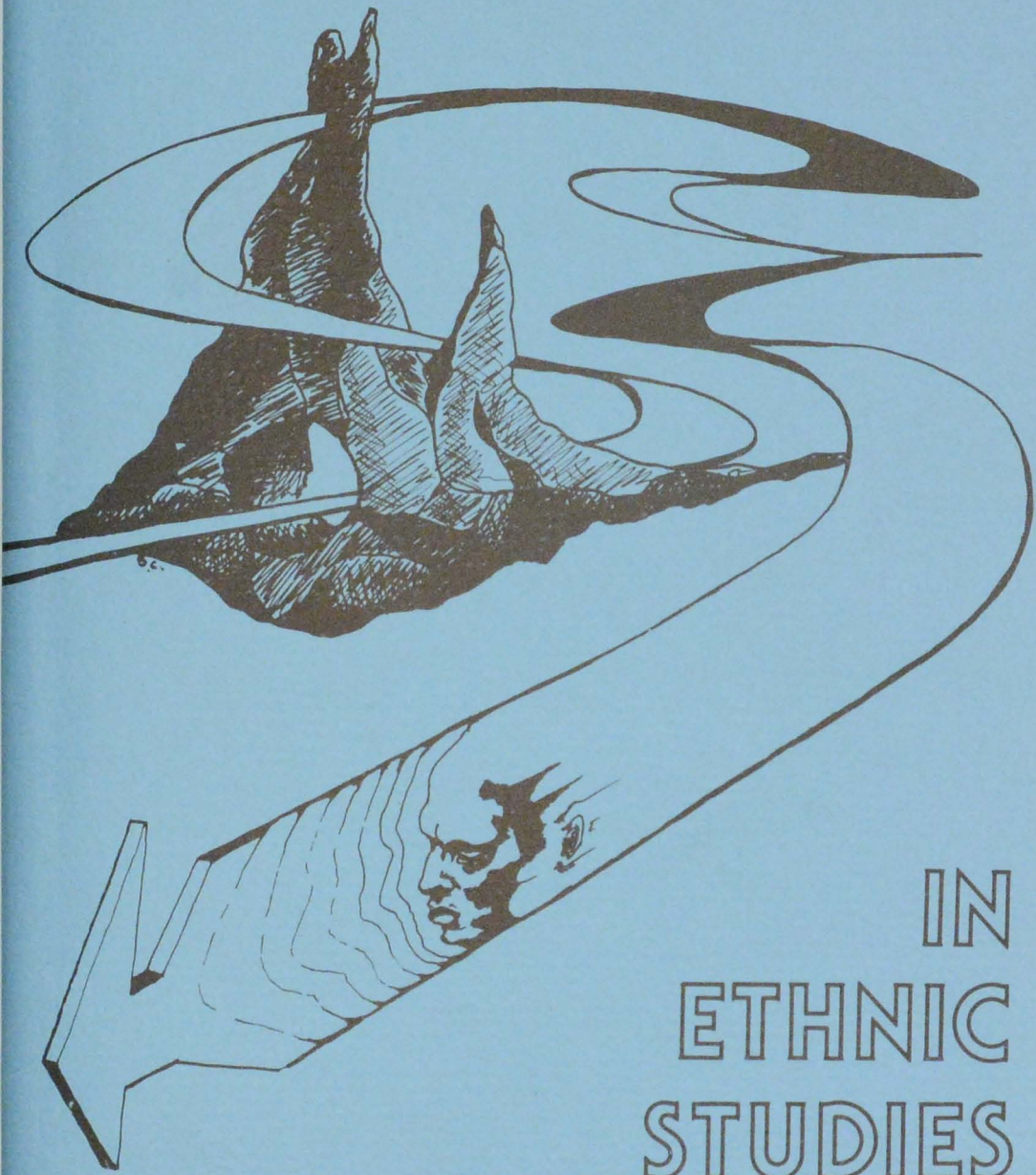


EXPLORATIONS



IN
ETHNIC
STUDIES

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Explorations is an interdisciplinary journal devoted to the study of ethnicity, ethnic groups, intergroup relations, and the cultural life of ethnic minorities. The journal is to serve as an advocate for socially responsible research. Contributors to the journal, in response to their communities (academic and non-academic), should determine and propagate success models based on the realities of their constituencies. Contributors to *Explorations* should demonstrate the integration of theory and praxis. The journal affirms the necessity and intention of involving students, teachers, and others who are interested in the pursuit of "explorations" and "solutions" within the context of oppression as it relates to the human experience. *Explorations* provides an expanded communications network for NAIES members, disseminating national and regional information to a multinational audience.

Correspondence and articles should be sent to the Editor, *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, 101 Main Hall, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, La Crosse, WI, 54601.

Opinions expressed in articles are those of the authors and not necessarily those of the editors or the publisher.

RATES

One-Year Individual	\$ 5.00
One-Year Library	\$15.00
One-Year Institutional Sponsor, Patron, Donor	\$25.00
Single Issue	\$ 5.00

Vol. 1, No. 1

January 1978

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES

THE JOURNAL OF THE
NATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF
INTERDISCIPLINARY ETHNIC STUDIES

Published by NAIES
101 Main Hall
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse
La Crosse, WI 54601

EDITORIAL BOARDS

GENERAL

Dennis Banks *D-Q University, Davis, CA*
Frank J. Cavioli *SUNY, Farmingdale, NY*
Vine Deloria *Golden, CO*
Victor Greene *UW-Milwaukee*
Nicolas Kanellos . . *Indiana University Northwest, Gary*
Bea Medicine *Madison, WI*
Don Nakanishi *UCLA, Los Angeles*
Otilia Pearson *Schomberg Center, New York*
Joe M. Richardson. *Florida State University, Tallahassee*
C. Peter Ripley. . *Florida State University, Tallahassee*
Richard St. Germaine . *Lac Courte Oreilles, Hayward, WI*
Darwin T. Turner *University of Iowa, Iowa City*
Ricardo A. Valdes *University of Oklahoma, Norman*

LOCAL

Burton Altman *Elementary Education, UW-M*
Sister Thea Bowman . *English, Viterbo College, La Crosse*
George Gilkey *History, UW-M*
Gary Kuhn *History, UW-M*
James Lafky *English, UW-M*
Vivian Munson *History/Women's Studies, UW-M*
Stanley Rolnick *History, UW-M*
James L. Sherohman *Sociology, UW-M*
Robert C. Voight . . *Dean, Arts, Letters & Science, UW-M*
Edna Whalen. *Foreign Language, UW-M*
Martin Zanger *History, UW-M*

EDITORIAL STAFF

George E. Carter *Editor*
James R. Parker *Associate Editor*
Sara Bentley *Assistant Editor*

CONTENTS

GUEST EDITORIAL:

Explorations in Ethnic Studies, A New
Journal. By Charles C. Irby 1

A DEVELOPMENTAL DESIGN FOR UNDERSTANDING
ETHNICITY. By Charles C. Irby 3

THE "BARBAROUS MASSACRE" RECONSIDERED:
THE POWHATAN UPRISING OF 1622 AND THE
HISTORIANS. By J. Frederick Fausz 16

EDUCATION AND THE IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN
INDIAN. By Gretchen Bataille 37

A PERCEIVED ETHNIC FACTOR IN CALIFORNIA'S
FARM LABOR CONFLICT: THE NISEI FARMERS
LEAGUE. By Stephen S. Fugita 50

EXPLORATIONS IN POETRY. By Philip N. Henry . . 73
to sister a-go-go
The Masks
to the unconcerned
for no other reason

BOOK REVIEWS:

Joel Schor, *Henry Highland Garnet: A Voice
in Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth
Century*. By Michael J. Stanke 78

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS:

6th Annual Conference on Minority and
Ethnic Studies 80
Elections 80
Conferences 81
Employment Notices 82
New Publications 83

EDITOR'S COMMENT 84

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS 86

GUEST EDITORIAL

EXPLORATIONS IN ETHNIC STUDIES, A NEW JOURNAL

Charles Irby
President, NAIES
California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

The National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies (NAIES) was organized at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse during the third annual meeting of the Minority Studies Conference in the spring of 1975. The founding of the "association," with its unwieldy title that was changed a year later, resulted from a meeting of about a dozen persons. Two of those, George Carter and James Parker, were responsible for developing the NAIES' successful *Newsletter*. The ideas that members of the "association" have had to communicate grew too numerous to be contained within the newsletter format, and each member is valued for that overwhelming success.

The launching of *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* is the result of more than eighteen months of discussions in clarifying goals and directions, which are perhaps best summed up by the phrase "significant new directions" for finding *solutions* to the multiplicity of problems facing ethnic communities in our society through ethnic studies. In our discussions: We found no multinational organ that spoke to the need for advancing the frontiers of knowledge for ethnic studies. We found no scholarly journal designed to eliminate oppression and eradicate social injustices from ethnic communities. We found that the language of *pluralism* obscures and militates against all forms of ethnic well-being. Consequently, the NAIES proposes *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* as a vehicle for providing an expanded forum for discussing and resolving the pertinent issues of oppression and social injustices for ethnic communities. More is involved, however. We must go beyond

analyses and resolutions, i.e., we must enter the arena of action through the wedding of theory and practice.

It is our responsibility as an *association of ethnicians* to organize, clarify, and propagate meaningful *solutions* to the continuing problems confronting ethnic studies and ethnic communities. *Explorations in Ethnic Studies*, as a journal, is unique in its focus. *Solutions* are expected to flow from all segments of our society. The vehicle is operational, and each association member is fuel for this exciting journey. We welcome you as a reader, writer, critic, and general contributor.

A DEVELOPMENTAL DESIGN FOR UNDERSTANDING ETHNICITY*

Charles C. Irby

California State Polytechnic University, Pomona

Carl O. Sauer, the late dean of North American anthropology, noted that:

We are touching upon a very serious topic that Americans, with their emphasis on acculturation, Americanization, and so forth, have never explored properly. Our own cultural minorities, living and surviving, persisting in some of their own attitudes of values and consciences, have a seminal as well as a historical significance as long as they resist absorption into the general pattern, but we pay little attention to them.¹

More than two decades since those words were spoken there has been a multitude of published works on cultural and ethnic minorities,² and still "little attention" is paid to the realities of these folk.

*This is a revised version of "Developing a Philosophy of Ethnicity," a paper presented at the 37th Annual Meetings of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Oregon State University, Corvallis, June 15, 1974, and at the First Pacific Northwest Regional Conference of the NAIES, Eastern Washington State College, Cheney, November 13, 1976. The author is grateful to John C. Leggett and Robert B. Yoshioka who responded critically to earlier versions of this paper.

¹Carl O. Sauer, "Retrospect," in William L. Thomas, Jr., ed., *Man's Role in Changing the Face of the Earth* (Chicago, 1956), p. 1132.

²Ethnic minorities is used here in the popular sense of nonwhite peoples in the United States.

Even less attention is paid to the role of ethnicity as it pertains to ethnic groups in the United States. Materials designed to meet the demands of ethnic minorities have been pouring from the presses during the past decade, but very few of these have addressed the potentially exciting topic of ethnicity.

The plethora of ethnic materials that have glutted the market are not sufficiently different from the hackneyed academic literature that was published before the ethnic market was opened to warrant serious consideration, i.e., manuscript for manuscript, the visible ethnics were probably better off when the Saue position was first articulated. The literature easily tells its own story.

Donald K. Fellows' *A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities*,³ as an example of materials about nonwhite people, was castigated in the *Professional Geographer* for its failure to include white ethnics. The negative criticisms, though warranted, missed the essence of what was being propagated about "Blacks, Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Mexican-Americans, and Puerto Ricans." The book is egregious, and it combines the worst features of most of the poorly rendered works on how scholarship exploits visible ethnic minorities in American society. The following examples from the book are illustrative.

The incoming African brought only remnants . . . with him. (p. 31)

"The freed-slave was starting from . . . 'cultural zero.'" (p. 39)

While it is true that the Mexican-American owes much to his Spanish forebears, he also owes much to the Indians who . . . bequeathed to him a stoicism that enables him to face adversity without flinching. (p. 48)

Once off the reservation, the Indian finds himself low man on the totem pole. (p. 90)

³Donald K. Fellows, *A Mosaic of America's Ethnic Minorities* (New York, 1972).

While the majority of Chinese are still struggling to attain full equality, the sage advice of Confucius must have seemed somewhat verified when, in 1959, Hiram Fong was elected United States Senator (p. 100)

Despite their reputation for industriousness and dynamic energy, the one virtue most often associated with American Japanese is stoicism, the ability to take whatever "fate" as the "axe" falls. (p. 126)

Family means much to the Puerto Rican and when a parental relationship is lasting, close ties are maintained, although the lack of a father figure does tend to increase the instability factor. (pp. 177-78)

There is yet to come a study in the United States dedicated to the clarification of ethnicity as it pertains to ethnic groups from other than Euroamerican hierarchical perspectives.⁴ Fellows' point, like many others, is that the United States is a happy "melting pot," and it is predetermined that all persons will eventually assume an Angloamerican character. This is true in spite of the fact that colored folk were never thought of as part of the melting thesis until

⁴Andrew M. Greeley's "What Is an Ethnic," in *Why Can't They Be Like Us?* (New York, 1969), pp. 15-30, reprinted in *The Journal of Comparative Cultures*, Vol. 1, No. 1 (1972), pp. 11-19, is an erudite, graceful, and tactful approach to understanding what an ethnic is. His information, however, could be far more damaging to our concerns for understanding ethnicity than Fellows' if we allow ourselves to be lulled into believing that the following quoted information is the reality of United States culture history: "The immigrants were not welcome, and considerable pressure was put upon them to become Anglo-Saxon as quickly as possible. *Yet the pressure stopped short of being absolute; the American ethos forced society to tolerate religious and ethnic diversity even if it did not particularly like it.*" (Emphasis added.)

recently.⁵ One admittedly liberal historian was so intent on the melting pot thesis that he wrote about black people as being the same as white people with a different skin color--this is, of course, one way of expressing that black people have no essence except that which is derived from white folk. This kind of treatment not only degrades the humanity of black people, it sheds no light on who or what white people are.

There are too many studies about visible ethnic minorities predicated on the notion that American society is a melting pot without explaining the forces that created enclaves such as the *barrio*, the black ghetto, Chinatowns, and reservations in terms of ethnicity. Consequently, there are no studies that address the issue of ethnicity as it pertains to affluent persons who might reside within these bounds. Even the pluralists have left the question of "what is ethnicity" virtually untouched.

With regard to pluralism, Barbara Sizemore's definition is exemplary as she demonstrates keen insight into the problems of developing a consciousness for ethnicity.

Where so many groups with varying cultural patterns reside [as in the United States], pluralism and desire for inclusion confound the double contingency and the complementarity of expectation. Pluralism . . . is defined as the condition of cultural parity among ethnic groups in a common society.⁶

Conceptually, Sizemore's pluralism offers an exciting arena for intellectual combat with regard to defining

⁵It is clear that Israel Zanwill's play, *The Melting Pot*, 1908, is responsible for the ideologies that formed the basis for the myth, and that only white Europeans could ever get into the pot.

⁶Barbara A. Sizemore, "Shattering the Melting Pot Myth," in James A. Banks, ed., *Teaching Ethnic Studies* (Washington, D.C., 1973), p. 81.

images of ethnicity, but the theme is underdeveloped.⁷ Cultural parity makes no statement on ethnicity, and leaves what is being propagated vague. American pluralism, with its emphasis on parity, is bereft of content on the conscious level. Even "if" or "when" there is consciousness and content, the idea of justice is lacking.

During the course of a day (or even a lifetime), a person or a group of people might well go through all the stages found in the behavioral and social science literatures--assimilationist through pluralist--or none of the stages because these concepts are not usually a part of the consciousness of those who are seeking social justice⁸ nor those who have the power to make it a reality. Social justice for the *nishnawbek*⁹ certainly is not seeing the "Buffalo Soldiers" on television committing genocide against their ancestors even though blacks might gain some measure of pride in knowing that "they tamed the West like the whites." It is not social justice when a minority (as in the case of Irish and Italian Catholics in California) seizes authority (economic and political), becomes a majority (white), and oppresses a minority (as in the case of

⁷It seems an unfortunate choice that the National Council for the Social Studies chose to leave this theme undeveloped in its *Curriculum Guidelines for Multiethnic Education: Position Statement*, a supplement to *Social Education* (October, 1976).

⁸Briefly, social justice is the reality of attaining equal access to the goods and services of the society. It is in the attempt to attain social justice by individuals, rather than by groups, that the concept of cultural pluralism goes awry. This same fate might also await the conceptual developments of ethnicity.

⁹*Nishnawbek* is the plural form of *nishnawbe*, which refers to the inhabitants of present-day America who were "discovered" by Christopher Columbus. *Nishnawbek* is a self-defining image term employed by some scholars at the University of California at Davis. It is used here to acknowledge that reality.

Blacks, Chinese, Chicanos, Filipinos, Japanese, and/or *nishnawbek*).¹⁰ Finally, it is not social justice to fantasize that American society is black and white. Allen Frazier questions this fantasy from a *nishnawbe* perspective.

What does the Indian say when the white declares. "This land is our land. With our bare hands and by the sweat of our brows we carved a civilized nation. We fought and died for this land. It is ours."?

What does the Indian say when the black declares. "This land is our land. It was our blood, sweat, and tears that the whites used to build this nation. The first person killed in the Revolutionary War was black, in the War of 1812 there were black soldiers. and in all wars we have fought."?

Even today it is difficult for some Indians to understand how nature's earth, or the Creator's earth, or the Great Spirit's earth can be considered by men to be theirs. Nature belongs to all. Therefore, is it necessary to declare that "every Indian man, woman, child, and dog that died, did so because they wanted to live where they had lived for 30,000 years!"?¹¹

It can be readily seen that cultural parity and social justice are not equitable phenomena as they pertain to ethnicity.

There are, however, some inroads into particular aspects of ethnicity and ethnic groups, and four of these are recounted. Martin Kilson entered the political arena with the concept of

¹⁰See Barbara Hiura's "Developing a Consciousness for Ethnicity in California and Its Relevance to the Ethnic Studies Discipline," Mss. prepared for the 5th Annual Conference on Minority Studies, University of Wisconsin-La Crosse, April 20-24, 1977.

¹¹Allan Frazier, "Cultural Geography of Black America" (Davis, Cal., 1969).

. . . the politicization of ethnicity. This means simply to use ethnic patterns and prejudices as the primary basis for interest-group and political formations, and to build upon these to integrate an ethnic community into the wider politics of the city or nation.¹²

Jack Forbes addressed the issue of deep cultural awareness of the *nishnawbek*. He wrote that

. . . stress should be placed upon the central dynamic élan of Native cultures. It is because of the élan that Native peoples are able to produce the arts, crafts, music, and poetry so admired by outsiders. Not only is the study of the basic values of Native American life important as a means of understanding Native cultures themselves, but these values (and the socio-cultural, religio-philosophical, and political behavior styles resulting therefrom) are significant because they provide a means for solving many of the significant problems faced by modern man.¹³

Fredrik Barth, dealing with ethnic boundary maintenance, as shown that

. . . ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of social interaction and acceptance, but are quite to the contrary often the very foundations on which embracing social systems are built. Interaction in such a social system does not lead to its liquidation through change and acculturation; differences can persist despite inter-ethnic contact and interdependence.¹⁴

¹²Martin Kilson, "Politics of Black Ethnicity," in Rudolph Gomez, ed., *The Social Reality of Ethnic America* (Lexington, Mass., 1974), p. 79.

¹³Jack D. Forbes, "Teaching Native American Values and Cultures," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, p. 202.

¹⁴Fredrik Barth, "Introduction," in Fredrik Barth, ed., *Ethnic Groups and Boundaries* (London, 1969), p. 10.

Finally, Larry Cuban points to the heart of the problem concerning a dedicated search for ethnicity, at all levels, in the academy, i.e., ethnic content and white instruction.

"White instruction" is a shorthand term to describe those traditional methods of telling, explaining, and clarifying that have been the mainstay of classrooms for the last millenium. To graft ethnic content onto white instruction will shrivel and ultimately kill a hearty and vital effort.¹⁵

Kilson's statement on the politicization of ethnicity clearly delineates a conceptual ethnic characteristic as it relates to political power. None, however, gives an overview of ethnicity in the United States.

The attenuated philosophical foundation concerning ethnicity has led to this search for clarifying the issues involved. It is, therefore, with regard to developing a useful scheme, in the form of a preliminary specialty code, that this philosophy is predicated. The attempt is to provide a tractable "skeleton onto which to hang the flesh of ethnicity"¹⁶ in the form of a suggestive and philosophical, rather than definitive and ideological, framework.

Since the most accurate information is likely to flow into an open system (one that admits it does not have all the pertinent questions), the code is promulgated to enhance an understanding of what questions might be relevant with flexibility as the keystone¹⁷

¹⁵Larry Cuban, "Ethnic Content and 'White' Instruction," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, p. 104.

¹⁶Robert B. Yoshioka, "Ethnicity and Historiography: The Role of Social Science, Theory, and Research in Ethnic Studies," a paper presented at the 37th Annual Meeting of the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, Corvallis, Oregon, June 12-15, 1974.

¹⁷This is perhaps too much to ask in a discipline-oriented academic environment, but we probably need much more creativity and less discipline to properly bring this subject out of the darkness.

for our concerns.¹⁸ Developing a philosophy of ethnicity from such a static design might well appear to be impossible. However, it is the creativeness of

¹⁸It might well be that the concept of ethnicity is nothing more than an academic exercise concocted by social and behavioral scientists to admit more "scholars" to their ranks. If this is even partially the case, then there has been and will continue to be much wasted time, energy, and resources provided that the following proposition is near the mark. If the goal for an understanding of ethnicity relates to the attainment of social justice, then there is pragmatic justification for dealing with the subject from any and all angles that move us toward that reality. It seems highly unlikely that persons can derive any satisfaction from ethnicity when they are hungry, oppressed, and dispossessed. It is with this clear understanding that the following hypothesis is predicated. The nature of ethnicity lies in an arena of social justice, and only a painstaking and dedicated search will determine to what degree this is true.

The singlemost outstanding characteristic regarding ethnicity in the United States is that it emerges from the literature as a dynamic vehicle seeking "access and exclusiveness" as provided in Sizemore's cultural parity and the social injustices perpetrated by the Irish and Italian Catholics in California. Ethnicity exists in the minds of people as a beginning reality as they seek inclusion, but the process shows that it has neither definition nor end. Those "defined" as ethnically different from the power elite seek inclusion, and "if" included seek to limit that access to "others" who want to share equally in the goods and services of the society. Those in the power position, at every turn, seek to deny social justice to those without the means of going beyond the stage of demanding. All of this suggests that the dynamics of ethnicity can be found as it moves in the processes of formulation that never forms, and that ethnicity differs according to place (area), time, and situation (relationships).

the data that one brings to the design that will insure the development of philosophies relating to ethnicity. This creativity should lead to an understanding of the multiple-triggered processes within the design as they relate to the integration of function, pattern, and structure, which allows for greater visions of the dynamic processes involved. At the most elementary level, such integration will undoubtedly limit the usual (we are better or worse than) orientation when dealing with nonwhite folk in the United States. At the next level, a widening of the scope (a broader overview) must accompany changes in the angle (movement from point to point with a particular perspective) to the data that allows for probing, rather than groping, at the heart of our concerns. This simply means that we must understand and be dissatisfied with Aristotelian logic and the intractability of Cartesian metaphysics, and develop methods and procedures through which we can show results that satisfy our hopes, dreams, and aspirations.

Design and process, as keys in a developmental philosophy to manipulate the data, means that the analyst must be able to visualize and incorporate homology and analogy at any instance where homology outlines the historical antecedents that created the economic, political, spatial, and social relationships, and analogy specifies the current common causal conditions and processes in the breaking up or the maintaining of these relationships. Such a developmental philosophy is a method for dealing with the data that will reflect the most honest appraisal of characteristics that we so loosely call ethnic. At the same time, the developmental philosophy questions the value of studies which suggest (or state emphatically) that people who commune together have the same ethnicity.

One of the keys to ethnicity, suggested by this developmental philosophy, is difference. The factors of difference include cultural, economic, historical, social, philosophical, and political realities--real and/or imagined. That is to say, incompatible frames of reference exist among and between groups of people because their basic values are different. At this

stage of development, however, it is virtually impossible to say what ethnicity is in terms of an ethnic group. As a matter of fact, it is virtually impossible to find a national ethnic group in the United States (and the proposition is questionable on a regional basis), e.g., blacks do not constitute an ethnic group because of the spatial sociological differences that can be observed empirically.

What an ethnic group is not can help to underscore difference as a key to ethnicity provided that the right questions are asked. In turn, this key offers two important methods for the design: (1) it demands that differences be seen as different rather than equatable phenomena, i.e., cultural deprivation, cultural equality, cultural superiority, and so forth; and (2) it demands that the analyst learn something about "ethnic" lives as processes rather than conclusions with an eye for ethnic characteristics from a multiplicity of perspectives--especially her or his own perspective interfacing that of the group under scrutiny.

This preliminary specialty code for ethnicity has been developed to deal with the multiplicity of items that go into the question of "what is ethnicity." The primary question, however, might well be "what is relevant to ethnicity?" The listed items in this design are by no means exhaustive, and they should help in forming a catalyst in the determination of some ethnic characteristics that have hitherto remained veiled.

The ordering of this specialty code is arbitrarily alphabetical rather than degrees of importance being attached to any item. It is designed to work, for example, as follows: Accessibility and/or isolation to land (01:04) seeks to understand if ethnicity is a determining factor. Chicanismo (03:02.01) as a non-material cultural item tries to determine what role deep culture plays in the ethnic character formation of Chicanos. Provided that the data outlines ethnicity, vehicles of conveyance (08:02) are designed to summarize what modes are used to move it through time and space. The code is thus not presented here as definitive but as a beginning model.

PRELIMINARY SPECIALTY CODE FOR
UNDERSTANDING ETHNICITY

- | | |
|---|--|
| <p>01: Accessibility and/or Isolation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 education 02 economic processes 03 housing 04 land 05 language 06 media (communications) 07 medical services 08 political processes | <p>05: Family</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 focality <ul style="list-style-type: none"> .01 structure .02 extent 02 function 03 pattern <ul style="list-style-type: none"> .01 spatial orientation .02 extent 04 process <ul style="list-style-type: none"> .01 external .02 internal .03 extent |
| <p>02: Biological Race and Sociological Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 cultural boundaries 02 genetics and race destiny | <p>06: Ideology</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 current dimensions 02 historical processes |
| <p>03: Culture</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 material (plastic arts) 02 nonmaterial <ul style="list-style-type: none"> .01 chicanism (chicanitude?) .02 negritude .03 nipponismo (nipponitude?) .04 nishnawbekélan .05 sinotide | <p>07: Images</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 referents by outsiders 02 self-referents 03 stereotypes <ul style="list-style-type: none"> .01 external .02 internal |
| <p>04: Demography</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 core 02 migrations 03 new cores (or enclaves) 04 origins | <p>08: Methods and Vehicles</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 01 methods of transmission 02 vehicles of conveyance |

In sum, if ethnicity is a false path, then the specialty code should help in determining that character. If ethnicity is a viable path, then the specialty code can be a starting point. The pursuit of ethnicity is a worthy one because more information will become available from which to make better judgments about people who are "different from us," and from this position we can move toward our goals.



THE "BARBAROUS MASSACRE" RECONSIDERED: THE POWHATAN UPRISING OF 1622 AND THE HISTORIANS

—
J. Frederick Fausz
Maryland Historical Society, Baltimore
—

The Powhatan Uprising of March 22, 1621/22, was the single most significant event of Anglo-Indian relations in Virginia. An early example of a native culture's rebellion against intruding European civilization, the uprising climaxed a mere decade and a half of intercultural contact. Its impact upon trans-Atlantic ideology and policy was impressive: it brought to an end the first (forty year) phase of British imperialism accelerated Virginia's unique course of development, and hastened the doom of an American Indian empire with vast potential.

The 1622 uprising is an authentic historical watershed, but it is an event so familiar that historians have rarely seen the necessity for detailed analysis. No sizable scholarly account of the uprising has ever been published. Because of this serious historiographical neglect and because of the mushrooming interest in both Native-American studies and colonial Chesapeake history, a monograph focusing upon events of 1622 and set within the context of British imperialism is needed to fill an interpretative void.

This study, in its present form, could not have been written a few years ago. The 1960's and 1970's produced the relevant interpretations and the reawakened consciousness requisite for a revision of Virginia's early history written from an intercultural perspective. In the past decade, respected historians of colonial

America have retold the English story,¹ while ethnohistorians and anthropologists continue to research and analyze various aspects of the Powhatan past.²

However, concerning the 1622 uprising itself, the historiography remains notably shallow and deficient. After three and a half centuries of myopic and mythopoeic Anglo-American historical interpretation, the important details of the uprising--causation, timing, rationale, and ramifications--still languish in the shadows of factual obscurity. Although there are no books, essays, or even dissertations devoted to the topic, any new interpretation of the uprising must be

¹Especially relevant and important have been the contributions of Philip L. Barbour: *The Three Worlds of Captain John Smith* (Boston, 1964); ed., *The Jamestown Voyages under the First Charter, 1606-1609*, Hakluyt Society, 2d Ser., CXXXVI-CXXXVII, 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1968); *Pocahontas and Her World* (Boston, 1969); and the new edition of the works of Capt. John Smith, now in progress; and of Edmund S. Morgan: *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975).

²Significant is the work of Christian F. Feest, a Viennese anthropologist: "Powhatan: A Study in Political Organization," in *Wiener Völkerkundlicher Mitteilungen*, VII (1966), pp. 69-83; "Virginia Indian Miscellany," 2 parts, in *Archiv für Völkerkunde*, XX (1966), pp. 1-7, XXII (1967), pp. 5-25; and "Seventeenth Century Virginia Algonquian Population Estimates," *Archaeological Society of Virginia, Quarterly Bulletin*, XXVIII (1973), pp. 66-79. Also relevant is Lewis R. Binford, "Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Investigation of Cultural Diversity and Progressive Development among Aboriginal Cultures of Coastal Virginia and North Carolina" (Ph.D. diss., Anthropology, Univ. of Michigan, 1964), and Douglas H. Ubelaker, *Reconstruction of Demographic Profiles from Ossuary Skeletal Samples: A Case Study from the Tidewater Potomac*, Smithsonian Contributions to Anthropology, No. 18 (Washington, 1974).

aggressively revisionist in order to correct the many error-ridden, prejudicial, short, and superficial treatments of the past. Even more recent appraisals of the uprising, although disburdened of passion and anti-Indian bias, have done an inadequate job of explaining events. Historians who have "interpreted" the Powhatan Uprising in the past two decades still view that event in terms of simplistic monocausality or vague multicausality.

It is not radical to insist that the historian answer at least two basic questions in explaining an historical event:

- (1) What were the preconditions (the results of long-range causes) that set the stage for the reaction to precipitants (immediate causes)?
- (2) What were the precipitants that indicate why something happened when it did?³

As fundamentally obvious as these two points may seem, no historian ever has linked the preconditions growing out of fifteen years of Anglo-Powhatan relations with the timing of the uprising in March, 1622. Nor has anyone isolated or differentiated the factors which assured periods of peaceful relations or those which triggered full-scale warfare during the decade and a half prior to the uprising.

Before discussing the historiography of the Powhatan Uprising of 1622, however, an important "revisionist" position should be taken on the problem of terminology. The word "massacre," as in the "Great Massacre of March 22, 1621/22," will not be used in this study, contrary to its traditional, almost universal acceptance. Derived from the old French word, *macecler* (to butcher), "massacre" refers to the indiscriminate slaughter of persons on a large scale for reasons of revenge or plunder. Although this definition accurately describes what the Powhatans did in 1622, the word "massacre" should be replaced for two reasons.

³See Robert F. Berkhofer, Jr., *A Behavioral Approach to Historical Analysis* (New York, 1969), p. 298.

Due to the prejudicial misuse of the term "massacre" by past historians, volatile connotations remain that should not be permitted in this era of white sensitivity and Indian sensitivity to the Native-Americans' heritage. As one historian explained, a ". . . fight became a battle when the white man won, a *massacre* when the Indians prevailed."⁴ Secondly, there is a better, more accurate term for describing events of 1622--"uprising." Denoting revolution and the rebellion against oppression, "uprising" is a valid and functional substitute for "massacre." The Powhatans in 1622 were considered under the dominion of King James I, and the massive, surprise attack they launched on March 22, 1621/22, was actually the first blow in a decade-long revolutionary war designed to rid their land of the hated aliens. Engaged in a desperate, patriotic struggle for cultural survival, the Powhatans were regarded by English contemporaries as "rebels of the South Colony."⁵ Thus, "uprising" has validity in the historical context, a fact recognized by scholars

⁴Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, Va., 1971), p. 51; emphasis added. White historians have to be extremely sensitive to the Native-American's search for his past. In a recent book review, it was mentioned how the Nez Perce tribe was indignant about whites referring to 19th century cavalry "skirmishes" with their ancestors, engagements that they considered full-fledged "battles." Wilcomb E. Washburn's review of *Noon Nee-Me-Poo (We, the Nez Percés): Culture and History of the Nez Percés* (Lapwai, Idaho, 1973), in *Idaho Yesterdays*, XVIII (1974), pp. 30-31.

⁵John Pory to Sir Francis Wyatt, governor of Virginia, autumn 1622, in Sydney V. James, Jr., ed., *Three Visitors to Early Plymouth* (Plimoth Plantation, Mass., 1963), p. 18.

of Native-American history, who pioneered the use of the term in their writings.⁶

All interpretations of the 1622 uprising can be traced to two contemporary English sources: Edward Waterhouse's polemical *Declaration of the State of the Colony and . . . a Relation of the Barbarous Massacre* (London, 1622), the "official view" of the Virginia Company of London,⁷ and Captain John Smith's *Generall Historie of Virginia, New-England, and the Summer Isles* (London, 1624), Book IV.⁸

Waterhouse provided most of the "factual details" of the uprising--many of which cannot be proved or disproved--and printed the only list of those who were killed on March 22, 1621/22.⁹ Judging by the historiographical reliance placed upon Waterhouse, his account is the single most important source concerning the uprising.

The *Relation of the Barbarous Massacre* identified the "true cause" of the uprising as the "instigation of

⁶William T. Hagan, *American Indians*, Chicago History of American Civilization (Chicago, 1961), p. 9; Wilbur R. Jacobs, *Dispossessing the American Indian* (New York, 1972), p. 175. Francis Jennings, *The Invasion of America: Indians, Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975) referred to the 1622 attack as a "rebellion" (p. 56, 164), "rising" (p. 55), and an "uprising" (p. 77). "Uprising" will be the term used throughout this study.

⁷Published in August, 1622, Waterhouse's account was company sponsored and presented the best side of things to the public. A usable reprint is most conveniently found in Susan Myra Kingsbury, ed., *The Records of the Virginia Company of London*, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1906-1935), III, pp. 541-71.

⁸Available in many facsimile editions, the standard modern reprint is still Edward Arber and A. G. Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works of Captain John Smith*, 2 vols. (Edinburgh, 1910).

⁹See Waterhouse, *Relation of the Massacre*.

the Divell (enemy to theire [the Indians'] salvation) and the dayly feare that possesst them, that in time we by our growing continually upon them, would dispossesse them of this Country."¹⁰ Waterhouse, of course, was not objective in his presentation. He made no attempt to consider preconditions or to explain the timing of the attack, and he actually suppressed information in his possession in order to remove any hint of English culpability in provoking Indian actions.¹¹ By emphasizing the treachery and barbarity of the "perfidious and inhumane" Powhatans,¹² by interpreting the 1622 attack as inexplicable and without reasonable provocation, and by couching causality in terms of territorial-spatial issues, Waterhouse's *Relation* established the parameters and the biases that historians have adhered to for three and a half centuries.

Captain John Smith drew extensively from Waterhouse's account, but he added new details that make his interpretation of 1622 the most satisfactory because of its originality, plausibility, and sense of balance. Although hatred of Indians and desire for revenge were ever present in Smith's account, he nevertheless realized that a precipitant--an act of English provocation--brought on the March attack. Smith linked the timing of the uprising with the murder by the English of a mysterious and respected Powhatan leader, Nemattanew, only two weeks before.¹³ Smith's interpretation of Nemattanew's death as the "Prologue to this Tragedy"--and the event that prompted Powhatan revenge--was a significant corrective to Waterhouse's distorted

¹⁰*Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹¹See J. Frederick Fausz and Jon Kukla, "A Letter of Advice to the Governor of Virginia, 1624," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d Ser., XXXIV (1977), pp. 108-09, 109n.

¹²Waterhouse, *Relation of the Massacre*, pp. 18-22.

¹³Smith, *Generall Historie*, p. 144. Smith spelled the name "Nemattanow," but most versions of it indicated an "-ew" end sound. See Fausz and Kukla, "Letter of Advice," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXIV (1977), pp. 108-109n.

perspective. Smith accepted Waterhouse's conspiracy theory concerning pre-1622 Powhatan plots against the English, but he disagreed with the interpretative importance assigned to the "Divell" or territorial issues.¹⁴ For the pragmatic captain, the Powhatans ". . . did not kill the English because they were Christians, but for their weapons and commodities, that were rare novelties."¹⁵

Only one year after the *Generall Historie* was published, the Reverend Samuel Purchas brought out his *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes* in which he presented his own views of the recent Indian uprising.¹⁶ The leading ideologue of English imperialism after Hakluyt, Purchas relied heavily on both Waterhouse and Smith and developed a patchwork synthesis. Plagiarizing much of Waterhouse's account, Purchas inserted Smith's details about Nemattanew's death and realized its importance for explaining the Powhatans' precisely timed revenge.¹⁷ In fact, Purchas went beyond the *Generall Historie* and described Nemattanew's murder as the "Cause of the Massacre," although in another location he mentioned the "instigation of the Divell" and land dispossession as possible causes.¹⁸

Since Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchase were writing about current events, they lacked objectivity and a sense of historical perspective. This explains why all three had an ill-defined and ambiguous view of preconditions and precipitant causes. For the historian, these three contemporary observers are important for

¹⁴*Ibid.*, p. 165.

¹⁵Capt. John Smith, *New England Trials* (London, 1622), in Arber and Bradley, eds., *Travels and Works*, I, p. 262.

¹⁶4 vols. (London, 1625). The best modern reprint is in 20 vols. (Glasgow, 1905-1907). The uprising is discussed in Vol. XIX.

¹⁷Purchas, *Pilgrimes*, XIX, pp. 168-69.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, p. 164.

the factual details they provided, but it is interesting to note how often scholars have accepted and perpetuated the anti-Indian biases of 1622-1625.¹⁹

Later commentators on the uprising of 1622 based their accounts on the triumvirate of Waterhouse, Smith, and Purchas, but often, in a fit of originality, they would add "factual" details that helped create, over time, a unique, mythopoeic American interpretation.²⁰ Early in the eighteenth century, Robert Beverley, belonging to the planter class that had profited in a Virginia freed of an Indian menace, wrote ". . . the earliest work which attempt[ed] a comprehensive description of the colony's past history."²¹ Beverley's *History and Present State of Virginia* (London, 1705) viewed Indians in a less passionate, more paternalistic light than had the earlier authors,²² but his narrative revealed a chauvinistic, colonial Virginia bias. According to Beverley, prior to 1622 Englishmen treated the Powhatans with a kindness--indeed, with "Freedom and Friendship"--unknown in Jamestown's early days.²³ But this congeniality

¹⁹The post-uprising English revenge literature is not discussed here as these writings are not critical to the present topic.

²⁰Over the centuries, Virginia's native-son historians have embellished the story with such "facts" as: the uprising occurred on Good Friday, 1622; John Rolfe was killed in the attack; and that up to 400 or more Englishmen were slain. These gratuitous details are never attributed to a source, but rather have attained their own validity by repeated telling.

²¹Robert Beverley, *The History and Present State of Virginia*, Louis B. Wright, ed. (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1947), editor's introduction, p. xiii.

²²Gary B. Nash, "The Image of the Indian in the Southern Colonial Mind," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXIX (1972), p. 223.

²³Beverley, *History*, Wright, ed., p. 51.

exposed the defenselessness of the colonists and gave the natives the "Occasion to think more contemptibly of them."²⁴ Nemattanew's death ". . . was reckon'd all the Provocation given . . . to act this bloody Tragedy, and to . . . engage in so horrid Villainy all the Kings and Nations bordering upon the English Settlements."²⁵ The Powhatans had plotted a "Hellish Contrivance"--the annihilation of all the English--"according to their cruel Way of leaving none behind to bear Resentment."²⁶ Beverley stressed the precipitant cause of the uprising and ignored the important preconditions, but at least he, unlike many later writers, provided a rational explanation for why the Powhatans had attacked when they did.²⁷

Four decades after the publication of Beverley's *History*, another son of the Old Dominion, the Reverend William Stith, published his *History of the First Discovery and Settlement of Virginia* (Williamsburg, 1747). Stith was quite passionate and prejudiced in his account of the "cruel and bloody Massacre," an event "most memorable in our Annals."²⁸ The connection between Nemattanew's death and the timing of the uprising was implied, but never directly stated by Stith. He also implies that the Powhatan overlord, Opechancanough, had formulated his conspiracy for annihilation long in advance.²⁹ The period of peace immediately preceding the uprising, Stith explained, was intended for the Powhatans' benefit, allowing them a "Taste of Civil Life" and protecting them from an "English War" that could have easily exterminated them. Thus it was that the unsuspecting, trusting, and kindly Englishmen fell "by the Hands of a perfidious, naked,

²⁴*Ibid.*, p. 50. ²⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 53-54.

²⁶*Ibid.*, p. 51.

²⁷*Ibid.*, pp. 54-56. Almost alone among twentieth century scholars, Philip Barbour interpreted Nemattanew's death as precipitating the uprising. However well he understood the timing of the event, Barbour made no attempt to investigate the important preconditions. *Pocahontas*, pp. 205-06.

²⁸Stith, *History*, p. 208. ²⁹*Ibid.*, p. 209.

and dastardly People, . . . Blood-hounds" all.³⁰ The myth of English innocence and Indian treachery was still thriving 125 years after Waterhouse.

In the next century, another noteworthy Virginia historian, Charles Campbell, interpreted the 1622 uprising for the "sophisticated" readers of 1860. Campbell's *History of the Colony and Ancient Dominion of Virginia* mentioned Nemattanew ("wild, untutored savage!"), but his death was only vaguely related to the timing of the March attack.³¹ In almost all other respects, Campbell merely paraphrased Waterhouse's version of events, retaining of course the flavor of post-1622 English hatreds.³²

Campbell's perspective on the Powhatans could have benefited from the more enlightened views of Henry R. Schoolcraft, who completed his six-volume classic, *Historical and Statistical Information Respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States*, in 1857.³³ Schoolcraft was

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 210, 211. See Nash, "Image of the Indian," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXIX (1972), p. 224.

³¹Campbell, *History*, pp. 160, 161.

³²Campbell wrote: "The red men of Virginia were driven back, like hunted wolves, from their ancient haunts. While their fate cannot fail to excite commiseration, . . . the perpetual possession of this country by the aborigines would have been *incompatible with the designs of Providence* in promoting the welfare of mankind. . . . The unrelenting hostility of the savages, their perfidy and vindictive implacability, made sanguinary measures necessary." *Ibid.*, p. 167; emphasis added.

³³(Philadelphia, 1851-1857). These volumes were reprinted at different times with altered titles. The quote is from Vol. VI: *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge* . . . (Philadelphia, 1860). For an analysis of Schoolcraft's interpretations, see Roy Harvey Pearce, *Savagism and Civilization: A Study of the Indian and the American Mind* (Baltimore, 1967 [orig. publ. 1953]), pp. 120-28.

sympathetic to the Powhatans, portraying Opechancanough as a wise and courageous leader, with a "head whose anatomy would have honored Solon." Opechancanough, always the "unflinching enemy of the colony," became "inflexibly bent on preventing the progress of the Saxon race" as early as 1618.³⁴ His plot to root out the English was, according to Schoolcraft, more interrupted than furthered by the "striking incident" of Nemattanew's murder in early March, 1622. Even though the timing of the uprising and the various preconditions went unanalyzed by Schoolcraft, the Powhatans were viewed more as efficient strategists than as treacherous murderers. Stripped of much of the inflammatory rhetoric that Waterhouse had employed, Schoolcraft's account conveyed a sense of Indian pride and cultural aspiration, and the rebels of 1622 were treated as protagonists acting to better their condition.³⁵

However, Schoolcraft's sensitivity to the Powhatan perspective was not adopted by writers later in the nineteenth century. In 1877, the famous historian of colonial Virginia, Edward D. Neill, mentioned the uprising of 1622 in a short essay devoted mainly to the development of the iron industry in the seventeenth century.³⁶ Writing only a year after Custer's defeat, Neill noted how the Powhatans had tricked the trusting Englishmen with pledges of peace and how, ". . . as often since, these professions and confessions were a prelude to treachery and massacre."³⁷

The equally famous antiquarian, Alexander Brown, as late as 1898 relied upon block quotations from Waterhouse to tell the story of the uprising. In his *First Republic in America*,³⁸ Brown interpreted

³⁴Schoolcraft, *Archives of Aboriginal Knowledge*, p. 98.

³⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

³⁶"Massacre at Falling Creek, Virginia, March 22, 1621-22," *The Magazine of American History*, 1 (April, 1877), pp. 222-25.

³⁷*Ibid.*, p. 224.

³⁸(Boston, 1898).

Nemattanew's death as only incidental to the timing of the attack, an attack that was in the planning stages at least a year before March, 1621/22.³⁹ If Brown saw the "massacre" as the work of a "master mind," it was a mind that he perhaps thought too brilliant for an Indian, for he toyed with the idea that the Spanish may have instigated the uprising.⁴⁰

In general, nineteenth-century writers progressed little beyond Waterhouse and Smith in interpreting the events of 1622. There was almost no attempt to understand the motivation of the Powhatans or to analyze precipitants within the context of preconditions. The death of Nemattanew was linked to the timing of the uprising by most writers, but even that dramatic event was presented in a vacuum, with no emphasis on why it was a significant provocation or on how it related to a possible anti-English conspiracy long before its existence.

Twentieth-century accounts of the 1622 uprising have, in many respects, been as brief, sketchy, and unsystematic as earlier versions, but there has been an evolution in tone from the inflammatory and biased to the more dispassionate interpretations of the past few

³⁹Brown, *First Republic*, pp. 465-66.

⁴⁰*Ibid.*, p. 467n. A year before the appearance of Brown's book, Bostonian John Fiske had cautiously analyzed the situation: "Opekankano and his people watched with grave concern the sudden and rapid increase of the white strangers. That they were ready to seize upon an occasion for war is by no means unlikely, and the nature of the event indicates careful preparation." *Old Virginia and Her Neighbors*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1902 [orig. publ. Boston, 1897]), I, pp. 223-24.

years.⁴¹ Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, in 1914, presented an error-ridden and Anglophilic view of the Powhatan Uprising, and as late as 1959 he saw no reason to revise it. In *Virginia under the Stuarts*,⁴² Wertenbaker gave territorial and population pressures as the causes of the "general butchery" in 1622, and he totally neglected precipitants and provocations in explaining the timing of the attack. Apparently he believed it was sufficient to state that a conspiracy was hatched in the "cunning brain" of Opechancanough, "always hostile to the white man."⁴³ Generally, the details and the tone of Wertenbaker's account adhered to that of Waterhouse, except where Wertenbaker committed gratuitous errors of fact.⁴⁴

Charles M. Andrews, the "dean" of American colonial history in his day, twenty years later referred to Wertenbaker's "good account" of the uprising, but he,

⁴¹ In the following historiographical interpretation of twentieth-century authors, two works have been omitted that illuminated many aspects of the English experience at Jamestown but that dealt with the uprising only peripherally. Richard Beale Davis' excellent biography, *George Sandy, Poet-Adventurer* (New York and London, 1955), contained the lengthiest modern account of the uprising (Chap. VI, pp. 119-62), but, unfortunately, it consisted of reprinted primary sources with little attempt at analysis. Perry Miller, in a brilliant essay, "Religion and Society in the Early Literature of Virginia," Chap. IV in *Errand into the Wilderness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), skirted over the uprising itself but provided new insights on the ramifications of that event.

⁴² (Princeton, N.J., 1914; repr. 1959). Quotes are from 2d ed.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 48-51. Wertenbaker's sloppiness is evidenced by his giving "Race" for "Pace" (the Englishman who warned Jamestown, p. 48), and "357" instead of "347" as the Waterhouse death toll (p. 50).

himself, had little to say concerning the "hideous tragedy."⁴⁵ Andrews substituted phraseology for analysis, and "explained" the complex events as: ". . . Indian enmity smoldered, bursting into flame in 1622. . . ." He did imply, however, that the whole ugly affair could have been prevented had not Nemattanew died and Opechancanough succeeded him in 1622.⁴⁶

Another eminent colonial historian, Wesley Frank Craven, has had the good fortune and the good sense to revise his opinions and to tone down his language over the course of three decades. In a 1943 article, "Indian Policy in Early Virginia," Craven was a bit too vehement in discussing "barbarism in its most savage forms," especially since World War II was then giving a terrible new dimension to those words.⁴⁷ Craven provided no explanation of preconditions or precipitants, and the Indian attack happened as suddenly on the printed page as it had in life. However, five years later, in his influential *Southern Colonies in the Seventeenth Century*, Craven cited the growing numbers of Englishmen as the factor that prompted the uprising.⁴⁸ But once again, the "natives fell upon the unsuspecting colonists with savage brutality," with no explanation as to why March 22, 1621/22, provided the occasion or the opportunity.⁴⁹

It was only in 1971 with the publication of Craven's *White, Red, and Black* that he developed a more balanced

⁴⁵*The Colonial Period of American History*, 4 vols., Vol. 1: *The Settlements* (New Haven, 1934), pp. 139, 142n.

⁴⁶*Ibid.*, p. 142.

⁴⁷In *WMQ*, 3d Ser., 1 (1944), pp. 65-82, quote on p. 73.

⁴⁸Vol. 1 in *The History of the South*, Wendell Holmes Stephenson and E. Merton Coulter, eds. (Baton Rouge, La., 1949).

⁴⁹*Ibid.*, p. 146.

interpretation in keeping with the times.⁵⁰ In this work, Craven called attention to the Powhatan economy and culture and portrayed the Indians' sense of powerlessness as the English crowded them in ways cultural as well as territorial. The uprising, then, "signalled above all . . . the Indian's refusal to adapt."⁵¹

Craven's problems with biased language and insufficient explanations were only representative of the many pitfalls that befell otherwise fine historians when writing about 1622. For instance, Richard Lee Morton's generally excellent *Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1960) did a poor job of interpreting events of 1622 and actually helped perpetuate errors of Virginia's mythological past.⁵² Morton made no effort to explain causation beyond a discussion of Opechancanough's conspiracy. But even here, the "savages (always "savages"!) were "not . . . as bold as they were clever in carrying out their designs. In many cases the mere show of a gun caused them to flee."⁵³

Treacherous if he succeeded and cowardly if he failed, the Indian of America's past was losing ground to the prejudicial pens of historians. And if scholars

⁵⁰James W. Richard Lectures at the Univ. of Virginia (Charlottesville, Va., 1971).

⁵¹*Ibid.*, p. 52.

⁵²Morton said the uprising occurred on Good Friday, that Rolfe was among the "six Councilors" killed, and that "more than 350 colonists" died, but he did not cite a source that revealed these details. *Colonial Virginia*, pp. 74-75. See the recent work by Virginia-born historian, Warren M. Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606-1689* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1975). Billings made the "Good Friday mistake" and declared that the Powhatans did not take prisoners on the day of the attack--a statement refuted by no less than five contemporary, accessible, documents. (p. 208)

⁵³Morton, *Colonial Virginia*, pp. 74, 76.

could not control themselves, then the popularizers could not have been expected to present balanced appraisals. In 1952, for example, George F. Willison wrote that the Powhatans took a "terrible revenge" in 1622 for "injuries and indignities suffered," but "the Indians had committed numerous outrages, [which] they excused or conveniently forgot."⁵⁴ With florid prose but little analysis, Willison gave credit to Opechancanough for a "diabolically brilliant coup" that had caused "the blood of the English . . . to flow under the flash of knives and the roar of guns."⁵⁵

As this survey demonstrates, the unstated and the overstated have dominated past interpretations of the 1622 uprising. Until recently, the historiography of the subject was rather undeveloped, reflecting the superficial treatments by scholars who thought the topic unworthy of serious inquiry or who were reluctant to investigate the very complex issues they recognized.

However, the 1970's have so far produced several thesis-oriented interpretations that seek to explain the causation of the 1622 uprising. While none of these accounts is large or completely developed, they are more systematic in arrangement and argument and more enlightened in approach and tone than earlier works. And not surprisingly, the two "camps" that developed in the early 1970's--the one emphasizing cultural factors, the other territorial issues--evolved from Waterhouse's original conception of dual causality. Also similar to Waterhouse's approach is the tendency among current scholars to analyze and debate the pre-conditions of the uprising with little or no emphasis placed upon the precipitant cause(s) or on the timing of the attack.

Three modern scholars, Nancy O. Lurie, Gary B. Nash, and Francis Jennings, have determined that land dispossession and territorial pressures in general caused the uprising of 1622. Lurie's path-breaking essay, "Indian

⁵⁴*Behold Virginia: The Fifth Crown* (New York, 1952), p. 233.

⁵⁵*Ibid.*, pp. 234, 236.

Cultural Adjustment to European Civilization,"⁵⁶ claimed that the Powhatans revolted because their natural resources were increasingly threatened by encroaching tobacco plantations. The "real danger" to the Indians "arose from the inexorable growth of European society in Virginia."⁵⁷ Lurie credited the Powhatans with able planning in the uprising, and she called attention to the unified and efficient fighting organization developed by 1622. However, the death of Nemattanew was not mentioned; no effort was made to explain the crucial question of the timing of the uprising; and even the assumptions about the circumscribed Powhatan environment were not substantiated with evidence.⁵⁸

Gary Nash, in his book, *Red, White, and Black: The Peoples of Early America* (Englewood Cliffs, 1974), attempted to answer both the questions of causation and timing.⁵⁹ Sensitive to what preceded as well as to what followed the uprising, Nash viewed the growing English population as bringing about a deterioration in Anglo-Indian relations. This "highly combustible atmosphere generated by a half-dozen years of white expansion and pressure on Indian hunting lands was the . . . fundamental cause" of the uprising.⁶⁰ Nash believed that a plot for a coordinated Indian attack was already in existence when the murder of a "greatly respected Indian" (Nemattanew) "ignited the assault."⁶¹ Thus, in a succinct survey, Nash addressed himself to preconditions and the precipitant cause although, like Lurie, his statements about territorial pressures remained unproven.

The land thesis was argued by Francis Jennings in his provocative book, *The Invasion of America: Indians,*

⁵⁶In James Morton Smith, ed., *Seventeenth-Century America: Essays in Colonial History* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1959), pp. 33-60.

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁵⁸*Ibid.*, pp. 48-51.

⁵⁹(Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1974), pp. 60-63.

⁶⁰Nash, *Red, White, and Black*, p. 61.

⁶¹*Ibid.*

Colonialism, and the Cant of Conquest (Chapel Hill, 1975). The English, according to Jennings, sought good relations with the Powhatans only when it coincided with their best economic interests, and the Indians became a liability and an obstacle to progress when tobacco production superseded earlier trade relations.⁶² The English population doubled between 1618 and 1622, and "Indian hostility grew" accordingly. "Finally the alarmed Indians rose in a desperate effort to drive away or exterminate the intruders." Thus, Jennings argued, as had Lurie and Nash, that ". . . the contention over the land was exactly what had precipitated the war."⁶³

The land thesis "camp" can be criticized for failing to prove the validity of assumptions about territorial and population pressures--assumptions that must remain only seemingly obvious until the necessary research into the Powhatan ecosystem and English settlement patterns is completed. In addition, Lurie, Nash, and Jennings were interested only in discussing preconditions from 1618 to 1622, and they paid little attention to a direct and discernible precipitant that would have explained the precise timing of the uprising. A true cause of an event should be intimately connected with its timing, and there has never been a convincing account based on the land thesis that could explain why the Powhatans attacked in 1622 and not in 1619, 1620, or 1621. No explanation is offered as to why they struck in the month of March (O.S.)/April (N.S.) and not in July, for instance, or why the uprising occurred in an era of declared peace and overtly amicable relations and not in a period of pronounced hostility and violence.

However, an alternative to the land thesis emerged in three works published in 1975. Representing this "camp" are Wilcomb Washburn, Edmund S. Morgan, and Alden T. Vaughan--respected scholars who interpreted the uprising in a multicausal context of vaguely defined cultural, as well as territorial, factors.

⁶²Jennings, *Invasion*, pp. 77-78.

⁶³*Ibid.*, p. 78.

Vaughan, in *American Genesis: Captain John Smith and the Founding of Virginia* (Boston, 1975), stressed the English attempts after 1619 to supplant Powhatan culture with Anglican religion and European civility ("ethnic arrogance and pious hopes"), but he also noted that land dispossession and the increasing colonial population strained Anglo-Indian relations. It was clear to Vaughan that after fifteen years of enduring English "contempt," the Powhatans' fears and frustrations "burst to the surface in a sudden, brutal massacre."⁶⁴ The uprising was the "inevitable result of white aggression" according to Vaughan,⁶⁵ and for that reason, he was little interested in linking the specific timing of the "frenzied assault" with the long-smouldering Powhatan resentments.⁶⁶

Wilcomb E. Washburn believed that the uprising was not inevitable, but could have been "forestalled" if the English had been less aggressive and demanding in their relations with the Powhatans. In his *Indian in America* (New York, 1975), Washburn flatly declared that conflict over land was not the underlying cause of hostilities (there being land enough for all)--"as long as appropriate procedures were followed in its acquisition."⁶⁷ Rather, it was the Englishmen's basic arrogance and contempt for Indian sovereignty that engendered the Powhatans' "smoldering resentments" and over time made continued acquiescence to colonial presence "unbearable." For Washburn, there was little doubt that Opechancanough's "exasperation at the course of the colonists' unending demands precipitated the

⁶⁴Vaughan, *American Genesis*, pp. 154, 157.

⁶⁵Vaughan, "'Expulsion of the Savages': English Attitudes and the Massacre of 1622," unpublished paper discussed at the Seventeenth-Century Chesapeake Conference, Nov. 1-2, 1974, College Park, Md., p. 20.

⁶⁶See the author's review of Vaughan's *American Genesis*, *WMQ*, 3d Ser., XXXII (1975), p. 636.

⁶⁷Washburn, *Indian in America*, pp. 126-27.

violent reaction of 1622."⁶⁸ However, without an understanding of why March 22, 1621/22, was such an ideal time for staging a "violent reaction," the "exasperation" must remain a nebulous precondition for rebellion and not a direct provocation to it.

In a most important study, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), Edmund S. Morgan more fully discussed the broad and basic conflict of cultures relating to events of 1622 than did either Vaughan or Washburn. Morgan interpreted the uprising in terms of two rather equally weighted factors. He blamed the Virginia Company's efforts after 1618 to construct an "integrated community" based upon the Powhatan adoption of English religion and life-style, and he also cited the simultaneous growth in English population and tobacco plantations. Conflict resulted because the Powhatans "were notoriously proud, their empty lands were not 'unused,'" and the "arrogance of the English" became insufferable.⁶⁹ However, like Vaughan and Washburn, Morgan offered no indication that a precipitant cause was present (or necessary) in bringing about the "dramatic catastrophe" of 1622.⁷⁰

As competent and respected as these scholars might be, any discussion of the uprising that fails to answer, or even consider, the question of what precipitated a concerted and bellicose Powhatan reaction is not very enlightening in a historiographical sense. And to omit even the mention of Nemattanew's critically timed death--an event deemed so overwhelmingly relevant and significant by seventeenth-century commentators--places otherwise attractive hypotheses into doubt and compounds the mystery that shrouded the 1622 uprising. Sound analysis cannot deal with either preconditions or precipitant causes; the total picture must be viewed in focus. Unless we comprehend what specifically

⁶⁸*Ibid.*, p. 128.

⁶⁹Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, pp. 98-99.

⁷⁰*Ibid.*, p. 98.

preconditioned the Powhatans' hatred for the English and what specific actions motivated the Powhatans to attack when, where, and in the manner they did, historical interpretation will not have progressed much beyond Waterhouse's perspective of an inexplicable and perfidious Indian betrayal of peaceful and innocent Englishmen.

Although the uprising of 1622 was not the primary research interest of any of the modern historians mentioned, they did use the Powhatan rebellion to enhance or confirm their individual theses on Virginia history. Since none of these scholars admitted that other interpretations might be equally plausible or that more research into the causes of the uprising was desperately needed, they must bear the burden of historiographical criticism. It is precisely this long tradition of the half-developed or the poorly presented interpretation that has prevented the uprising of 1622 from receiving serious, detailed examination in either published or unpublished historical works.

EDUCATION AND THE IMAGES OF THE AMERICAN INDIAN

—
Gretchen Bataille
Iowa State University, Ames
—

Looking at any schedule of college courses, one is likely to find several classes which come under the rubric of ethnic studies. The courses are popular with teachers and students alike because they represent a change of pace from traditional study. Hopefully, such courses suggest a move toward an appreciation and recognition of the cultural diversity in America and mean that, as a nation, we are ready to follow the suggestion of Louis Ballard, American Indian composer and author, who stated that "cultural differences should be honored, not merely 'accepted,' which is nothing more than a synonym for 'tolerated.'"¹ In the decade of the Bicentennial, it is fitting that we re-examine our history; however, the "celebration" of the past and the interest in ethnicity have combined during the seventies to result in one very large and, to many people, embarrassing truth: America's historical past does not mean the same to everyone nor has it been interpreted accurately in many cases.

In high school and college classes, teachers are using anthologies including black poetry, Omaha folklore, and stories of La Raza. Some high school teachers are being assigned to teach courses in minority history, folklore, and literature for which they have little preparation. Teachers can ignore neither the historical nor the mythical past when teaching *House Made of Dawn* or *Bless Me Ultima*. They cannot forget even the recent past in teaching such works as *Manchild in the Promised Land* or *The*

¹Louis Ballard, "Cultural Differences: A Major Theme in Cultural Enrichment," in *Indian Historian*, 2 (Spring, 1969), p. 7.

Autobiography of Malcolm X. Thus, there are very practical reasons to include ethnic studies courses in teacher preparation programs.

There are, in addition, many philosophical reasons for multicultural education at all levels. In *Toward a Theory of Instruction*, Jerome Bruner outlines the changes in our time which require that we reconsider our definitions and methods of education. If these changes are considered in light of ethnic studies programs, one finds that innovation in curriculum is mandatory. First, there is an increasing understanding of man as a species. In considering what we have in common with our ancestors and with each other, we may find that we need to read and study about peoples and subjects which we have previously neglected. Bruner also says we understand the process of education somewhat more clearly than before, and we must redefine how we shall educate this generation of students.² Too often teachers continue with the same books, the same discussion questions, and find that what they are teaching, as well as how they are teaching the material, is totally irrelevant to the student's experiences and abilities to comprehend and is equally irrelevant to the needs of society. In another article, Bruner reiterates his theories: the educator " . . . who formulates pedagogical theory without regard to the political, economic, and social setting of the educational process courts triviality and merits being ignored in the community and in the classroom."³

Jack Forbes, who has worked with education of both Mexican-Americans and American Indians, offers a reason for the instruction of non-Indians in Indian cultural materials: " . . . majority group pupils are being cheated in our schools when they master only one

²Jerome Bruner, *Toward a Theory of Instruction* (Cambridge, 1966), p. 22.

³Jerome Bruner, "Culture, Politics and Pedagogy," in Francis A. J. Ianni and Edward Storey, eds., *Cultural Relevance and Educational Issues* (Boston, 1973), p. 464.

language, when they learn about only one side of American history, when they are exposed to only one musical tradition, when they read only one kind of literature, when they learn only one approach to the visual arts, and when they are exposed to a curriculum which has no deep roots in the soil of their region and in America."⁴

James A. Banks is adamant in his view: ". . . the main goal of ethnic studies should be to help students develop the ability to make effective decisions so that they can, through intelligent social action, influence public policy."⁵ Banks sees the courses primarily functioning as political tools which have long-range effects on our society. Clyde Kluckhohn, anthropologist, sees such studies in a more self-fulfilling way: "Studying (other cultures) enables us to see ourselves better. Ordinarily we are unaware of the specialized lens through which we look at life."⁶ Both of these views suggest that education must be relevant, must have purpose beyond knowledge gained, must lead to change, either in the individual or in the society.

There is yet another reason to include ethnic studies in curricula, although the focus is somewhat different. In his study of the education of American Indian children, Berry Brewton discusses two ways to alleviate the educational problems of Indian young people. Indian children need to develop a better image of themselves, but, more significantly, he suggests that non-Indians need more understanding and appreciation of the Indian so that their image of the group might also be improved.⁷ He cites evidence that

⁴Jack Forbes, *Education of the Culturally Different: A Multi-Cultural Approach* (Far West Laboratory for Educational Research and Development, 1969), p. 43.

⁵James A. Banks, *Teaching Strategies for Ethnic Studies* (Boston, 1975), p. viii.

⁶*Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷Berry Brewton, *The Education of the American Indians: A Survey of the Literature* (Washington, D.C., 1968), p. 96.

suggests that the Indian's image of himself depends greatly on the image held by white society. If that is true, the place to begin to improve the Indian images is with non-Indians. Research also indicates, according to Brewton, that "prejudice yields to education." Thus, schools can make a contribution to changing the stereotypical views many non-Indians have about Indian people.⁸

Jack Forbes echoes Brewton's conclusions:

"Anglo-American young people grow up in a 'never-never' land of mythology as regards non-whites and it is crucial for our society's future that damaging myths be exposed and eliminated. We must bear in mind that the 'white problem in America,' the tendency of Anglo-Americans for three centuries to exploit and denigrate non-whites, is probably still the major hurdle blocking the advancement of brown and black Americans."⁹

Because the educational systems have a responsibility to contribute to the understanding and appreciation of the many diverse groups in our society, the courses which we teach in all our schools, not just in higher education, must reflect the contributions of those groups. One group that has been repeatedly overlooked, except in popular culture, has been the American Indian. The literary achievements of the American Indian have been especially ignored in the traditional English department. What remains from the oral tradition has been labeled children's stories, and contemporary writers find themselves labeled "protest writers" or studied as sociological examples rather than men and women with creative talents producing a major literature. The reasons then to study about the American Indian are to reinforce the concepts of pluralism, to teach the literature, the history, the values of this group which are a part of American society, and to provide students with the knowledge and materials which will enable them to make decisions in a pluralistic society.

⁸*Ibid.*, p. 98.

⁹Forbes, *Education of the Culturally Different*, p. 51.

It is essential that the materials we teach are accurate, however. Mentor Williams, in his introduction to Schoolcraft's *Indian Legends*, criticizes the way we have approached American Indian studies in the past: "He is more than an exhibit in a museum, more than a vendor of trinkets, more than an extra in a Hollywood western. The American Indian has left an indelible mark upon the culture of America, upon its customs, its habits, its language, and even upon its mode of thought. . . . there are more ways to study the Indian than to botanize on the grave of his dead past: History and literature have too long done no more than that."¹⁰ Irving Hallowell argues the same thing, saying that the Indian has influenced "our speech, our economic life, our clothing, our sports and recreation, certain indigenous religious cults, many of our curative practices, folk and concert music, the novel, poetry, drama, even some of our basic psychological attitudes. . . ." ¹¹ Despite the influence that the American Indian has had on twentieth century America, we must recognize, as does historian Bernard Devoto, that "American historians have made shockingly little effort to understand the life, the societies, the cultures, the things, and the feeling of the Indians, and disastrously little effort to understand how all these affected white men and their societies."¹²

The misrepresentation and distortion of American history have resulted in another obstacle for teachers of minority studies. Many students carry in their heads a number of stereotypes and outright prejudices about those people who are in any way "different" from them. It does not matter that they have never seen a "real-live Indian"--most non-Indian students "know"

¹⁰Alan R. Beals, George Spindler, and Louise Spindler, *Culture in Process* (New York, 1967), p. 298.

¹¹A. Irving Hallowell, "The Backwash of the Frontier: The Impact of the Indian on American Culture," in Walker D. Wyman and Clifton B. Kroeber, eds., *The Frontier in Perspective* (Madison, Wis., 1957), p. 231.

¹²*Ibid.*, p. 230.

they grunt a lot and say "how" and "ugh," just as they "know" that black people have rhythm, Chinese are good at doing other people's laundry, and Mexicans talk like Frito Bandito.

Recently, while traveling in the West and Southwest, the author was visually reminded of some of the real problems faced by teachers in American Indian studies. The Buffalo Bill Historical Center, a modern structure on the edge of Cody, Wyoming, houses the Buffalo Bill Museum, the Whitney Gallery of Western Art, and the Plains Indian Museum. Displayed there are the originals of lithographs from old *Harper's Weekly* magazines and the art works of Remington and Russell and Catlin, as well as their letters and pictures. The memorabilia of Buffalo Bill, "the idol of American youth," prove that he was one of the first media freaks. Pictures of Cody with famous Indians, books translated into French and Spanish, comic books, dime novels, posters--all make a hero out of the former hunter and scout who had a flair for the unusual and a desire for the spectacular. In the Plains Indian Museum, case after case of intricately beaded clothing, hand-formed cooking pots, and archaeological findings line the walls.

At the Historical Center, abstract concepts about the dual and ambiguous images of the American Indian come to life. The idealized warriors painted by Catlin hang in one wing; the gaudy and fantastic Indian imagined by Cody is present in another. And on the lower level, the real and actual bits and pieces of Indian history are stored--dolls which little Indian girls once played with, toy horses made by some father for his son. There are cooking utensils, clothing, old Navajo blankets, and yes, feathered headdresses, too. But the picture that emerges from viewing the exhibits on the lower level is a more complete image--an image of a people, diverse and unique, who grew and changed with the influence of the Europeans, changing from porcupine quills to beads to decorate their clothing, from antler utensils to metal ones, from bows and arrows to guns. Studied carefully, the exhibit shows that neither Catlin's nor Cody's Indians are complete, but both were the inventions of individuals with their own purposes in mind. Catlin was an idealist whose

motives were to preserve the "nobility" of Indian ways and be "historian for the Plains Indians." Cody's motives, however, appear to be self-aggrandizing and capitalistic.

The Huntington Library in Pasadena, California, also provides evidence of the confusion of white society when dealing with Indian life and history. One of the labels in an exhibit case reads: "Despite efforts by the United States government to make just treaties, the Indians were gradually pushed west." Such a statement reflects the ambivalent and ambiguous manner in which the American Indian has been regarded, as well as the veiled guilt about the treatment of the country's first inhabitants. If "just" treaties were made, who was doing the pushing? Who determined whether or not the treaties were just?

The influence of this inability to explain or define the historical reality of Indian-white relationships has affected society in several ways. The need to affirm governmental attitudes toward the Indian resulted in literature which treated the Indian either as the ignoble savage or the romantic nomad of the forest. Early American literature portrayed Indians as evil animals in the captivity narratives and at the same time glorified Indian "princesses," such as Pocahontas, and dying warriors in early poetry. As the invaders pushed the frontier farther and farther west, American writers continued to reveal the dual views of the Indian. More and more contact with the Indian tribes of America resulted in new relationships, some of which modified previous views and resulted in even more confusion about who or what the "Indian" was. Painters such as Catlin saw themselves as historians recording the costumes and ceremonies of the "vanishing" tribes. Missionaries continued their attempts to Christianize the "savage" and "heathen" people of the woods. Others, with an interest in what was to become anthropology or ethnology, recorded some of the languages of the various tribes. During the latter part of the nineteenth century and early in the twentieth century, more and more writers became interested in the Indian as subject matter. The results ranged from the sympathetic treatment of Helen Hunt

Jackson to the savage portrayals in the Beadle dime novels. Between the two extremes, the images reflected each writer's personal vision as well as a combination of the political and/or social views of the time.

A stronger force than literature began operating on the public mind during the twentieth century--the visual media was also portraying the Indian, and many people were viewing movies based primarily on the dime novels of the previous decades. The images portrayed on the screen were at first accurate newsreels, but soon producers and writers discovered that vicious Indians drew more crowds. The visual misrepresentation was perpetuated for several decades--from the silver screen to the 24-inch color television in every home. What continued to be communicated was a non-Indian view of the people and the culture, and it is this inaccurate view of the American Indian that has created the twentieth-century stereotypes.

The majority of the students in this author's classes on American Indian literature are white and from Iowa. The first assignment is to define or describe "Indian." Responses from students in eighth grade through college and an analysis of several classes' papers indicate that views of other groups are formed early, and, unless these views are challenged, they change very little. Images of feathers, horses, tipis, war paint, and scalping--the Hollywood Indian--predominate. Even when these more obvious stereotypical views are missing, the image is one of the past, usually either romanticized or evoking pity for a vanishing race.

Given that most of these students have never seen nor lived near Indians (keep in mind that they would not recognize an Indian unless he had long braids and a loincloth), how did they form their images of what Indians are? And, given these descriptions, how can they understand the beauty of a Navajo chant or the humor of green frog dollars or the pathos of "women and children lying frozen in Wounded Knee Creek"? Before they can deal with the literature, then, they must deal with these images in their minds. By asking students to define or even to draw an Indian, the instructor will gain an awareness of the students' stereotypes,

and both teacher and students will become more sensitive to the inaccurate images that appear so frequently in mass media and too often in literature as well.

These experiences are not unique, nor are these students from Iowa unusual in their misconceptions. The U.S. Senate Special Subcommittee on Indian Education report of 1969, *Indian Education: A National Tragedy--A National Challenge*, reports similar situations all over the country:

To thousands of Americans, the American Indian is, and always will be, dirty, lazy, and drunk. That's the way they picture him; that's the way they treat him.

. . . In every community visited by the subcommittee there was evidence among the white population of stereotypical opinions of Indians.

. . . The basis for these stereotypes goes back into history--a history created by the white man to justify his exploitation of the Indian, a history the Indian is continually reminded of at school, on television, in books and at the movies.

It is a history which calls an Indian victory a massacre and a U.S. victory an heroic feat. It is a history which makes heroes and pioneers of gold-miners who seized Indian land, killed whole bands and families and ruthlessly took what they wanted. It is a history which equates Indians and wild animals, and uses the term "savages" as a synonym for Indians.

It is this kind of history--the kind taught formally in the classroom and informally on street corners--which creates feelings of inferiority among Indian students, gives them a warped understanding of their cultural heritage and propagates stereotypes.

The manner in which Indians are treated in textbooks--one of the most powerful means by which our society transmits ideas from generation to generation--typifies the misunderstanding the American public as a whole has regarding the

Indian, and indicates how misconceptions can become a part of a person's mind-set. . . .

Textbook studies by a number of States indicate that misconceptions, myths, inaccuracies and stereotypes about Indians are common to the curriculum of most schools.

. . . With attitudes toward Indians being shaped, often unconsciously, by educational materials filled with inaccurate stereotypes--as well as by teachers whose own education has contained those same stereotypes and historical misconceptions--it is easy to see how the "lazy, dirty, drunken" Indian becomes the symbol for all Indians. When the public looks at an Indian they cannot react rationally because they have never known the facts. They do not feel responsible for the "savages" have brought their conditions upon themselves. They truly believe the Indian is inferior to them.¹³

All of these past images still live today. The stereotyped Noble Savage who appeared in Cooper's *Leatherstocking Tales* and was featured in *Harper's Weekly* lithographs reappears on the late show. The scenes reproduced in Catlin paintings later appeared in *A Man Called Horse*. The drunken Indian of 1846 signing a worthless treaty was recreated in *Flap* during the 1960's. The bonneted chief of Remington was still around in 1976 getting his picture taken, this time to commemorate the Bicentennial. Our popular culture continues to expose and exploit the negative and unreal images of the Indian that were formed by our first writers, photographers, and painters and nurtured in textbooks.

Prior to the twentieth century, one finds the beginnings of what have become the American Indian stereotypes. One image does not suffice. The Indian has a multiple image and at the same time a

¹³Report #501 of the Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, U.S. Senate. Made by its Special Subcommittee on Indian Education. 91st Congress, 1st Session.

partial image. The Indian--no tribe, no identity, almost always male--is either noble (still savage, but noble nevertheless) or bloodthirsty and vicious. There are variations of the stereotype--the drunken Indian, the heathen, the lazy native--but still it is an image of a creature less than human without a religion and lacking in morality and virtue. Usually he is viewed apart from wife or children or any family relationships, an isolated figure, one with a pinto pony, gliding across the plains of America. He is viewed always as an Indian first, an individual last. He combines all the noble virtues expressed in a Catlin painting and the savagery of a Beadle novel.

American Indian literature reflects a different view of the Indian. Literature being written today by American Indians varies a great deal, but often it reflects a sensitive understanding of the past and the oral tradition, perhaps a sadness and longing for what might have been, and a hope for a future in which Indian people can rightfully claim their heritage, if not their land. Writers such as N. Scott Momaday, James Welch, Wendy Rose, Leslie Silko, Ray Young Bear, and others represent the vitality and imagination of the Indian writers of this century. They do not ignore their heritage nor do they deny its influence; however, their past is not a creation of Hollywood directors, dime novel authors, or wild west show entrepreneurs.

How does the student reconcile these two views--one perpetuated by mass media and outdated texts, and the other portraying a picture closer to the reality of Indian experience? The student needs to clearly understand the past that has contributed to the development of various stereotypes. A visual representation of where the pictures have come from can easily and quickly convince the students that there is a source for their stereotypes; mass media and popular culture have given them their image of the American Indian. This author has collected examples which trace popular and literary images of the American Indian from the earliest portraits and sketches to recent film images, and such examples illustrate the effort on the part of advertisers, writers, and moviemakers to produce an Indian which is a twentieth-century anachronism.

What have Indian people been saying about images of their culture which have been and continue to be projected in the twentieth century? In 1927 the Grand Council Fire of American Indians addressed the mayor of Chicago: "We ask this, Chief, to keep sacred the memory of our people."¹⁴ Over twenty years later the American Council of Education did a study of textbooks being used in the schools. Their observations about the Indian image in the books was short and to the point: "Only two major attitudes governed the treatment of American Indians. The first was that of cruel, bloodthirsty Indians whose rights were unquestionably superseded by the interests of white pioneers. The second was that of the noble redskin, a high minded son of nature. Almost without exception, no convincing picture of Indians as a group or of the cultural characteristics of Indian life, past or present, was presented."¹⁵ Another twenty years of publishing and teaching was to go by before a group of Indian people in San Francisco decided that they had had enough of the "white-washing" of books, especially textbooks used in the public schools. In 1966 the Indian Historical Society stated in a report on the status of education: "What is needed, and quickly, is a massive program to provide new materials of instruction, new curricula, a whole set of new values which take into consideration the original owners and the First Americans of this land, as an integral part of our history."¹⁶ Although most of these studies and comments had as their main concern the textbooks used in social science and history classes, the impact of the statements and the reality behind them must be borne by other literature as well. The indictment is against the entire

¹⁴Ruth Gallant, "Issues and Interests: First Grade Through College," *North Dakota English*, 1 (Summer, 1976), p. 31.

¹⁵Michael B. Kane, *Minorities in Textbooks: A Study of Their Treatment in Social Studies* (Chicago, 1970), p. 112.

¹⁶Rupert Costo and Jeannette Henry, *Textbooks and the American Indian* (San Francisco, 1970), p. 9.

educational system which, as Roy Harvey Pearce points out, is "to make people alike."¹⁷ Only recently have we begun to reject the "melting pot" concept in favor of cultural pluralism. Ruth Roessel, in a publication from Navajo Community College, pleads with the reader: "Our nation must respect these desires and yearnings on the part of Indians and others, and it must readjust its thinking so that we Americans can respect differences and recognize that each culture makes an important contribution--adds a significant design to the overall fabric that makes up this great land. Today, as never before, schools are challenged into presenting the kinds of information and kinds of materials which will support and reinforce the principles of cultural pluralism."¹⁸

In the conclusion of that 1969 report on Indian education, Ted Kennedy expressed a vision of America as "a nation of citizens determining their own destiny; of cultural difference flourishing in an atmosphere of mutual respect; of diverse people shaping their lives and the lives of their children."¹⁹ If this is not the vision we offer in the classroom and in the media, it is the vision which we should be seeking.

¹⁷*Historicism Once More* (Princeton, 1969), p. 70.

¹⁸*The Role of Indian Studies in American Education* (Tsaile Lake, Chinle, Navajo Nation, Arizona, 1974), p. 4.

¹⁹U.S. Senate Report #501, p. ix.

A PERCEIVED ETHNIC FACTOR IN CALIFORNIA'S FARM LABOR CONFLICT: THE NISEI FARMERS LEAGUE*

Stephen S. Fugita
University of Akron

The farm labor conflict has been volatile for over three quarters of a century in California's rich agricultural valleys. The most recent years of this struggle have been associated with Cesar Chavez and the United Farm Worker's Union (UFW). A new element, the Nisei Farmers League (NFL), also emerged during the same time period. The NFL was formed in 1971 after some Japanese American farmers were picketed and their property damaged by persons sympathetic to the UFW. These growers charged that they had been "singled out" by the UFW in their area. Their ranches are located in central San Joaquin Valley in Fresno and Tulare Counties.¹ The group was formed to counter the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee's efforts to unionize local farm laborers.

The Nisei (Japanese geogenerational label for the first generation born in the United States) farmers are of interest for several historical, sociological, and psychological reasons. First, they represent one of the significant "cores" of the Japanese American subculture inasmuch as their method of earning a livelihood, and probably their lifestyle, most closely

*Appreciation is expressed to William Rothenbach for his assistance in collecting information.

¹Fresno County is the richest, agriculturally, in the State of California. The State, in turn, leads the nation in the value of its agricultural output. Tulare County is the third richest, following closely Kern County (California Department of Food & Agriculture, 1975).

resemble that of the original Japanese settlers who generally worked in agriculture (Kitano, 1976; Tanaka, 1976). These early settlers, who were originally farm laborers, then tenants, and finally farm owners, were a significant factor in making California agriculture the most productive in the nation (Iwata, 1962). Secondly, the Japanese American growers currently are economically and politically pitted against a group, the UFW, whose members occupy a position in the social structure similar to the one they did a little over a half century ago. Thirdly, they are a group who appear to have a dramatically different lifestyle and value system, as compared to the numerically small, but influential, "third world oriented" Japanese American urban youth with whom they sometimes come in conflict inside the ethnic community.

Although, according to the 1970 Census, only 10 percent of Japanese Americans currently work in agriculture, forestry, and fisheries (U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare, 1970), their historical impact on agriculture, particularly in California, has been much greater than this figure would indicate. After immigration began in significant numbers in the 1890's, a large number of Issei (geogenerational term for immigrant generation) gravitated to farm labor because of their experiences in farming in Japan. Specifically, in the Fresno area, it is estimated that the Japanese comprised 60 percent of the grape-harvesting force and that 4,000 to 5,000 Japanese farm workers migrated to the area during the harvest season (U.S. Immigration Commission, 1911).

The first farmworkers union in California was the result of a strike by Japanese and Mexican sugar beet workers in Oxnard in 1903. Approximately 1,000 Japanese and Mexican workers went out on strike for higher wages, for improved working conditions, and to eliminate labor contractors (Jamieson, 1943). They formed a union, the Sugar Beet and Farm Laborer's Union of Oxnard, with a Japanese President and Vice-President and a Mexican Secretary. The workers were successful in increasing wages and improving conditions. The union subsequently applied to the American Federation of Labor for a charter, and the President, anti-Asian Samuel Gompers, replied, "Your union must guarantee

that it will under no circumstances accept membership of any Chinese or Japanese." The Secretary replied, in turn, that they, the Mexicans, would not accept any charter that had racial qualifiers (Foner, 1964).

Moreover, in 1908 a socialist-oriented Japanese labor union, the Fresno Rodo Domei Kai (Fresno Labor League), was formed with an estimated 2,000 members. The members of the League were successful in controlling the flow of Japanese laborers to the few Japanese contractors who cut the rate agreed upon by the Japanese labor contractors organization, the Central California Contractors Association. The Labor League died in 1910 because of a hostile Japanese-language press, Japanese community opposition which labeled it anarchist, litigation expenses, and the general difficulties in organizing a transient labor force (Ichioka, 1971).

As the Japanese were ambitious and wanted to become independent producers, and since they made high profits for their landowners, they were often sought out as tenants. Moreover, they frequently pooled their resources and formed partnerships which speeded up their transition from farm laborers to share tenants (Kitano, 1976). In 1900 there were only thirty-nine Japanese farmers in the entire United States, but by 1910, there were 1,816 in California alone. Subsequently, even though many discriminatory hurdles, such as the Alien Land Laws of 1913 and 1920, were placed in their path, they continued to work their way up the economic structure by either leasing or buying land in the name of their citizen children. By 1941, the Japanese grew 30 to 35 percent of California's produce by value. They also grew significant proportions of grapes, treefruits, and nuts. They controlled 65 percent of the flower industry (Iwata, 1962).

As noted earlier, one of the chief protagonists in the current growers' fight against the UFW is a group of independent small farmers called the Nisei Farmers League.² This group was formed in June, 1971, when the

²At this time, the NFL is forming chapters in Southern California.

UFW was perceived to have consciously selected the Japanese American farms (in the Fresno-Tulare County area) to picket. Moreover, some of these ranches were vandalized (although the source of the vandalism has never been adjudicated). The NFL claims that fourteen out of the seventeen ranches picketed in the area were Nisei operations. It is widely believed by the members of this group that the UFW felt (either at the local or higher levels) that the Japanese would be easy organizing targets because of their general lack of resistance to being relocated to concentration camps during World War II. The President of the NFL, Harry Kubo, claims that in a meeting he had with Cesar Chavez on July 8, 1974, in Fresno, Chavez told him that this was the case. However, no strong independent evidence has been produced on this issue, and the UFW leadership generally denies this racial/ethnic strategy.

In 1971 the slightly more than one hundred members of the NFL were nearly all Japanese American. However, as it rapidly grew to its present (1976) size of over 1,500 members, it became more "integrated."³ It has never had a "Japanese only" policy. Currently, approximately 40 percent of its membership is of Japanese ancestry. The remainder are mostly white with the greatest number being of Armenian and Scandinavian descent.

The publicly stated objectives of the organization are: "(1) to protect the rights of workers to self-determination without intimidation; (2) to support the free enterprise system and the rights of ownership resulting from one's efforts; and (3) to offer mutual aid when a member is subjected to harassment by hordes of 'imported pickets'" (Souder, 1976).

As a direct response to the picketing of their ranches and the vandalism incidents, the NFL formed what came to be called the "picket patrol." This was a counterpicketing operation which would follow the UFW pickets and stand between them and the laborers working

³The NFL had 125 members in 1971, 500 in 1972, 800 in 1973, 1,100 in 1974, and 1,400 in 1975. Virtually all of the Japanese growers in the area are members.

at a ranch. The normal size of the picket patrol was 50 to 100 growers. The patrol became coordinated with a 500-radio citizens band net. Typically, the movement of the pickets was reported from various predawn locations to the NFL headquarters which then synthesized and relayed the messages. When a convergence pattern was detected from reports of the direction-of-travel of the picket cars, the base station would direct the patrol toward the ranch which was likely to be the pickets' target. The UFW pickets would sometimes try to mislead the growers and the three or four Fresno County Sheriff cars which were assigned to monitor and control the situation. On many large ranches, security guards were hired to protect the property. This was not economically feasible for many of the small NFL ranches. In 1976, the mean size of an NFL ranch was fifty-three acres. The average size of a California farm in 1975 was 571 acres (California Department of Food and Agriculture, 1975).

Usually, the pickets would take over one side of the road and the NFL members the other with the Sheriff's force separating them. The mood on the picket lines ranged from sometimes friendly when the groups would casually merge and when a few growers and UFW members would engage in friendly banter, seemingly trying to convince the other of the correctness of their cause, to various levels of hostility indicated by such antagonistic behavior as a farmer shining a flashlight into the eyes of a picket in the predawn darkness, a picket gesturally threatening to kick in the door of a farmer's car, and the shouting of various obscenities. Sometimes tires were punctured with caltrops (four-pronged spikes). These are derisively called "Cesar's stars" by many of the growers. In the early morning darkness, when a picket would mistakenly drive onto the "farmers' side" of the road, he would usually be met with hostile stares and muffled remarks. When a farmer drove onto the "pickets' side," he was "greeted" with intimidating chants of "*huelga*" ("strike") or "*viva la huelga*" ("hooray for the strike"). Most of the time the mood was one of mild tension. When the UFW pickets moved to another ranch, a frantic and disjointed caravan of pickets, farmers, and sheriffs would form.

Sometimes the UFW picket captain would engage in various bits of histrionic rhetoric which would have an ethnic character to them--for example, using the epithet "*Chappos*" ("Japs") and discussing the World War II evacuation in a way that angered the growers (a common theme was "why do you support the white growers when they put you into the concentration camps?").⁴ Most of the time the picket captain would, in Spanish, focus his attention on the workers in an attempt to get them to stop working or to slow down. Few workers actually left the fields and joined the pickets.

It appears that the rhetoric and behavior of the UFW on the picket line was one of the farmers' primary bases of evaluation of the Union since it was the only place that many of the growers had any actual contact with representatives of the UFW. Clearly the picket captain was likely to use a strong message in an attempt to persuade, cajole, or intimidate the workers in the fields to join the pickets or slow their work speed, with the consequent economic leverage on the grower. From the Union's perspective, his job was, at times, a rather difficult one as he had to keep the pickets active to have an effect, and at other times restrain them so that the situation remained controlled. On the other hand, if one listens to the growers talking among themselves on the picket line, it is clear that many of them have a paternalistic and discriminatory attitude toward Chicanos and Mexicans. Most see the pickets as lazy "professional pickets" who do not want to work.

The picket patrol also served as a grower morale builder as it provided the farmer whose ranch was being picketed with a feeling of security and comradeship and the counterpickets with a common superordinate goal. On the patrol, most of the members would wear similar blue mesh baseball caps which had a patch on the front

⁴Interestingly, some UFW members and observers have reported that the farm workers thought the Japanese growers would be more sympathetic to their position because of the discrimination they had been exposed to before and during World War II.

declaring "Freedom, *Libertad*." The patrol would go to both NFL and non-NFL ranches. In October, 1974, the UFW attempted to sue the NFL and the Central California Farmers Association for five million dollars, charging harassment aimed at crippling strike efforts in Fresno and Tulare Counties. Specifically, they sought an injunction to halt such alleged harassing tactics as patrolling struck farms, following strikers home, and operating a private patrol without a state license. Subsequently, in 1975, an injunction was handed down which set guidelines for the counterpicketing operations.

A reasonable evaluation would probably be that the NFL counterpickets did prevent some intimidation of workers, vandalism, and perhaps even violence. The other observers and media probably did likewise, keeping all of the parties on their best public behavior. In addition, it also channelized and controlled some of the growers' frustration and fear.

Among the Japanese American growers, there is the pervasive feeling that Chavez's goals are very different from his publicly professed ones. Furthermore, they perceive that the media has been "taken in" by him. Many of the growers feel that the UFW is a "Communist front" organization. Some of the more articulate ones make remarks noting, for instance, that Chavez spent some time at the "Alinsky School of Revolution" in Chicago.⁵ A few growers even argue that this "front" is attempting to gain control of the food supply so that it can eventually "control the country." The majority of more moderate members are threatened by

⁵In fact, Chavez never attended an Alinsky "conflict organizing" school. However, he, like Fred Ross who first interested Chavez in community organizing, did learn concepts and tactics through occasional discussions with Alinsky (Taylor, 1975).

the "social" movement" aspects of the union.⁶ They feel that Chavez's union is more than a trade union, and they are fearful of those aspects that may change the current order. Particularly inflammatory is any suggestion of agrarian reform. Some common perceptions are that Chavez lives in a \$100,000 house in the isolated union headquarters in the Tehachapi Mountains, La Paz (in fact, he resides in an old frame house much less costly than the typical grower's), that he indulges himself in various luxuries when he is out of the public eye, and that he is surreptitiously bilking the union monetarily. This last charge appears to be highly unlikely because of the very close association he has with a number of his idealistic and dedicated workers at La Paz.

No doubt the most controversial act the NFL engaged in was its intervention in the White Rivers Farm strike in the Delano-Poplar area in August, 1972. White Rivers was a very important contract for the UFW, both symbolically and economically. The corporate ranch was the first one organized by the UFW in 1966. At that time, the huge 5,000-acre wine grape operation, the largest in the Delano area, was owned by the Schenley Corporation. Due to the potential impact of a boycott on their branded products, the Schenley Corporation signed a contract with the UFW, which had been renegotiated in 1968 and 1970. In February, 1971, Schenley sold the ranch to the conglomerate, Buttes Gas and Oil, for fourteen million dollars. The UFW's successor clause maintained UFW representation. Buttes also acquired the Sam Hamburg ranch near Los Banos, over 125 miles to the north. This was a different kind of farm, basically a mechanized row crop operation. By August, 1972, a number of factors were operating on both the

⁶At one level the UFW is a social movement inasmuch as it has addressed itself to other than traditional trade union concerns as evidenced by its generally successful attempt to build medical clinics, a retirement village, and to provide a variety of other "campesino" services.

union and the company. The union wanted to gain representation on the Hamburg ranch and slow down the increasing rate of mechanization of harvesting grapes at White Rivers Farm. The company wanted to rid itself of the controls and demands of the union. The grower-oriented Proposition 22 Initiative was coming up in November as was the renewal, in April, 1973, of the major grape contracts which had been signed by the UFW in 1970.

The NFL was contacted by White Rivers chief negotiator and Buttes' Vice-President, Andy Cangemi, in August after the strike had started. Unlike the pickets in the NFL area, the White Rivers strike was one where the majority of workers on that ranch, some 260 strong, had clearly walked off their jobs in support of the UFW. It was thus very unambiguous, at least in this situation, that the workers on the involved ranch were in favor of the UFW. This was never demonstrably clear on the picketed Nisei ranches in the Fresno area. Cangemi was able to persuade the NFL, after promising that White Rivers would not renegotiate with the UFW, to help by bringing in workers from the Fresno area. So even though the NFL was still young and relatively small, after considerable debate among its members they decided to supply and protect workers from the Fresno area. Many NFL members objected to the intervention on the basis that it would subsequently increase the UFW's tempo of activity against them in the Fresno area. The importation of these workers and the assistance of the NFL growers in early September at White Rivers Farm was the most important reason for the strike not "holding." The NFL actively intervened for five weeks.

This was a major confrontation as there were large numbers of strikers, pickets, and sheriffs; much vandalism; and many arrests, including arrests of illegal aliens who were working as strikebreakers. The UFW hiring hall and some of its people were attacked in Poplar. Chavez had to remove thirty-five of his people from the picket line for acts of violence. This NFL intervention was also supported by the Central California Farmers Association (an antiunion organization formed in 1960) and the Kern County Farm Bureau.

Why did the NFL get involved in this undertaking almost a hundred miles from their territory? Even though they rationalized their action by saying that they were providing work for laborers at White Rivers because a heavy March frost had significantly reduced the amount of farm work in their own area, the major motive was simply to weaken the UFW at this crucial time. Their anger, resentment, and fear were very high due to the picketing and vandalism of their farms the previous year. If it could be demonstrated that the UFW was defeatable here, they felt that they would be protecting themselves from the union in the future. Prior to 1971, many Nisei growers, who subsequently became members of the NFL, thought that the "UFW problem" would not directly affect them because of their size.

Soon after the strike was broken in November, 1972, Kubo made this statement in the trade journal, *California Farmer*:

Never again will we suffer the treatment which we went through once. We do not intend to lose our land to any group which works under the guise of a union. This is not a union which Cesar Chavez has put together. It's a revolutionary ideology. It is foreign to America. We will fight rather than lose our land. We helped White River in their fight against this ideology. We are not against a union which has the benefits of workers in mind. There are beneficial things which a rightful union can do by banding together. But these things are not what this band of militants will do for workers.

Subsequently, over the years, Kubo has reduced the vitriolicness of his public statements.

A small number of Japanese grape growers did sign contracts with the UFW in 1970 because the boycott was making it difficult to market their grapes. On none of these ranches was an election held to determine which union, if any, the workers preferred. The small number of Japanese growers and packers who did have UFW contracts reported serious administrative problems. Some of the common complaints were work slowdowns, incorrect numbers of workers dispatched from the hiring hall,

poor worker quality, and ranch committee inefficiency in solving local issues. Some UFW leaders will admit to certain of these deficiencies. It is quite plausible that the UFW would have difficulty in servicing their contracts during this period. Not only did the UFW go from administering a minimal number of contracts to some 200 almost overnight in 1970, but the union's energy was simultaneously being drained off by the lettuce strikes (and concomitant boycott) which began in the Salinas area in 1970. Many UFW staff persons who had little traditional administrative experience became administrative functionaries. Many had little understanding, from an overall perspective, of the operations of a ranch. Moreover, because Chavez did not want to lose his tight personal control over the union, he was reluctant to use administrative experts offered by the AFL-CIO. His publicly stated rationale was that administrative consultants were not familiar with the unique problems of agriculture.⁷ Another factor that no doubt contributed to the friction between the union and the Japanese growers was simply the farmers' fierce independence and resistance to giving up control of the day-to-day aspects of running the farm as they had always done. Moreover, a considerable

⁷Currently, in Chavez's public statements and in a few reports by growers who have UFW contracts, more emphasis is being placed on the administration of contracts. In an interview given to the *Chicago Tribune* published on May 9, 1976, Chavez admitted that in the early period, not enough attention was paid to administration, but that this was going to be remedied. He noted that his *forte* was organizing. However, some growers are still complaining about the servicing of UFW contracts. A figure which supports the observation that growers do feel very threatened by the UFW is that, in 1976, on approximately ten ranches that voted in the UFW, the growers quit the operation. Currently, most of the complaints deal with problems at the local level (the ranch committee and union steward) as opposed to any potential ones emanating from the policy-making echelon at the headquarters in La Paz.

"negative set" on the part of the workers, particularly among those who had been strike and boycott leaders, was probably operative since this was the first time they had ever exercised any real control or power (cf. Nelkin, 1969).

The NFL has been represented, with a great deal of visibility in both the mainstream media and the vernacular press, by Harry Kubo, a 210-acre fruit grower from the small Fresno County town of Parlier. In the local Japanese farming community, Kubo almost has the status of a folk hero. In many ways he is representative of the large number of relatively small acreage Japanese American farmers in the area, although he is more aggressive and articulate than most. After relocation to Tule Lake during World War II, he and his family returned to the Fresno area and worked as farm laborers for four years until they had saved enough to make a down payment on their own ranch. He is, as are most NFL members, politically conservative, espouses great faith in the "free enterprise" system, and believes in the "bootstrap" approach to minority success. He has been the principal NFL leader since the organization's inception.

In June, 1975, Governor Brown managed to get written into law his compromise farm labor election bill, the Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975 (ALRA). The law created the Agricultural Labor Relations Board (ALRB) to administer the Act. Concurrently, the NFL became very visible statewide when Kubo was able to coordinate approximately 85 to 90 percent of California's organized growers, through the many state farm organizations, with the formation of the Ad Hoc Committee of Agriculture. This organization was then able to muster enough influence, by helping form a coalition of rural Democrats and Republicans, to hold up, by one vote, an emergency appropriation of three and two-tenths million dollars that the California Legislature was asked to provide to an overwhelmed Agriculture Labor Relations Board. As over 90 percent of the initial elections were contested, a great deal of money was expended by the Board and its staff. Originally, there was no real discussion about

financing the bill. By blocking the emergency appropriation, the growers, as represented by the Ad Hoc Committee, were attempting to force the Governor to change the composition of the Board and make some eight amendments to the law. On face, an argument could be made that three members of the original Board, who were appointed by Governor Brown, may have had predilections toward the UFW's position because of their past associations with the farm labor controversy. One of the two remaining members was previously an executive for a growers organization, the Agricultural Council of California, and the other was an attorney whose firm had represented the Teamsters. However, in a "white paper" published in April, 1976, by the first ALRB Chairman, Catholic Bishop Roger Mahony, he demonstrated that the five members of the Board voted unanimously 93 percent of the time. Even in those cases where there was dissent, the voting did not split along partisan lines. Because the Board was not given the emergency appropriation, the ALRA was held in abeyance from February to July, 1976.⁸

However, the UFW was clearly not going to let the growers easily stop the elections when the union was winning approximately two-thirds of them, so Chavez took a lead from the growers' Proposition 22 effort and, using the initiative process, went to the cities where his support is the strongest to qualify an Initiative which would not only "lock in" the 1975 election law, but would also give the union some additional benefits. Chavez was able to seize the advantage, from a public relations point of view, by arguing that the growers had thwarted the election process because they were losing. By going the initiative route, the UFW could write in that the Board would have to be funded at a level which would allow it to carry out its mandated functions.⁹ Such a measure would

⁸The ALRB was subsequently funded by the Legislature for \$6.68 million in July, 1976.

⁹However, the specific legal ramifications of this part of the Initiative were unclear.

protect the Board from legislative maneuvering by the growers since any change, if the Initiative was voted in, would also have to come through the initiative process.

Some have argued that the NFL and various pro-grower state legislators brought Proposition 14 upon themselves by holding up the emergency funding of the ALRB. Some have even suggested that it be called the Zenovich-Kubo Bill, George Zenovich being a Democratic State Senator from Fresno who owns \$100,000 worth of a 160-acre ranch and who has been active in the controversy. The majority of prominent state politicians, including Governor Brown, supported the Proposition. Most of the exceptions were legislators from farming areas.

There was some controversy within the UFW leadership in early summer, 1976, as to whether they should push the Initiative, attempt to organize so that when the ALRB was refunded they could quickly obtain contracts via that mechanism, or attempt to secure additional funding. Certainly the threat of the Initiative did induce a more compromising mood among the growers.

Because of Kubo's efforts on the Ad Hoc Committee, in February, 1976, the UFW declared a boycott on the large grower marketing and fruit processing organizations of Sunmaid raisins, a 2,000-member small grower cooperative, Sunsweet prunes and dried fruit, and eight major Fresno area grape and tree fruit grower/packers. This was an attempt to use the UFW's most effective weapon against the NFL and other growers in the area. However, the UFW made only a weak attempt to push it as they became preoccupied with qualifying the Initiative and getting ready to secure additional contracts when the Board was funded again. Because the Initiative was a legislative effort, it was probably not dramatic enough to allow the UFW to generate a great deal of public sympathy on this issue and, hence, the boycott.

When the Initiative became Proposition 14 in June, 1976, after the state validated the required number of signatures, Kubo gave up his chairmanship of the Ad Hoc Committee and became Chairman of the Citizens for a Fair Farm Labor Law, the growers' principal

anti-Proposition 14 organization.¹⁰ Their goal was to raise two and one-half million dollars to fight the Proposition.

Of particular interest was the manner in which Kubo and the Citizen's Committee appealed to Californians for support. Full-page ads were placed in some twenty leading California newspapers. The first advertisement contained an informal picture of Kubo and was headlined: "34 years ago, I gave up my personal rights without a fight. It will never happen again." The text of the advertisement began: "1942. WWII. Tule Lake Japanese-American detention camp. My family lost everything. I was 20 years old and I gave up my personal rights without a fight. Never again." Clearly, the appeal had racial/ethnic overtones and was attempting to draw parallels between the World War II evacuation and the Proposition. The "No on Proposition 14" campaign was handled by Dolphin Public Relations of Los Angeles, the same company that ran the 1976 Ford for President campaign. Moreover, leaflets and television "spot" advertisements featuring Kubo and other growers were developed and utilized. The Proposition was defeated by a three to two margin.

The NFL had begun to offer a number of other services to its members. In 1975, a Legal Aid Fund was created which was an attempt to spread the cost of legal fees in the event that a grower became involved in potentially expensive litigation. Also, in 1976, because the NFL realized the importance of influencing legislators, a political contribution mechanism called Nisei Farmers League Political Action Committee (NFL PAC) was formed. Its function was simply to support pro-grower candidates.

The ALRB's most controversial decision was the so-called "access rule," handed down soon after the Board began holding elections in the fall of 1975. The Board ruled that because of the nature of agriculture,

¹⁰The UFW gathered almost twice the 312,404 validated signatures of registered voters necessary. The signatures were gathered in a period of one month--April 1 to May 1, 1976.

it was necessary to allow union organizers on the growers' property one hour before work, during the lunch hour, a maximum of one hour, and one hour after work. This administrative decision triggered an emotional reaction by the farmers. The growers charged that the access rule violated their constitutional rights of private property. They pointed out that the National Labor Relations Board only allowed access on a case-by-case basis after it had been demonstrated that there was no other way to reach the workers. The ALRA is designed to follow the precedents set by the National Labor Relations Act "where applicable." In fact, the hour after work is probably insignificant, as most workers immediately leave the fields. However, a case could be made that the workers, after being exposed to organizers at lunchtime for a reasonable period of time, should be left alone. The arguments favoring access would be the migratory nature of a significant proportion of the labor force, the fact that many workers live on growers' property, and that administratively it would be impossible to handle access on a case-by-case basis because of the many units involved. Bishop Mahony had estimated that to have a case-by-case determination of "access" would cost two million dollars.

Subsequently the Nisei Farmers League, in conjunction with another large growers organization, brought suit against the ALRB to test the constitutionality of the access rule. The California State Supreme Court ruled in March, 1976, that it was constitutional, and in October, 1976, the U.S. Supreme Court let stand the State Court ruling. The ALRB had proposed some seven modifications to the access ruling to handle specific situations, for example, in the nursery and poultry industries.

Many of the Japanese growers perceive the ALRA, and the defeated Proposition 14, to be a law which ". . . for the second time in our lives, is directly pitted against our interests." They draw parallels, emotionally, between the World War II evacuation and their being put at a "severe disadvantage" as a result of the election law. Some say they know that unionization is inevitable, but that they are going to fight to save as

many economically viable entities as possible during the process. This sounds conceptually very similar to some UFW leaders saying that they know that mechanization, and the subsequent loss of jobs, is inevitable in many labor intensive crops but that they are simply trying to slow down the process.

A useful framework with which to analyze the current struggle in the legal arena is that of a socio-legal perspective. The most prevalent conception of law is that it is a means of settling or precluding disputes (e.g., Fuller, 1964, 1971; Selznick, 1961, 1968, 1969). The means by which law does this is by (a) articulating an idea of justice (presumably a prerequisite for continued interaction and a viable organization of social life) and (b) restraining those whose actions are incompatible with such requirements. Turk (1976) has called this the "moral functionalist" view of law. This concept seems to be central to the way the various parties have viewed the ALRA.

A more useful and inclusive alternative perspective has been provided by Turk. He suggests that law be viewed as a form of social power. He points out that people being aware that others' ideas of justice may differ from their own will try, in accord with their own ideas and interests at least as they perceive them, to gain control; or if the process goes against their interests, they will try to contest or evade the processes by which norms come to be formally articulated as law across the boundaries of culturally homogeneous groups. Turk employs the common definition of power as control of resources and the exercise of power as their use in efforts to cause "acceptable" resolutions of actual or potential conflicts. He points out five more specific types of resource control that are involved in the social-cultural reality of law. These are:

- (1) control of the means of direct physical violence, i.e., *war* or *police* power;
- (2) control of the production, allocation, and/or use of material resources, i.e., *economic* power;
- (3) control of decision-making processes, i.e., *political* power;
- (4) control of definitions of and access to knowledge, beliefs, values, i.e., *ideological* power; and

(5) control of human attention and control of living-time, i.e., *diversionary* power (Turk, 1976).

An important point made by Turk is that law may, in certain circumstances, lead to greater, as opposed to less, conflict. The law can heighten the awareness of the problems involved in the specific interaction. Inasmuch as the conflicting parties cannot risk not having the law on their side, they will attempt to gain control of it or at least neutralize it as a weapon the opposition can employ. Moreover, it can encourage litigations by providing the parties with a less dangerous and/or costly method of gaining advantages. Previously, by making a legal mechanism unavailable to aid in the process of unionization of farm workers, the law was used to suppress the salience of the conflict and to make articulation and management of it difficult (McWilliams, 1942; Tangri, 1967). As Turk further points out, the legal-nonlegal distinction in the use of power is simply an historically specific accomplishment. Clearly, the struggle over the ALRA and Proposition 14 can be viewed as the most salient current manifestation of the struggle over unionization and economic power.

The small growers are no doubt more concerned about wages than are the large corporate operations because they are involved with labor intensive crops that do not lend themselves to mechanization; and even if the machines were available, it would be difficult for them to amortize the cost. For many growers and grower/packers, labor costs amount to over 50 percent of their total operating costs.

Another perceived and actual economic pressure on the growers which influences their attempts to control the farm workers' wages is that their products compete on a national, and perhaps even international, market. Hence, if their wage rates increase, and California's were the second highest in the country in 1974 (U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1974), this will influence their competitiveness. From a climatic and fertility perspective, the Fresno County area is ideally suited to raising labor-intensive fruit crops. However, shipping costs, because of the extreme western location, are high. The ALRA will, no doubt, allow the UFW

to eventually exercise greater leverage to increase wages. The growers clearly dislike the fact that they are exposed to this legitimized pressure when farmers in other states are not. However, both the growers and the union are predicting additional state farm labor election laws in the near future and a national law in the not too distant future.

The NFL has been well received by many business and agricultural groups. Kubo spends an estimated three days out of five speaking to these various groups. Perhaps an indication of the organization's standing came in January, 1975, when Earl L. Butz, then Secretary of Agriculture, attended their annual banquet and praised them for lack of bitterness about the evacuation and their ". . . reputation of being fiercely loyal to the ideals and the concepts that make America great" (NFL News, 1975).

One conceptual perspective which may be useful in understanding the Nisei Farmers League is that of Blalock's (1967) notion of middleman minority, particularly as extended to Japanese Americans by Kitano (1974). Such a minority group rises above other minorities because of a competitive advantage or high adaptive capacity. Blalock argues that the middleman minority acts as a buffer between the small number of elites and the large number at the bottom. Coser (1964) points out that the middlemen's power is largely dependent upon the good will of the elite. If the middlemen challenge the elite, they may lose the positive outcomes bestowed upon them by the powerful. However, the middlemen must contend with the anger and frustration of those lower in the system. The major point is that even though the middlemen have a generally higher status and income when compared to those in the lower strata, they are still in a weak and vulnerable position. As Kitano has pointed out:

They [middlemen] can play an important role in preserving the stability of a social system by serving as ready objects to drain off frustration and aggression. They can also become the pawns or mediators in power struggles between the upper and lower groups; they can provide a ready source of revenue; they can perform certain needed but

distasteful economic functions; and they may be used to staff petty official roles that cannot be entrusted to the masses. Given such a vulnerable position, it is difficult to understand why a group of people would be content to serve as a middleman minority. Perhaps the best answer is that they have no choice, and are trapped in a social structure which shapes their adaptations.

Obviously many of the major actions of the NFL can be seen as consistent with the interests of the conservative "agribusiness" segment of agriculture. Their support of the Cory Bill, Proposition 22, their stand against Proposition 14, the strikebreaking activities at White Rivers Farm, and the picket patrol were all helpful to the economically stronger elements of agriculture. Moreover, it might be argued that the NFL's seeming political power, as realized through Harry Kubo's chairmanship and activity on the Ad Hoc Committee of Agriculture which prevented the emergency funding of the ALRB, was partly the result of the state Republicans using the issue to split the Democrats and pick up rural legislative seats. As an historical aside, it is interesting to note that the California State Grange, California Farm Bureau Federation, and other agricultural associations were among the most vociferous backers of the World War II evacuation principally because of the economic competition the Japanese farmers provided (Daniels, 1972; Hosokawa, 1969; Kitano, 1976).

Historically, the Japanese have been an important element in California agriculture. Even though the number of Japanese who remain in agriculture has diminished, for historical, sociological, and psychological reasons they represent an important part of the Japanese American experience. Within a time period of less than three quarters of a century, the Japanese growers have changed positions in the social structure and now perceive their interests to be directly opposed to those who occupy their former positions. They are conceptualized as functioning as a middleman minority whose adaptations are shaped by the social structure. Currently, the most salient symptom of the grower-farm worker struggle is found in the

socio-legal arena. It is argued that this is simply an historically specific manifestation of the ongoing struggle for power. It is also noted that the rise in prominence of the Nisei Farmers League has led to controversy and conflict within the ethnic community in California.

References

- Blalock, Hubert, Jr. *Toward a Theory of Minority Group Relations*. New York: Wiley, 1967.
- California Department of Food and Agriculture. *Principal Crop and Livestock Commodities*. Sacramento: Media Office, California Department of Food and Agriculture, 1975.
- California Joint Hearing Senate Committee on Industrial Relations and Assembly Committee on Labor Relations. *Review of the Implementation of the Alatorre-Zenovich-Dunlap-Berman Agricultural Labor Relations Act of 1975*. Sacramento: Video/Audio Recording Systems, 1975.
- Daniels, Roger. *Concentration Camps U.S.A.: Japanese Americans and World War II*. New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.
- Foner, Philip S. *History of the Labor Movement in the United States*. Vol. 3. New York: International, 1964.
- Fuller, Lon L. *The Morality of Law*. New Haven: Yale University, 1964.
- Fuller, Lon L. "Human Interaction and the Law," in Robert P. Wolff, ed., *The Rule of Law*. New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971, pp. 171-217.
- Hosokawa, Bill. *Nisei: The Quiet Americans*. New York: Morrow, 1969.
- Ichioka, Yuji. "A Buried Past: Early Issei Socialists and the Japanese Community," *Amerasia Journal*, 1:1-25, 1971.
- Iwata, Masakazu. "The Japanese Immigrants in California Agriculture," *Agricultural History*, 36:25-37, 1962.
- Jamieson, Stuart M. "Labor Unionism in American Agriculture." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1943.

- Kitano, Harry H. L. "Japanese Americans: The Development of a Middleman Minority," *Pacific Historical Review*, 43:500-520, 1974.
- Kitano, Harry H. L. *Japanese Americans: The Evolution of a Subculture*. 2nd ed. Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 1976.
- Levy, Jacques E. *Cesar Chavez: Autobiography of La Causa*. New York: Norton, 1975.
- McWilliams, Carey. *Ill Fares the Land: Migrants and Migratory Labor in the United States*. Boston: Little Brown, 1942.
- Nelkin, Dorothy. "A Response to Marginality: The Case of Migrant Farm Workers," *British Journal of Sociology*, 20:375-390, 1969.
- Nisei Farmers League. *NFL News*, 1975.
- Selznick, Phillip. "Sociology and Natural Law," *National Law Forum*, 6:84-108, 1961.
- Selznick, Phillip. "The Sociology of Law," in David L. Sills, ed., *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. Vol. 9. New York: MacMillan and The Free Press, 1968, pp. 50-59.
- Selznick, Phillip. *Law, Society, and Industrial Justice*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1969.
- Souder, Ed, Jr. *Third Generation Farm Worker Target of Farmworkers Boycott*. San Mateo, Cal.: Council of California Growers, 1976.
- Tanaka, Ron. "Culture, Communication and the Asian Movement in Perspective," *Journal of Ethnic Studies*, 4:37-52, 1976.
- Tangri, Beverly S. "Federal Legislation as an Expression of United States Public Policy toward Agricultural Labor 1914-1954." Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Berkeley, 1967.
- Taylor, Ronald B. *Chavez and the Farm Workers*. Boston: Beacon, 1975.
- Turk, Austin T. "Law as a Weapon in Social Conflict," *Social Problems*, 23:276-291, 1976.
- U.S. Department of Agriculture Crop Reporting Board. *Farm Labor*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1974.

- U.S. Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. *A Study of Selected Socio-economic Characteristics of Ethnic Minorities Based on the 1970 Census*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1970.
- U.S. Immigration Commission. *Immigrants in Industries, Part 25: Japanese and Other Immigrant Races in the Pacific Coast and Rocky Mountain States*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1911.
-

EXPLORATIONS
IN POETRY

by

Philip N. Henry

to sister a-go-go

as you move
your naked body
gracefully
across the lighted stage
how strange
it has preserved
the grandeur
of an ancient ritual
which stirred hearts
long ago.
strange how
as you dance
and prance
your rhythm
recites a story
familiar to another shore
your shadow
paints images
of gods and spirits
unknown.
wiggle
sweat
sway/bend
like a palm branch
captivated by the wind
but there is no glory
in your enchanting story
only compulsion
to survive
in a merciless world
creating
bewildered glances
and sex phantasies
in an audience
which shows appreciation
by tossing pennies
about your sacred feet.

The Masks

What color are people
behind the masks,
could they be colorless,
or are they mask on through?
Masks come in many colors-
red, black, white, yellow, and blended,
I wonder if people do too.
Could the human spirit
wear the color of a mask,
or is it colorless
like the wind,
for the wind is free?
Many people use masks
to hide their nakedness
while breeding false identities
and deceitful divisions in mankind.
What shame.
Without masks people could be the same,
for those enslaved by masks
have become colors
rather than human beings.

to the unconcerned

the bitter cold
 sinks its teeth
 into dry naked skin
 shattered nerves scream
 a message from within
 a deserted stomach
 finds strength to utter
 an ignored squeal
 gone is the fill
 of yesterday's meal
 ideas for money surface
 from an ocean of dreams
 stolen from comic books
 and television scenes
 a baby cries
 a disgusted wife moans
 a knock at the door
 carries a bill collectors tone
 out the back door
 like a runaway slave
 to the sanctity of a pool hall
 for a while he is saved

a robot
 fashioned for destruction
 remote control
 society's limitless seduction
 of innocent black souls

for no other reason

you look at me
and for no other reason
than the color of my skin
you say
i hate you

i look at you
and say
you don't hate me
you hate yourself
for not understanding me

you look at me
and because
the civilization of my people
was destroyed
by the uncivilized nature of yours
and say
nigger

and i look
at your stupidity
and say
nigger is not
in the color of the skin
or ancestral string
it is a disease
that plagues
the white ignorant brain.

BOOK REVIEWS

Joel Schor

*Henry Highland Garnet: A Voice in Black
Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century*

Greenwood Press, Inc., 250 pp., \$15.95

Ninety-five years ago in Liberia, Africa, Henry Highland Garnet died. Besides being an ardent abolitionist, Garnet was also a Presbyterian minister, newspaper editor, orator, author, and political organizer. Historian George Washington Williams personally observed that Garnet's oratory was "equal in ability to Frederick Douglass, especially in logic and terse statement." Carter G. Woodson stated that "Garnet created the ideas which Frederick Douglass tempered and presented to the world in a more palliative and acceptable form." Despite Garnet's accomplishments, almost a century has passed in which Garnet's biography remained unwritten. Happily, Joel Schor has filled that void with his book, *Henry Highland Garnet: A Voice of Black Radicalism in the Nineteenth Century*.

Viewed strictly as a biography, Schor's work is scholarly, evenly paced in its writing, and reasonably comprehensive in its use of available documents. Schor's exhaustive newspaper research and extensive work in most manuscript collections containing Garnet documents has provided excellent documentation for his biography. Only a few collections and newspapers in New York, Ohio, and England have escaped Schor's personal research. However, considering the fact that black abolitionists' documents are scattered literally throughout the world, Schor's research is reasonable and adequate.

However, the real importance of this work lies beyond the normal boundaries of the biography. The significance is his fresh analysis of the interaction of Garnet and various other black leaders of the nineteenth century and how they attempted to devise methods to bring black people, both slave and freemen, into the mainstream of American life. Schor deftly illustrates

his point that too many historians view black abolitionists as a "homogenous group of contributors to the single goal or as intellectuals divided into optimistic intergrationists at one extreme and the pessimists who favored emigration and a black nationalism on the other." So simple a categorization ignores the complexities of attitudes and ideas held by so many different people in different places at different times. The richly varied responses of black abolitionists throughout the campaign clearly deserves more careful and accurate evaluation.

Garnet, himself, is a classic example of a man who changed his strategy and tactics in the fight against slavery. Schor illustrates, clearly and with concise insight, how Garnet reacted to nineteenth century historical events in the antislavery movement. Garnet, for example, was an ardent anticolonizationist in his early life, maintaining that with time and perseverance, black people would be treated as equals. But later events indicated that blacks were actually losing the battle in their search for freedom in the United States. Rather than clinging stubbornly to his early ideas, Garnet became a supporter of colonization plans so that his black brethren would find their true freedom. Also, Garnet changed politically from a moderate to a radical as laws and court decisions became increasingly discriminatory toward blacks in the 1840's and 1850's. Therefore, when measured against his peers, Garnet appears to be more a mentor than a follower in the fight against slavery, prejudice, and discrimination.

Finally, Schor's book is valuable to those interested in nineteenth century social history. For those students of the antislavery movement in the United States in general and black abolitionists in particular, this book is essential reading.

Michael J. Stanke - Black Abolitionist Papers Project
University of Wisconsin-La Crosse

ASSOCIATION NEWS AND BUSINESS

6TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE ON MINORITY AND ETHNIC STUDIES

Plans for the 6th Annual Conference, scheduled for April 19 to 22, 1978, are moving ahead. The Conference will again be hosted by the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. Conference speakers will include Angela Davis, Bea Medicine, Patrick Montgomery, and Helen Rodriguez. The highlight theme for the 6th Conference will be "Minority Women and Ethnicity."

The Institute for Minority Studies at UW-La Crosse has received a grant from the Wisconsin Humanities Committee to hold a series of symposiums, January to April, 1978, on Minority Women. This series should provide an excellent forerunner for the 6th Annual Conference. Ms. Sara Bentley is the project director for the series, and information is available from her at: 101 Main Hall, UW-La Crosse, La Crosse, WI 54601.

ELECTIONS

The official results of the NAIES election of new officers and Executive Council members will be given at the annual meeting of the Association in April during the 6th Annual Conference on Minority and Ethnic Studies. In the form of a preliminary report to the membership, it appears the new officers and Executive Council members will be as follows:

President	Robert Yoshioka
Vice-Presidents	Ray DePerry Linda Edward Louis Sarabia
Secretary-Treasurer	George E. Carter
Councilors, 2-Year Terms	David Brown Don Nakanishi

- Councilors, 4-Year Terms Sarah Hutchison
 Blyden Jackson
 Michael Stanke
- Associate Councilors, 2-Year Terms Albert Grace
 Angie Jenkins

The Nominating Committee and others involved in the elections wish to extend a sincere thanks to all the members who returned ballots. The first by-mail election was a success.

The complete make-up of the NAIES Executive Council will be published in the July issue of *Explorations* following the Annual Conference of April, 1978.



CONFERENCES

TALK STORY: OUR VOICES IN LITERATURE AND SONG
 Hawaii's Ethnic American Writers' Conference
 June 19-24, 1978
 Mid-Pacific Institute

TALK STORY is a conference for all of Hawaii's people. The conference will bring together writers, teachers, and community members of Hawaii and mainland Asian America to talk stories about our forefathers, about ourselves, and about our children. The people of Hawaii who have experiences to share are especially welcomed to attend so that these experiences may be perpetuated in Hawaii's literature. Some will find, perhaps for the first time, how much we all have in common and, at the same time, how full an experience we can find in the literature and songs embodying our experiences and our feelings.

Those who can appreciate the wisdom of the Hawaiian saying, "Words bind, and words set free," will understand the urgency of our desire to introduce to the community the works of literary artists who have been creating poetry, fiction, drama, and lyrics about Hawaii's people; to bring together mainland and Hawaii ethnic American literary, social, and cultural concerns;

to develop resources for including Asian America's and Hawaii's literature in school curricula both locally and nationwide; to encourage further development of literature of Hawaii's people.

Words and the stories they can tell are powerful yet fragile and need to be respected and nurtured. The conference programs aim to foster this recognition. The programs will include writing workshops, panel discussions, dialogue sessions, literary readings, and performances focusing on such topics as: Some Versions of Hawaii in Literature; Lyrics and Chants of Hawaii; Asian American Identity in Literature; Current Research in Hawaiian and Asian American Literature; and Children's Literature of Hawaii and Asian America. In addition, a 3-credit workshop course in Asian American literature, a course incorporating the conference and its opportunities for creative writing, is being planned for the University of Hawaii's first summer session, 1978.

For more information, contact: Talk Story: Our Voices in Literature and Song, P. O. Box 146, Aiea, HI 96701.

EMPLOYMENT NOTICES

CHICANO STUDIES - UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, BERKELEY

Two positions in Chicano Studies at the Assistant Professor (non-tenure) or beginning Associate Professor (tenure) levels, effective July 1, 1978. Qualifications: Doctorate--or an MFA in the case of fine arts--in a field taught in Chicano Studies (fine arts, history, humanities, social sciences); competence in teaching undergraduates; an identified research interest in Chicano Studies. Responsibilities: Teach four classes in the appointee's particular field in the Chicano Studies Program, plus one class in Ethnic Studies major curriculum; engage in an ongoing program of research contributing to the appointee's scholarly productivity; participate actively in the departmental and University committees. Salary appropriate to the position and experience of the appointee. Send vita and credentials by March 1, 1978, to: Larry Trujillo,

Chicano Studies Coordinator, 3408 Dwinelle Hall,
University of California, Berkeley, CA 94720.

LITERATURE/COMMUNICATIONS/AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES -
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor starting Fall, 1978. M.A. degree required, Ph.D. preferred, in Literature or Communications Studies. Ability to relate academic discipline to the African/Afro-American experience is essential. College teaching experience, scholarly promise, interest in community service, and willingness to work at interdisciplinary efforts are desired. Tenure-track. Salary commensurate with qualifications. Address applications by March 1, 1978, to: Dr. Spurgeon M. Stamps, Chairperson, Recruitment Committee, Afro-American Studies Department, Syracuse University, 735 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13210.

POLITICAL SCIENCE/AFRO-AMERICAN STUDIES - SYRACUSE
UNIVERSITY

Assistant Professor starting Fall, 1978. Ph.D. required in Political Science or in Public Administration with a Political Science orientation in relation to the Afro-American experience. College teaching experience, scholarly promise, interest in community service, and willingness to work at interdisciplinary efforts are desired. Tenure-track. Salary commensurate with qualifications. Address applications by March 1, 1978, to: Dr. Spurgeon M. Stamps, Chairperson, Recruitment Committee, Afro-American Studies Department, Syracuse University, 735 Ostrom Avenue, Syracuse, NY 13210.

NEW PUBLICATIONS

The Minnesota Historical Society has published a guide to collected historical materials focusing on Mexican Americans entitled *Mexican Americans in Minnesota: An Introduction to Historical Sources*, and may be obtained from the Order Department, MHS, 1500 Mississippi Street, St. Paul, MN 55101. Cost: \$1.75 plus \$.50 handling charge.

EDITOR'S COMMENT

Are you a member of the Anti-Slavery Society? It would be interesting to know how many members of NAIES know that there is such an organization. The question of membership was asked of the editor this past summer when in London, England, working on a research project. The answer was "no"; however, in July, 1977, the rolls of the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights did increase by one, and the number of members in the United States jumped significantly. The most recent membership report listed a total Society membership of 907. The number of members in the United States is less than 100.

The editor of *Explorations in Ethnic Studies* would like to call to the attention of the NAIES membership the existence of the Anti-Slavery Society for the Protection of Human Rights and urge all interested members to join. The Society is based at 60 Weymouth Street, London, W1N 4DX, England. The current membership fee is 4 £, and application forms can be obtained from the above address c/o Mr. Patrick Montgomery or from the editor of *Explorations*.

The goals of the Society are: (a) to eradicate slavery in all its forms, (b) to promote the well-being of indigenous people, and (c) to defend human rights in accordance with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, 1948. The Society is a direct descendant of the Aborigines Protection Society, founded in 1837, and the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, founded in 1839. The two founding organizations were merged in 1909 to form the present Society. The present-day Society is the only source of published material on contemporary slavery. The Society has consultative status with the United Nations Economic and Social Council. The organization is a registered charity in the U.K. and has no political or religious bias. The Society has members in twenty-eight countries and is entirely sustained by private subscription.

Slavery, that is chattel slavery, involves the owning of persons. While this form of slavery may be

rare, pockets survive in a few countries in the world. The U.N. Supplementary Convention (1956), to which some eighty-four states are parties, ". . . binds them to eliminate in addition serfdom, debt bondage and certain institutions similar to slavery affecting women and children." The Society's concern for the status of women, given the theme for the upcoming Minority and Ethnic Studies Conference, "Minority Women and Ethnicity," should be of interest to many NAIES members.

The goals and purposes of NAIES certainly include concern for human rights, and these concerns should not be limited to the United States. As an organization, NAIES should reflect an international concern and perspective. To do less would be a serious limitation or restriction on the Association.

On the other hand, there may be members who would argue that there is enough for NAIES to do within the United States. Why go outside? The editor hopes such members will respond, and the dialogue and communications that result will form the basis of an active "Letters to the Editor" feature for *Explorations*. In forthcoming issues, the editor will raise other controversial matters and sincerely hopes the membership and other interested parties will respond.

George E. Carter, Editor

NOTES ON CONTRIBUTORS

CHARLES C. IRBY is Chairman of the Ethnic Studies Department at California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, California, and President of the National Association of Interdisciplinary Ethnic Studies.

J. FREDERICK FAUSZ is presently serving as a National Historical Publications and Records Commission fellow in historical editing with the Papers of B. H. Latrobe at the Maryland Historical Society. During the academic year 1976-77 he was a fellow with the Native-American history program at the Newberry Library in Chicago.

GRETCHEN BATAILLE is in the English Department at Iowa State University, Ames, and for several years has taught courses on Native-American literature.

STEPHEN S. FUGITA is in the Psychology Department at the University of Akron, Akron, Ohio.

PHILIP N. HENRY is an assistant editor with the Black Abolitionist Papers Project at the University of Wisconsin-La Crosse. He is a graduate of North Carolina Central University, Durham, with both Bachelor and Masters degrees in history.
