such widespread discriminatory practices, at the heart of which lay the U.S. education system, resulted in frustrated, confused, and disaffected Chicana/o students.

Sal Castro, the Lincoln High School activist-teacher who played a leading role in the 1968 "Blowouts," argued that "[w]e are teaching these kids [Chicana/os] with psychological guns pointed at their heads. . . . We have gun-point education. The school is a prison. Education in the barrio doesn't free the mind of the Chicano. It imprisons his mind."[171] In the eyes of Chicana/o university students and professors, the same dismal situation prevailed in higher education. For López, "the university perpetuates the status quo"[172]—a social practice that involved, according to Alfredo Sanchez, onetime chairman of MEChA at San Jose State College, "the raping of our culture."[173] Higher education, Sanchez complained, "is one of the institutions that has been most responsible for the racism and decadent education Chicanos have been receiving."[174] The underground student newspaper *Chicano Student News* shared this judgment. Much like López, Sanchez, and Gonzales, the newspaper stressed the racist Eurocentrism and conformist ideology reflected in the priorities and curricula of higher education: "You see a Chicano student is alienated from his language; he is de-culturized and finally dehumanized so as to be able to function in a white, middle class, protestant bag."[175] Divorced from any conscious association to a Mexican or indigenous cultural and historical legacy—in fact, encouraged to forget and, when possible, to break any such affiliations—the Chicana/o student was turned against her/himself, left psychologically, culturally, and politically divided and conquered. The general estrangement manufactured by the educational apparatus and mass media of a one-dimensional and conformist American culture ("a white, middle-class, protestant bag") manifested, when one factored in the omnipresence of racism, a double affliction for students of color. As a result, "anomie of the soul and heart" marked their educational experience at all levels, a direct consequence of schooling that lacked and regularly disallowed any familiarity with "his history or his culture," not to mention "his values."

"We are the schizophrenics of this society," Gonzales informed the audience at ASU. "We have guys walking around like John Wayne and singing like James Brown. They don't know who in the hell they are."[176] This "schizophrenic" identity among Mexican Americans stemmed from the simple "fact . . . that they are not identifying with their historical roots!"[177] For Chicano Movement radicals such as Gonzales, the blame rested squarely on the shoulders of a racist and ideologically motivated U.S. educational system. Education for the Mexican American consisted of what Stan Steiner described in 1969 as a "process of de-education."[178] De-education entailed not solely the deliberate failure of U.S. schools to impart an adequate level of formal literacy (i.e., technical skill and

competency) to the Chicana/o student, but also and more significantly, an aggressive policy of cultural imperialism. "The schools have been one of the most effective instruments of the 'Conquest,'" Steiner contends.[179] The "suppression of the Spanish language and the culture of La Raza"[180] was pivotal to the de-education of Mexican and Mexican-American communities across the southwestern United States: "Nowhere in the curriculum is there a word on the Indian, Spanish, and Mexican cultures of the Southwest. . . . The language and culture of the Southwest are seen by his [the Chicano's] teachers as a prime hindrance to his progress, not only in learning English, but in 'becoming an American.'"[181] Cultural assimilation and social conformity remained the central objectives of the U.S. education system vis-à-vis Chicana/o students. Hence, schools adopted a program of de-education with the willful intent to guarantee the political submission and cultural incorporation of Mexican-American students.[182]

"It's important to know that you have to not just evaporate or disappear after you get out of the college scene," Gonzales advised students at ASU. "College is not the launching pad out of the community. We want to see our youth come back to the community."[183] Chicano Studies departments, programs, and centers presented a potential guarantee against the longstanding assimilation of Mexican-American college graduates into professionalized roles and away from the pressing needs and problems of their communities. Too many pre-Movement university students of the so-called "Mexican American Generation" had been lost to the cultural deracination and mainstream American assimilation of the college experience. Chicano Studies afforded a frontline of defense against cooptation. By generating through research and instilling through teaching a countercultural ethos of communitarian values, ethnic pride, and collective service, Chicano Studies promised to counteract the racist, materialist, and individualist logic of late-capitalist "success" that deemed education an avenue of escape from working-class Mexican-American barrios. Gonzales warned his ASU audience not to fall into the trap of professionalism: "You're not here only to obtain a professional level of educational attainment. You are not here only to learn something to take it out for your own economic freedom."[184] For Gonzales, more than enough Chicana/o college graduates had already gone "out into gringo land and . . . never come back."[185] It remained crucial to La Causa, Gonzales affirmed, that "our young people bring back their expertise, their professionalism, their degrees, their humanity, and their compassion, back home where it belongs, to the community."[186] Movement participants like Gonzales thus viewed Chicano Studies as a pedagogical safeguard, ensuring dedication and service to the community on the part of Chicana/o students. *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, for instance, announces at one point that "[t]he goal of Chicano Studies is to provide a coherent and socially relevant education, humanistic and pragmatic which prepares Chicanos for service to the Chicano community and enriches the total society."[187] Such academic preparation revolved around a "general framework" that granted "the curriculum vehicle for affirming identity and developing an in-depth appreciation for the cultural heritage" of Chicana/o

communities.[188] Movimiento countercultural politics, codified to serve as the core of Chicano Studies instruction, would deliver the antidote to American assimilation and cooptation, fortifying Chicana/o students against the materialist allure of U.S. capitalist culture.

Hence, Gonzales identified for his ASU listeners the key political task at hand: "We have to do what we are talking about: make men and women whole again."[189] A renewed sense of "wholeness" entailed for Gonzales traveling that "long road back to yourself when the society has made you into someone else."[190] Chicana/os will "come back home, to La Raza, to [their] heart," insisted Gonzales, only "if we build centers of nationalism" that could challenge and offset the processes of de-education so integral to the U.S. schooling system.[191] Aztlán pulsated deep in the heart of every modern-day Chicana/o, and yet too many routinely failed to hear and recognize its rhythms. The independent community-run school, La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco, founded in October 1970 by Gonzales and the Crusade for Justice, represented a prime example of the Chicano Movement's attempt to build educational "centers of nationalism" that would cultivate Chicano counterculture. Characterized in a 1973 brochure as "a Chicano creation to preserve and augment La Raza de Bronce and our home, Aztlán," La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco centered its curriculum, from primary and secondary schooling through college, on "Chicano ideas, culture, values, experience, feelings, and knowledge . . . to develop and offer alternative models for Chicano education and educators."[192] In Gonzales's opinion, alternative Chicano-controlled schools signaled perhaps the best avenue through which to guarantee an autonomous and committed leadership for the Movement "untainted" by the ideological and institutional machinations of the K-12 and university "cookie-making-machines."[193]

Yet, by the mid-1970s (if not earlier), many Movimiento radicals realized that while alternative education presented a desirable course of action, independent institutions faced many of the very same obstacles and difficulties that were undermining the goals of Chicano Studies academic units within mainstream universities and colleges. Writing in 1974 on the status of Chicano Studies, Juan Gómez-Quiñones acknowledged that alternative schools "are not a panacea. They are hampered by societal and institutional constraints concerning accreditation, funding, and sufficient human resources. They may be free of university politics, but they face the more intense politics of the local area."[194] For Gómez-Quiñones, the problems endangering the goals of Chicano Studies ultimately were not "strikingly different" from those confronting alternative forms of education, but rather "generally the same."[195]

Furthermore, the rising numbers of Chicana/o college students and the range of educational shortcomings and problems that demanded redress remained more than alternative academic institutions could realistically tackle, especially given the practical limitations under which they operated. Just such a conclusion was drawn by Eliezer Risco, onetime editor of the popular Los Angeles Movement newspaper *La Raza*, director of Ethnic Studies at Fresno

State College, and cofounder and director of La Universidad de Aztlán, an autonomous Chicano university in Fresno, California. In his contribution to *Parameters of Institutional Change*, Risco admits:

> Although we might develop ten to twenty Chicano colleges, we're never going to be able to take in all the Chicanos going to college. For years to come, most of the Chicanos going to college will go to college to an established institution. Within those institutions we need to have some kind of basis for support—self identification—and basis for students to work from in dealing with the institutions. That's what Chicano Studies provides.[196]

While skeptical of Chicano Studies' original ambition to radicalize and transform the university, Risco nevertheless stresses the importance of Chicano academic units to the fostering of a much needed "basis of support" that would allow Mexican-American undergraduates to attain "self identification" and to navigate the treacherous institutional minefield of U.S. higher education.

"Who controls the finance and who controls the politics?" asked Gonzales of his audience at ASU. He added, "You know who controls the politics. You know who runs the administration at any school. That is why, when you come to the college, you have to organize a community here."[197] For Gonzales, Chicano Studies programs and departments, along with the Movement student organizations that arguably furnished their principal advocates, embodied Chicana/o "community" within the ivy walls of the American university. Moreover, as an act of "community" building on the campuses, Chicano Studies were charged with articulating and inculcating a political self-knowledge that recovered and made explicit Chicano counterculture. The fact that a large number of the new Chicana/o undergraduates carried the allegedly conformist middle-class ideas and attitudes of the "Mexican American Generation" only made the undertaking more urgent.

In order to survive, Mexican Americans during the 1940s and 1950s "withdrew and protected their families, and in some cases they put some of the young people in a cocoon," Gonzales lamented during his talk at ASU. "Their children later had to come to Chicano Studies in colleges to find out they were Chicanos."[198] At one and the same time, Gonzales acknowledges intracultural class differences and divisions when pointing to the university while smoothing over such gaps and breaks through an appeal to Chicano identity and culture. A similar elision of social class and structural imperatives under the sign of "culture" occurs in the discourse and priorities of el Movimiento's counterculture, especially as it settled within the institutional spaces of the university. Nonetheless, Gonzales's observation perhaps helps to explain the "curious" phenomenon noted by Chicano historian F. Arturo Rosales: although the term Chicano "has at times almost disappeared" as an identity moniker within Mexican-Ameri-

can communities across the United States, "it is as strong as ever at universities."[199] Indeed, in the decades following el Movimiento, the "long road back" for many Chicanas and Chicanos would necessarily travel through the offices, classrooms, libraries, and research institutes of Chicano Studies at mainstream U.S. colleges and universities. As tenuous and fraught as the relationship has proven over the years, the postwar university ultimately came to house versions of Gonzales's "centers of nationalism," where Mexican-American students arrived "to find out they were Chicanos." Today, when openly reactionary, xenophobic, and racist attacks prove ever more common, the survival of Chicano Studies and its core political and cultural mission would seem to call once again for a transformative and militant radical politics that can reimagine not only the hallowed halls of the American university, but also the deeply and extremely inequitable society beyond its ivory walls.

## Notes

1. Rolando Hinojosa, "Literatura Chicana: Background and Present Status of a Bicultural Expression," in *The Identification and Analysis of Chicano Literature*, ed. Francisco Jiménez, (New York: Bilingual Press/Editorial Bilingüe, 1979), 45.
2. Ibid.
3. Juan Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors: Inquiry by Interview* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1980), 55.
4. Adolph Reed, Jr., "Ethnic Studies and Pluralist Politics," in *Class Notes: Posing as Politics and Other Thoughts on the American Scene* (New York: New Press, 2000), 173, 174.
5. Jodi Melamed, *Represent and Destroy: Rationalizing Violence in the New Racial Capitalism*, (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota, 2011), 94.
6. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 95.
7. Ibid.
8. Roderick A. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things: The University and Its Pedagogies of Minority Difference* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2012), 11.
9. For more discussion on the university and its historically active role in upholding the dominant cultural, economic, and political social order of the United States, see Christopher Newfield's *Ivy and Industry: Business and the Making of the American University, 1880–1980* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003) and Henry A. Giroux's *The University in Chains: Confronting the Military-Industrial-Academic Complex* (London: Routledge, 2007).
10. Vijay Prashad. *Everybody was Kung Fu Fighting: Afro-Asian Connections and the Myth of Cultural Purity* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2001), 63.
11. Melamed, *Represent and Destroy*, 96.
12. Rosaura Sánchez, "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia," *Cultural Studies* 4.3 (1990): 300.
13. Ibid.
14. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 6.
15. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 8.
16. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 6, 8.
17. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 27–28.
18. As one finds generally among radical movements of the 1960s and 1970s, the political organizing and cultural imaginary of the Chicano Movement concurrently included an emancipatory program for collective liberation *and* an uneven but nonetheless widespread commitment to heteropatriarchal and sexist ideas and practices. The historical examples of Movement activism and ideology discussed in this essay evince these gendered contradictions. To reflect this problematic legacy, I employ the masculine ending, both in Spanish and in English, when referencing el Movimiento and its related contemporary formations. For more on Chicana feminist activism and struggle in and foundational contributions to el Movimiento, both inside and outside the university, see especially Maylei Blackwell's *¡Chicana Power!: Contested Histories of Feminism in the Chicano Movement* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2011), and the collection of essays edited by Dionne Espinoza, María Eugenia Cotera, and Maylei Blackwell, *Chicana Movidas: New Narratives of Activism and Feminism in the Movement Era* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2018).
19. I use the term "counterculture" to capture two important facets of the Chicano Movement. First, it denotes el Movimiento's clearly antihegemonic stance and contributions vis-à-vis

the dominant cultural, political, social, and economic apparatuses of the midcentury United States. Second, the term counterculture draws attention to the strong emphasis placed by large segments of the Chicano Movement on communal cultural identities, traditions, and practices, and on the recovery of alternative Indigenous value-systems, cosmologies, and worldviews. The term itself was occasionally used by Movement participants, as in Reynaldo Macias, Juan Gómez-Quiñones, and Raymond Castro's early essay on the founding of Chicano Studies: "It in effect affirms a counter culture that is authentically Chicano and universal." See Macias, Gómez-Quiñones, and Castro, "Objectives of Chicano Studies," in *Epoca: The National Concilio for Chicano Studies Journal* 1.2 (1971): 32.

20. Luis Valdez, "Introduction: 'La Plebe,'" in *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, eds. Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), xiii–xiv.
21. Valdez, "Introduction: 'La Plebe,'" xxxiii, xxi.
22. Valdez, "Introduction: 'La Plebe,'" xx.
23. Valdez, "Introduction: 'La Plebe,'" xxxi.
24. Ibid.
25. Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors*, 276 (emphasis in the original).
26. Ibid.
27. "El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán" (1969), in *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, eds. Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner, (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 402–403.
28. Luis Leal, "In Search of Aztlán" (1981), in *Aztlán: Essays on the Chicano Homeland*, eds. Rudolfo A. Anaya and Francisco A. Lomelí (Albuquerque: Academia/El Norte Publications, 1989), 8.
29. Ibid (emphasis mine).
30. J. Jorge Klor de Alva, "California Chicano Literature and Pre-Columbian Motifs: Foil and Fetish," *Confluencia* 1 (Spring 1986): 25.
31. Rafael Pérez-Torres, *Movements in Chicano Poetry: Against Myths, against Margins* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 58.
32. Gustavo V. Segade, "Identity and Power: An Essay on the Politics of Culture and the Culture of Politics in Chicano Thought," *Aztlán: International Journal of Chicano Studies Research* 9 (Fall 1978): 88.
33. Valdez, "Introduction: 'La Plebe,'" xxxiv.
34. Bruce-Novoa, *Chicano Authors*, 276.
35. See Marcuse, *One-Dimensional Man: Studies in the Ideology of Advanced Industrial Society* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964).
36. Sheila Marie Contreras, *Blood Lines: Myth, Indigenism, and Chicano Literature* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2008), 97.
37. Contreras, *Blood Lines*, 77.
38. Newfield, *Ivy and Industry*, 95.
39. Bill Readings, *The University in Ruins* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1996), 46.
40. Readings, *The University in Ruins*, 69.
41. Readings, *The University in Ruins*, 15.
42. Readings, *The University in Ruins*, 114.
43. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 13.
44. Ferguson, *The Reorder of Things*, 29.
45. Segade, "Identity and Power," 88.
46. Leal, "In Search of Aztlán," 11.
47. Alurista. "Poem in Lieu of Preface" (1970), in *Aztlán: An Anthology of Mexican American Literature*, eds. Luis Valdez and Stan Steiner (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), 333.
48. Quoted in Rees Lloyd and Peter Montague, "Ford and La Raza: 'They stole our land and gave us powdered milk," *Ramparts* 9.3 (1970a): 13.
49. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 11.
50. Alurista. "Poem in Lieu of Preface," 333.
51. Alurista. "Poem in Lieu of Preface," 332.
52. Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture* (London: Blackwell, 2000), 1.
53. Mark McGurl, "Learning from *Little Tree*: The Political Education of the Counterculture," *Yale Journal of Criticism* 18.2 (2005): 245.
54. McGurl, "Learning from *Little Tree*," 256.
55. José Montoya, "From '67 to '71," in *In Formation: 20 Years of Joda* (Sacramento: Chusma House Publications, 1992a), 24.
56. Cordelia Candelaria, *Chicano Poetry: A Critical Introduction* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1986), 34–35.
57. Montoya, "From '67 to '71," 24.
58. Ibid.

59. José Montoya, "The Movement Has Gone for Its Ph.D. Over at the University, Or the Gang Wars Are Back," in *In Formation: 20 Years of Joda* (Sacramento: Chusma House Publications, 1992b), 95.
60. Ibid.
61. Ibid.
62. Ibid.
63. Montoya, "The Movement," 96.
64. Ibid.
65. Raymond V. Padilla, "Chicano Studies at the University of California, Berkeley: En busca del campus y la communidad," PhD diss. (University of California, Berkeley, 1974), 1.
66. Ibid.
67. Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 48.
68. Ibid.
69. Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 47–48.
70. Lisa Lowe, *Immigrant Acts: On Asian American Cultural Politics* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1996), 40–41.
71. Michael Soldatenko, "Radicalism in Higher Education: How Chicano Studies Joined the Curriculum," in *The Hidden Curriculum in Higher Education*, ed. Eric Margolis (New York: Routledge, 2001), 211.
72. Michael Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies: The Genesis of a Discipline* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2009), 8.
73. Soldatenko, "Radicalism in Higher Education," 209.
74. Quoted in Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 40. In discussing a similar effort to establish a Third World College at the University of California, San Diego, George Mariscal describes the Third World Liberation Front strike in the similar following terms: "On the UC Berkeley campus, the Third World Liberation Front strike was called on January 22, 1969, after negotiations with the administration for a Third World College and other reforms (including a Center for Mexican American Studies) broke down. Composed of the Mexican American Student Confederation, the African American Student Union, and the Asian American Political Alliance, as well as a White Student Strike Support Committee, the Berkeley coalition and its demands shared a number of characteristics with the UC San Diego effort. More specifically, both groups demanded fundamental changes in the governance practices of the university, changes that would challenge the elite composition of the academic hierarchy in terms of decision making, curriculum, faculty hiring, and student admissions." See Mariscal, *Brown-Eyed Children of the Sun: Lessons from the Chicano Movement, 1965–1975* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005), 213.
75. Manuel I. López, "The Role of the Chicano Student in the Chicano Studies Program," *Epoca: The National Concilio for Chicano Studies Journal* 1.2 (1971): 14.
76. Ibid.
77. Mario. Barrera, "The Study of Politics and the Chicano," *Aztlán: Chicano Journal of the Social Sciences and Arts* 5.1–2 (1974): 23.
78. Johnnella E. Butler, "Introduction: Color-Line to Borderlands," in *Color-Line to Borderlands: The Matrix of American Ethnic Studies*, ed. Johnnella E. Butler (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001a), xxi.
79. Johnnella E. Butler, "Ethnic Studies as a Matrix for the Humanities, the Social Sciences, and the Common Good," in *Color-Line to Borderlands: The Matrix of American Ethnic Studies*, ed. Johnnella E. Butler (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2001b), 23.
80. Butler, "Ethnic Studies as a Matrix," 26.
81. Butler, "Ethnic Studies as a Matrix," 32.
82. Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Mexican Students Por La Raza: The Chicano Student Movement in Southern California 1967–1977* (Santa Barbara, CA: Editorial La Causa, 1978), 45.
83. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara: A Chicano Plan for Higher Education* (Oakland: La Causa Publications, 1969), 10.
84. For a discussion of Chicano cultural nationalism as pedagogy in the Chicano Movement, see Dionne Elaine Espinoza, "Pedagogies of Nationalism and Gender: Cultural Resistance in Selected Representational Practices of Chicana/o Movement Activists, 1967–1972," PhD diss. (Cornell University, 1996), 25–64.
85. Juan Gómez-Quiñones, *Chicano Politics: Reality and Promise, 1940–1990* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1990), 141–42.
86. As Lowe explains: "The liberal discourse on education has challenged this reformulation of a unified Western culture by advocating diversification of the humanities curriculum and urging an integration of the university through student and faculty affirmative action. Yet to the degree that liberal challenges have remained wedded to a culturalist program, however 'multiculturalist,' that still tends to isolate culture from material relations, they have yet to disrupt adequately the neoconservative management of the function of university education" (*Immigrant Acts*, 39).
87. Sánchez, "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia," 300.
88. Sánchez, "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia," 301.

89. Carlos Vásquez, "Education Under Capitalism—A Bibliography," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education* (Hayward, CA: Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1974), 179–80.
90. Jack Bass, *Widening the Mainstream of American Culture: A Ford Foundation Report on Ethnic Studies* (New York: Ford Foundation, 1978), 2.
91. Bass, *Widening the Mainstream*, 15.
92. Butler, "Ethnic Studies as a Matrix," 25.
93. Joan Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy: The Mask of Pluralism* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2003), 202.
94. Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy*, 44.
95. Ibid.
96. Roelofs, *Foundations and Public Policy*, 123.
97. M. A. Farber, "Ford Fund Capital to Back Ventures Aiding the Poor," *New York Times* 29 (September 1968): 1.
98. Ibid.
99. Farber, "Ford Fund Capital," 43.
100. Farber, "Ford Fund Capital," 43, 1.
101. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 15.
102. Ibid.
103. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 15 (emphasis mine).
104. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 16.
105. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 10–11.
106. Quoted in Lloyd and Montague, "Ford and La Raza," 15. Lloyd and Montague's article was published simultaneously in *El Grito Del Norte* on August 29, 1970, under the title "Ford's Pacification Program for La Raza: The Story of The Feedlot Scandal." In April 1970, *El Grito del Norte* also published a special joint issue with *El Papel* entirely devoted to detailing what it described in one article as the Ford Foundation's "process of creating 'leaders'—leaders manufactured by Ford and other foundations, or issued by the government, either through its OEO or CIA." The piece concludes with the powerful declaration: "The people will choose their own leaders. They will not have their leaders manufactured for them—not even by Ford." See "'Professionals,' 'Leaders,' 'Experts'—Chicano Titeres," *El Grito Del Norte y El Papel* (April 1970): 2, 7.
107. Bass, *Widening the Mainstream*, 2.
108. Bass, *Widening the Mainstream*, 33.
109. Ibid.
110. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 100. In *The Making of Chicana/o Studies: In the Trenches of Academe* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2011), Rodolfo F. Acuña offers a similar and highly detailed accounting of this relationship. See especially chapter 7.
111. Quoted in Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 64.
112. Quoted in Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 63.
113. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 64.
114. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 100.
115. Abel Amaya, "On Chicanos in Higher Education," *La Luz* 3.3 (1974): 4.
116. Ibid.
117. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 100.
118. Sánchez, "Ethnicity, Ideology, and Academia," 298.
119. Refugio I. Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life of Chicano Studies: A Preliminary Study of Emerging Programs and Problems," *Social Science Quarterly* 53.4 (1973): 888, 887.
120. Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life," 886.
121. Ibid.
122. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, 77.
123. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, 78.
124. Macias, Gómez-Quiñones, and Castro, "Objectives of Chicano Studies," 32.
125. Quoted in Rochin, "The Short and Turbulent Life," 886.
126. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 31. Soldatenko views this ambivalence regarding the university as one of various political and ideological tendencies among Chicana/o academics and students during the late 1960s and 1970s. He specifically attributes the position to advocates and supporters of *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, whom he associates with institutionalized forms of Chicano Studies.
127. Russell Jacoby, *The Last Intellectuals: American Culture in the Age of Academe* (New York: Basic Books, [1987] 2000), 132.
128. "The Port Huron Statement" (1962), in *"Takin' It To The Streets": A Sixties Reader*, eds. Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 70, 72, 73.
129. "The Port Huron Statement," 73, 72.
130. "The Port Huron Statement," 70, 73.
131. "The Port Huron Statement," 72.

132. "Making values explicit—an initial task in establishing alternatives—is an activity that has been devalued and corrupted," insist the authors of "The Port Huron Statement" (64). The stress on a new set of values, on the need for a new and alternative value system, is felt throughout the manifesto; moreover, the important role the university *might* play in articulating and fostering such values is also frequently underscored.
133. Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 153.
134. Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 154.
135. Mark McGurl, *The Program Era: Postwar Fiction and the Rise of Creative Writing* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 348.
136. McGurl, "Learning from *Little Tree*," 258 (italics in original).
137. McGurl, *The Program Era*, 246.
138. In his 1984 assessment of the origins and development of Chicano Studies, Carlos Muñoz, Jr., deliberately employs Gramscian language to characterize the early objectives of Chicana/o academics: "What was being called for, although not articulated as such, was the development of organic intellectuals of Mexican descent within the university, i.e. the kind of academic who would be an integral part of his community and actively participate in the Chicano Movement, do research critical of society, and simultaneously contribute to the shaping of a Chicano consciousness." See Muñoz, "The Development of Chicano Studies, 1968–1981," in *Chicano Studies: A Multidisciplinary Approach*, eds. Eugene E. García, Francisco A. Lomelí, and Isidro D. Ortiz (New York: Teachers College Press, 1984), 24.
139. Newfield, *Ivy and Industry*, 5.
140. Muñoz, "The Development of Chicano Studies," 13.
141. Ibid (emphasis mine).
142. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, 19.
143. Rudolfo A. Anaya, "At a Crossroads," in *The Anaya Reader*, introduction by César T. González (New York: Warner Books, 1995), 340.
144. Anaya, "At a Crossroads," 336.
145. Anaya, "At a Crossroads," 335.
146. Anaya's early judgment of the Movement appears anchored to a viewpoint almost exclusively informed by the actions and campaigns of Chicana/o students on university and college campuses. As Anaya tells Ishmael Reed during an interview on July 1, 1976: "I've been involved in the Chicano Movement since the '60s, primarily in education. . . . the Movement is a social and political and aesthetic movement, you know, called the Chicano Movimiento. And at its core it has a kind of consciousness-raising effect. When the Mexican-American or the Chicano looks around him and raises all the questions you're raising, you know. Who controls the land, who controls the wealth, who controls the schools? . . . And what do I do about it? What is my image in this world? Then you begin to have the Chicano's aggressive movement towards the society that he found himself in, that was not reflecting, say, his image, so I've worked with that in the realm of education since that's where I've been all, most of, my life, I guess." See Anaya, "An Interview with Rudolfo Anaya," interview by Ishmael Reed, in *Conversations with Rudolfo Anaya*, eds. Bruce Dick and Silvio Sirias (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1998), 4.
147. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," in TS. Alurista Papers, Donald C. Davidson Library, University of California, Santa Barbara (n.d.), 1.
148. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 5.
149. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 2.
150. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 3.
151. Soldatenko, *Chicano Studies*, 73.
152. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 2.
153. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 4.
154. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 1.
155. Alurista, "Chicano Studies: A Future," 2–3.
156. Rodolfo Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," in *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzalez*, ed. Antonio Esquibel (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2001a), 38.
157. Ibid.
158. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 52.
159. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 38.
160. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 36.
161. "The Port Huron Statement," 70.
162. Ibid.
163. Ibid.
164. Mark Rudd, "Events and Issues of the Columbia Revolt," in *The University and Revolution*, eds. Gary R. Weaver and James H. Weaver (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 138.
165. Gary R. Weaver, "Introduction," in *The University and Revolution*, eds. Gary R. Weaver and James H. Weaver (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1969), 2.
166. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 42–43.

167. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 40.
168. Quoted in Stan Steiner, *La Raza: The Mexican Americans* (New York: Harper & Row, 1969), 212–13.
169. Padilla, "Chicano Studies," 46–47.
170. López, "The Role of the Chicano Student," 13.
171. Quoted in Steiner, *La Raza*, 210.
172. López, "The Role of the Chicano Student," 13.
173. Alfredo Sanchez, "Chicano Student Movement at San Jose," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education* (Hayward, CA: Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1974), 32.
174. Sanchez, "Chicano Student Movement at San Jose," 22.
175. Quoted in Steiner, *La Raza*, 236.
176. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 38.
177. Ibid.
178. Steiner, *La Raza*, 212.
179. Steiner, *La Raza*, 213.
180. Steiner, *La Raza*, 211.
181. Steiner, *La Raza*, 212.
182. For more on the U.S. education system with respect to Chicanas and Chicanos, see Gilbert G. Gonzalez, *Chicano Education in the Era of Segregation* (Philadelphia: Balch Institute Press, 1990.); Rubén Donato, *The Other Struggle for Equal Schools: Mexican Americans during the Civil Rights Era* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1997); and José F. Moreno, editor, *The Elusive Quest for Equality: 150 Years of Chicano/Chicana Education* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard Educational Review, 1999).
183. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 35.
184. Ibid.
185. Ibid.
186. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 36.
187. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, 44.
188. Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education, *El Plan de Santa Bárbara*, 43.
189. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 46.
190. Quoted in Steiner, *La Raza*, 379.
191. Quoted in Steiner, *La Raza*, 385.
192. Rodolfo Gonzales, "La Escuela y Colegio Tlatelolco," in *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo 'Corky' Gonzalez*, ed. Antonio Esquibel (Houston: Arte Público Press, 2001b), 172.
193. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 42. Additional examples of alternative Chicano colleges are Colegio Jacinto Treviño in Mercedes, Texas; Colegio César Chávez in Mount Angel, Oregon; La Universidad de Aztlán in Fresno, California; Deganawidah-Quetzalcoatl University in Davis, California; and La Academia de la Nueva Raza in Dixon, New Mexico. See Juan Gómez-Quiñones, "To Leave to Hope or Chance: Propositions on Chicano Studies, 1974," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education* (Hayward, CA: Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1974), 162.
194. Gómez-Quiñones, "To Leave to Hope or Chance," 162–63.
195. Gómez-Quiñones, "To Leave to Hope or Chance," 163.
196. Eliezer Risco, "Before Universidad de Aztlán: Ethnic Studies at Fresno State College," in *Parameters of Institutional Change: Chicano Experiences in Education* (Hayward, CA: Southwest Network of the Study Commission on Undergraduate Education and the Education of Teachers, 1974), 47.
197. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 43.
198. Gonzales, "Arizona State University Speech," 45.
199. F. Arturo Rosales, *Chicano!: The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* (Houston: Arte Público Press, 1997), 183.

# Book Reviews

Editorial note: Book reviews are edited for typographical errors and otherwise are printed as received.

# Reviews

ACROSS THE WAVES: How the United States and France Shaped the International Age of Radio. By Derek W. Vaillant. Urbana: University of Illinois Press. 2017.

*Across the Waves* is a detailed and richly researched history of the U.S.-French broadcasting debut, organized chronologically in two parts, each composed of three chapters. In the first part, Derek Vaillant, associate professor of Communication Studies at the University of Michigan, tracks key moments in the development of French radio broadcasting with the support of the United States between the 1920s and the end of World War II. In the second part, Vaillant turns to French programs made for American audiences in the United States. This dynamic spatial and temporal structure reinforces the engaging prose, bringing to life salient moments of conversations and exchanges between the two nations across the waves.

A historian at heart, Vaillant provides his readers with the cultural and political depth to better understand the necessary cross-border collaborations that led to the acceleration of cultural exchanges across the Atlantic throughout the twentieth century. To this end, Vaillant draws from a wealth of primary sources, both in English and in French: written (reports, correspondence of listeners of particular shows, news articles, etc.), oral (radio shows or interviews), and visual (archival photos of key protagonist are included throughout the book, as well as maps).

From the onset, Vaillant establishes his desire to resist "the persistent appeal of the "Americanization" versus "remaining French" binary" (3). To this end, he contrasts both countries' broadcasting techno-aesthetics, which allows for the technological and cultural aspects of broadcasting to be analyzed as one. The French is characterized by "quality, scarcity and deliberate pacing," while the U.S. American features "power, abundance and high-speed execution" (2). In part one, Vaillant centers the tension between American broadcasting specialists who assumed their knowledge and broadcasting ways were universal, with French technicians and listeners' frustration with the imposition of a different tempo on the French airwaves. The result of more than two decades of cultural and technical exchanges in the field of radio broadcasting is high quality broadcasting made in France by the end of World War II.

In the second part of *Across the Waves*, Vaillant does not describe the ways in which French radio shows might have influenced U.S. techno-aesthetics or the way U.S. broadcasting techniques shaped French airwaves before 1945. From the regular broadcasting of French sounds in the 1930s—"choir and organ concerts from cathedrals, musical segments from music halls, cabarets and other festive settings" (39)—to Bonjour Mesdames (1948-1964) or Legends and Wonders (1969), France has systematically constructed an image of itself that intentionally appealed to Americans. Vaillant makes it clear that this was a deliberate move in the post-World War II world as France needed to "resell itself" and "rebuild the respect of America" (151); he does not, however, inform his readers of the motivation for France to do so.

A full chapter is devoted to the first U.S.-French talk-show, first broadcast in 1948 from France and recorded in English for an anglophone audience. This show is hosted by Marjorie Dunton, a former fashion designer, and intended for a female-identifying audience mostly. Bonjour Mesdames constructs Paris as women's paradise and intends to "help make Paris once again a city that could be all things to all women" (103). It becomes rapidly clear, however, that the Paris of designers and models, dancers and artists was an exclusionary one, a Paris few of the listeners in the U.S. could aspire to experience. Vaillant sadly only makes a passing reference to the apt concept of the 'modern girls,' a neoliberal, apolitical shadow of an empowered woman, which Vaillant might have been well advised to use throughout this chapter. Instead, women's empowerment is framed within purely consumerist and objectifying practices, as illustrated by the recurrent description of guests' expensive outfits, or the references to particular designers' style.

While Chapter 5 appears to make the apology of an empowered French woman whose appearance she controls (though the show does little to convey her ownership over her body), the last chapter points to instances of France's evident lack of inclusion. By showcasing the only two episodes from a sports show title Higher, Further, Faster, focused on two North African athletes, Vaillant rightly points out the blatant racism of the broadcasters. He is also highlighting the challenges Marcel Cerdant and Alain Mimoun encountered in France, despite their talent and success. A very valuable addition to the narrative, it is regrettable that no more than four pages may be devoted to exclusion and racism. More work might be done on gender and race across the waves by future scholars, building on this important contribution to the scholarship on the complex U.S.-French relationship.

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THE LIMOUSINE LIBERAL: How an Incendiary Image United the Right and Fractured America. By Steve Frasor. New York: Basic Books. 2016.

In 1969, amid a political realignment often associated with the erosion of the New Deal Democratic coalition and the ascendancy of the New Right, Mario Procaccino, a Democratic mayoral candidate in New York City, criticized his opponent, Mayor John Lindsay, for being a "limousine liberal." Portraying himself as a populist defender of oppressed working-class citizens, Procaccino introduced what historian Steve Frasor argues has been a remarkably malleable and persistent "specter haunting American politics" since the Sixties (1). In *Limousine Liberal: How an Incendiary Image United the Right and Fractured America*, Frasor chronicles the origins and enduring impact of mythical images of subversive economic and cultural elites threatening the lives of ordinary Americans.

Frasor contextualizes the right-wing populist use of the term within a long history of resistance to the social changes of the Progressive Era and the New Deal that includes Henry Ford, Huey Long, and Father Coughlin, as well as the cultural conflicts associated with the Scopes Monkey Trial and the rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in the 1920s. Such politics of resentment informed the rise of McCarthyism during the Cold War, as well as the appeal of George Wallace, Richard Nixon, and Phyllis Schlafly in later decades. While Frasor's narrative will be familiar to most readers, the value of *Limousine Liberal* lies in its ability to link this genealogy to far more recent developments, such as the popularity of conservative commentators Glenn Beck and Rush Limbaugh, the impact of right-wing donors such as Charles and David Koch, and the recent political defeat of Hillary Clinton. Although class conflict may have a long history in American political culture, Frasor stresses the crucial transformation of earlier economic populism to, after the Sixties, an increased emphasis on social and cultural issues such as religion, guns, gender, and sexuality. The transformation enabled "Sunbelt rebels," a new class of conservative economic elites centered far from the Northeast to harness class conflict while promoting neoliberal economic policies that threaten organized labor, the public sector, and the welfare state (127).

While Frasor's "history of an epithet" (247) demonstrates the persistence of the metaphor, his synthesis of published accounts of political and intellectual elites often fails to distinguish between the deep ideological roots of an idea and the political manipulation of the term for sheer "tactical convenience" (94). Frasor leaves readers wondering exactly who "retrofitted" (130) American populism and precisely who was the "vanguard" (223) against limousine liberals. The author provides little sense of the shifting perspectives and political behavior of voters who resented the image of the limousine liberal or, just as importantly, the larger number of Americans who rejected the stereotype.

For decades political liberals, perhaps to their detriment, have dismissed much of right-wing populism as thinly-veiled racism. Although *Limousine Liberal* acknowledges the historical importance of racism, Frasor, in an attempt to illustrate the complexity of American conservatism, emphasizes the economic and cultural components of the metaphor at the expense of race. However, the contested nature of American race relations is embedded in most controversial issues that dominate postwar America. Procaccino's grievances in the 1969 mayoral election that gave birth to the epithet focused on issues of poverty, crime, public schools, and the impact of the growing welfare system on neighborhoods and taxes. Elsewhere, Frasor's survey points to the importance of numerous issues often viewed through a racial lens, such as unemployment, affirmative action, immigration, crime, urban renewal, and school busing. Moreover, Fraser references "mainstream American culture," (151) "blue collar America," (170) "insular working class worlds," (171) and "Christian populism" (179) without acknowledging that these terms reflected powerful racial assumptions about American society. George Wallace's effective defense of the "little man" (130) in the South and beyond was always limited to whites, regardless of region, and yet the author never confronts the reality that African Americans, despite having arguably the strongest claims of exploitation by economic, political, and cultural elites, have rarely embraced attacks on limousine liberals. Ultimately, conservatives' appeals to African American voters before and after 1969 failed because the stereotype and "signifier" (5) of the "limousine liberal" was always inextricably linked to older and even more potent and pernicious myths about race in America.

Richard L. Hughes
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THE BANJO: America's African Instrument. By Laurent Dubois. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press. 2016.

The sheet music for John T. Rutledge's "De Banjo Am De Instrument For Me" (1877) depicts a blackface minstrel jovially playing a banjo, a racist caricature of former slaves and their most closely associated musical instrument. Nearly 100 years later, banjoist Grandpa Jones performed an updated version of the song on the CBS television show *Hee Haw*, where it was transformed into a comic representation of the American South. In both instances, the banjo acted as a stand-in for the people who played it—the black slaves that originally popularized the instrument and the rural white southerners now most commonly associated with it. This shift in signification was a complex and contradictory process, one that developed gradually over the banjo's winding history. That history and those contradictions lie at the heart of Laurent Dubois's *The Banjo*.

Like Karen Linn's *That Half-Barbaric Twang* (University of Illinois Press, 1991) and Philip F. Gura and James F. Bollman's *America's Instrument* (University of North Carolina Press, 1999), Dubois chronicles the banjo's contributions to American culture. However, unlike these previous texts, *The Banjo* takes a much more expansive view, plotting the instrument's story across more than 400 years.

Dubois begins with the banjo's historical antecedents in West and Central African string instrument traditions, before situating it as a distinctly North American invention—one born of the horrific, brutal, and bewildering conditions of slavery. He argues that the banjo's versatility and its vague resemblance to previous African instruments made it a tool of solidarity among enslaved communities in the 18th century, where people without a shared language or culture recognized it as a common reminder of their distant homelands. The banjo's early history is poorly documented, as the instrument was played exclusively by slaves; yet Dubois has impressively reconstructed a vibrant account of its role in slave life by scouring the historical record, incorporating discussions of eyewitness accounts, paintings, theatrical productions, poetry, songs, and more. In the second half of the book, Dubois charts how the banjo entered the American mainstream. The instrument, as a signifier of slave culture, became a key component of blackface minstrel shows, and minstrelsy's popularity, in turn, made the instrument more respectable among white audiences. These factors fostered a wave of mass-produced banjos in the 19th century, which supplied inexpensive instruments for a burgeoning movement of amateurs. These banjos then found their way into later styles of American popular music, including string band music, early blues and jazz, folk music, and bluegrass.

*The Banjo*'s massive scale allows Dubois to contextualize the instrument within larger changes in American history. Yet, this breadth inevitably means that not every subject is covered with the same depth. This is felt most palpably in the book's final chapter, which covers the twentieth century. Focusing primarily on Pete Seeger and his political battles during McCarthyism, Dubois too quickly glosses over other important threads, especially the banjo's role in country music.

Overall, *The Banjo* is an immensely rich and detailed work. Dubois's previous research on French Caribbean slave communities provides him unique insights into the instrument's early history and the book should appeal to anyone broadly interested in the development of American vernacular music.

Brian F. Wright
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THE KIND OF MAN I AM: Jazzmasculinity and the World of Charles Mingus Jr. By Nichole Rustin-Paschal. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press. 2017.

*The Kind of Man I Am* creatively juxtaposes people and events in Charles Mingus's life, exploring the expanse of his influence while simultaneously considering the ways in which Mingus and his circle exist in and around jazzmasculinity. Throughout, Nichole Rustin-Paschal listens carefully for gender (and race) across eras of jazz using Mingus as a nucleus. In doing so, Rustin-Paschal offers answers to crucial questions within jazz studies: How do we write inclusive histories of jazz and its "greats"? How do we critically and empathetically analyze past histories?

*The Kind of Man I Am* begins by introducing the theoretical frameworks guiding the book, including self-portraiture, jazzmasculinity, and emotion. The first chapter focuses on Mingus's 1971 memoir, *Beneath the Underdog*; one of Rustin-Paschal's strongest chapters, it offers a nuanced interpretation that fleshes out the autobiography's "sensational" stories, granting Mingus credibility not often given by critics. Rustin-Paschal continues this empathic treatment of Mingus in the second chapter, which challenges the limited range of emotions commentators have expected from "The Angry Man of Jazz," and considers those emotions as crucial elements of his compositions and improvisations. The third chapter expands the concept of jazzmasculinity to the business of jazz: specifically, Debut Records, the small independent music label owned by Charles Mingus, Max Roach, and Celia Mingus. By focusing on Celia Mingus, Rustin-Paschal extends the experience of jazzmasculinity beyond jazzmen, per se, to women who are jazzmen. Chapter four continues this focus on women's jazzmasculinity through a case study of Hazel Scott. Though the link between Scott and Mingus is perhaps among the most tenuous of the book's actors, this chapter is particularly valuable for its consideration of how black women struggled to balance the demands of performing as both jazzmen and race women. The final chapter positions Mingus among a variety of other musicians, including Al Young, Joni Mitchell, and Buddy Collette, completing the book's focus on emotions by exploring that which Rustin-Paschal argues motivated Mingus most of all: love.

Rustin-Paschal asserts that jazzmasculinity can account for the experiences of "jazzmen" like Celia Mingus, Hazel Scott, Joni Mitchell, and Adrian Piper, along with male musicians. But despite the evident theoretical importance of jazzmasculinity throughout the book, I was often left wondering how Rustin-Paschal defined the term. An initial definition could read "authority, creativity, truth-telling, self-determination, and authenticity" (4), and another includes "authority, freedom, and agency" (5). Later, Rustin-Paschal describes collaboration as masculine (69), and then explains that Celia Mingus "modeled jazzmasculinity by putting into practice the values of innovation, collaboration, expertise, and emotionality that defined the culture" (128). These descriptions offer insight into Rustin-Paschal's meaning, but a more clearly defined explanation of "jazzmasculinity," along with a critique of the term "jazzmen," may have been helpful to future scholars looking to engage with the concept in other contexts.

Still, Rustin-Paschal offers a much needed critical interpretation of Mingus that marshals an array of archival sources to create an empathetic portrait that pays particular attention not only to the ways in which Mingus portrayed himself, but also to how Mingus's self-portraits challenged and fulfilled typical notions of jazzmasculinity. *The Kind of Man I Am* invites jazz scholars to consider how to engage with an overwhelmingly male canon while creating inclusive histories that simultaneously listen for gender.

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CONGO LOVE SONG: African American Culture and the Crisis of the Colonial State. By Ira Dworkin. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 2017.

In *Congo Love Song: African American Culture and the Crisis of the Colonial State,* Ira Dworkin, assistant professor of English at Texas A&M University, presents a rich text about Black transnationalism building upon the important theoretical contribution of Paul Gilroy's *The Black Atlantic* (1993). In this well-structured and well-argued book, Dworkin argues that African-American anti-colonialism found a straight channel to the Congo that also flowed to criticism of the whole of European colonialism during the twentieth century.

The work begins with the writings of historian George Washington Williams and Presbyterian missionary William Sheppard, who both arrived in the Congo in 1890, thirteen years after Leopold II of Belgium claimed the Congo as his own personal real estate. Both men wrote of the atrocities committed under Leopold's personal rule, namely the extraction of rubber using cruel means and punishment: chopping off of Congolese hands. The writings of Williams and Sheppard are the origins of African-American anti-colonial writing on the Congo. From this starting point, Dworkin masterfully analyzes Booker T. Washington's protests of colonialism in the Congo, the translation work of missionary Edith Edmiston, the literature of Pauline E. Hopkins, the poetry of Langston Hughes, the African-American publication of the writings of Patrice Lumumba, and the speeches, interviews, and letters of Malcolm X. These sources all substantiate his argument that African Americans possessed transnational sensibilities when it came to protesting against colonialism in the Congo, and even the assassination of Patrice Lumumba in early 1961.

One weakness in this study is Dworkin's tentative engagement with Ethiopianism. In his chapter on Pauline E Hopkins, Dworkin discusses her use of the Ethiopian trope that reflects a tradition in African-American writing dating from the middle of the nineteenth century. Dworkin fails to define this literary tradition, though he relies somewhat on Wilson Jeremiah Moses' *The Golden Age of Black Nationalism*, which includes a robust discussion of Ethiopiansim.

The strengths of this work far outweigh the weakness. Quite significant is Dworkin's treatment of Washington's transnationalism. Not only did Washington write in protest to the atrocities committed in the Congo, but he envisioned the expansion of the "Tuskegee Model" there. These insights challenge recent scholarship that has argued that Washington's interest in Africa was "secondary" to his Southern concerns. Dworkin provides convincing evidence that Washington's Southern commitments and African concerns worked symbiotically. Another strength of the book is the chapter on Langston Hughes that centers on his poem "The Negro Speaks of Rivers." Dworkin painstakingly engages a rich trove of evidence that leads to the conclusion that this famous poem contains anti-colonial references.

This work adds to existing scholarship on African-American connections to Africa such as Campbell's *Songs of Zion* and *Middle Passages*, and Kevin Gaines' *African Americans in Ghana*. What this work does that is different from those historical monographs is that Dworkin is able to construct a corpus of African-American writings dedicated to the Congo crisis. This work should spark more scholarship on African-American discourse, both cultural and political, on Africa during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

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# Notes on Contributors

**Lydia Ferguson** is a Limited Term Assistant Professor of English at Kennesaw State University. She earned her doctorate in English at Auburn University, where she studied the roles and representations of the elder(ly) enslaved in antebellum and postbellum American literature. Dr. Ferguson's research focuses primarily on the intersections and (mis)representations of race, gender, and old age in the literature and popular culture of 19th- and early 20th-century America. Her research and teaching interests also include performance, early media, and material culture studies.

**Dennis López** is an Associate Professor of English at California State University, Long Beach. His teaching and research focus on Chicana/o/x and Latina/o/x literature, U.S. ethnic literature, and U.S. radical protest literature. His scholarship has appeared in *MELUS*, *College Literature*, and *Science and Society*.

**William Murray** is a Junior Blount Fellow at the University of Alabama, where his research focuses on post-1945 American literature, comics, and film. Some of his articles can be found in the *Eudora Welty Review*, *CEA Critic, South Carolina Review*, and *Mississippi Quarterly*.

**Quincy D. Newell** is Associate Professor of Religious Studies at Hamilton College. Her most recent book is *Your Sister in the Gospel: The Life of Jane Manning James, a Nineteenth-Century Black Mormon* (Oxford University Press, 2019). Newell is currently working on a book about the religious experiences of nineteenth-century African American and Native American Mormons.